Women & Social Action

Tracing Women’s Experiences of Activism in the Chilean Women’s Movement

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Abstract

The Chilean women’s movement has a long history of challenging state power. The role women played in the opposition against Augusto Pinochet’s authoritarian regime has fascinated researchers. There also seems to be a consensus, whereby the contemporary movement is considered to be divided. Yet, recent developments in Chile have seen a resurgence of women’s activism that has not been studied. The need for re-mobilization points to the idea that women’s concerns and needs have not been adequately addressed in the past, despite their strong presence in civil society. This study explores how women have experienced social action in the Chilean women’s movement, through narrative analysis. Analysing own voices accounts of collective action provided insight into how women organize in Chile; the origins of divisions present in the contemporary women’s movement; important differences and parallels with the women’s movement that opposed the dictatorship; and the presence of vertical structures in Chilean society. In focusing on the experiences of women who were active in the opposition to the dictatorship, as well as the largely untapped voices of women active in the contemporary movement, this project will contribute to future research on similar subjects.

Key words: Chile, narrative analysis, women’s movement, identity, networks
Abstract in Spanish

Translated by: Julia Rasmussen

La Mujer y la Acción Social: Rastreando las Experiencias de Activismo de Mujeres en el Movimiento de Mujeres Chilenas

El movimiento de las mujeres chilenas tiene una historia larga de desafiar el poder del estado. El papel jugado por las mujeres en la oposición contra el régimen autoritario de Augusto Pinochet ha fascinado muchos académicos. Parece que hay un consenso donde el movimiento contemporáneo es considerado a ser dividido. I todavía, desarrollos recientes en Chile han mostrado un resurgimiento del activismo de las mujeres que no ha sido estudiado. La necesidad por una re-movilización apunta en la idea que las preocupaciones y necesidades de las mujeres no han sido adecuadamente abordadas en el pasado aun que tengan una presencia fuerte en la sociedad civil. Este estudio explora como mujeres han experimentado acción social en el movimiento de las mujeres en Chile, atravesó de un análisis de narrativo. Analizando las voces propias de la acción colectiva dan información que ayuda a entender como las mujeres se organizan en Chile; El origen de las divisiones presentes en el movimiento contemporáneo de las mujeres; diferencias I paralelos importantes entre el movimiento de las mujeres que opuesto la dictadura: la presencia de estructuras verticales en la sociedad chilena. Enfocando en las experiencias de mujeres que eran activas en la oposición a la dictadura, i también a las voces poco exploradas de las mujeres activas en el movimiento contemporáneo, este proyecto contribuirá a la investigación en temas similares.

Palabras claves: Chile, análisis de narrativo, el movimiento de las mujeres, identidad, redes

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1. Introduction

The idea of defending freedom through civil resistance stretches as far back as the early Roman Empire, and has been broached by the likes of Hugo Grotius and John Locke (Howes 2015). Countless protests, revolutions, groups, organizations and movements of civilians have emerged, time and time again, to challenge unchecked power. Though excluded from the traditionally perceived ‘male’ roles during conflict, women too have taken up the mantle of defending civil liberty. Some scholars even argue that women employ the most agency during resistance against authoritarianism (Noonan 1995: 107).

In Chile women played an instrumental role in the underground opposition against Augusto Pinochet’s military regime, lasting from 1973 until 1990 (BBC News), as well as in the subsequent transition to democracy (Baldez 2003). In line with the notion of women having the most agency during authoritarianism, scholars have discussed the fragmentation and decline that the women’s movement in Chile experienced after the dictatorship, some scholars even speculating as to its sustainability in the future (e.g.: Noonan 1995, Baldez 2002, Franceschet & Macdonald 2004, Cosgrove 2010). However, as women’s voices around the world are rising, movements such as #MeToo are sweeping across the globe and uniting women. Chile is no different. In fact, 2018 saw women across the country mobilize and take to the streets to protest issues like sexual harassment and campaign for the right to abortion (Rueckert & Sanchez 2018, France-Presse 2018). At the same time, the resurgence of the movement also indicates that women’s needs in Chile may not have been adequately addressed. Despite what the movement of the 70s and 80s has achieved, on a structural level many issues still require attention.

1.1. Relevance for Peace & Conflict Studies

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1 For example, the total ban on abortion implemented by the military regime in 1989, was not challenged until 2017 when a bill was passed allowing abortion in limited cases (Pieper Mooney 2017). Under legislation, Chile retains unequal ages of consent regarding same-sex and heterosexual relations (Human Rights Watch). Chile was also one of the last countries in the Western Hemisphere to legalize divorce (Rohter 2005).
The inspiration for this paper comes straight from Cynthia Cockburn’s “From Where We Stand: War Women’s Activism and Feminist Analysis” (2007). While reading the book I realized not only that social movements are instruments of peace, but also that they are an important tool for the mobilization and empowerment of women. The literature has shown that women’s participation in social movements has greatly contributed to peace processes.

In the case of Chile, women were a huge part of the opposition to the military regime and played key roles in the transition to democracy (Matear 1999; Noonan 1995; Waylen 2000; etc.) But can this hard-earned peace truly be positive\(^2\) if structural problems, often made worse during authoritarianism, carry over into societies supposedly free of conflict? In this case, who does that peace really belong to? Does negative peace then become another instrument of patriarchal hegemony? Such questions are precisely why studying women’s mobilization is important for furthering the field of peace and conflict studies.

1.2. Research Problem & Aim

Mainstream literature\(^3\) on the topic of the Chilean women’s movement focuses on the dictatorial or transition period (e.g.: Mattear 1991; Cañadell 1993; Noonan 1995; Waylen 2000; Baldez 2003). While the development of the movement during those years is certainly important, little has been written about it from a contemporary perspective. In light of recent resurgences of women’s mobilization, this is a problem, because it points to structural issues which have not been addressed or taken seriously, despite the strong wave of activism that swept over Pinochet-era Chile. Until these issues are recognized, women in Chile and beyond will always be at a disadvantage.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to explore the narratives of women, actors in the Chilean women’s movement, in order to gain an understanding of the dynamics affecting it. How actors experience collective action can provide an important basis to understanding why the

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\(^2\) Positive peace occurs when cooperation, equity, equality and constructive dialogue among parties are present, and all forms of violence, including structural (exploitation and repression facilitated by economic and political structures) and cultural (legitimates direct and/or structural violence) are absent; while negative peace refers to the absence of direct violence (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 173).

\(^3\) For the purposes of this study, ‘mainstream literature’ refers to literature available in English. I am aware that in the Chilean context ‘mainstream’ is most likely literature available in Spanish, however I do not have access to it at this time.
contemporary movement functions the way it does, as well as shed light on where possible fragmentations stem from, and offer potential insight into what can be done to bridge such gaps. To do this I have conducted interviews with five women, and will be looking at perceptions of the women’s movement and articulations of activism in the Chilean context.

1.3. Research Question

The overarching research question is:

*How have women experienced social action in the Chilean women’s movement, during and after the dictatorship?*

I will also explore the following sub-questions:

- How do the participants perceive differences in the Chilean women’s movement, at different periods of mobilization?
- How cohesive do the participants think the Chilean women’s movement is?
- How does feminism fit into the framework of the Chilean women’s movement?

1.4. Material, Method & Theory

This paper will rely on material collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with women who have been active in the Chilean women’s movement. The method that will be utilized to analyze the material will rely on Margaret Somers’ (1994) relational and network approach to narrative analysis. This approach supposes that as people construct fluid identities by placing themselves or being placed within narratives, stories become a guiding force for action (Somers 1994: 614), by providing a way for actors to contextualize their experiences.

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4 In this paper, the term ‘social action’ will be used somewhat interchangeably with the terms ‘activism’ and ‘collective action’, though social action can also refer to individual participation in social movements.
The theoretical framework utilizes aspects of social movement theory, specifically della Porta & Diani’s (2006) concepts of identity and networks, in order to gain an insight into how activism works within the Chilean women’s movement.

1.5. Delimitations

As this study focuses on a small number of interviews, it would be difficult to make a generalization applicable to the entirety of Chile. However, because this is an exploratory study, the aim is not focused on reaching definitive conclusions. I am interested in personal perspectives from within the movement, which are in themselves subjective.

Since I do not speak Spanish, the language barrier limited my selection of interviewees, and prevented me from having a complete overview of academic literature on the Chilean women’s movement.

Due to limitations in terms of funding and time, the scope of this study is restricted. It would perhaps have been easier to find willing participants had this research been conducted in the field, but that would not have been feasible for this particular project.

I did not have the support of any organizations from Sweden or Denmark, despite e-mailing a few. I received few responses and most stated that they did not have contacts in the region. In this case, I relied on social connections who could put me in touch with potential interview partners, or Chilean organizations and individuals I had contacted directly.

1.6. Ethical Considerations

One of the main areas of concern is the fact that the research I would be conducting would be from a Western point of view. In order to minimize the impact of my own perceptions, I employed two strategies. Firstly, during the interview process I let my partners speak freely, trying to avoid voicing my opinions until the end of our conversation. By doing this I wanted to make sure I was not influencing the narratives of the participants. Secondly, when utilizing excerpts from the interviews in this paper, I chose to edit the transcripts minimally, in order for the participants’ words to speak for themselves.
Another concern for this project was the sensitivity of the topic. Even though the dictatorship ended in 1990, many people have either lived through it, or have been affected by it in other ways (e.g. having family members who were detained, disappeared, or exiled). Therefore, I wanted to pay attention to questions that could be considered distressing for my interview partners. I made sure that my inquiries were fairly neutral\(^5\), and open-ended, so the participants could choose the direction of the conversation, for the most part. I also featured a disclaimer, in both the information sheet (Appendix 1) and consent form (Appendix 2), stating that the participants were free to decline to answer any questions.

In order to ensure that the interviewees were fully aware of my purposes in using the material, I provided them with an information sheet (Appendix 1). After ensuring they were informed, I asked them to sign a consent form (Appendix 2), which indicated their rights, as well as my intentions regarding the material. As the interviews were conducted via Skype, the consent forms had to be returned to me after the fact. Thus I also wanted to obtain consent on the record, in case there was a delay.

The interviewees were also informed of their right to anonymity. Both the consent form (Appendix 2) and information sheet (Appendix 1) reflect this. During our Skype conversations, I also made sure to inform my interview partners that they had the right to contact me if they had changed their minds regarding their personal details.

The selection of participants was not motivated by ethnicity, age, political and religious affiliation, or race. My criteria were based on gender, and having been active in the women’s movement during the dictatorship, or after.

### 1.7. Thesis Outline

In the ‘Introduction’ of this paper I set out the aim and purpose of this study, the research question guiding it, a brief overview of the material, method and theory to be used, and explain the relevant delimitations and ethical considerations. In ‘Background’, I provide a brief historic overview of the coup which led to the military regime, and women’s mobilization in Chile. Following that, in the ‘Literature Review’ I make an overview of

\(^5\) For example, I did not ask how the participants had specifically been affected by the dictatorship.
existing literature on the women’s movement in Chile, to better orient myself and the reader on areas of interest. The ‘Methodology’ provides a description of the research design, Margaret Somers’ (1994) approach to narrative analysis, how it will be applied to the material, an introduction of the participants, and a section regarding reflexivity. In the ‘Theoretical Framework’ I explain della Porta & Diani’s (2006) concepts of identity and networks and how they constitute social action. The ‘Analysis’ is where I present my interpretation of the material through the chosen method, applying the selected theory, and discuss my findings. Finally, I present my closing thoughts in the ‘Conclusion’ chapter.

2. Background

2.1. The Coup

On September 11th 1973, Chile’s military commanders staged a coup, overthrowing Salvador Allende⁶ and the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity, UP) government that supported him (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 15). General Augusto Pinochet, joined the coup at the last minute, displaying a vehemence in his hunt for the leftist civilian leaders he had served under, reportedly even suggesting Allende be put on a plane that would crash (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 16). This violent intensity set the tone of the coup and subsequent regime. Allende ended up committing suicide, although there was speculation surrounding the circumstances of his death (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 17).

Next the military set their sights on working class leftists. Despite expecting significant pushback, the military received little resistance in Santiago and elsewhere. By nightfall military forces had gained control, imposed a 24-hour curfew, while promising the public a

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⁶ Salvador Allende’s victory marked him as the first freely elected Marxist head of state (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 23). Richard Nixon and his cabinet was particularly opposed to this development, as it signified the possibility of a spreading communism across Latin America, especially following Castro’s success in Cuba. Thus the Nixon White House and the CIA devoted substantial amounts of time and money to destabilize the Chilean economy, and conducted covert operations against Allende, while also heavily utilizing propaganda tactics to provoke the public (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 26).
calm transition (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 18). It turned out to be anything but, when the very next day crackdowns against leftists continued, full force. By December, about 1500 civilians had been killed, thousands had been detained and shipped to military prisons, and at least 7000 people had fled into exile, flooding embassies across Latin America and Europe (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 20).

Few Chileans truly understood the severity of what had occurred. Some had turned themselves over voluntarily, but quickly realized their mistake. Testimonies from a variety of detainees described the military as “hysterically enraged” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 31). The regime was indiscriminate in its persecution - if you were in any way associated with the left, you were vulnerable. They put on a show of treating high-profile prisoners ‘well’, but the harshest treatment was reserved for small-town peasant and labor leaders, made worse by the fact that in smaller communities, people trusted the local authorities who would then turn on them (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 32-35).

After 17 years, Augusto Pinochet and his regime were voted out in a 1998 national referendum. Pinochet was replaced by Patricio Aylwin in 1990, but not before setting a series of political maneuvers in motion, which would cement his waning power and ensure his legacy would endure for years to come (Constable & Valenzuela 1993: 316-318).

2.2. The History of Women’s Mobilization in Chile

Before the coup and subsequent dictatorship, women’s mobilization in Chile went through several important developments. Women’s issues began to gain traction with the increased proliferation of women’s organizations in the early 1900s. Women’s suffrage bills were entered into congress in 1917 and 1922 (Baldez 2002: 23). These were unsuccessful and women’s mobilization did not reach its peak until the 1930s. In 1935 the Movimiento Pro-Emancipación de las Mujeres de Chile (Movement for the Emancipation of Chilean Women, MEMCH) achieved a cross-party coalition comprised of middle and working-class women, which exerted pressure on gender-specific issues, but had limited success on women’s suffrage (Baldez 2002: 24).

The World War II period saw a surge in women’s participation in politics. Two organizations, the Chilean Federation of Feminine Institutions (FECHIF) and Partido Femino Chileno (Chilean Women’s Party) united women across class and partisan lines (Baldez 2002: 25).
Women’s suffrage coincided with the outlawing of communism in Chile, in response to Cold War tensions. Women’s organizations followed suit in expelling communist members, leading to prominent activists in the movement not attending the 1949 ceremony where the law granting women full voting rights was signed (Baldez 2002: 26).

The 1950s were marked by controversy regarding the endorsement of General Carlos Ibañez del Campo, the military dictator who served as president from 1927–31, in the 1952 presidential elections (Baldez 2002: 26). The Women’s Party leader, María de la Cruz, advocated his election fervently, leading the Chilean women’s organizations to believe they were campaigning for a neutral candidate (Baldez 2002: 28). After Ibañez’s victory, organizations sought to pressure the new president to implement their demands. The new president began taking their proposals seriously in 1953, prompted by his Argentine counterpart Juan Perón. However, during a lunch between the leaders of some Chilean women’s groups and two Argentine congresswomen, the Chilean women were bribed into giving up their independence, formally joining Ibañez (Baldez 2002: 30). Even though some of the Chilean leaders left the meeting in disgust, news of the exchange spread like wildfire, discrediting the women’s organizations, forcing them to disband (ibid.). Despite being a double standard, the tarnishing of the image of women’s organizations was effective, precisely because women’s organization often relied on the stereotype of being incorruptible. Political parties thus “…would monopolize women’s mobilization for the next two decades, until the next major realignment in 1971” (Baldez 2002: 31).

2.3. The Women’s Movement During the Dictatorship

The arrival of hippie culture and student protests in the 1960s, primed the stage for the return of the women’s movement during the 70s and 80s, the Cuban Revolution drawing women into political life once again (Baldez 2002: 45). Women’s activism in Chile during the 70s diverged from other activisms in one important aspect – women were not mobilizing on the basis of feminism. Conservative women mobilized before women on the left, forming an opposition to Salvador Allende’s campaign (Baldez 2002: 49). While the women first organized against Allende autonomously, their continued participation occurred within unions and political parties.
Women’s role in the UP government was reduced to the embodiment and promotion of traditional gender roles (Cañadell 1993: 45). As the coup led by Pinochet ousted the UP, the military regime made efforts to include women (albeit by reinforcing traditional gender roles once again), which were well received by upper-class women since the new order protected their privilege (Cañadell 1993: 48). Two women’s organizations - the Centros de Madre (Mother’s Centers, CEMA) and Secretaria Nacional de Mujeres (National Women’s Secretariat, SNM) were tasked with reaching women across class lines. Their efforts focused on disguising the adverse effects of the regime and reinforcing traditional domestic roles (Cañadell 1993: 48, 49).

Despite the dictatorship’s best efforts, a large part of women organized in opposition, due to the brutality and violence of the regime’s measures and discourse, as well as the deterioration of living conditions (ibid.). Popular women’s organizations took a community approach, focusing on pooling resources, in order to deal with the economic hardships their families faced (Cañadell: 1993 50, 51). As these organizations had taken a community, rather than individualistic approach, they were more appealing to indigenous women.

Due to the violent tendencies of the regime, women took to the streets to denounce the human rights abuses perpetrated against their families, with groups looking for prisoners and the disappeared emerging (Cañadell: 1993: 52, 53). These organizations had an important impact on the politicization of Chilean women, by making the ‘private’, ‘public’ and framing their demands in terms of human rights (ibid.).

Feminist groups were comprised of mainly middle-class, educated women, often belonging to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), forming a network with a gendered perspective. Others, like MEMCH, were still linked to political parties, or the Feminist Liberation Front which was involved with the popular sector (Cañadell 1993: 53, 54). These organizations were known to sometimes have strained relationships with minority groups, but nonetheless played a role in broaching topics like sexuality, violence and marginalization in the political sphere (ibid.).

From 1983 until the end of the dictatorship, the gradual return of democracy marked a period of changes in all social movements (Cañadell 1993: 55). The re-emerging political parties opposing the regime asserted themselves as the primary channels of societal representation, thereby displacing grass-roots and women’s organizations (ibid.). This made it difficult for
women (particularly those from popular organizations which shunned hierarchical models) to articulate, and have their demands heard in a political forum (Cañadell 1994: 59).

2.4. The Women’s Movement After the Dictatorship

As women’s issues and feminism entered public consciousness, gender studies received recognition from Chilean academic institutions and governmental agencies. The Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (National Service for Women, SERNAM) was created in 1991, thanks to pressure exerted by feminist women active in social movements and women active in party politics at the time of the transition (Stoffel 2008: 142). SERNAM has made efforts to collaborate with grassroots organizations such as Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Rurales e Indígenas (National Association of Rural and Indigenous Women, ANAMURI) (Fraceschet 2003). However, the effectiveness of this collaboration remains to be seen, as some of Chile’s minorities like the Mapuche7, continue to be marginalized from social movements, and hold a fundamentally different conceptualization of women’s rights (Richards 2005). An added complexity to Mapuche women’s activism is lent by the continued struggle of the Mapuche community against the state of Chile, marked by increasing violence from both sides (Croquevielle 2018, Pardal, 2018).

In April of 2018, students from Universidad Austral in Valdivia (southern Chile) kicked off a wave of protests against sexual harassment, sweeping through the country and spreading from campus to campus, eventually reaching Chile’s capital Santiago (Bartlett 2018, Quiroz 2019). The protests initially focused on sexual harassment, but later expanded to include calls for attention to “…language used in classrooms, the lack of female authors on reading lists, inadequate protocols for dealing with accusations of sexual harassment and abuse, and the lack of women in positions of authority” (Bartlett 2018). Reportedly, the protests spread across more than 3 dozen institutions during the so called Mayo Feminista (Feminist May) (Quiroz 2019).

On July 25th thousands of people marched in Santiago, demanding abortion law reforms, many protesters adopting the green scarves worn by pro-abortion advocates from Argentina (France-Presse 2018). In November 2018, thousands (mostly women, girls and youngsters)

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7 The Mapuche comprise Chile’s largest indigenous minority (Minority Rights Group).
again marched in Santiago, this time against male violence, part of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, calling for an end to aggression (Agencia EFE, 2018).

This year, ahead of International Women’s Day on March 8th, ten women took to the streets, covered in body paint, with slogans advocating for ‘decent work’, ‘non-sexist education’ and ‘when and how I decide’ (Agencia EFE 2019). Peaceful marches were held in several Chilean cities in connection with International Women’s Day, where activists campaigned for equal pay and an end to gendered violence, once again pulling in students from universities across Chile (Tele Sur English 2019). In Valparaíso the peaceful protesters clashed with Chilean police forces, who launched water jets and tear gas against them (ibid.).

3. Literature Review

A relatively small body of work available in English, emerged as I researched academic literature on the topic of the Chilean women’s movement. It begs mentioning that there is a substantive amount of scholarly articles published in Spanish, however these are not accessible to students and academics who do not read Spanish, like myself.

The following recurring themes in the English titles become apparent: women’s mobilization against the military regime, their subsequent role in the transition to democracy, and the fragmentation or weakening of the movement shortly thereafter. There seems to exist a lack of literature in English on recent developments in women’s activism in Chile.

For instance, Franceschet & Macdonald (2004: 20, 21) argue that the dictatorship, and resulting economic crises, produced a united women’s movement, with a focus on socio-economic rights. Cañadell (1993: 43, 59) also notes that women were severely affected by the regime’s repressive policies, serving as a unifying factor enabling them to play an imperative role in the struggle against Pinochet. This mobilization served as a basis for involvement in the political sphere during the transitional period.

The theme of the movement’s role in the transition to democracy is featured prominently (Noonan 1995, Matear 1999, Waylen 2000, Baldez 2003). Studies explore the impact
women’s organizations have had on the democratization process, as well as opportunities allowing them to enter the formal politics. The way issues were framed had significant impact on the amount of pressure organizations could exert, an example being the implementation of policies against domestic violence, by framing them in terms of human rights (as opposed to women’s rights), which aligned with the effort of re-structuring the political system to fit the democratic model (Matear 1999: 171). In fact, the mobilization of women on the basis of human rights began during the dictatorship itself, in response to increasing economic hardships, giving birth to feminist organizations, and informing subsequent protests against the government (Noonan 1995: 99). Women for Life (Mujeres por la Vida, MPLV) also unified women across party lines, as a response to divisions among the opposition, relying on the notion that women were uniquely qualified in the task of uniting against the military regime (Baldez 2003: 263). However, the influence of women’s organizations was limited, particularly because the military regime exerted a great degree of control over the terms of the transition. While a strong institutional party system was restored, relatively few openings remained available to women (Waylen 2000: 782, 788). From these studies, it becomes evident that women’s mobilization had an impact on the democratization effort, managing to incorporate women-centered reforms despite opposition, allowing for a breakthrough (although constrained) into formal politics.

The literature notes the fragmentation of the women’s movement following the transition to democracy. The de-mobilization of the movement, seems to be attributed to a decline of cross-sector unity and cross-class solidarity, which was considered a unifying feature (Baldez 2003: 268, Franceschet & Macdonald 2004: 21). Cañadell (1993: 59) notes that women’s organizations experienced divisions, however also mentions they may have fallen victim to the democratization process, which favors political parties. Rita K. Noonan’s (1995: 107) interpretation affirms this theory, although the return to formal channels is framed as hegemony. The hegemonic argument could be pointing to an explanation of why the Chilean women’s movement is experiencing a re-mobilization.

At the same time, greater access to public roles and other benefits derived from women’s participation in social action can be considered irreversible, and may generate new social movements with potential for enacting change (Cañadell 1993: 59, 60). This sentiment is echoed in Noonan’s (1995: 108) work, which supposes that the women themselves have become politicized by virtue of being involved in social movements.
Minorities however, seem to be marginalized from the women’s movement. Indigenous women in particular tend to shun gender issues, favoring collective and human rights language when asserting their activism, making formal coalitions with other groups difficult (Richards 2005: 216-218). Still, there are encouraging signs, as evidenced by the collaboration between organizations like ANAMURI & SERNAM, which hope to address issues of class and ethnicity (Franceschet 2003: 37). However, conflicts between some indigenous groups and the state may be making cooperation impossible.

Noonan (1995: 107) stresses the shift in the relationship between women and the left, stating that the new left will once again embrace feminism. The feminist lens is also cited as an important framing tool for conceptualizing women-specific experiences of the dictatorship period, combating the silences in leftist women’s testimonies, and the sexualized forms violence they experienced (Hiner 2016: 399, 400). By shining a spotlight on the past, the feminist movement in Chile aided the de-stigmatization of sexual violence, and its use as a shaming tool silencing victims (ibid.). It is therefore important to explore how feminism fits into the contemporary women’s movement.

To sum up, the literature on the women’s movement in Chile presents recurring themes regarding the mobilization of the movement, its role in the democratization process and the subsequent divisions. Some articles also stress the shifting nature of the movement and the resurgence of feminism. However, what seems to be missing are own accounts of the fragmentation present in the contemporary movement, and how it may be different from the dictatorship era movement, a gap I will attempt to bridge in this study.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research Design

This study is based on a qualitative research design, namely a narrative analysis. I chose a qualitative design because it is better suited to exploring or attempting to understand the

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8 Incidentally, SERNAM has been credited by some with weakening the women’s movement, but Franceschet (2003) puts forward an alternative argument in her research.
meanings people ascribe to certain phenomena, like the Chilean women’s movement, and because it allows for an inductive approach (Creswell 2014: 4). Moreover, this type of design is compatible with a constructivist worldview, which supposes that people develop subjective meanings to their experiences, which are shaped by their historical, social and cultural perspectives, as well as through interactions with others (Creswell 2014: 8). In the case of the Chilean women’s movement this means that collective action is in some way facilitated by formations of collective and individual identities, as well as through interactions constituted by social networks (della Porta & Diani 2006).

This study seeks to explore women’s experiences within the Chilean women’s movement, which are inherently subjective and strictly dependent on individual perspectives, thus making this approach suitable. A qualitative design lends itself well to open-ended questions as it seeks participants’ own views of the phenomenon under study (Creswell 2014: 8), which is also useful when coaxing out narratives.

The method of narrative analysis fits well, because it focuses on the way in which individuals construct meaning, through analysis of their storied experiences. Narratives in themselves are representations, which in turn serve to construct people’s identities and lives (Riessman 1993: 2). The data will be analyzed using Margaret Somers’ (1994) relational and network approach to narrative constructions of identity. It is justified, as it reframes narrative as an ‘ontological condition of social life’, and is specifically constituted for using theories of social action, agency and identity (Somers 1994: 613-614). This is particularly suitable because the theoretical approach in this study focuses on identity formation and social networks.

4.2. Method

Margaret Somers’ approach to narrative analysis supposes that narratives and narrativity are tools through which individuals and groups construct their social identities, by placing themselves in, or being placed, into social narratives, often not of their own making (1994: 606). This approach will be useful in exploring how the participants identify as social actors within the Chilean women’s movement, by examining the narrative underpinnings of their identifications.

The results obtained with this method allow researchers to engage with social reality in a way that sheds light on temporal, relational, cultural, institutional, material and macro-structural
aspects of social action and agency (Somers 1994: 607). Some of these aspects will be particularly useful in examining how identities are perceived, and how social action is facilitated in Chilean society. The method also embeds identity formation in overlapping relational networks, shifting over time and space (Somers 1994: 607). Thus, this approach allows researchers to also trace how such networks may be affecting identity formation.

The method interprets the subject’s narratives in a social context, by appropriating the happenings of the social world in a specific framework (Somers 1994: 617). The framework is expressed in four dimensions of narrativity – ontological, public, meta- and conceptual narratives.

Ontological narratives refer to "… the stories that social actors use to make sense of - indeed, act in - their lives.", meaning that these are the stories we tell ourselves and through which we construct our own identities and relate to others (Somers 1994: 618). These narratives can refer to the participants’ individual identities as activists in the Chilean women’s movement.

Public narratives refer to “… narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand…” (Somers 1994: 619). These narratives can encompass smaller units like the family, or larger ones like one’s social network, political parties, the media etc. Public narratives can shed light on collective and group identities, as well as how the media constructs public narratives around the Chilean women’s movement.

Metanarratives are the theories or concepts affecting us “as contemporary actors in history and as social scientists.” (Jameson 1984, Lyotard 1984 & Focault 1972, 1973 in Somers 1994: 619). Sociological theories thus contain elements of metanarratives, such as Capitalism vs. Communism or the rise of Nationalism (Somers 1994: 619). Such narratives are rare, but could be present when discussing how women’s activism in Chile is embedded in transnational and trans-cultural ideological structures.

The fourth dimension is conceptual narrativity, which refers to the narratives we have created as social scientists, about ourselves and the world around us, meaning the scientific reproductions of truth, which can be useful in determining why we ask questions in a certain way (Somers 1994: 620). These narratives can express themselves in how the participants use concepts like feminism in relation to their activism, or how they conceptualize the dynamics of Chilean women’s activism in general.
However, the narrative dimensions proposed by Somers (1994) do not exist in vacuum, and often interact with each other. This can, in some cases, make it difficult to tell which dimensions certain narratives fit into, as it is not always straightforward or clear-cut. At the same time, it is important to see how such narratives interrelate, in order to gain an insight into how activism works in the Chilean women’s movement.

4.3. Interviews

For the purposes of this study I have chosen to conduct in-depth, semi-structured interviews with women who have been active in the Chilean women’s movement. The semi-structured approach was appropriate for this study, as it gives interviewees greater control (Riessman 1993: 55), thus prompting narrativized responses. The interview guide (Appendix 3) was thus designed according to themes, so the order and content could vary from one interview to another, leaving space for divergence when necessary.

Narrative analysis utilizing in-depth interviewing is particularly suited for detailed oral, first-person accounts of experience, but requires systematic attention to detail and subtlety (Riessman 1993: 69). It may be less useful when attempting to elicit concise, definitive answers from large groups of people. For this project it is fitting, as I am interested in own voices accounts of women’s activism in Chile, which is why men were excluded from the sample.

4.4. Introducing the Interviewees

As this study partly focuses on identities, it is important to introduce some background about my interview partners, and how I got in touch with them. Who they are, where they come from, and other such factors, can shed light on their perspectives and understandings of the social world. The interviewees agreed to the use of their names and information, and were informed of their right to rescind that consent (see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).

My first interview was with Silvana (Interviewee 1), 40, a Chilean Professor of Law at Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (The Academy of Christian Humanism
University). She is also part of La Red Chilena Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres (The Chilean Network Against Violence Against Women). She had previously conducted research on violence against women for her dissertation. I got in touch with Silvana through the Network.

My second interview was with Anna (Interviewee 2), 54, a Danish-American author, who also holds a PhD in the Humanities. I met Anna for the first time in Copenhagen, through her daughters Mariluan and Xiomara, whom I know socially. Their father is a former Chilean political prisoner, and exile in Denmark. Anna lived in dictatorial Chile, arriving during the mid-80s, but had already been involved with solidarity work for Latin America during her high school years in Denmark.

Next I interviewed Lelya (Interviewee 3), 40, whom I got in touch with after reading a German article she was interviewed for. Lelya grew up in Germany as the daughter of exiles, moving back to Chile in her early teens. She holds a PhD in Psychology and is a faculty member at Universidad de Chile (University of Chile). Lelya previously studied in Lund, Sweden, for her Masters. She was the gatekeeper that put me in touch with the next two interviewees.

Hillary (Interviewee 4), 38, is a US-born feminist historian. She holds a PhD in History and is Assistant Professor at Universidad Diego Portales (Diego Portales University). Hillary has lived in Chile most of her adult life, first coming to the country via a university exchange program.

My last interview was with Panchiba(Interviewee 5), 35, a Chilean feminist historian. She has been involved in the LGBTQ movement, with a feminist perspective, and has been active in the women’s movement since 2009. Panchiba and Hillary have previously worked together, researching feminisms of the 90s and early 2000s.

The academic backgrounds of my interview partners do lead to an over-representation of highly educated women, however unintentionally. At the same time, they may be particularly suited to reflecting on social processes like social movements, because of their respective experiences in academia.

4.5. Material
The data was gathered through interviews, stored as audio recordings, complemented by notes I took during the interviews. The latter was helpful in identifying aspects I found important during the conversations. As transcription is essential to narrative analysis (Riessman 1993: 56), all the recordings were fully transcribed, in detail, complete with pauses and utterances. Following Riessman’s (ibid.) advice, the process began with a rough transcription, including all the words and major features, such as laughing or long pauses, and then going back over the text to fill in the details.

My interview partners were selected through snowball sampling. I contacted local organizations (the Swedish organization Kvinna til Kvinna, Casa Latinoamericana in Denmark) that may have contacts in the region, to no avail. I then began contacting organizations and universities across Chile and ended up getting in touch with a few people who could help me. One interviewee acted as a gatekeeper by helping to put me in contact with others who would potentially be interested in participating.

4.6. Reflexivity

Research itself is an act of creating a kind of ‘truth’, albeit only a partial one (Court & Abbas 2013: 487). Reflexivity can thus help the researcher to examine the ways in which they may be influenced by their own background (Court & Abbas 2013: 480). To that extent, I will consider a number of factors that may have influenced the conversations with my interview partners, following Court & Abbas’ (2013) approach to reflexivity.

Firstly, Court & Abbas (2013: 487) suggest looking at the interview setting, who chose it, its characteristics and significance for the parties. Each interview I conducted was fairly relaxed, maybe because they were done via Skype, in a location of the participants’ own choosing, at a time that was convenient for all involved. For most of our conversations, the participants and myself were in our own homes, which could have had a positive impact on nervousness or trepidation. In one interview the participant was in her place of work however, which could have prevented her from criticizing the organization she is affiliated with.

Secondly, it is pertinent to consider the cultural factors at play between myself and my interview partners, as well as norms and rules that may affect what is being said (Court & Abbas 2013: 487). I cannot say with confidence whether cultural differences between myself and my interview partners had an impact on our conversation, since I am an outsider and am
not well versed in Chilean cultural norms. This makes it difficult to judge what is not being said. There were a few instances however, where I felt a connection with the people I was speaking to, either when we were in agreement ideologically or had shared experiences, and in these moments it was difficult to refrain from interjecting. Ultimately however, this lent the interviews a more informal tone. It is important to mention that my own cultural background is somewhat confusing, since I am originally from Eastern Europe, but have lived and studied, mostly in international schools, in various European countries throughout my life.
Consequently, I am influenced by a variety of cultures, something that potentially makes it easier for me to connect with others, regardless of background.

Third, how issues of status, gender or age have affected the interviews should be considered (Court & Abbas 2013: 487). While there was an age difference between me and the participants (me being the youngest), I do not think that had a big impact as they never asked after my age, nor did I feel talked down to or patronized. All of us being women could have helped us connect, but what I think is more significant is that all the interviewees shared an academic background (the majority having a PhD), which most probably predisposed them to participating in my research and being open to my inquiries.

Finally, how I have decided what to leave out, include and what seems important for my analysis must be reflected on (Court & Abbas 2013: 487). Because the material produced by the interviews I conducted was so rich, it would be impossible to include every detail. Therefore, in my analysis I focused on narratives which were specifically relevant to my inquiries, instances of overlap, and significant deviations that jumped out.

5. Theoretical Framework

Social movement theory can provide an insight into the mechanisms of collective action in Chile, which is why I have chosen to apply aspects of it in my analysis. Della Porta & Diani’s (2006) concepts of identity and networks, discussed below, can help explain how actors organize, differentiate themselves, and carry out social action within the Chilean women’s movement.
Della Porta & Diani (2006: 21) define social movements as processes whereby individuals and organizations “engage in sustained exchanges of resources in pursuit of common goals”, while retaining a degree of autonomy from each other. Actors identify with the goals of the movement or group they are a part of, while social networks facilitate exchanges between actors.

5.1. Identity & Social Action

Identity can be understood as a process, wherein actors recognize themselves and are recognized as belonging to groups they share an emotional attachment with (della Porta & Diani 2006: 91). However, identity does not need to preclude collective action, in fact in some cases it may emerge out of participation, thus serve as an organizing principle that establishes what one stands for (della Porta & Diani 2006: 93). Thus when collective identity exists, it can serve as a way of assigning meaning to experiences. What identities actors organize around can then shed light on the underpinnings of the contemporary women’s movement in Chile, and that of the 70s and 80s. If vast differences across organizational identities are present, this could help identify what lines of division characterize the contemporary women’s movement.

Identity can assign common meanings to experiences of collective action, thereby establishing continuity over time (della Porta & Diani 2006: 95). Establishing continuity can be important for groups that are less prominent in society, because it keeps identities alive even when movements are not in peak mobilization periods (della Porta & Diani 2006: 96). Therefore, low levels of collective identities may explain why the women’s movement in Chile has had a hard time in maintaining unity.

However, identity requires constant re-elaboration. References to the past can thus be considered selective (della Porta & Diani 2006: 96). Continuity is then understood as a reorganization of one’s personal history in a new context (ibid.). How identities are contested by actors in the Chilean women’s movement, individually or collectively, can then carry implications about the focus of the movement, and point toward differences in unity of the movement.
Since identity is not fixed, it cannot be assumed that identification with a movement necessarily means that one shares the same visions of the world or feelings toward other groups (della Porta & Diani 2006: 98). Individuals have vastly different reasons for participating in social movements, as well as expectations. Similar to individuals, organizations seek to affirm their specific formulations of collective identity, within the framework of the social movement they are a part of (della Porta & Diani 2006: 99). These dynamics are especially relevant when exploring how unified or fragmented the Chilean women’s movement is, especially if there are tensions among the identifications of various groups. However, individuals can also identify with a movement, regardless of whether they identify with organizational messages or forms of action (ibid.).

A strong, but flexible, collective identity may be more successful in mobilizing larger groups of people, while exclusive identities tend to create specific definitions of goals (della Porta & Diani 2006: 102-103). Thus, the more flexible an identity is, the more appealing it becomes to a wider demographic, while an exclusive one with narrowly is less likely to appeal to a larger variety of people.

Identities also require external validation to serve their purpose. Exclusively self-affirmed identities lead to marginalization of the social movement (della Porta & Diani 2006: 106). Moreover, stigmatized and negative definitions of identities can be used for social domination (ibid.), which can be a way of reinforcing and reproducing hegemonic structures in society. For example, women existing within patriarchal structures, can fall victim to ideas of what women are ‘like’. Notions like “women are weaker than men”, or “women are more emotional than men” can serve as a way of policing what activities, professions and social behaviors women may engage in, the latter especially effective de-legitimizing attempts to deviate from the ‘norm’. Therefore, how the Chilean women’s movement is regarded in the media and in public consciousness can play a role in legitimizing or de-legitimizing the identities associated with it.

However, this theory is viewed by some as unrealistic, as it does not account for the dynamic nature of action, and the importance of identity creation (della Porta & Diani 2006: 105). Identity creation can be difficult to link to strategic behaviors, because of its emotive and affective components (della Porta & Diani 2006: 113). Yet, the literature shows that identification does play an in important role in social action, as it allows actors to see themselves as linked to others by interests, values and common interests, or divided by them (della Porta & Diani 2006: 113). It is important to remember that identities are not static, and
that they coincide with other factors, like networks, simultaneously contributing to collective action and mobilization.

5.2. **Networks & Social Action**

Networks affect participation in collective action, while collective action also reinforces existing networks, and may foster new ones (della Porta & Diani 2006: 115). Networks are then simultaneously products of, and facilitators of collective action. Membership in organizations and groups, and participation in social and cultural activities derive information about an individual’s collective action (ibid.). The examination of networks is relevant to this study, as it can help identify why and how actors get involved in the Chilean women’s movement.

When the ‘cost’ of engaging in collective action is particularly high (e.g. when doing so can lead to retaliation from authorities), stronger and more numerous connections are required for individuals to participate (della Porta & Diani 2006: 117). Perhaps this is due to the fact that there is perceived strength in numbers. This can also serve to explain why the Chilean women’s movement of the 70s and 80s appeared to be more unified.

Being embedded in social networks within a movement can also serve as a deterrent to leaving the group, and to encourage continued participation (della Porta & Diani 2006: 118). Channels of communication and exchange, constituted by social networks, can thus provide a better basis for identity formation than class, gender, nationality, etc. (della Porta & Diani 2006: 119).

People are simultaneously connected to several networks, but individuals are not always prone to participation because of belonging to them. Strong ties to certain identities seem to be a more relevant factor, reinforced by ties to other participants, whether on an organizational or private level (della Porta & Diani 2006: 124). This points to the idea that the presence of a strong collective identity, facilitated by networks between actors, may yield a more unified movement, which could be the case for the dictatorship era women’s movement.

Multiple affiliations to networks have an important role in integrating the different aspects of social movements by facilitating the development of informal networks which encourage individual participation and mobilization of resources (della Porta & Diani 2006: 127-128).
Personal contacts among members of different organizations are thus imperative in linking them to each other. Overlapping memberships contribute to social movements by aiding information exchanges, the development of shared representations of conflict, mutual trust, and fostering cooperation (della Porta & Diani 2006: 128-129). A lack of multiple affiliations can thus potentially explain some of the fragmentations of the Chilean women’s movement. Criticisms levelled at the network theory have prompted social scientists to question how they can serve to explain social action, and under what conditions they may be relevant in the first place (della Porta & Diani 2006: 122). Although the relationship between networks and collective action may vary, research shows that networks do affect social action, and in turn, collective action may foster the development of new connections (della Porta & Diani 2006: 134).

6. Analysis

6.1. The Mechanisms of the Chilean Women’s Movement

6.1.1. The Role of Identity in Social Action

Identity can work in different ways in social action. It is not necessarily a pre-condition of activism, sometimes forming as a result of collective action (della Porta & Diani 2006: 92). Identities are also not constituted by shared traits, rather shared worldviews, lifestyles, etc. (della Porta & Diani 2006: 93). Whatever the case, identities seem to be an essential element of social action. This became apparent in the ontological narratives of my interview partners. These narratives referred to how they see themselves, and how they construct their personal biographies, in terms of their activism (Int. 1; Int. 2; Int. 3; Int. 4). At the same time, because identity is a social process, these ontological narratives require recognition in public narratives.
Anna’s entry point into Chilean civil society, including the women’s movement, occurred through a process of recognition. Anna was active in solidarity work from a young age, but it was through the narrative surrounding her family life – as politically active on the left, that recognition with Chilean exiles occurred (Int. 2). She described the situation thusly:

They were very political people, the first generations that came in the 70s, and they were very active in the cultural and political scene. And since that was the environment that I grew up in, you know, it's like, just merged together. (Int. 2).

The leftist political identity that is part of Anna’s ontological narrative, is what she recognized in that first generation of Chilean exiles. This likely contributed to her involvement in collective action later in her life.

At the same time, a failure in recognition can lead an actor to cease identification with the values, motives or goals of a movement, even acting as a deterrent for new actors to get involved. A portion of the interviews focused on the diversity of the Chilean women's movement, and the topic of indigenous women and their participation. When speaking with Hillary on the subject, she pointed out that Chilean indigenous women have a hard time identifying with feminism (Int. 4), pointing to a link between failure to recognize oneself in the feminist identity, and the lack of external recognition from mainstream Chilean women’s groups. In this way, a whole group of women is being alienated from the women’s movement, because their concerns are not being validated. This likely contributes to the idea of the Chilean women’s movement as fragmented.

Conceptual narratives become particularly relevant when considering how collective identities are formed within the movement, potentially accounting for the aforementioned fragmentation. In narratives detailing instances of collective action, my interview partners often mentioned the conceptual underpinnings of the engagement. For example, when talking about taking part in the Chilean Pride March, Panchiba explained that they had staged a performance, emphasizing its purpose in challenging the status quo:

But the classic march was very big and we make performance, like, eh, contesting the, the sexuality and norms... [I: Mmm] Trying to question the- the norms about, normality and... [...] [I: Yeah] Gender and hetero-sexuality and cis-genderism... [...] And they idea of essentialism, traditional identities. (Int. 5)

In the same vein, Silvana’s activist work is focused on violence against women and its manifestations in Chilean society on a structural level (Int. 1). What is more, she came in
contact with the organization she is a part of whilst researching violence against women for her dissertation, pointing to a shared conceptual underpinning of activism between herself and the organization. Thus, identifying with certain conceptual understandings can contextualize activisms, by aiding the formation of personal narratives. However, identity building can become problematic if the identities expressed by movement groups are incompatible (della Porta & Diani 2006: 100), as may be the case for indigenous women.

Nonetheless, identities result from the definition of the boundaries between actors locked in conflict, especially since collective action relies on collective identity, based on common traits and/or specific solidarity (della Porta & Diani 2006: 93-94). In their conceptual narratives, my interview partners seemed to strongly emphasize what they stood against. When asked about the challenges facing the women’s movement in Chile, Panchiba cited exclusory understandings of feminism as threatening:

   It was, ah, new essentialisms, [I: Mmm] new ideas of what feminism isn't, is, on what woman must be in feminism. We have this radical TERF9 feminism, and anti-sex feminism, very strong. They're really present in the universities, with young people, and that's a danger, because after all that radical feminism - TERF, but that TERF radical feminism is a hate discourse. (Int. 5)

Silvana mentioned this type of radical feminism as well, and explained why she considers that conceptualization harmful:

   But I would say it's just a few, but they are very important in college. In the college environment, uh, radical feminists who are against trans... I mean are so radical on that idea, that actually, many young women think radical feminism means to be against trans. (Int. 1)

Hillary also spoke about this, and expressed concern over its harmful connotations, especially as she pointed out that it signifies an understanding of womanhood in purely biological terms (Int. 4).

It became apparent that feminist conceptualizations were less common in dictatorial Chile, the dominant identity women organized under being expressed in anti-dictatorship terms. This

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9 TERF stands for Trans-Exclusory Radical Feminism.
could potentially account for the idea that the women’s movement of the 70s and 80s in Chile was homogenous. Hillary explained this theory thusly:

At the same time, however, there also was sort of this big common enemy, right, which was the dictatorship. So, that’s why a lot of times people talk about a really strong feminist movement at that time, this idea of there being like, a lot of cohesion between these groups, between like, pobladora\textsuperscript{10} women, between feminist women, between different women's groups, women who were active in trade labor unions, etc. They all sort of came together, women from different political parties - all this sort of opposition to the dictatorship. (Int. 4)

Similarly, Lelya mentioned that fighting against the dictatorship was an important mobilizing factor for women:

Yeah, there's… there's different analysis of what is happening there, you know, because the feminist movement during the 80s, during the dictatorship, was pretty strong even though not like a wave maybe, like in Europe or United States. But still, it was important to fight against the dictatorship from a feminist perspective and discourse. (Int. 3)

At the same time, perhaps the constant threat of danger in Pinochet’s Chile, may have helped to create strong bonds among the opposition. The production of identities relies on networks of trust and connections between actors, to the extent that the presence of a common identity, as well as solidarity, emboldens actors when facing the risks of collective action (della Porta & Diani 2006: 94). Anna talked about her life in Chile in very positive terms, despite having to navigate the grey zones of the military regime, and being a part of the opposition:

And you know we thought it was fun, the girls I stayed with, you know, there are like my age, a little older. We thought it was so cool to break curfew! (Int. 2)

Despite her life being characterized by constant insecurity, Anna and her friends engaged in typical youth behavior, thus strengthening the emotional bonds between them as actors.

Narratives located on the ontological level also speak to an attempt at establishing continuity in one’s personal biography. Continuity is important in sustaining movements during periods of low levels of mobilization (della Porta & Diani 2006: 96). The interviewees’ ontological

\textsuperscript{10} Poblador = slum or shantytown dweller.
narratives included references to their childhoods, connecting their upbringings to their experiences of collective action. Silvana mentioned her connections to women who had been active in the women’s movement during the 70s and 80s (Int. 1). Hillary recalled being raised in a feminist context (Int. 4), and Anna mentioned being raised in a politically conscious and active family (Int. 2). When speaking about being sure in her feminism, Lelya referred to feminism as part of her family’s ideology, thus connecting it to her personal history:

So if my feminism was so basic, that I believe that my whole family's theory now is destroyed, because the woman was violent and I mean... No. (Int. 3).

The feminist public narrative of her family is also part of Lelya’s ontological one, thus contributing to building an activist identity based around feminism as a concept.

6.1.2. Multiple Identities & Social Action

Modern social movements may be seen as homogenous and integrated, but that is not always the case (della Porta & Diani 2006: 98). The contemporary women’s movement in Chile, certainly is not. The conceptual narratives pertaining to exclusory (TERF, racist, etc.) understandings of feminism support this. As much as groups organizing around exclusive identities may be part of the women’s movement, they are viewed as dangerous to its integrity and progress. Panchiba mentioned that this is not necessarily negative in all cases, but rather she believes that differences should open up the space for conversations and critical thought (Int. 5). At the same time, this may not be possible if certain identities are too rigid or incompatible with others (della Porta & Diani 2006: 100).

Lelya’s ontological narrative comes to mind, specifically regarding her experience with the organizational model of collective action. She expressed disillusionment with that type of activism:

I was very moved at the beginning, very… because I thought I did like… like these mixed kind of spaces with queer theory, and also very critical perspectives, what certain kinds of feminism that I thought were kind of essentialist and problematic. But then they were kind of arrogant in the way they did some of their performances, and I think it was a very self-centered at some point, and I didn't think it was so interesting. (Int. 3).
The references to essentialist and problematic approaches to activism point toward rigidity on the part of the group. Lelya’s own understanding of feminism seems to have been incompatible with that of the group she was part of. This makes sense, as movement organizations often want to affirm their specific form of collective identity within the identity of a movement (della Porta & Diani 2006: 99).

Another example of incompatible identities became apparent in Anna and Hillary’s conceptual narratives regarding the divide between women active in party politics and feminist women active in social movements. First, Hillary pointed out that this is something that has existed in Chile for a long time:

…something that's not just 1980, that's something from like the early 20th century. There's always been these tensions, between women who identify with political parties, even political parties on the left, and women who identify as feminist. [Because presumably women active in political parties on the left would be more open to incorporating feminism, as opposed to women in parties on the right.] (Int. 4).

Second, Anna affirmed the idea that social movements had filled the political vacuum in Pinochet’s Chile, accounting for their strong presence and ability to mobilize the masses:

…the social movement started again mid-80s, started growing, you know, "Hey, we want change now" and it was- it was dangerous. You did not have any political organizations. And after that late 80s, the political party starting taking over the social movements. […] I think in sense you need that, you need political leadership, but on the other hand it also crushed these social movements. (Int. 2).

Taking the history of mistrust between women who identified with party politics and women who identified as feminist, with the crushing of social movements in favor of the political process, the divide between the two likely deepened.

Multiple identities can be expressed in a way that complements the overarching identity of the women’s movement. In the interviews, a shared conceptual narrative became apparent, which supposes that anti-capitalist and anti-neoliberal approaches are imperative to the success of the Chilean women’s movement. Targeting structural problems in society complements feminist activism, as it addresses core issues associated with patriarchal hegemony. Silvana
explained that her activist work involves actively connecting violence against women to structural issues:

…we are trying to increase consciousness and learn how structural violence is. Like, uh, we're trying to connect the problems with capital and neo-liberalism, with the problems that are you know, part of part of the general. [Society in general.] (Int. 1)

Hillary remarked that although such approaches hold great potential, it can be difficult for mainstream groups to identify with these concepts:

And then on the other hand the possibility of there being other feminist futures, anti-neo-liberal, anti-extractivist, anti-racist futures. And, and I think it's going to be more difficult to move in that direction, right, because it's very hard I think, even a lot of times for feminist or even leftist groups, to think outside of neo-liberalism, and I think that's still a big challenge, right. (Int. 4)

The anti-neoliberal and anti-capitalist identities, and the way they are articulated in conceptual narratives, points toward a flexible feminist identity. This is particularly evident in the interview with Lelya, when she mentions that being too tied to an idea can be detrimental to what the women’s movement is hoping to achieve:

Yeah, I believe it has to have a very strong anti-capitalist, anti-neo-liberal stance, it has to be more like inter-sectional in its understandings. And that means that sometimes gender has to be de-centered, you know, it doesn't, it's not always the main issue. (Int. 3)

This is important, because greater flexibility has the potential to open the path for more people to identify with the goals of the Chilean women’s movement. The narrative of the women’s movement being able to incorporate other issues also featured heavily in Anna’s interview:

The, the feminist and women's movement don't just carry the issues of women. They carry the issues of Human Rights, they carry the issues of indigenous people, they carry the issue of social welfare, they carry the issue of ageism, they carry... You can't just have one issue and not without the other... (Int. 2)

This points to the idea that women’s issues are not isolated from the structures they emerge in. Flexible identities can then be more successful in mobilization, as they take context into
account. This is particularly important, since the way women’s voices carry in Chile is not always equally distributed:

The needs of people of the north are different, of people of south, and the center. But the center can talk a lot more, because we are many people who do and that’s a problem. (Int. 5)

As Panchiba pointed out, the issues affecting a woman residing in a rural area of Chile, an indigenous woman, and so on, will express themselves in different ways.

### 6.1.3. How Identity is Generated & Reproduced

Since identity can be understood as a social process relying on self-identification and external recognition for affirmation, a lack of external recognition of self-affirmed identities can lead to marginalization of a movement (della Porta & Diani 2006: 105-106). Narratives located in the public dimension are especially important when it comes to external recognition, because they have the ability to influence public opinion. Imposing negative or stigmatized definitions of a particular identity can be a tool for social domination (ibid.). The participants’ narratives point toward a shift in dominant public narratives surrounding women’s activism in Chile. Panchiba explained that certain issues, and even entire groups of people, used to be absent from public discourse:

The difference is, 80s and 70s there are a lot of things that are not even a news... [I: Mhmm.] Something, some people, cannot appear in the media. [I: Oh!] They aren’t visible, you know, lesbians and trans humans, and homosexuality in general, or challenging the gender roles. (Int. 5)

Anna also pointed out that certain groups, such as indigenous people, have more space in contemporary public discourse, whereas discourse during the dictatorship tended toward erasure and stigmatization:

I think definitely the indigenous movement - there was complete silence, but they had gotten a voice again, which they didn't have. I mean that was something you did not talk about, you know, you would ridicule people with the indigenous names… (Int. 2)
Hillary explained that certain topics are now getting public recognition, also signaling an evolution of public narratives. Actors then seem easier to have an easier time recognizing themselves in certain identities:

All like, organizing around the topic of free and safe abortion, and here in Chile now every July 25th we do a march for free and safe abortion, which started kind of like a crazy idea, nobody thought anybody would march for that, because it was just so taboo. And now we get, you know, even upwards of, I think last year was like 30 000 people... (Int. 4)

Lelya also affirmed the idea of the shift in public consciousness:

From what- you see that it has such a huge force and I don't know - eight years ago it was almost impossible to talk about abortion, and some issues kind of go very fast in public consciousness and discussions. (Int. 3)

Both Hillary and Anna’s narratives reflect the idea of the stigmatization of feminism as shameful in the past, noting that people feared being labeled feminist and a lot of activism was labeled such, regardless of whether it actually was (Int. 2, Int. 4). This likely marginalized women from civil society, delegitimizing their calls for gender-oriented social change. It may also explain why a lot of women’s activism was expressed in terms of human rights and being anti-dictatorship, rather than outright feminist forms activism.

At the same time, even though more and more women in Chile today find themselves identifying with feminism and the women’s movement, the concept’s popularity is vulnerable to appropriation:

Today, there are a lot of people who are against us. They're trying to you know, cleaning it, trying to-to transform it into their own interest. Trying to you know, deny which are the roots, or the factors that are main, the main discussion on feminism, and they try to use, you know, to co-opt. (Int. 1)

As Silvana explained, just because someone uses the label, does not mean they are working toward being inclusive. There seem to be attempts of using feminist identities to create exclusive social agendas. This may be particularly true of actors who adopt feminist identities, while furthering the legacy of the dictatorship (Int. 3), since the military regime targeted women specifically in much of their repression (Int. 2).
The Chilean women’s movement is still vulnerable to stigmatization, especially because it aims to challenge embedded cultural practices, beliefs, lifestyles etc. (della Porta & Diani 2006: 107). The co-option of the concept is not the only harmful public discourse. Alt-right, fundamentalist, and other rightist groups, are actively attempting to disrupt feminist activism and the momentum of the movement. In dictatorial Chile, the dominant public narrative was not only politically repressive, it attempted to assert conservative ideas about gender and social norms:

Because the repression was so, you know, it was so bad... Like it had had, like right after the coup, it was very repressive, like women were not allowed to wear pants - like, craziness like that. [...] I mean, it was not like that when I went there, but still they accused me for being like slutty in the street... [For wearing overalls with a t-shirt during summer.] (Int. 2)

Today, harmful public narratives are aimed at manipulating public opinion by right-wing actors:

…class issues in Chile that have to do with like, how the right has manipulated popular sector and poorer sectors, to think that buying education means you're buying better education. So they're against public education. [...] …because they think that they're going to teach sex education… Because they're going to teach, right, like all these values they're in disagreement with. (Int. 4)

Lelya’s narrative surrounding public discourse cites right-wing, conservative discourse as especially dangerous, because it dominates much of Chilean media, as some of the most popular television and news channels are owned by right-wing actors (Int. 3).

At the same time, far-right and fundamentalist discourses are perceived as loud, maybe even louder than women’s voices in Chile. Hillary explained that alt-rightists and neo-Nazis are actively working against the movement by, for example, protesting against Judith Butler ahead of her visit in Chile, or the circulation of a ‘hate bus’ advocating one-dimensional understandings of sex and gender (Int. 4). Silvana too, mentioned fundamentalism as potentially harmful, and as featuring prominently in public discourse:

I am afraid of fundamentalism, is super dangerous, and they have… they are more, I don't know…There are a few people who do things from a fundamentalist point of view, but when they do it, they are super compromised. So they do very bad things, and they are in a strategic part of the power. (Int. 1).
Hillary also talked about this as a wave sweeping over Latin America and Chile, but her narrative expressed unease about the tactics employed by the rightists, which are becoming potentially life-threatening:

But it's something that I think that, you know, is really playing out in such a way that, in most Latin American countries, we're losing. And instead, the Evangelical churches and the, and the far right is winning, right. […] Like, some feminists have also been made targets, there's been a lot of discrimination, threats of violence… In last year's free and safe abortion March, two women were stabbed. (Int. 4)

At the same time, public narratives are still rooted in liberal perspectives, and simplistic understandings of feminism and gender roles:

And I believe that if the left really understands how central gender and sexuality are to this right-wing discourse, we could also work a much better alliance. I believe for many, people have still a very liberal and reductionist understanding of, of feminism, whereas for me feminism enables me to connect so many things… (Int. 3)

This seems to bode well for right-wing actors, who rely on exclusivist discourse to further their aims.

6.1.4. The Role of Networks in Social Action

Social action can work to reinforce existing networks, or to create new ones (della Porta & Diani 2006: 115). Networks may increase chances of getting involved, or aid in developing new forms of action, relying on mutual trust, companionship, solidarity and shared understandings (ibid.). The interviewees’ ontological narratives, speak to who they are as activists and relay their personal biographies in relation to their activism. Within these narratives, the role of social networks becomes apparent. Anna’s activism was heavily facilitated by networks. Through her activism in high school, the solidarity work she was engaged in, she came in contact with Chilean exiles. Forging friendships and connections was how Anna came to be in Chile herself, and what allowed her to engage in collective action as part of the Chilean women’s movement in the 80s:
So they gave me a name, I had their names, that they wanted me to find out what had happened with these people. […] And so I went […] And they of course had contact with the lawyers in Chile, that worked for the human rights organizations. And I knew some of the Chilean refugees, I was friends with a lot of people, and somehow they… I could stay with their family in Santiago… (Int. 2)

Without the social network she was part of in Denmark, Anna would not have had a place to stay in Chile, and would not have had connections on the ground. What is more, her time and activism in Chile resulted in new social networks, formed with the women from the group she was part of at the time, characterized by mutual solidarity:

So the, the group that I was in, like, was young. I was 25, 24 when… I was in my twenties up to 25, 26 when we came back to Denmark, and the people I worked with are around my age, or a little older. Maybe they were in their 30s or something. So we were that generation. They were, you know, they were either in the universities or had graduated. They belonged to the left. Some would belong to the Socialist Party, some were just like non-affiliated, anarchists, rebels, anti-military dictatorship. So that was the group, and we loved each other. I mean, it was really great. (Int. 2)

Not only were they connected through their identification as leftists and anti-dictatorship, there also existed a strong emotional bond.

Communication and exchange occur through social networks, facilitating collective action and mobilization. Silvana’s ontological narrative depicts her as both a lawyer and an activist. It is through the connections she made while working as a lawyer, and researching violence against women for her dissertation, that a network was formed which Silvana could later utilize to become involved in La Red Chilena Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres (Int. 1). Panchiba’s participation occurred through connections made at university, eventually forming a network, which facilitated their activism on campus and at marches:

I was in Collectivo? How do you say that? [I: Collective...] an informal group with other people. Eh, a little group of five-six people. A University sexual dissidence group. […] We make, ah, very different activities inside the University, eh, my participation have to do with books - we make reading clubs, feminist theories and performance in University. (Int. 5)
Despite her previous disillusionment, Lelya’s activism is still partly facilitated through social networks:

So I'm part of some groups of feminist historians, even though I'm not a historian, but I've been very interested in memory studies and stuff like that, so I've been part of that group. I'm part of an assembly of women academics at my University, and I still am very involved with things regarding abortion rights and stuff like that. (Int. 3)

While she does not identify with the organizational model of social action, Lelya still maintains connections to other actors and networks of activists. This enables her to be a part of collective action in the women’s movement, without having to re-elaborate her identity to fit in with an inflexible understanding of feminism she disagrees with.

Hillary’s activism also generated a new network of actors, organized around free and safe abortion, which initiated the aforementioned march on July 25th:

And I helped co-found a... coordinating sort of, committee, which is called La Coordinadora Feministas en Lucha, and that came out of like, um, doing like activist work in 2012 and 2013 and then we founded that coordinating committee in 2014 and that committee was like different feminist groups, and also a lot of younger, um like, student university feminist groups. (Int. 4)

Different networks will play different roles in social action, some contributing to socialization, creating new opportunities for mobilization, etc. (della Porta & Diani 2006: 117), as is the case with the various networks the participants’ are connected to.

6.1.5. Multiple Affiliations & Social Action

Multiple affiliations in different social networks can perform several functions. They can serve to integrate different aspects of movements, contribute to the development of informal networks thereby encouraging participation, and are instrumental in linking organizations to each other (della Porta & Diani 2006: 127-128). Therefore, it follows that when multiple affiliations are absent, movements suffer.

From the participants’ narratives, it becomes apparent that avenues for creating social networks through multiple affiliations may be more difficult for members of certain groups. It
is difficult to build social networks between members of different organizations, when the latter refuse to engage with the concerns of the former. This could account for the disconnect between indigenous women’s groups and Chilean women’s groups. In Hillary’s conceptual narrative, this is connected to state repression:

…and I think that's even come out stronger since the late 90s, because there's been a lot of state repression against Mapuche communities. [...] So like, these women being like, hey, like, we exist too, we're like, here marching for human rights [...] and then just kind of silence on the part of a lot of women's groups. There are feminist groups that, of course from the state, they are not going to do anything, because the state is also repressing, right. (Int. 4)

It becomes apparent that public narratives about the Mapuche, negativized by state repression, limit the opportunities for these women to have exchanges, and build social networks with Chilean women’s groups. This was not so different during the dictatorship. Anna mentioned that there were few alliances between indigenous and non-indigenous social actors, and that the ones that did exist were related to issues of social welfare (Int. 2). However, Anna’s conceptual narrative suggests that a key factor preventing cooperation and exchange was geographical:

It's a certain area where the Mapuche lived. It was like in a center of Chile and we were in the south. So it's in a rural area. That's why you can't really... Of course, yes, in the town where we lived there were some, [...] but they had been almost extinct. (Int. 2)

Groups trying to exclude trans identities from the women’s movement are also limiting opportunities for exchange. Multiple affiliations become impossible, because trans identities and anti-trans identities are mutually exclusive:

So they are kind of like, always you know, saying a lot of things, like "Oh, we're going to have a meeting, but um, only women who were born women can come." So if they're a trans man and they have ovaries then they can come, but otherwise they can't... You know like, all these kinds of things, that you're like “What are we really talking about?” (Int. 4)

Thus, when multiple affiliations are incompatible, and there are few opportunities for building social networks, entire groups of actors are being marginalized from the movement.
6.2. Discussion

The interviews conducted for the purposes of this thesis suggest that the fragmentation of the Chilean women’s movement, present in academic literature (Noonan 1995; Baldez 2003; Franceschet & Macdonald 2004; etc.), does indeed exist. The divisions run along lines of mutually exclusive identities, related to conceptual understandings of the core ideas of feminism. My interviewees also agree that anti-trans identities are particularly dangerous for the movement. Negative public narratives are also blocking the development of social networks between movement actors\(^\text{11}\) and indigenous peoples, thus contributing to the fragmentation. However, as evidenced by some interviewees’ narratives, such divisions were also present during the dictatorship. It is thus possible to argue that the fragmentation present in the contemporary movement is not a new development. Rather it, could be becoming more apparent, as conversations about differences are slowly becoming commonplace.

The argument of the dictatorship-era movement as possessing greater cross-class and cross-sector unity (Baldez 2003: 268, Franceschet & Macdonald 2004: 21) may only be partially true, due to the marginalization (to the point of erasure) of certain groups, particularly LGBTQ and indigenous peoples. This left little space for members of marginalized groups to identify with the women’s movement.

Being against the dictatorship, rather than feminism, can be considered the dominant identity around which women mobilized in the past. It can also be said that symbolic acts of resistance, like breaking curfew, along with strong emotional bonds between actors, contributed to a more unified movement. Thus the argument can be made that the dictatorship era women’s movement was successful, precisely because it articulated its demands in terms of Human Rights (Cañadell 1993, Matear 1999).

Increased awareness around the concept of feminism in Chilean society has brought about conversations around the core ideas and goals of the movement. Feminist identities now play a significant role in mobilization, as more and more women recognize themselves and identify with the movement on the basis of feminism. Noonan’s (1995) argument that the left would embrace feminism has thus been affirmed. Yet, according to the interviewees’ narratives, the left still has a way to go in its understanding of the concept, which is cited as too liberal.

\(^{11}\) The term ‘movement actors’ can refer to individual actors, but also organized units (groups, NGOs, etc.).
Tensions between women who identify as political, and are active in party politics, and women who identify as feminist, and are active in social movements, are not newly developed. This dynamic imposed limits to the cooperation between social movement and political actors. The history between the two may have contributed to a deepening of lines of division, affecting the structure of the contemporary movement. While social movements are said to have driven social change during the dictatorship, the return to formal politics relegated them to a secondary role, no doubt building on existing resentments. This affirms the argument that establishment of formal political channels leads to a decreased capacity for effecting change by movement actors (Cañadell 1993, Noonan 1995, Baldez 2003).

The limited possibility of creating networks between actors from indigenous communities and the women’s movement, can be considered a structural issue in Chile, because of its association with state repression. Affiliations with anti-racist, anti-capitalist and anti-neoliberal identities can potentially open up the movement to marginalized groups. Although, the erasure of indigenous identities from public discourse has not improved much since the dictatorial period. Dominant public narratives do not conceive of Chile as an ethnically diverse nation. At the same time, actors close to centers of political power in Chile, may have difficulties identifying with these concepts, especially if they depend on state funding or support. Despite the argument for the positive effect of women’s policy machineries, like SERNAM, on the Chilean women’s movement (Franceschet 2003), these will not be able to bridge the gap if they are unwilling to challenge the state in support of minority rights.

A curious parallel between the contemporary and dictatorship era movements, is the left versus right dichotomy. My interview partners cited actors associated with the right, like alt-rightists, neo-Nazis, and fundamentalists, as posing a significant threat to the women’s movement. Actors identifying with rightist ideals, or even with the politics of the military regime, while also adopting feminist identities, may point to attempts to use feminism to further hegemonies and the entrenchment of vertical structures in Chilean society. This dichotomy can point toward an embeddedness of the Chilean women’s in a metanarrative of the struggle between left and right-wing politics, that is playing out in many countries across the globe.
7. Conclusion

In this paper I explored how women have experienced social action in the Chilean women’s movement, how differences are perceived at different mobilization periods, how cohesive the movement is considered to be, and how feminism is thought to fit into the framework of the movement. Analyzing the narratives of women from the movement shed light on first-hand experiences of gender-specific social action, as well as what role identities and networks play in mobilization and the facilitation of collective action.

My findings imply that the divisions plaguing the contemporary movement are not entirely new, they may have simply been less visible during the dictatorship. Disunions between women who were active in party politics and feminist women active in social movements, or indigenous communities and the state, have roots in historic tensions. The women’s movement opposing the military regime may have been unified, but it was not accessible to all potential actors.

The presence of exclusive identities still marginalizes certain actor groups, like trans or indigenous women, who are already marginalized in society at large. Social networks are difficult to develop in these circumstances. However, actors who are incorporating anti-neoliberal and anti-capitalist identities in women’s activism, have the potential to work toward bridging such divisions within the Chilean women’s movement.

Yet, actors with close ties to government institutions may have a hard time challenging state structures, especially if they depend heavily on government support. Anti-trans, racist, and other exclusory identities may prove particularly difficult to challenge, as they are likely deeply rooted in societal consciousness and are consistently reproduced in public narratives. Still, the women’s movement has the potential to build strong networks among actors, but the current situation is unlikely to improve if movement actors continue enforcing incompatible and exclusive identities.

The appropriation of feminism by right-wing actors is another threat facing the Chilean women’s movement. The co-option of the feminist identity suggests that patriarchal hegemony, reinforced through the imposition of extreme conservative values during the military regime, is still exercising significant degrees of domination in Chilean society. The
struggle between right and left-wing actors is still present, and raises the question of whether right-wing identities are at all compatible with the goals of a women’s movement that is embracing feminism.

However, this study raises further questions that future research may delve into. For instance, further exploration into direct, structural, and cultural violence in Chile can yield more definitive answers to how the women’s movement can achieve its goals and tackle hegemonies.


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Appendix 1

Information Sheet

Researcher’s name: Desislava Kostadinova Bekyarova
Contact: dkb_2809@yahoo.com +4522982933
Supervisor: Dr. Corina Filipescu

The following document contains information on how the interview process will be conducted, and how the subsequent data will be used.

The purpose of this interview is for the researcher to gather material for a Bachelor thesis in Peace & Conflict Studies at Malmö University, Sweden. Excerpts of the interview transcripts will appear in the thesis. The final product will feature on the electronic platform Malmö University Electronic Publishing (MUEP, www.muep.mau.se).

The interviewees have been selected based on previous or current involvement in Chilean civil society, with a focus on individual activism, or participation in women’s groups and organisations. The selection was carried out irrespective of age, religious or ethnic affiliation. The interviews will focus on the interviewees’ personal accounts of civil society activism in Chile.

The interview process will occur over Skype (or other chosen phone program), and will be recorded by the researcher. The interview will last approximately 30-60min. The researcher may request a follow up or clarification after the interview. The interviewee has the right to decline to answer any questions posed by the researcher, as well as to request termination of the recording. They may also request to view any transcripts or recordings of the interview.

The interviews will be recorded in their entirety, transcribed, and an analysis of the narratives will be carried out. The material produced will be included in the researcher’s thesis, however any identifying information (name, age, etc.) can be obscured from the final product upon request.
Appendix 2

Interview Consent Form

Researcher: Desislava Kostadinova Bekyarova
Contact: dkb_2809@yahoo.com; +4522982933

Supervisor: Dr. Corina Filipescu

Program: BA Peace & Conflict Studies
Institution: Malmö University (MAU); Malmö, Sweden.

- I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I understand that I may withdraw my consent to participate in this study at any point, and that am entitled to decline to answer any question posed by the researcher.
- I understand that the interview will be recorded.
- I understand that I may ask the researcher to stop the recording and/or terminate the interview at any point.
- I have had the purpose of the nature study explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that participation involves an interview, which will serve as material for a Bachelor thesis in Peace & Conflict Studies at Malmö University, and as such excerpts of the interview may be quoted.
- I understand that the final thesis will appear on the electronic platform, Malmö University Electronic Publishing [MUEP] (www.muep.mau.se).
- I understand that if I so wish, my name and any identifying information will be obscured from the final product, and my data will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that the original audio recordings and signed consent form, which may contain identifying information, will be retained and archived by the researcher.
- I understand that the full transcript of the interview will be retained by the researcher and may be used in part or in full for the purposes of the study, but will exclude identifying information if I so wish.
- I understand that I have the right to access any of the data that I have provided.
- I understand that I may contact any of the people involved to seek clarification.

Name of interviewee: ..................................................

Signature: ............................................. Date: .................

Researcher’s name: ..................................................

Signature: ............................................. Date: ..................
Appendix 3

Interview Guide

The following questions guide all the interviews performed in connection with this research study, allowing for variation based on whether the interview partners are active in civil society now, or have been active in the past.

❖ Background:

 o When and how did you start being active in Chilean civil society?
 o What does your involvement in civil society consist of (membership in formal NGOs, groups, and/or movement)?

❖ Time & Place:

 o In what ways do you think civil society activism has changed since the 70s and 80s?
 o Can you think of any challenges or important milestones that affected the activism of the past, and / or activism today?
 o How do you think about activism in Chile as opposed to activism elsewhere (e.g. the rest of Latin America, the West, etc.)?

❖ Feminism & organising as ‘women’:

 o What do you think is the importance of the feminist perspective and organising as ‘women’ in Chilean civil society?
 o In what ways would you say that the women’s movement in Chile is representative of the women of Chile, and their concerns, as a whole?

❖ The future of the women’s movement:

 o Can you think of specific points the Chilean women’s movement needs to work on, in order to achieve its full potential?
 How do you imagine the future of the Chilean women’s movement?