

Victims of Time, Warriors for Change:
Chilean Women in a Global, Neoliberal Society

BY

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Evelyn A. Clark

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Sociology
and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Mehrangiz Najafizadeh, Chairperson

Robert Antonio

Shirley Hill

Joane Nagel

Brent Metz

Date Defended: _____ 10/19/2010 _____

The Dissertation Committee for Evelyn A. Clark certifies
that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

VICTIMS OF TIME: WARRIORS FOR CHANGE:
CHILEAN WOMEN IN A GLOBAL, NEOLIBERAL SOCIETY

Committee:

Mehrangiz Najafizadeh, Chairperson

Date approved: _____ 10/19/2010 _____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	viii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Theoretical Framework.....	3
Chile: A Brief Profile and Review of the Literature.....	21
Significance of the Study.....	30
Outline of the Dissertation.....	32
CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY.....	34
Research Sample.....	35
Data Collection.....	42
Data Analysis.....	44
Limits of the Study.....	48
CHAPTER 3. THE CHILEAN RISE OF NEOLIBERALISM	
A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW.....	55
The Pre-Neoliberal Era 1940-1973.	
Substitution Industrialization and the Allende Years.....	58
The Rise of Chilean Neoliberalism, 1973-1988	
Economic Policies in the Pinochet Dictatorship.....	64
The Transition to Democracy 1989-2006	
Economic Policies in the <i>Concertación</i> Government.....	77
A New Era? The Election of Michelle Bachelet.....	96
Conclusion.....	99
CHAPTER 4. GLOBALIZATION, WORK,	
AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHILE.....	103
Quantitative Indicators of the Status of Chilean Women.....	106
Defining Globalization and Its Impact on Women.....	118
Positive Impacts of Globalization: Giving Women More Choices.....	124
Negative Impacts of Globalization on Chilean Women.....	133
Advancing Gender Equality? The Election of Michelle Bachelet.....	154
Conclusion.....	164
CHAPTER 5. UNIFIED AGENDAS, FRAGMENTED ACTIONS:	
WOMEN’S ACTIVISM IN POST-PINOCHET CHILE.....	168
The History of the Chilean’s Women’s Movement.....	172
Activism with Globalization: More Voices Fighting Individualism.....	182
Activism and the State.....	189
The Struggle For Women’s Empowerment:	
Women’s Rights in a Divided Movement.....	203
Conclusion.....	216

CHAPTER 6.	
CONCLUSION.....	220
Summary and Implications of Findings.....	220
Implications for Future Research.....	230
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.....	234
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS SETS.....	236
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEWEES' DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION.....	243
WORKS CITED.....	250

LIST OF TABLES

IN CHAPTER 3:

Figure 3.1: Chronology of Events.....	57
3.1: Chile's Economic Development Level 1966-1990.....	68
3.2: Chile's Economic Performance 1966-1989.....	69
3.3: Chilean Indicators of Globalization, 1970-1989.....	70
3.4: Increase in Wages 1980-1989.....	73
3.5: Chile's Economic Development Level 1990-2007.....	80
3.6: Chile's Economic Performance 1990-2007.....	81
3.7: Chilean Indicators of Globalization 1990-2007.....	83
3.8: Increase in Wages 1989-2001.....	85
3.9: Poverty Rates 1965-2006.....	87
3.10: Household Availability of Basic Utilities 1970-2006.....	87
3.11: Distribution of National Income By Quintiles, By Geographic Area.....	88
3.12: Chilean Health Indicators 1960-2005.....	90
3.13: Chilean Education Indicators 1970-2005.....	92

IN CHAPTER 4:

4.1: Education Female Enrollment by Level of Education, 1970-2007.....	108
4.2: Illiteracy Rates of Population 15 years and older.....	108
4.3: Mortality According to Sex and Age 1950-2008.....	110
4.4: Maternal Mortality Statistics 1970-2005.....	110
4.5: Chilean Women's Health Indicators 1995-2006.....	111
4.6: Sex Distribution of Population by Chilean Poverty Line 1990-2000.....	112
4.7: Percentage of Non-Poor, Female- Headed Households 1997-2009.....	112
4.8: Ratio of Average Female Income Compared to Male Income 1995-2003.....	112
4.9: Distribution of Population 15 and Older by Economic Activity.....	114
4.10: Sex Distribution of Employed Urban Population.....	114
4.11: Employed Urban Population, By Sex, According to Economic Activity.....	115
4.12: Official Estimates of Domestic Violence Incidents.....	116
4.13: Domestic Violence Statistics by Region and by Type of Violence 2000.....	116
4.14: Chilean Women's Participation in Government 1995-2007.....	117
4.15: Composition by Sex of National Congress 1950-2010.....	117

IN APPENDIX C

C.1: Primary Educated Informants' Demographic Information.....	243
C.2: High School Educated Informants' Demographic Information.....	244
C.3: University/College Educated Informants' Demographic Information.....	246
C.4: Professionally Trained Informants' Demographic Information.....	248
C.5: Last Informant's Demographic Information, Education.....	249

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor, Mehrangiz Najafizadeh, for her patience and overwhelming support for the past ten years. Your unending faith in me, support through numerous revisions, thoughtful comments and suggestions made this project possible. It was your seminars on women in the Third World that inspired me, and you helped me every step of the way. Thank you, Mehrangiz. I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Robert Antonio, Shirley Hill, Joane Nagel, and Brent Metz, for their thoughtful suggestions at the onset of this project and their time throughout this process. Thank you again. Finally, I want to thank two fellow graduate students, Ophra Leyser and Melissa Frieburger, who never gave up on me, pushed me through the difficult stages of the process, and inspired me throughout the program. Thank you both so much and congratulations of your success in the program.

This project would not have happened without the enthusiasm and support of my family. My parents, Janet and Cal Clark, not only helped finance this project but put in countless hours of editing, making suggestions, and giving unending encouragement. Thank you, Mom and Dad. I would never have finished graduate school had it not been for your mentoring and support. You made this possible. I also must thank my husband Carlos Benavides, who gave up his home in Scotland to move to Kansas and support me with his love, patience, and hard work. You have commuted ten years to support our family, held my hand during the rough patches,

and encouraged me to continue every time I wanted to give up. Thank you, Carlos. I love you!

I also appreciate the hospitality of my family in Chile who made this project possible. Thank you, Abuelita and Tia Sonia for sharing your home with an American stranger. You showed me love and support that kept me going in a new country. I especially joyously thank Nancy Valenzuela who sacrificed her time and her health to be my faithful companion and interpreter in this project. You were my guide and close friend. You broke your arm during our adventures! You opened the all the doors to your country and community, I am very grateful. Finally, I want to thank all the participants in this study. You were patient with my questions and shared with me your important perspectives. Thank you very much.

For My Daughter Aria

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I explore the attitudes of 52 Chileans toward globalization and neoliberalism and their impact on their nation and the lives of Chilean women. By examining national policies, quantitative measures of development, and how various women in the labor force and political and community organizations perceive and live within the Chilean economy, I show the dynamic relationship between national and international policies and gender inequality and women's empowerment. I discuss how women have gained or lost in neoliberal Chile through wage labor and how that has impacted their relationships within the home and within their communities. I also focus on changing cultural constructions within Chilean society and on major social inequalities that negatively impacted women's power both inside and outside the home. Although working full time, most of my respondents also were committed to full-time activism to promote equality and provide a backlash against neoliberal economic policies. Their NGOs and grassroots groups were highly divided by the class of their members, although all seemed committed to anti-neoliberal agendas. While the various activities gave members a strong sense of self esteem and community, most groups were underfunded, and participants were limited in their ability to connect with the Chilean government to promote social change.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization is the biggest example. It is presented as an advance and prosperity in countries. But obviously it means impoverishing the workers, impoverishing the least protected class, exploitation of the least protected class. But it is sold as an idea, above all in Chile, as the maximum thing, development, high economic figures. We gain this all thanks to globalization. But we all know that workers and women are impoverished by globalization (Interviewee #1, Amanda).

What is very bad in this system is the increase in the concentration of wealth in a small group. The inequalities are the worst thing we have here in Chile. . . For women there are many new opportunities. You cannot say that all women are being affected in a negative way. No. It is very complex. We have the opening for opportunities for women in banks and services and financing that we have never had before. Our struggle is to help to control the negative impact (Interviewee #2, Tanya).

Above, two Chilean women described globalization in subtly different ways.

Amanda, a full-time employee and union organizer, associated globalization's impact not only with growing class and gender inequalities but also with a cultural paradox women and poor people must live with: the image sold to Chileans of economic success and growth but the reality of living within a world of poverty which contradicts that image. On the whole Amanda envisioned globalization as having a negative impact on her life both as a employee and woman within the Chilean society. Tanya, a full time paid member of a non-government organization (NGO) and academic, described globalization in a more nuanced way. Like Amanda, Tanya associated globalization and Chilean neoliberal policies with growing class divisions among Chileans. However, Tanya acknowledged that women are gaining work opportunities within the economic system as well as an agenda for a women's

movement. Both women's responses mirror a growing debate among neoliberal and globalization scholars. Have neoliberal reforms and the rise of globalization benefited women, and if so how? Both Tanya and Amanda believed that there are winners and losers within the neoliberal system, but they disagreed on the extent to which women benefit from Chilean neoliberal economic and political policies.

In this dissertation, I examine how globalization and Chilean neoliberal policies, which include the opening of the Chilean economy to foreign direct investment, the changing role of the Chilean state in implementing and controlling economic policies, the privatization of social services, and the growing emphasis on individual consumerism have impacted women in Chile over the last forty years. In particular, I discuss how these policies affect Chilean women in contradictory ways in which women gain opportunities as individuals to engage in work, collective action, and community life but also face exploitation and sexism that prevent them from participating as equals within their society. Specifically, I analyze the following three areas. *First*, I describe Chilean political history and economic policies prior to and during the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1989), the Post-Pinochet democratic governments of the 1990s through 2005, and the Bachelet administration (2006-2010). I discuss how these policies have affect Chileans in terms of economic development, social inequalities, and working conditions. *Second*, I explore women's perception of the impact of globalization and neoliberal policies on gender and class relations in Chile. I examine the ways in which Chilean women describe how political and economic policies shape their lives as employees, mothers, and citizens.

Third, I examine women's activism and the activities of various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in addressing current economic policies and the increasing social and gender inequalities within Chile.

Theoretical Framework

Over the past twenty years, globalization has become a major focus of scholars in multiple disciplines including economics, political science, geography and sociology. Defining what all scholars mean by globalization is not an easy task and goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, several globalization theories do provide important explanations of the changing nature of economic development throughout Third World countries and demonstrate how global, political, and economic processes impact women throughout the world. Exploring these processes is vital to understanding the changing status of women within Chile.

What Is Globalization? The Importance of Neoliberalism and the Changing Role of the State

Globalization refers to the social processes that emerged in the late twentieth century that promoted political, economic and social integration among people within a global community. While there is no consensus about how successful these processes have been at creating a global society, globalization theorists do agree that there are important changes within and between nation states that have had impacts on how people, governments, and international organizations interact across national borders. Although this global system is not entirely "new," it represents an economic change from Keynesian policies based on rigid, state-regulated, long-term planning to

neoliberal regimes. These new policies include: flexible accumulation of wealth, time-space compression, increasing “commodification” of all services, financial and market liberation, and unregulated growth and profit (Dicken 2007; Harvey 2010, 2003, 1990). States are replaced by transnational corporations (TNCs) as the primary economic actors. Globalization also represents a change in the world political order from a bi-polar configuration based on division and big-state involvement to an order based on United States economic and military power. Hence, international economic and political organizations reflect Western economic interests (Held, 1995; Cable, 1995, 1999; Stiglitz, 2002, 2010). Finally, globalization refers to two opposing cultural forces. One creates a homogenized culture based on American values of liberalism and consumerism. The second reinforces ethnic and local cultural differences that divide people by class, race, and ethnicity (Ritzer, 1993; Latouche, 1996; Barber, 1996; Jameson and Miyoshi, 1998; Tomlinson, 1999). These transformations are driven by technological changes that allow greater movement of capital, information, and people across national borders at cheaper and faster rates (Friedman, 2000, 2005; Stiglitz, 2002, 2010; Sassen, 1998; Castells, 2009; Benkler, 2008). Although often ignored or underplayed, gender plays a crucial role in the economic, political, and cultural era of globalization.

One of the most prominent areas within the globalization literature is the focus on the emergence of a global economic market with the rise of neoliberalism. In essence, economic globalization refers to the adoption of neoliberal economic policies. Often the terms globalization and neoliberalism are used interchangeably.

Unfortunately, this makes defining both concepts difficult. Neoliberalism refers to the policies of finance and market liberation that lead to an integrated global market. Based on liberal ideas discussed by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, neoliberalism promotes economic policies that include: the privatization of public enterprises, deregulation of the economy, liberation of trade and industry, tax cuts, economic policies that keep inflation low, reduction of public expenditures, and the removal of government controls on global financial flows (Isbister, 2006; Ellwood, 2001; Friedman, 2000, 2005; Singh, 2000; Hoogvelt, 2001). These are policies that promote international commerce and production. At the heart of neoliberal economic policies is the promotion of a global market based on trade and financial liberation from government controls. Countries become integrated, not through international relations between governments, but rather through the integration of markets, production and finance which leads to economic globalization. Dicken (2007) associates economic globalization with: the change from shallow to deep integration, the creation of a separate financial system, the emerging importance of foreign direct investments, and the increasing importance of the service sector. Deep integration between nation-states, in turn, is associated with a need for flexibility and time-space compression in order to link global markets. More so than other markets, financial services have become more global and have influenced global trade, increased profits, and increased direct foreign investment among nations (Dicken, 2007; Strange, 1996; Cerny and Evans, 1994; Cable, 1995).

Neoliberal economists argue that these policies allow for more economic freedom which leads to more economic development. Markets rather than governments determine what is produced and by whom. Through freedom from government regulation and tax burdens, economic actors including investors, businesses, and individuals are free to pursue their own interests. The market decides which risks to take. There is flexibility to move capital to the most productive sectors and ultimately accelerate more efficient growth across global spaces (Easterly, 2006). Supporters of neoliberalism point to several global success stories as evidence of the benefit of neoliberal policies and economic development. *First*, countries in Latin America, including Chile and Argentina, also embraced neoliberal strategies beginning in the 1970s and were successful at lowering inflation, curbing large national deficits and promoting strong economic growth by the late 1980s (Stiglitz, 2002). *Second*, economic development in East Asia in the early 1980s was based on industrialization, aggressive export promotion of their manufacturing sector, and limited government intervention. The high levels of economic growth demonstrated that the private sector rather than state planning was more effective for achieving economic goals. Also the private sector was more effective in combating poverty than traditional models of state planning (Isbister, 2006). *Finally*, the end of the Cold War, with the breakup of the Soviet Union, became a symbol for both developed and developing nations of the failure of state-owned production (Steger, 2009). Thus starting in the 1980s, various countries throughout the world began to adopt some version of neoliberal policies (Krueger, 1997).

While some countries then adopted neoliberal policies on their own, most developing countries adopted economic programs of globalization through pressure from the international community. The World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) govern financial relations among nations through loans and projects. The World Trade Organization (WTO) governs international trade relations by enforcing global trade agreements (Stiglitz, 2002). Since the late 1970's these three organizations have promoted neoliberal policies through development projects and structural adjustment programs in developing countries.¹ Developing countries with massive debts from the 1970s had little choice but to open their markets and shrink their governments in order to receive international aid to repay loans (Jackson, 1990; Isbister, 2006).

Neoliberalism is a political theory as well as an economic one. Neoliberal theorists argue that, not only should individuals be free from government control over their economic relations, but also they should be free from government intervention in their cultural and social relations. Thus, neoliberalism is associated with the reduced power of the state over economic production and social welfare programs and with the increased power of economic institutions to distribute resources and create order within a society (Friedman, 2000, 2005; Gill, 1998; Faulks, 2000).

However, most neoliberals recognize the importance of the state in supporting economic production by protecting property rights, providing some infrastructure for

¹ Structural Adjustment programs refer to requirements placed on developing countries imposed by the IMF, World Bank, and other international lending organizations. They required governments to open their economies to the global economy by reducing and sometimes eliminating trade tariffs and barriers on foreign goods and services thus promoting free trade with other nations. The programs also forced countries to devalue local currencies as a means of making exports cheaper and reducing the

business, and providing protection from outside threats and disorder within the society. Neoliberalism, therefore, seeks to promote democratic governments that have limited powers and budgets.

The Effects of Globalization and Neoliberal Policies on the State

The effects of the liberalization of finance, trade and production on state economic policies are almost undeniable. Over the past thirty years, states all over the world have had to cooperate over economic development, trade, and finance with transnational corporations and other states through global economic agreements and organizations. Due to the changing nature of states' roles in their national economies and the growing power of transnational organizations like the WB, IMF, and WTO, there is disagreement over how much power the state retains in the era of globalization.

“Constraint” globalization theorists (Luttwak, 2006; Ohmae, 1995, 2005; Strange, 1996) argue that the globalization of finance, trade, and production threatens state sovereignty in a variety of ways. *First*, Strange (1996) argues that changes in technology prevent states from controlling financial markets since they will be unable to control the faster, cheaper transportation of capital, ideas, and people. *Second*, the shift in the structure of production from local and national markets to global markets has created the greatest challenge to state economic power. In essence, production has shifted from producing goods and services for national markets to producing goods and services for a global market that is controlled by transnational corporations (Strange, 1996; Dicken, 2007). *Third*, states are no longer the main

investors in or purchasers of technology and infrastructure, and their attempts to regulate TNCs have often been unsuccessful (Strange, 1996). *Fourth*, states no longer have sovereignty over trade. *Finally*, employment in developed countries has changed from a primary emphasis on manufacturing to services, thereby decreasing labor rights and states' ability to manage labor and corporate disputes. The decline of unions and the threat of capital flight have transferred labor management and protection to TNCs (Harrison, 1994; Korten, 1995). In essence, constraint globalization theory emphasizes that globalization will lead to the reduction of the welfare state, the loss of state economic power to transnational organizations, and the decline of security for the poor.

“Moderate” globalization theorists (neoliberals and competition state theorists), like constraint theorists, also associate globalization with the decrease in sovereignty and authority of the nation state. However, while neoliberals often emphasize that capitalist firms are more effective in controlling global markets, they do recognize that the state still plays an important role in protecting the infrastructure of the economy and society (Freidman, 2000, 2005; Weiss, 2003a; Dicken, 2007). In essence, globalization both enables and constrains the state because the state both enables and constrains the market. Globalization *enables* states in three ways. *First*, global markets and competition among states actually increase the need for state intervention to both promote foreign direct investment and protect national economies. *Second*, globalization often provides incentives for TNCs to enter into middle-ground relationships with states which prevent exit strategies to other havens

of free enterprise. *Third*, competition pressures threaten key sectors of national economies which in turn urge governments to devise new strategies to protect national producers (Weis, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Skeptics of globalization contend that both constraint and moderate globalization theories over-emphasize the extent to which finance, trade, and production have become globalized as well as the degree to which they preclude state action (Wade, 2009, 2007, 1996; Anderson, 2008, 2000, 1995). Wade (1996) argues that the globalization of trade and production is still insignificant in comparison to production and trade within national economies. Moreover, Anderson (1995) argues that it is a myth that the economy has or could operate autonomously from the state. Furthermore, increasing levels of foreign direct investment (FDI) are generally dominated by a few countries and in a few sectors and do not necessarily apply to the world economy as a whole (Hirst and Thompson, 2002, 1995, 1992; Hirst et. al, 2009). As with FDI, most international trade and production is occurring between a few countries and a few TNCs and does not constitute a “globalized” economy (Hutton, 1995, 1996; Hirst et. al, 2009; Hirst and Thompson, 2002, 1995, 1992; Faulks, 2000).

According to skeptic theorists Boyer and Drache (1996), global markets cannot challenge the innovations of the state during crises periods, and the imperfection of markets will continue to require state economic intervention. Helleiner (2005; 1999, 1996) argues that financial globalization is not irreversible and will lose elite support during crises. Moreover, the creation of regional blocks may or

may not challenge state sovereignty. Gilpin (2002) argues that nation states have lost little sovereignty as there is still no higher authority to enforce international cooperation and agreements. Transnational organizations rely heavily on the cooperation of core nation states. These theorists do recognize that states are sharing power over their economies with other economic and political actors, but they argue that the extent of the loss of sovereignty is highly debatable (Pickle, 2005).

While there is little agreement about the extent to which states will continue to have power over their national economies or maintain sovereignty within the international system, most theorists today do recognize that globalization is impacting the daily lives of people around the world. More specifically, it negatively impacts populations within developing nations through economic development programs. *First*, development projects continue to implement “top-down” approaches that emphasize industrialization and global capitalism promoted by western economists and developing nations’ government and business elites onto their populations. These approaches promote the neoliberal principles of limited government spending and free market capitalism. Due to economic recessions in the 1970s within both developed nations and developing nations, political and economic experts argued that government social programs must be eliminated in order to promote capital growth (Stiglitz, 2002, 2010; Dicken, 2007; Friedman, 2000, 2005). These policies often eliminated much needed support for the poor by slashing welfare programs (Kerr, 1999). *Second*, during the 1980s development approaches began to rely heavily on structural adjustment programs that altered Third World economies, creating political,

economic, and social chaos in many of these nations (Stiglitz, 2002; Passe-Smith, 1998a, 1998b). More specifically, these structural adjustment loans opened Third World economies to more exploitation by developed nations and TNCs which ultimately led to the growing Third World debt crises and growing unemployment throughout the 1980's and 1990's (Stiglitz, 2002, 2010; Passe-Smith, 1998a; Kirk and Okazawa-Rey, 2001). More specifically, neoliberal policies have greatly affected the world's poor and women in particular. Therefore, it is important to examine the ways in which globalization, neoliberal policies, and structural adjustment policies have impacted the lives of women in developing countries, their roles in the global economy, and their responses to neoliberalism and globalization.

The Effects of Globalization and Neoliberalism on Women in Developing Countries

Global feminist theory focuses on the nature of gender inequalities within developing countries. This theory provides the foundation for how this dissertation conceptualizes gender inequalities within Chile. Chile has been practicing neoliberalism for forty years and has been highly influenced by Western economic and political policies throughout its history. It is a developing country. Thus, of all the feminist theories, global feminist theory is the most appropriate at analyzing women's conditions there.

While other feminist theorists focus on patriarchy as the source of women's inequality, global feminists include racism, classism, and colonial subjugation in their analyses for understanding women's statuses in developing countries. Mohanty

(2003) argues that gender hierarchies are very complex and variegated in their forms, causes, and consequences because they are interwoven with hierarchies of class, race/ethnicity and sexuality. She maintains that, in order to understand the complexity of women's status within any particular society, researchers must study how women are impacted by global economic forces (global capitalism, international organizations, economic and political treaties) within particular local spaces (labor laws, women's legal status, social norms, and cultural constructions of gender). She also argues that the global economy exploits all women albeit in different ways. Understanding women's lives requires studying their individual lives as well as the global and local policies and institutions that shape them (Koggel, 2006, 2008). Global feminists also focus on what they perceive to be more practical issues of development and the well-being of the population. They call for the abolition of global as well as local forms of political, economic and social exploitation (Koggel, 2006, 2008; Mies, 1982; Basu, 1995, 2000; Mohanty, 1991; Lorber, 1998). Moreover, these feminists continue to resist the dichotomy between men and women and public and private spheres that are emphasized in some feminisms.

Naples (2002) also notes that women in developing countries are not passive actors within their society, but actively fight against the global economic forces that affect their lives. Global feminists argue that women in the Third World often mobilize as mothers and that they politicize the everyday (Basu, 1995, 2000; Naples, 2002; Hrycak, 2002; Bickham Mendez, 2002). They are actively seeking better lives for themselves, their husbands, and children. They often see poverty and racism at

the heart of their subordination rather than patriarchy. Global feminist theory provides an insight into the types of political activities in which women in Chile have participated as well as the ways in which they have framed social inequalities (Desai, 2002). Thus according to global feminists, in order to understand gender inequalities within developing societies like Chile, it is important to study the ways in which women fight against these policies on local, national and international levels (Mies 1986; Mohanty, 2003; Koggel, 2006; Naples, 2002; Desai, 2002).

According to global feminist theory, the effects of neoliberal policies on women is complex. In traditional debates, proponents of neoliberalism claimed that these policies were either gender neutral² or beneficial to women.³ However, early global feminist critics argued that neoliberal policies exploit women's labor both within and outside the home (Rakowski, 2000).⁴ Current global feminist theory and

² See Spar (1994a) for a summary. Most proponents study the relationship among gender, globalization and neoliberalism by studying the impact of WB and IMF structural adjustment programs on women. Economists and supporters of neoliberalism argue that these policies are not gender specific but rather based on economic development through trade liberalization and free market principles that facilitate economic and social relationships based on supply and demand, consumption and greed that do not target men and women specifically. The unit of analysis is not a group of people but rather the individual; thus economic policies do not necessarily need to account for gender, class, and racial differences.

³ Most feminists and globalization scholars reject the notion that neoliberal policies are gender neutral; however, there are scholars that argue that these policies positively impact women through their increase in freedom within their society through development (Spar, 1994b). For examples see Sen (1999) and Sassen (1998). Sen's argument is not that neoliberal policies and globalization do not have negative impacts on societies. They do, but they do increase women's freedom within the home and outside the home by providing them with work opportunities and greater access to activism through social mobilization.

⁴ See Rakowski (2000) for a summary. More common feminist accounts argue that globalization and neoliberal policies negatively impact women in a variety of ways including: increase in the feminization of poverty, dependence on women's labor to absorb the negative impacts of these policies, loss of care work provided by the state and thus an increase in women's unemployment, and a decrease in labor protection through deregulation.

research, in contrast, point to the importance of moving away from these either/or debates and take a more nuanced approach to understanding how globalization impacts women differently in local spaces.⁵

Stiglitz (2002) and Chang (2001) argue that the adoption of neoliberal programs, required by global economic and political regimes including the IMF and World Bank, is not only ethnocentric but also inappropriate and often dangerous. Overall these programs have been detrimental to the world's poor because governments cut needed social support and provide growing wealth to a small percentage of the population while they often destroy local environments. Throughout the Third World, political regimes vary greatly in terms of their overall power, their stance on women's social and political rights, and their enforcement of gender discriminating practices (Zhang, 1995; Kumar, 1995; Jahan, 1995; Kirk and Okazawa-Rey, 2001). However, despite this variation, all government development policies rely on women's productive and reproductive roles within societies and have profound influence over women's lives.

Globalization and neoliberal policies affect women in contradictory ways. *First*, neoliberal economic policies push women into the workforce which empowers them through earned income. Even though most women earn low wages, several studies have found that even low wages bring these women higher self esteem, dignity, higher aspirations, as well as the ability to challenge patriarchy within their

⁵ See Koggel (2003) and Rakowski (2000) for summaries. Koggel examines the either/or debate and finds that in most theories and research on neoliberalism and globalization, women are neither victims nor winners but rather both sides do not adequately address issues of power and oppression within local contexts. Rakowski also shows that while it is clear that neoliberalism is not gender neutral, the literature does show that the women are both exploited and empowered by neoliberal policies.

families (Sen, 2002; Elson, 1992; Koraeniewicz, 1997; Blumberg et. al, 1995). Low wage work also exposes women to new forms of exploitation. Changes within the global economy create pressures for governments to rely on the work of women in order to promote development and more generally to provide support for poor populations (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002). For example, poor women in some developing nations often make up the majority of workers in free trade zones where they make low wages and have no job security as transnational corporations do not provide formal contracts and frequently leave for cheaper labor in other free trade zones (Jackson, 2005; Sassen, 1998) Immigrant women leave home to fulfill service jobs in cities within developed nations which exposes them to informal work of long hours, low wages and little or no job benefits (Sassen, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Parrenas, 2000). These immigrant workers provide state revenues through remittances back to their countries when working abroad, and provide new niche markets through sex industries (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002). Globalization is also associated with the migration of women from the farms into crowded urban and free trade areas where they often face long work hours, inadequate shelter, exposure to dangerous working conditions, and little or no job security (Sassen, 1998; Fernandez-Kelly, 2001). Moreover, women face double duty. They enter the workforce in order to provide support for their families by supplementing their husbands' income to provide for basic necessities. Also women have the added burden of providing social services to their families, services that were previously provided for by the state. These services include providing money for their children's

education, their families' health services, and support for their aging relatives (Brown and Kerr, 1997; Desai, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hoshschild, 2002; Border Committee of Women Workers, 2004; Churchhill, 2004).

Second, although globalization has forced some women into dangerous and difficult working conditions, it has at the same time created new avenues for women's activism and participation in social movements (Naples, 2002; Desai, 2002). This advocacy has enriched women's individual lives and brought important social change for them. Women in various communities and regions in the Third World have organized women's groups and movements to address economic hardships and provide survival networks for struggling families (Weber, 2002; Purkayastha, 2002). In Venezuela, for example, poor women organized into mother's groups in order to help each other overcome economic hardship and the rise of women entering both formal and informal jobs to support their families. While these groups began as survival networks to deal with hunger and lack of credit, they evolved over time and addressed specific women's issues within the family and at work including child care, domestic violence and police harassment. These local groups also created networks with middle class and professional women and were the foundation of more organized activities that have pushed for legal reform and policies that improved women's lives (Rakowski, 1998). Women around the world, including Latin America, Africa, and the Caribbean, assert that organizing on local, national, and international levels has improved their own self esteem and ability to deal with problems both within the family and work. Also organizing has led to their ability to

challenge male dominance and domestic violence within the home, to gain legal status for loans and homeownership, and to join larger political and social movements (Rakowski, 2000; Barrón, 1994; Barkin et. al, 1997; Safa and Antrobus, 1992). Indeed, the international civil society allows movements to go beyond the state to pursue social change and to give voices to social advocates, specifically women, who may or may not find representation within their national political arena (Naples, 2002; Desai, 2002; Richards, 2004; Held, 1995, 2002; Rosenau, 2002; Sassen, 1999; Pugh, 2002; Kaldor, 1998).

Sassen (1998) also argues that globalization provides new spaces for women and feminist movements to promote gender social policies. It has also changed the very structure of the state. Women continually challenge economic and political policies that bring social hardships. For example, women garment workers' movements in Bangladesh used factory work to rework traditional practices of *purdah*, or the legal segregation of women in the public sphere. They also used labor mobilizations to fight oppressive working conditions (Zahman, 1999; Judd, 1999). Women throughout the world have joined fights locally and globally to combat unfair labor practices in manufacturing plants, to gain rights and recognition as domestic employees, and to protest structural adjustment programs that continue to disadvantage them and their families (Mora, 1981; Peña, 1990; Rose, 1995, 1990; Ross J., 1995; Rose A., 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Louie, 2001).

Held (1995) argues that both global and national decision making and, more importantly, global democracy are challenged by the changing nature of state

sovereignty. International laws and nationalist movements are shaking notions of states' accountability to their members and states' legitimacy because many of these economic and political organizations are not democratic. Markowitz and Tice (2002) argue that international pressures for non-governmental actors to professionalize lead to new forms of power divisions within the international women's movement. For example, in Chile, many NGOs, especially those comprised of working-class and poor women, have lost funding opportunities due to the lack of credentials or grant-writing skills. Thus many grassroots groups are overlooked in international meetings or are not asked to participate in certain settings because they are perceived as being less able to define gender issues (Markowitz and Tice, 2002).

Finally, although women may gain more representation and power through participation in various levels of NGOs, many critics argue that relying on NGOs as a means to solve social problems requires women to be the “shock absorbers” of the negative impacts of neoliberal policies (Pearson, 1997). In other words, women must increase their labor outside the home to provide protection and support of their families and communities from the instability of privatization and free trade policies. States heavily rely on women's labor for a variety of reasons. Women's cheap labor is often used as: a means of attracting foreign investment, providing vital state revenue through remittances, and as a means to support families when wages fall below family subsistence levels (Ehrenreich and Hoschild, 2001; Elson, 1991; Safa and Crummett, 1996). States rely on women's unpaid labor to provide social support to their families and communities to make up for declining social services. It

is often women who will start NGOs to address poverty, human rights protections, daycare facilities, and informal support to ensure family and community survival. Thus, states no longer have to do so. In essence, the neoliberal system both economically and socially relies on women's labor to support the system. How women adapt locally is vital to understanding how they are both winners and losers within the neoliberal economic system (Koggel, 2006).

There is little consensus about the gendered impact of globalization and neoliberal policies. Globalization theorists, like Sassen (1998) and Sen (1999) argue that globalization brings employment to women within both informal and formal sectors that empower them within their homes and their communities. Other global theorists like Mohanty (2003) and Koggel (2003) argue that jobs within neoliberal economies tend to exploit women and create vast economic, racial and gender inequalities within society. Thus, women do not gain power within these economic relationships. Globalization and neoliberal policies also impact women as they join together in grassroots and non-governmental organizations to improve the lives of women. Sassen (2002) and Rakowski (2000) argue that employment increases women's options for community work and social advocacy which empowers them individually and provides ways in which women fight for more social justice within their societies. On the other hand, other theorists including Pearson (1997) argue that states exploit women's community activities and that women provide the social services that states no longer provide. In this dissertation, I utilize these theoretical debates among both globalization and global feminist theorists to explore class and

gender inequalities, women's political and social activities, and women's empowerment in Chile during the Post-Pinochet era, 1990-2007.

Chile: a Brief Profile and Review of the Literature

Chile, a former Spanish colony, gained independence in 1810. Today, it is considered to have one of the most successful neoliberal economies and stable democracies in Latin America. In terms of development level, Chile ranks above many of its Latin American neighbors. The gross national income (U.S.\$8,350) is one of the highest in the region and among all developing nations (World Bank, 2007). For much of its history, Chile has been a stable democracy changing governments through elections, except between 1927-1932 under the Ibanez dictatorship and 1973-1990 under the Pinochet dictatorship. It has become an urbanized nation. The population is highly metropolitan with about 85 to 88 percent living in urban areas. Its estimated population in 2009 was 16.6 million, with a growth rate of 0.881 per cent. It is relatively homogenous since 70 percent are Catholic and 90 per cent are Mestizo. Ten percent of Chileans identify themselves as indigenous. Of the six indigenous groups, the two largest are the Mapuche and the Aymara. As in other Latin American countries, the lighter the skin, the more access to resources and power (U.S. State Department, 2009, CIA, 2009).

In comparison with its neighbors and other developing countries, Chile is considered a success story (often called a miracle) especially by neoliberals including officials of the IMF, the United States (U.S.) government, and U.S. media commentators of *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. They claim that

the path to development requires opening domestic markets, export-orientated growth strategies based on comparative advantage, and slashing national spending especially on welfare programs (Collins and Lear, 1995). Chile first began adopting these policies under the Pinochet Dictatorship in 1973. It was one of the first social experiments of the neoliberal policies promoted by economist and Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago which have become the cornerstone of economic globalization throughout the world (Klein, 2007). However, while the democratically-elected governments have continued to follow the neoliberal policies of Pinochet, they have also had to contend with the other side of the story: those left behind in the Chilean miracle (Borzutzky and Oppenheim, 2006).

In addition to being one of the first countries to experiment with neoliberal economic policies, Chile is also ranked as one of the leading countries embracing economic globalization. In the early 2000s, the A.T. Kearney Foundation published in *Foreign Policy* a ranking of nations in terms of economic, political, social and technological indicators of globalization. These rankings included: countries' openness in economic trade, foreign direct investment, participation in international and regional treaties and United Nations (UN) peacekeeping, use of internet, telephones and television, and travel. While ranking thirty-fourth overall in globalization, Chile was among the top ten in terms of economic globalization, mostly due to its openness in trade and to foreign direct investment (*Foreign Policy*, 2005). Chile is an active regional and global trading partner. It is an associate member of MERCOSUR, (Mercado Comun del Cono Sur) and entered into bilateral

free trade agreements with Canada in 1996 and the U.S. in 2004. It has free trade agreements with the entire Latin American region as well and has signed more bilateral trade agreements than any other country (CIA, 2009). Chile was also an active member in both the Uruguay Rounds of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and is a member of the WTO. In terms of market openness, Chile ranked nineteenth in the world because of the lack of tariffs, price controls, and government intervention. Regarding political transparency, Chile ranked fifth, just behind the U.S., in internet availability of government policies and contact information. Chile also ranked just below the U.S. in levels of political corruption. However, its level of technology does not fare quite as well as the U.S., Europe, or Asia. Chile does have an estimated 3.5 million internet users with a fairly widespread and stable internet server network (*Foreign Policy*, 2005).

By examining the history of its neoliberal policies and their effects on Chileans in terms of economic growth, unemployment rates, labor rights, and growing social inequalities, one can understand how these policies have affected not only the power of the state over economic relations within Chile but also the ways in which they have affected Chilean society as a whole. Chile provides a longitudinal case study that can provide insights into the changing role of the state and whether or not neoliberalism benefits societies on the whole or rather creates social rifts that divide people in terms of class and gender.

Chile's long history with neoliberal policies and commitment to globalization has made it an important part of the growing literature on globalization. Recent

studies have focused on the impact of these policies on employees within various industries and the role of the government within the Chilean economy (Winn 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Borzutzky and Oppenheim, 2006; Berg, 2006; Reinecke, 2007). Specifically, Oppenheim (2006) explored how Chile's commitment to neoliberalism expanded and changed within the re-democratization period. Oppenheim argued that Chile's commitment to neoliberal policies did not change within the democratic administrations following Pinochet because of political necessity. Its commitment to this model explains much of the growth during the 1990s. Winn (2004c) found that in regard to the textile industry, the commitment to strict neoliberal policies has gone beyond the neoliberal policies of the later Pinochet regime. The democratic governments decreased textile tariffs below the rates set in the Pinochet era, further altered exchange rates to favor exports, and reduced anti-dumping protections against foreign competitors. Commitment to these neoliberal policies has created growth in many industries. Despite impressive economic growth based on its export economy, Oppenheim (2006) acknowledged that this growth was based on nonrenewable resources and growing economic inequalities that may be unsustainable through the future.

Several studies have focused on the growing economic and social inequalities within Chile during both the Pinochet dictatorship and re-democratization. Collins and Lear (1995) first challenged the economic miracle of the Chilean economy by addressing the often overlooked economic crises during the Pinochet Regime as well as the growing social inequalities. Berg (2006), focusing on the cosmetic industry

and agroindustry, found that these industries experienced growing wage inequalities since Chile's commitment to neoliberalism and that growth within them was based on the exploitation of low-wage workers. Mechanization, competition with international producers, and the lack of an organized labor force have increased the demand for low-skill labor that has not improved the lives of most workers within these industries. This research provided important evidence that, while some industries within Chile may benefit from globalization and economic growth, many of those industries did not provide benefits for all Chileans. However, neither study explored the ways these policies affected women in Chile.

Winn (2004c), Stilerman, (2004), and Schurman (2001, 2004) also explored the status of workers in other industries including the textile, copper, and fishing industries and found that neoliberal policies in both the Pinochet era and democratic eras led to the increase of low wages and insecure and dangerous working conditions. Pinochet's commitment to the dismantling of labor organizations in these sectors benefited employers and left workers with little political and social power to fight for better working conditions. Reinecke's (2006) study compared the working conditions within the textile and metal-working industries and found that neither industry produced stable jobs nor did the workers inherently receive new opportunities for skilled and better-paying work. Workers in the textile industry faced massive layoffs as Chilean producers failed to compete with foreign producers. Big textile manufacturers have been replaced with micro-producers (those with ten or fewer employees) through subcontracting as a means to reduce costs. On the whole,

those within the textile industry work with short-term or no legal employment contracts in highly exploitative conditions. While the metal working industry did employ new technological strategies to increase productivity which led to increases in real wages within this industry, the use of temporary workers, the lack of union power, and the increase of overtime had not improved working conditions or the types of jobs done by the majority of workers within the industry. The feminization of most of these industries has clearly occurred, as women have replaced men in most of them demonstrating that women in Chile have been directly affected by neoliberal policies.

Recent studies of women in the Chilean workforce have emphasized the contradictory nature of that work. Waylen (1992, 1995) documents the growing number of women employees in the lower classes within Chile since 1972. Although structural changes in the Chilean economy account for the increase of women entering the workforce, Waylen argues that it is important to understand women's and men's choices with regard to whether or not women work and more importantly how these choices empower women. Delano and Lehmann (1993) studied women in the fishing industry and found that women faced dangerous working conditions at low pay but that they gained economic security and autonomy for themselves and their children within the family. Tinsman (2004) directly examined women workers in seasonal farm work within the Aconcagua valley. She warned that while past research tended to view women in globalized industries as victims who faced dangerous working conditions and exploitation, only examining their work as a

burden misses an important aspect of the story. Women within the agricultural sector in Chile did face terrible working conditions and were exploited; however, through wage labor, they gained financial independence from husbands, new validation of their work within the family, and new roles within their communities. Thus neoliberal policies within Chile both hurt and benefited women within this industry. All of these studies point to the need for a better understanding of the complexity of employment, social advocacy, and neoliberal policies within Chile beyond specific agriculture and industrial sectors.

In addition to exploring the relationship between neoliberalism and working conditions for women in Chile, a growing number of studies have focused on women and politics, women's social movements, and women's activism in Latin American and in Chile specifically (for example see: Franceschet, 2005; Baldez, 2001, 2002; Richards, 2004; Schild, 1994, 2000, 2002). Women played important roles in popular movements during the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990), and they continue to struggle to gain political representation and to promote empowerment for women in the government, in the economy, and in the family. Both historic women's movements and current women's political and social activities have been shaped by the political and social structures within Chile during the authoritarian and subsequent democratic political regimes. Furthermore, the continued commitment to neoliberal policies over the past forty years created opportunities for women's advocacy and also influenced the living conditions that pushed women to seek political and social attention to the growing problems they and their families faced.

Dandavati (1996) found that the women's movement played a vital role in the reconstruction of the democratic state (1988-1994) and in the transition that was able to push gender policy issues to the political agenda with the Plebiscite of 1988. However, despite mass mobilization in the late 1980s, Dandavati (1996) argued that future mobilization efforts were threatened. In the 1990s divisions among women emerged due to class and race/ethnic interests and differences between groups over how to work with the state. Many upper class women and formal NGOs pushed for strong relationships with political parties and government ministries, while lower class women and groups avoided working with the government as they believed that governmental programs were unable to protect women or working class interests. Francschet (2005) found that the divisions between these groups were often based on class, ideology, and race/ethnic lines. The divisions included: what the role of the women's movement should be; which groups could represent each other's needs; and more generally, their unequal access to the state and international resources. Moreover, Richard's (2004) study of how state policies affected indigenous and poor women's groups within Chile found that the state's neoliberal model prevented the incorporation of indigenous and poor women's desires for more state protection from unemployment, environmental degradation, and poverty.

The future of women's political participation in a unified movement in Chile is unclear. State feminists continue to play a role in promoting gender agendas, but their actual power over state policy continues to be limited by the political parties and structure of the state. The continued political power of the Right also seriously

undercuts the state's feminist organization's--*Servicio Nacional de Mujer* (SERNAM)--potential effectiveness (Franceschet, 2005). On the one hand, a woman at the top of the executive branch, President Michele Bachelet, might have been able to strengthen gender policy support; and the recent emergence of umbrella NGO organizations has provided new voices for grassroots organizations which address poor and indigenous women. Many grassroots organizations continue to be excluded and are not represented by state policies (Richards, 2004).

Studies by Franceschet (2005) and Richards (2004) on Chilean women's political and social movements provided an important foundation for understanding the challenges women and feminist advocates faced in promoting gender, race, and ethnic citizen rights. Studies by Shurman (2001, 2004), Tinsman (2004), Waylen (1992) emphasized the importance of understanding how work within the neoliberal economy had complex impacts on women's lives within several agricultural sectors. These studies found that women in Chile, as in other Latin American countries, had become marginalized in the emerging democratic regimes and that women's activism was in decline.⁶

Significance of the Study

This project seeks to answer several questions about the relationship between globalization and women's employment and activism in Chile. Have women in Chile gained socially, politically, and culturally from the economic growth and downturns of the past? Do women in Chile benefit from employment outside the home? And if

⁶ See Jaquette (1989, 1994) for examples.

so, how? Are women participating more in social groups and movements in order to improve their status within their society? How are women coping in a society where civil society is creating more work for them to do? Are women participating in international women's movements or are they more involved in local groups? And what are the limitations for local groups within that society? What role does the Chilean state continue to play in shaping women's participation within local, national, and international civil societies?

Thus this project examines how individual women have or have not benefited in neoliberal Chile. My project investigates how these women see themselves as employees and advocates for women's rights, how they define globalization and neoliberal policies, and how they understand the impact of these policies on their individual lives. The earlier studies discussed above focused on women within specific industries. Building on that foundation, this study explores how neoliberalism affects women employed within several economic sectors. It includes women of multiple professions and work environments within Santiago, Chile. Earlier studies found that the Chilean women's movement has been in decline since the re-emergence of democracy in 1990. Women's groups had been marginalized within their society. In this study I re-examine the conditions of the Chilean women's movement. The election of Bachelet offers the possibility that the trend toward marginalization of women's groups in Chile was being reversed. I also explore the possibility that globalization contributed to the re-emergence of women's groups and political participation within the state. Finally, I examine the relationship

between the state and women's participation in women's groups and NGOs under the Bachelet administration.

This dissertation explores the complex relationship between how globalization and neoliberal policies and the lives of Chilean women in their homes, their jobs, and their political and social activities. The purpose of this project is to provide a better understanding of the impact of globalization on the status of women. It adds to other gendered analyses of globalization theory by addressing how women's outside employment both in formal and informal sectors and women's participation in social movements and NGOs have functioned in a society that has been committed to neoliberal policies for the past forty years. It also adds to global feminist theory which emphasizes studying the local conditions under which women live within neoliberal economies because all women do not experience globalization in the same way. My study also seeks to help answer debates on whether women are exploited by neoliberal policies within the home, through their employment outside the home, and their social and political activities or whether they gain power by earning their own incomes and by helping women and the poor within their communities. Chile was the first experiment in the Friedman doctrine which has now spread throughout the globe (Klein, 2007) and thus provides an excellent research site to study how these policies have impacted women over time.

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 describes the methodology used in this dissertation. I provide a description of the qualitative methods used for the collection of the data. I explain

how I located, contacted, and interviewed various women employees and NGO participants. I also explore how I analyzed their responses to my interview questions. I end the chapter by discussing the limitations of the methods used within this study.

Chapter 3 provides a historical review of Chilean neoliberal policies and provides national data to examine the relationship between these policies, economic development, and growing social inequalities. I examine the forty years of commitment to neoliberal policies that created great economic gains and losses and that relied heavily on a dictatorship that violated basic human rights.

Chapter 4 examines how neoliberal policies have impacted women within Chile both positively and negatively. I present national data on the status of women in Chile. Using my interview data, I explore how various women describe and understand the relationship between neoliberalism and gender equality and inequality within Chile and in their own lives. In this chapter, I discuss how women have gained or lost in neoliberal Chile through wage labor and how that has impacted their relationships within the home and within their communities. I also focus on changing cultural constructions within Chilean society and on major social inequalities that negatively impacted women's power both inside and outside the home.

Chapter 5 then explores how women are fighting against neoliberal policies within Chile and how these policies affect their NGOs. Although working full time, most of my respondents also were committed to full-time advocacy to promote equality and provide a backlash against neoliberal economic policies. I examine

how these NGOs were divided by the social class of their members, the various activities that gave members a strong sense of self esteem and community, and issues related to participants' ability to promote social change.

Chapter 6, the conclusion, includes the summary of my findings as well as their implications for future studies on women in globalization.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation I employed feminist ethnographic methods in order to explore how women in Chile perceive globalization and how globalization impacts their lives. Feminist qualitative methods were particularly useful in this study as they challenge traditional methods by putting women at the center of the research and allowing a clearer understanding of how women's life experiences create a vital base of social knowledge (Smith, 1987; Fox and Murray 2001, Hesse-Biber et al., 2004). Feminist researchers argue that women's voices and experiences are important sources often overlooked in traditional social science research (Berger, 2004).

Qualitative methods provided a means of obtaining in-depth, rich descriptions from my subjects which go beyond larger survey methods. Guided by both symbolic interaction and grounded theory, I was interested in how women described and explained globalization and neoliberalism in terms of their own every-day experiences at home, at work, and in their non-government organizations (NGOs). I also wanted to know how they generalize their experiences to explain how others around them are impacted by these same forces. These explanations were important because they moved beyond statistical measures of inequality which focus on strict numerical values for poverty, unemployment, and exploitation. They allowed for more nuanced constructions of how my interviewees described the problems they face as women in a neoliberal economy, as well as the ways in which they empower themselves as women through financial independence, education, social activism, and motherhood. There are debates between global feminists and globalization theorists

on whether or not women benefit from work and social activism within neoliberal economies, thus I wanted to know how women within Chile defined themselves as women, as employees, and as social and community activists. In-depth interviews focused on the research questions of this study: How do women in Chile define globalization and neoliberalism, if at all? Do they see the impacts of globalization affecting women in Chile? Are the impacts of neoliberalism affecting them in positive or negative ways? How do they view the Chilean government and its policies affecting their lives? And how has globalization impacted their roles as social activists in fighting for women's equality within the Chilean society?

Research Sample

I interviewed 52 female and male respondents who were employed and/or community organizers residing in Santiago, Chile. Although most of the interviews were conducted with one interviewee, several did include interviews with two or more members of a particular organization. All interviews were conducted in Santiago, Chile. The primary data came from interviews resulting from a snowball sample among three primary groups: social organizers and advocates from various NGOs, trade unions and syndicates; local community leaders of grassroots organizations and protest movements during and after the Pinochet era within a local barrio; and finally, full-time and part-time government, medical, social and business employees throughout the city. My sample was recruited through a variety of methods including: e-mailed communications to multiple organizations, direct contact

with individuals during protest marches, use of family contacts as recruiters, and finally, recommendations from previous interviewees.

When arriving in Chile, I had originally planned to interview women and men who worked for or volunteered in various women's groups, NGOs, and governmental groups in order to see how they described the relationship between neoliberalism and globalization and women. I believed that they would provide a unique perspective on what issues women face within the Chilean society. Women's activism in Chile is similar to that of women throughout the world as it takes on a variety of forms. Women volunteer in local and grassroots organizations in order to help meet challenges their families face within their local communities. Women create soup kitchens, join religious groups, and form micro-loan groups in order to help themselves as well as the families around them. Women also start larger more formal groups and NGOs to address gender and class inequalities. These groups are often more formal and require paid workers as well as volunteers to organize community outreach programs and educational opportunities. Women also tend to form women's groups within other social organizations including trade unions and syndicates often as a way to recruit women to unions and address gender issues not addressed by their larger organizations. Women's activism within Chile also has taken on more radical forms of social protests, boycotts, and even armed resistance especially during the Pinochet era. I hoped to talk to women and men from a variety of these groups to understand not only their own personal experiences as social

advocates, organizers and NGO members, but also how they defined globalization and neoliberalism and its impact on women within Chile.

In order to locate women and men within various NGOs and women's groups and organizations within Santiago, I had initially compiled a list of Chilean NGOs described in earlier research and found through personal internet searches prior to arriving in Santiago. Unfortunately, I was able to locate only two large women's NGOs from my original list. Therefore, in order to interview more Chilean NGO members, grassroots organizations and community leaders, I attended the March 8, 2007 International Women's Day March in the Plaza de Armas in Santiago. I arrived early in order to talk with members of groups that set up booths in the square, distributed flyers, or held up signs. I was able to meet members of fifteen groups at this march and, through them, received contact information for additional women's NGO groups and community advocates. To enlarge my sample, I attended the workers' march to reform the Constitution in the Plaza Italia on March 24, 2007 in Santiago. Here I located five additional groups including several unions and housing advocates. I also contacted CUT, the National Coalition of Workers Unions and Syndicates headquartered in Santiago, to obtain group contacts and was able to find several advocates within both large and small union syndicates to interview. Through these contacts, I also gained access to political organizers for one of the leftist candidates in Santiago and a few small grassroots women's organizations including a women's association and a spiritual women's group within a Catholic

church. In total I interviewed 26 NGO and grassroots organizations members and leaders.

Given that I was interested in changes within the women's participation in various social movements within Chile since the Pinochet era, it was important that I talk with women and men who had been part of the social movements during that time period. Although many of the NGO leaders and participants I talked to were involved in previous movements, I decided to expand my sample by interviewing local women activists within my residential community. I was able to locate local activists during the Pinochet era through contacts provided by my family who lived in the area. My first interview in Chile was with a local domestic violence advocate whose group hosted a local anti-domestic violence march a week after my arrival. This initial interview was vital to me in assessing my questions, providing me with contacts with other domestic violence group advocates, and establishing my credibility with other local activists within the community. I was also invited to participate in a local domestic violence march in the barrio on March 3, 2007 where I was able to interview several members of the group. Within this community, I was able to talk with nine grassroots group members and community advocates.

Finally, because that I was interested in women's NGOs relationship with the Chilean government, I contacted government workers within *Servicio Nacional de la Mujer* (SERNAM) to discuss how the government defined gender inequality within Chile and how these employees perceived the relationship between the government and women's organizations in dealing with these issues. In addition, with the

assistance of a family contact, I was able to contact a lawyer within the government working on more general issues of human rights. Through her and the government employees, my project moved into a new direction. While initially I had planned to study the relationship between the government and women NGOs, I quickly realized that I could develop a further understanding of how these women and men perceived the ways in which their work was impacted by globalization. As a result of my initial interviews, I decided that it would be beneficial to ask how women, through their employment, experience gender inequalities and empowerment. Thus I began to contact women in various professions. After receiving new approval from the Human Subjects Committee Lawrence Campus (HSCL) at the University of Kansas, I interviewed seventeen women working in daycare facilities, medical clinics, law firms, transnational corporations, and part-time employees in the *informal* employment sector whom I discovered from contacts I made through the women's NGOs and local groups. I located these women through recommendations from interviewees, family contacts, and email inquiries to particular places of business.

Tables C.1-C.5 in Appendix C provide the demographic descriptions of my 52 interviewees. Most of the interviews were with women. Only six (12 percent) of my interviewees were men. All but four of my interviewees (92 percent) were native Chileans. Three of the non-natives were from the United States; one was from Argentina. My interviewees' ages ranged from 22 to 77 years old. Ten of the 52 (19 percent) were between 22 and 35 years old. Twenty-four (46 percent) were between 36 and 54 years old. Eighteen (35 percent) interviewees were aged 55 to 77

years old. Thirty-eight (73 percent) of my interviewees were married or widowed. The other fourteen had never been married, were in domestic partnerships or separated from their spouses either formally or informally.

My sample also varied by educational level: nine interviewees (17 percent) had not earned a high school diploma and had no plans to do so; seventeen (33 percent) had either a high school diploma or were about to earn one; fourteen (27 percent) had a technical or university degree or were working towards one, and eleven (21 percent) had either a professional or graduate degree or were working towards one. One informant (2 percent) did not disclose her educational level.

Forty two (80 percent) of my interviewees were either full-time employees or full-time paid organizers for NGOs. Five (12 percent) worked part time. The rest of the interviewees who disclosed their occupations were either retired (4 percent), a student (2 percent), and a housewife (2 percent). Eight of my interviewees (12 percent) were paid organizers for NGOs. The rest of them included: four (8 percent) government ministry employees, five (10 percent) in various professions including the medical and legal professions, seven (14 percent) *informal* employees or independent contractors, five (10 percent) educators, four (8 percent) social and community workers, three (5 percent) international business employees, three (5 percent) construction workers, two (4 percent) graphic artists, and one (1.5 percent) real estate agent.

Most of my sample is a snowball sample, compiled through references from those I had already interviewed or through informal contacts. Thus it was not

randomly selected from political and social advocates or employees within Chile. My interviewees, therefore, do not represent all employees, all advocates, or all women, and this study cannot be generalized to the Chilean public as a whole. However, the range in ages, marital status, and educational level does allow for comparisons among those in the sample. As a vast majority of my interviewees are social advocates and government employees within the *Concertación* government, their politics tended to lean towards the political center or left which again is not representative of all women advocates or Chilean workers. I spoke to no one who represented the far right; hence, supporters of the Pinochet regime were not represented by any of my interviewees, most of whom were very critical of both the violence and economic policies of the dictator. Finally, although I spoke with a large range of people in terms of education and income, all of my interviewees came from the lower or middle classes. None were homeless or living in absolute poverty. Almost half of my sample had some college or technical training which means that they were more likely to be coming from an upper-middle-class perspective even if they did not have a large income. I had no access to indigenous groups or activists for them; consequently, my interviewees were all part of the Mestizo ethnic group. Although many discussed ethnic and racial inequality within Chile, they did not represent the indigenous cultures which are themselves impacted in unique ways by globalization (Richards, 2004, 2005). Therefore, despite the importance of race and ethnicity within Chile, this study focuses on the impacts of neoliberalism on class and gender relations.

My interviewees themselves acknowledged the limits of their perspectives and throughout my interviews would often preface their responses with “in my opinion” or “I can’t speak for everyone.” However, their experiences as employees and political and social advocates are valuable because they did provide a sense on how these groups of people dealt with a neoliberal economy and constructed a definition of globalization. Despite differences in age and class background, they were aware of many trends affecting Chileans and people worldwide.

Data Collection

The data of this study were collected between February and May 2007 in Santiago, Chile. I resided in a local barrio within the city during this time, living with relatives of my husband who had not returned to Chile since he fled with his family in 1973. The first part of my data collection relied on ethnographic notes written on my arrival to describe my experiences dealing with everyday life in Santiago and my observations during various social demonstrations including: the March 8 International Women’s Day March, a local domestic violence march through my community on March 10, the March 24 Workers’ March, and a university-sponsored Latina American Cultural event gathering at Parque Forrestal on April 1, 2007. I took detailed notes during all of these events. I also documented my everyday experiences within my new residence and informal talks I had with people within the community. My early notes were vital in helping me to adapt to life in Santiago and to understand many of the issues that would be discussed in my formally-structured interviews. In addition, I took field notes on my various

experiences within Chile during those three months and my assessment on the validity of the various interviews. These other notes were essential to conducting the interviews that followed as they allowed me to ascertain issues of power, pacing, and timing (Charmaz, 2006).

The bulk of my data comes from 40 semi-structured, open-ended interviews with my 52 interviewees (see Appendix A). All interviews were digitally recorded and took place in offices, coffee houses, organization headquarters, and some private residences in several districts within Santiago. Almost all of the interviews were conducted in Spanish through a trained translator. Two of the governmental employees and two of the social advocates responded in English. Two of the interviews were conducted with American business women living in Chile who spoke English. All Spanish interviews were translated into English during the interview, and then again by a professional linguist who first transcribed the interviews in Spanish and then translated them into English. My study reflects narratives of these employees' and advocates' voices and gives insiders' perspectives on how, in their own experiences, they view gender and globalization within Chilean society. I followed a one-question-per-item format, and I tried to allow respondents sufficient time between questions to expand on their ideas and to volunteer information. I often asked follow-up questions to obtain more details and for clarification.⁷

All of my interviews began with demographic questions in order to establish interviewees' backgrounds. (See Appendix B). As I talked with three different

⁷ See Dooley (1995) for the benefit of this style of interview.

groups of interviewees, the format of the interviews differed slightly, and I asked specific questions about their jobs, activism, and the history of their lives within their community. However, despite this variation, I did ask all three groups their attitudes toward neoliberal policies (globalization), social inequalities, and gender roles within Chile, their work experiences, and finally their attitudes toward the election and presidency of Michele Bachelet. I also collected printed materials from organizations and interviewees and news periodicals to further clarify events and organizational goals. I also conducted various online computer searches through periodicals pertaining to these issues.

Data Analysis

In this study I employed inductive strategies for analyzing both the interview data and field notes taken during my time in Chile. Qualitative methods require careful examination and coding to find themes and concepts originating from the data collected rather than from outside theories or hypothesis (Charmaz, 2006; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2010; Fendt and Sachs, 2009). These methods require accurate transcriptions of the interviewees' words, coding into usable themes based on the data collected, and finally interpretation of the data.

The first step in this project was converting the data into usable form. This occurred in two steps. All of my field notes and interview notes were typed almost immediately after the interviews and marches while I resided in Santiago. However, the interviews were not transcribed until I returned to the United States. Although I used an interpreter during the interviews, I also used a professional transcriber to

retranslate the interviews from Spanish to English. This was done to have the data transcribed in a reasonable amount of time and as accurately as possible. I hired a professional who was able to transcribe all of the material first into Spanish and then to translate it to English within two months. I then compared my notes taken during each interview with the newly transcribed data to check for inconsistencies and to ensure that my interviewee's answers were consistent.

The second step required me to code the data and sort it into categories and themes. Coding is a very important process as it provides necessary boundaries and limits on the data which allow the researcher to find patterns and to generalize results (Fendt and Sachs, 2009). Guided by grounded theory (see Charmaz, 2006), I used three separate processes to code my interviews. First, I coded the data for themes and categories, then I divided my interviewees into demographic categories by class, and finally, I coded the data categories into theoretical concepts (Fendt and Sachs, 2009).

I studied the data to find general themes such as positive versus negative effects of globalization or the cultural effect of machismo. Here it is important that the researcher allow the data to create these categories rather than forcing the data into preconceived categories. This step required extensive reading of the material, note taking during the process, and separating the data out of their context into the emerging categories (Charmaz, 2006). In order to do this, I examined my notes taken during the interview to find my first impressions of emerging themes. Then I read through each interview and created categories based on the themes I had originally noted and found in the data. Then I created separate documents and found examples

for each category to check that my original categories were supported by the data themselves.

I restudied the data to develop theoretical concepts based on my insights and interpretations of the themes in order to understand why certain themes emerged (See Charmaz, 2006). I sought to understand why my interviewees made certain connections and made certain responses by examining how their social location and background assumptions influenced how they interpreted the world around them as well as how they created meaning (Bruan and Clark, 2006). This required me to do extensive research on the history of political and economic policies in Chile, the importance of machismo and religion in the culture, and the use of violence during the Pinochet regime.

I also divided my interviewees into demographic categories to assess whether their perceptions of globalization and Chilean neoliberal policies reflected class, gender, age, or family structure differences. This was a very important step as most of the variation within my sample came from class differences among the respondents that are usually measured by such socioeconomic indicators as income and education. Measuring class was problematic though, as it is a complex category in Chile. Chile does have people living in absolute poverty without the means to obtain the necessities of survival. However, most people in Chile are poor, not based on government measures of poverty lines, but rather in relative access to wealth, power, and income. Although I did ask my interviewees' income, many were not comfortable disclosing this information. Among those who did report their income, I

found that income was not a predictive measure of the interviewees' employment, educational level, or status within their community. Many of the highly educated women, for example, received almost no income because either they were full-time voluntary participants in NGOs or because they were working towards a higher university degree to pursue better employment prospects. Thus, I found that educational status was a much more useful measure of class differences among my interviewees. As there were few men in the study, I was unable to make any conclusions on gender differences. Generational differences between my respondents prevented some of them from making comparisons between women's status and activism within Chile during the Pinochet era and today; however, I did not find conclusive differences among the groups relating to age.

Therefore, I did most of my comparisons between my groups based on educational differences, and coded my respondents by that category (Tables C.1-C.5 in Appendix C). My respondents fall into five categories based on their educational status. Lower class informants are those in the Primary Education group, those who had attended or finished primary school but who had not taken in classes in high school classes that I coded (B) and the High School Educated group, those who had taken some high school classes, were working on their high school diploma or had graduated but had not taken any university or technical school courses which I coded (H). The upper class informants fall into those in the University Educated group that includes those who had attended a university, college or technical school, were working towards a degree, or had graduated with an undergraduate degree which I

coded (U) and those who were in the Professionals group who had attended graduate school, were working towards a post graduate degree or had earned one which I coded (P). There was one respondent who did not disclose her educational status, she was put into her own category which I coded (O).

Finally, I used my knowledge of earlier research and theory to help create my theoretical concepts. This can be problematic as the goal of inductive research is not to test theory but rather to build it. However, as Charmaz (1990) notes, researchers can use previous studies and research to enable them to ask pertinent questions and to help analyze the data. Hence, I used global feminist theory to help me interpret and code my data. Mohanty (2003), for example, argues that global capitalism affects women in different ways depending on their class, race, and sexuality; thus I believed that it was important to compare my respondents by their class in order to see if it helped explain their descriptions of the impact of globalization and neoliberalism on Chilean women. Nevertheless, as new themes emerged, I allowed for the interviewees to speak for themselves. For example, I was at least slightly surprised at the benefits, such as increased opportunities women, that many upper-class women were provided by globalization and neoliberalism.

Limits of My Study

Conducting international research posed several issues that needed to be addressed early in the project. The biggest obstacle I had to surmount was cultural differences between Chile and the United States, the most important being language. I had studied Spanish for nine years including three years at the college level before

traveling to Chile. Unfortunately, while this provided a much needed basis for understanding Spanish, I quickly learned that it was insufficient for communicating effectively in Chilean Spanish. Upon my arrival in Chile, it became very clear that the accent and structure of the language was very different from the Mexican and Castilian versions of the language I had learned in the United States. The accent and use of Mapuche terms required a very intensive and stressful breaking-in period. Consequently, I soon realized that my interviews would require an interpreter.

Finding a suitable interpreter can be problematic as it creates separation between the researcher and interviewee, and one cannot be completely sure if, through the translation process, meaning will be distorted. I also quickly found that the person who is translating can affect the flow and meaning of the interviews by the style of conversation. As noted by Charmaz (1990), correct pacing, knowing not only the right questions to ask but when to ask them, is imperative. When speaking through a third voice, this pacing becomes both a barrier and a burden. Yet, having questions translated provides natural breaks for both the interviewer and the informant. Thus, there is more time to reflect on answers, watch body language⁸, and think of follow-up questions. However, at the same time, the third person interrupts the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee which may prevent the development of valuable rapport and trust needed between them, especially when dealing with sensitive and private issues. The first interpreter I

⁸ Berg (1998) suggests the importance of watching for both verbal and nonverbal cues as a way to conduct effective interviews. These cues allow researchers not only to know how and when to ask questions, but also allow the researcher to know when respondents need breaks and time to reflect on the issues being addressed.

employed rushed through questions, was not really aware of verbal and non-verbal cues, and seemed too ready to prompt for more information. Also, the fact that my interpreter was a male seemed to make a difference. My female respondents were more guarded when talking with him while my male interviewees ignored me entirely during the interviews.

Therefore, I replaced my initial interpreter with a female cousin who was one year away from certification as a Spanish/English interpreter. My cousin, Nancy, was an asset to the project for several reasons. Since our relationship was not strictly professional, we were able to spend more time getting to know each other and subsequently more time discussing my project, its goals, and my expectations. This was vital for the project because it allowed both of us to discuss my questions, translate them more accurately and clearly for my respondents, and allowed Nancy a better understanding of how to present the questions. Hence, the flow of the interviews went much more smoothly and, more importantly, allowed us to anticipate important cues during the interview and create a better rapport with the respondents. Nancy lived in close proximity, and was available for last-minute scheduled interviews, able to adjust to changes in times and places, and provided a much needed guide to interview locations. This flexibility in setting up interviews for after-work hours was particularly vital in meeting many of my respondents who had little time to set aside for interviews due to their work and organizing commitments. Nancy provided me entree with many of the local organizers and workers that allowed me to overcome cultural barriers with my interviewees. Once I was described as a family

member, many of the women were much more likely to agree to be interviewed and, more importantly, appeared to be more comfortable having an American sitting in their homes, offices, or restaurants. It is because of Nancy that I was able to conduct as many interviews as I did in a short period of time and was able to bridge the cultural gap between a white American researcher and native Chilean interviewees.

As a foreigner, culture shock alone was an obstacle to overcome. However, with the help of my extensive field notes, I adjusted to events around me. My Spanish improved, and I could engage in family conversations and understand my interviewees' words, cultural references, and their sentiments. No researcher is independent of the perspective he or she brings into any project. Hesse-Biber and Yaiser (2003) argue that an essential part of doing feminist research is to examine how one's social background, social location, and perspectives influence the project. This reflexivity is vital when doing international research. My race, gender, and national status influenced the questions I asked. Furthermore, my being a white American, using an interpreter, potentially influenced the ways in which my interviewees discussed certain issues because of American involvement in the Pinochet coup as well as American influence over global culture, and neoliberal policies. However, throughout all of my interviews, I endeavored to engage with my interviewees by speaking Spanish to them, stressing my local family background and experiences, and trying to find connections between us.

In general, most of my interviewees were very willing to talk with me and were open to my questions. Many actually commented that they found the questions

interesting and important. One male organizer informant commented that “I am so grateful that a white American is actually looking at these issues and wants to uncover the truth behind the problems we face within our society.” I also found throughout my time in Chile that the people with whom I interacted were very open in discussing sensitive issues in regards to the historical and contemporary relationship between the United States and Chile. Many of my interviewees and family members explained that Chileans, after living under a dictatorship, understood that governments do not necessarily represent the people who live under them. However, I cannot underestimate the importance of my status as an American to the relationships I was able to form with the people around me.

In order to foster trust from the onset, I began each interview with an explanation of the rights of the interviewees. They were told both at the beginning and throughout the interview that they did not have to participate or answer questions they deemed inappropriate or that made them feel uncomfortable. I also promised strict confidentiality as a way to allow interviewees freedom to discuss sensitive issues including: their activities as organizers, their political ideologies and support or non support of the current government, and sensitive relationships they had with co-workers, family members, or community organizers. To ensure confidentiality in this dissertation, I do not reveal the groups, specific ministries, or companies that these interviewees worked in, nor the communities where they lived. I did talk with SERNAM employees and women in two of the largest women’s NGOs within Santiago REMOS and ANAMURI. But I have eliminated any connection with

specific individuals in my descriptions. All names of interviewees are pseudonyms (English names), not to disrespect my interviewees' cultural heritage but to create more distance so their identities remain anonymous.

It is important to discuss how my personal biases and background assumptions as well as my role as the researcher influenced this study. From the onset, all researchers must acknowledge how their personal biases influence the research questions they study, the ways in which they analyze the data, and the conclusions they draw. Maintaining neutrality is not a realistic goal, nor is it necessary to conduct good research (Fendt and Sachs, 2009; Collins, 1991; Harding, 1998). This study, guided by both symbolic interaction and grounded theory, was conducted not to test hypotheses about the reality of globalization and social inequalities but rather to understand how my interviewees interpreted these realities and how they constructed meaning.

However, throughout the process I used my understandings about globalization and gender inequalities to help me establish the leads I followed, the people I talked to, and how to interpret what they said. My background allowed me to study these concepts from a uniquely feminist perspective and to ask important questions of my interviewees and interpret their responses from a critical perspective (Charmaz, 1990, 2006; Fonow and Cook, 1991). This could be problematic if I allowed my personal bias and lens to take over the project and overshadow the voices of my interviewees or overlook themes that I did not originally think important or expected. Thus, as suggested by Thorne (1995), throughout the project I examined

my role within the project, I re-read notes and transcriptions to look for bias, and at all times tried to keep my role as researcher in check. On the whole, I do believe that I received a clear picture of my respondent's perspectives and beliefs.

I had several advantages that allowed me to gain entry to interviewees and often to gain their trust which may have taken others more time. First, I lived within a very tight community as one of the family. As the spouse of a descendent of an original family of the barrio, the suspicions over my ethnicity and my trustworthiness as an interviewer were muted by many of the local interviewees. In many incidents, suspicious glances would disappear almost immediately upon hearing that I was the spouse of Elena's grandson, or the cousin of whomever. Second, my interpreter, also a family member, was able to vouch for me and by knowing her and her family, I was able to reach many more groups within the barrio. Nancy was also incredibly outgoing and personable: therefore, in marches and gatherings she was very capable of finding members of organizations to talk to us or workers who were willing to grant us an interview. Finally, my family members were able to obtain important first interviews for me with several employees of businesses, groups, and the government which otherwise might have been much more difficult to get. This provided a very useful first step in the snow ball sample.

CHAPTER 3

THE CHILEAN RISE OF NEOLIBERALISM AND COMMITMENT TO GLOBALIZATION--A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

During the late twentieth century, the growing globalization of the world economy and the emergence of neoliberal economic policies in international and national economies transformed the social structure of many nations and the life opportunities for many people, especially in the developing world. The impacts of globalization and neoliberal policies remain highly controversial. However, their strong potential for shaping and re-shaping the status of women is widely recognized. Since Chile was one of the first developing nations to adopt an extensive neoliberal regime, it provides an excellent case study for evaluating the effects of these large-scale economic changes on women. In this chapter I will *first* provide the historical background of the Chilean case, summarizing the four eras in its political economy outlined in Figure 3.1: 1) import-substitution industrialization (1940-1969), 2) Allende's democratic road to socialism (1970-1973), 3) Pinochet's neoliberalism (1973-1989), and 4) the return to democracy (1990-2007). I demonstrate that the Chilean state was an active player in utilizing neoliberalism to accelerate economic development. *Second*, I explore the relationship between neoliberalism and growing social inequalities within Chile. The economic growth indicators of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and inflation demonstrate development within the Chilean economy. Yet, income distribution, unemployment and other social indicators demonstrate how these policies only benefited a very small elite at the expense of everyone else. An examination of the history of its neoliberal policies and their effects on Chileans in

terms of economic growth, unemployment rates, labor rights, and growing social inequalities indicates how these policies affected the power of the state in economic relations within Chile and the ways in which they affected Chilean society as a whole.

Figure 3.1
Chronology of Events

Import-Substitution Industrialization Era 1940-1969	
1940	Election of President Pedro Aguirre, Radical Party
1946	Election of President Gabriel González, Radical Party
1948	Communism outlawed, many former communists exiled and imprisoned
1952	Election of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, Agrarian Party
1958	Communism ban lifted
1964	Election of Eduardo Frei, Christian Democrat Party
Democratic Road to Socialism, 1970-1973	
1970	Election of President Salvador Allende, Unidad Popular Party U.S. Embargo of Chilean Copper
1972	Worker Strike Against Allende Economic Downturn
1973	Reorganizations of Military Begins Allende Appoints General Augusto Pinochet as Commander and Chief of Army Allende evicts workers from occupied factories Allende agrees to elections for the presidency September 11, military coup overthrows Allende government and Allende dies
The Pinochet Dictatorship and Rise of Chilean Neoliberalism 1973-1989	
1973	“Internal War” begins, over 3,000 people disappear and over 130,000 people arrested
1975	First Economic Crash
1978	“Internal War” ends
1980	New Chilean Constitution passed by plebiscite
1982	Second Economic Crash
1988	Pinochet elected out of office
1989	Election of Patricio Aylwin, Christian Democrat
Return to Democracy, the <i>Concertación</i> Government 1990-2007	
1990	The <i>Concertación</i> takes over and transition to democracy begins
1994	Election of Eduardo Frei, Christian Democrat
1998	Pinochet is arrested in London for war crimes Economic Downturn due to East Asian Economic Crisis
1999	Pinochet returns to Chile, charges dropped due to illness
2000	Election of Ricardo Lagos, Socialist Party
2004	Chilean Supreme Court declares Pinochet fit for trial
2005	Pinochet trial continues
2006	Election of Michelle Bachelet, Socialist Party Student Protest Pinochet Dies
2007	Implementation of <i>TranSantiago</i> , privatized and modernized bus system

The Pre-Neoliberal Era-1940-1973 Import-Substitution Industrialization and the Allende Years

Chile's history in neoliberalism cannot be understood without a brief look into its overall history of economic protectionism. After the global depression of the 1930s, Chile adopted economic capitalist policies which promoted protectionism through import substitution industrialization (ISI). In order to protect growing national industries, the Chilean state subsidized the industrial sector, controlled exchange rates to promote technical imports, and discouraged other imports by imposing high tariffs (Taylor, 2002). In addition, it also promoted exports of raw materials, including copper, as a means of encouraging economic growth and financing industrialization. During this time period, industrialization became the primary engine behind the Chilean economy. Between 1940 and 1960, agricultural output fell from 18.1 percent of the GNP to 13.8 percent of the GNP (Edwards and Cox-Edwards, 1987). Although the economic policies of the post World-War II era created steady economic growth until the early 1960s, inflation and contradictory economic policies then contributed to stagnation and to a fiscal crisis that, coupled with political instability, led to the dismantling of the ISI system in the late 1960s (Taylor, 2002).

The ISI system throughout Latin America saw a decline in the overall socioeconomic power of estate land owners. Steady increases in income for workers moving from rural to industrial work, along with the declining estate system, encouraged the growth of an urban middle class (Velasco, 1994). Initially there was little class conflict between the landed agrarian class and the rising industrial

capitalists because they were often the same people. Most of the middle class in Chile at this time were bureaucrats and state employees rather than entrepreneurs; thus, the power of this rising class depended on votes rather than economic development. Consequently, they had political incentives to form connections to the increasing urban workers (Foxley, 1983). With steady economic growth and industrialization, union membership of the Chilean labor force rose from less than 1 percent in 1932 to 19.3 percent in 1952 (Valenzuela, 1978). Initially represented in the government by the Socialist Party from 1938-1952, labor made up a small portion of the government coalition. However, conflict grew between the middle class bureaucrats and the growing labor forces because state resources were scarce; and more and more workers joined leftist groups, including the Chilean Communist Party

The Chilean state not only played an active role in Chile's economic growth but also tried to establish control over growing class conflict. During the 1950s, the Chilean state used repression and interventionism in order to control the power of the radical left. Radical socialist and communist groups were banned during this time. Therefore, new industrial employees began to organize into labor unions and political parties which mounted growing pressure on the national government (Valenzuela, 1978). Unionization dropped to 14.3 percent in the mid-1960s due to repressive measures by the government in the late 1950s. However, union membership rose to 19.4 percent of the workforce by 1970. In addition to traditional work force unions, rural unions also grew and created mounting pressure on the government to expand

labor representation in the government and to enforce state protections for the poor within Chile (Velasco, 1994).

By the late 1960s, the ISI strategy began to break down. Inflation rates began to grow by an average of 36 percent a year while industrial production began to stagnate (Velasco, 1994). Chile saw its real GDP grow at slower rates than its Latin American neighbors, dropping from 3.7 percent in 1960 to 1.2 percent in 1967 (French-Davis, 1973). Poverty rates peaked at 17 percent of the population living in absolute poverty, and almost 40 percent of Chileans lived below the poverty line (UN, ECLAC, 2009). Thus, the government of the 1960s pushed major tariff reforms and liberalization policies as a means of promoting economic growth. When cheap imports began to flood Chilean markets and domestic business interests were threatened, moderate candidates for government office were forced to promise to reestablish trade barriers to protect business elites who continued to rule politically (Foxley, 1982; Tironi, 1984). At the same time, pressure from unions and leftist radicals, who were gaining political ground through massive mobilization, prompted government land-reform and labor-protection policies (Venezuela, 1978). As real wages increased and workers gained a greater political voice, unions used strikes and collective action to put additional pressure on the political system to give them more political power. Thus increasing social conflict, coupled with growing inflation and government expenditures, led to a three way split in the political system between the right, the left, and the moderates that would bring about Chile's shift to socialism (Velasco, 1994).

Salvador Allende was elected in 1970 as the leader of the Unidad Popular Party which promoted a democratic road to socialism. Allende, a medical doctor, was very active politically. He founded Chile's Socialist Party in 1932 and served in the lower house of Congress in 1937. He was Minister of Health under the Cerde administration in 1939 and elected Senator in 1947. His party was made up of a coalition of leftist radicals, communists, socialists, moderate business owners, and professionals. He ran for the Chilean presidency four times, unsuccessfully in 1956, 1958, and 1964. Finally, in 1970, he was elected by a narrow victory (36.2 percent) in a three way election. The Chilean Senate declared him president on October 24th (Crockcroft, 2000). However, the Senate put new limits on his presidency. Through constitutional reform Allende's presidential powers were severely limited, thus preventing his government from promoting policies or creating directives that related to education, individual freedoms, and religion. Moreover, Allende had limited power over security forces and in appointing commanding officers of the military. Furthermore, he was not allowed to appoint members of his political party to state administrative positions. Despite opposition from Congress, an intervening military, and the Supreme Court, Allende implemented many reforms which he called, "Chile's democratic road to socialism." He set about nationalizing much of the Chilean economy and providing a stronger welfare system to support Chile's working class (Crockcroft, 2000).

Allende's "democratic road to socialism" included a dramatic shift of power to the working classes. His government further confiscated and redistributed the

Chilean estates to individual landless families. It nationalized the copper industry and purchased almost all of Chile's banks. Participatory democracy also was encouraged on various levels, and workers in every industry saw an increase in wages and democratic representation throughout the Allende government. Within the Allende years real wages went up 30 percent, unemployment fell from 8.4 percent in 1970 to 4.8 percent in 1971 (Winn, 2004a).

By 1972, however, Allende's programs began to collapse under the stress of: a bankrupt government, economic isolation by the United States, and the decline in the prices of exports, including the main export, copper. Although the working classes had more money to spend, product shortages prevailed because some business and agricultural elites began to hide goods and even dump food into rivers. The Chilean copper embargo imposed by U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1970 led to the flight of most of Chile's foreign capital. The only aid going into Chile from the U.S. was through military aid in training select Chilean military personnel in the U.S. and Panama (Chomsky, 2002, Grandin, 2005, Taylor, 2002). Political business elites, seeing a threat to their economic interests, brought stalemate to the government, as they challenged Allende's authority to nationalize businesses. Radicals on the left, without government sanction or support, used growing social tensions to seize factories and businesses which further alienated the government from middle-class interest groups. American businesses including International Telephone and Telegraph spent millions of dollars to support opponents of the government in promoting anti-Allende movements. A U.S. supported worker strike in 1972 drew

middle class groups to band against the government. Lack of credit, the backlash of the private sector, in addition to U.S. training of various military dissidents, led to the coup of September 11, 1973 (Crockcroft, 2000; Winn, 2004a; Kornbluh, 2003).

Rising divisions between middle-class groups and the growing power of unions and the poor by June, 1973, created a rift between the moderate Christian Democrats and the Allende government which had continued to gain electoral votes through the 1973 elections. The right claimed that Allende's government was working beyond the Constitution and pushed for reorganizations within each military branch. Pro-constitution and left-wing military personnel were marginalized at best. Some were even assassinated, including Allende's naval aide Captain Arturo Araya. Throughout the summer of 1973, left-wing groups and workers pressured Allende to purge the military of right-wing officers or form a new army with supporters within the left and working classes. Allende refused claiming that democracy was the only road to socialism and that violating his presidential powers would lead to a civil war (Crockcroft, 2000). In late summer, several high-ranking military officials were forced to resign including General Carlos Prats, commander-in-chief of the army on August 23, 1973. He was replaced with General Augusto Pinochet by appointment of Allende. In an attempt to form a political compromise with the right, Allende appointed Pinochet, who headed the military branches and police, to his cabinet. He also approved the eviction of workers from occupied workplaces and agreed to a plebiscite giving Chilean voters the ability to end his presidency on September 4, 1973. Fearing Allende would win the election, Pinochet and the other heads of the

military, supported by political and business elites, staged the military coup (Croscroft, 2000).

The Rise of Chile's Neoliberalism: Economic Policy in the Pinochet Dictatorship 1973-1988.

General Augusto Pinochet assumed power on September 11, 1973, and changed both the political and economic frameworks of Chile. Pinochet's regime suspended the constitution, shut down Congress, banned or heavily restricted political parties, appointed military officers over government institutions including universities and some high schools, and censored the media. In addition to dismantling the Chilean democratic state, Pinochet's military regime committed horrendous human rights violations, torturing and killing or exiling people associated with: the left, unions, intellectuals, social reform, and socialist movements to help rural populations (Loveman, 1988; Valenzuela, 1989). His economic regime eliminated social welfare programs, thus, increasing levels of poverty and unemployment and contributing to further problems for the poor (Fischer, 2009; Martínez and Díaz, 1996; Rosenfeld, 1997; Isbister, 2005; Bouvard, 1995).

As early as 1973, the Pinochet regime began adopting the neoliberal policies promoted by Milton Friedman and other neoliberal scholars from the University of Chicago in order to promote social "modernization" (O'Brien, 1981). Even before the coup, economists from the University of Chicago, working with Chile's Catholic University, promoted alternative pro-capitalist and private-entries policies in Chile's universities and military schools as an alternative to the socialist reforms of the Allende (Valdes, 1995). Working with military leaders, eight economists from the

University of Chicago created an economic doctrine known as “The Brick” which would become the principal guide to Pinochet’s economic policies. Since Pinochet personally knew very little about economics and faced a national economic crisis from the onset of his dictatorship, he quickly selected many University of Chicago graduates as his top economic advisors and adopted the policies outlined in “the Brick” to promote both social and economic modernization (Fischer, 2009; Klein, 2007).

Social “modernization” policies included the privatization of welfare programs, the reorganization of state agencies, and emphasis on market forces and export-led development processes (Loveman, 1988; Martínez and Díaz, 1996; Vergara, 1994). Pinochet’s economic policies eliminated the socialist policies of Allende by privatizing almost all the industries nationalized in Allende’s administration and adhering to laissez-faire principles. These policies protected private property rights, maintained private investments, kept government spending on social programs low, and promoted foreign direct investment in accordance with the policies of such supranational organizations as the IMF, World Bank, and WTO. Early Pinochet policies from 1973-1975 gradually lifted price controls, commercialized farming, opened markets through tax relief on foreign companies, reduced tariffs, and reduced government spending (Fischer, 2009; Martínez and Diaz, 1996). Pinochet privatized several of the state-owned banks and companies, legalized speculative finance, eliminated trade tariffs on manufacturing imports, and reduced government spending by ten percent in all areas except the military (Klein,

2007). These policies were attempts by the Pinochet government to eliminate Marxist policies and to promote capitalist growth.

When these measures failed to produce stable economic growth and when the power of “Chicago” economists increased within the Pinochet cabinet, Chile implemented stricter “shock treatments” which became the foundation of a Chilean neoliberal regime (O’Brian, 1981; Vergara, 1994; Fischer, 2009). This regime implemented two strategies: economic marketization and the reduction of government spending through the privatization of social programs. Marketization involved selling government-owned banks and industries including utilities and transportation, the elimination of limits on government borrowing, a reduction on trade tariffs, and the implementation of a fixed exchange rate. The second strategy included: implementing a school voucher system, the dismantling of the public health system, and the privatization of the social security program and health insurance (Martínez and Díaz, 1996).

Although these neoliberal policies were heralded by the international community as the “Chilean miracle,” Collins and Lear (1995) argue that the results were not completely successful in promoting real economic development.⁹ The image of Pinochet’s having presided over a neoliberal economic miracle finds some support in the data on Chile’s economic development in Table 3.1. For example, during the 1966-75 decade real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita fell

⁹ The first to label Chile in the Pinochet era as an economic miracle was Friedrich Hayek, one of the most respected neoliberal economists of the time. He stated in an interview with a Venezuelan journalist in 1981 that “Chile is now a great success. The world shall come to regard the recovery of Chile as one of the great economic miracles of our time” (quoted from Fischer, 2009, 327).

significantly, but it rose 50 percent over the next 15 years from \$2,033 in 1975 to \$3,081 in 1990. However, the neoliberal policies of the Pinochet era did not produce the rapid industrialization that occurred when the East Asian nations opened their economies (Clark and Roy, 1997). Instead, manufacturing's share of GDP actually fell quite significantly from 25 percent in 1975 to 18 percent in 1990, while agriculture's and mining's contribution to the economy remained constant at about 16 percent over this period. What really increased was the share of GDP of financial services which nearly tripled from 5 percent in 1975 to 13 percent in 1990. As the global financial collapse of 2008-09 showed, this sector's growth can involve rampant and dangerous speculation and, in any event, almost entirely benefits a narrow wealthy elite (Stiglitz, 2010). While the Chilean economy experienced short-term economic gains beginning in 1979 and more substantial economic growth in the late 1980s, Chile also endured two economic depressions within a decade (Schild, 2002; Martínez and Diaz, 1996; French-Davies, 1990). Exports in the late 1970s began to diversify and grow in certain industries. Consumers in the late 1970s also experienced investment gains through an over-valued peso and continued foreign loans. The upper-class members were able to buy foreign goods at higher rates although Chile's foreign debt increased to \$16 billion (64 percent owed by the public sector) from \$5.5 billion in 1975 (85 percent owed by the government) (Collins and Lear, 1995). Chile's economy continued to grow at strong rates providing the regime with enough public support to elect the Pinochet regime in 1980 and guaranteeing Pinochet's control until 1989.

Table 3.1					
Chile's Economic Development Level 1966-1990					
<u>Year</u>	<u>GDP Per Capita In \$U.S. 2000</u>	<u>% of Agriculture of Total GDP*</u>	<u>% of Mining of Total GDP</u>	<u>% of Manufacturing of Total GDP</u>	<u>% of Financial Services** of Total GDP</u>
1966 ⁺	2367	9	7	25	3
1970	2474	8	7	25	5
1975	2033	8	8	25	5
1980	2725	8	7	22	10
1985	2423	9	9	21	6
1990 ⁺⁺	3081	8	9	18	13

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) <http://www.eclac.org/estadisticas/bases/default.asp?idioma=IN> (last accessed 8/1/2009).
* Source for GDP percentages: Banco de Chile. *Chile Social and Economic Indicators 1960-2000*. and Banco de Chile. *Statistical Synthesis of Chile 1999-2005 and 2003-2007*.
** Includes financial services, insurance, real estate, business services
+ Percentages of GDP for years 1960-1985 based on constant millions of 1976 pesos
++ Percentages of GDP for years 1990-2000 based on constant millions of 1986 pesos

Although GDP rose very significantly during the Pinochet era, the annual economic performance data in Table 3.2 show that the Pinochet era does not necessarily fit the criteria of an economic miracle. Economic growth rates per capita fluctuated between big highs and lows during the dictatorship including two sharp contractions of economic growth in 1975 and 1982-1983 which were much larger than the fall of GDP in the later part of the 1965-1973 periods. The rampant inflation widely associated with the Allende government actually got much worse during the beginning of the Pinochet regime (1973-1976) and then remained fairly high for most of the 1980s. In terms of unemployment, workers in Chile fared much worse under Pinochet's neoliberal policies than before he assumed power. Hence, the benefits of his development strategy were not widely shared. Double-digit unemployment

during the Pinochet regime was much higher than preceding or subsequent periods, peaking during the crash of 1982 to a staggering 22 percent.

Table 3.2				
Chile Economic Performance 1966-1989				
<u>Year</u>	<u>GNP</u> <u>Per Capita*</u> <u>In \$U.S. 2000</u>	<u>Economic Growth</u> <u>Rate Per Capita</u> <u>%*</u>	<u>Inflation</u> <u>Consumer Prices</u> <u>Annual %**</u>	<u>Unemployment Rate</u>
1966	2367	--	23.1	6.8
1967	2393	1	18.8	5.2
1968	2429	1	26.3	4.8
1969	2471	2	30.4	4.1
1970	2474	0	32.5	3.7
1971	2647	7	20.0	3.3
1972	2570	-7	74.8	3.3
1973	2386	-3	361.5	N/A
1974	2371	-1	504.7	N/A
1975	2033	-14	374.7	15
1976	2073	2	211.8	14
1977	2246	8	91.9	13
1978	2398	7	40.1	15.5
1979	2561	7	33.4	15
1980	2725	6	35.1	11.5
1981	2850	5	19.7	12.5
1982	2424	-15	9.9	21.6
1983	2319	-4	27.3	16.1
1984	2416	4	19.9	15.3
1985	2423	1	29.5	13.2
1986	2516	4	20.6	12.1
1987	2637	5	19.9	10.9
1988	2782	5	14.7	9.7
1989	3024	9	17.0	7.9

Source for GDP per Capita and % of Growth: ECLAC
 *Author's calculation based in ECLAC statistics
 **Source: World Bank Development Indicators Database (WDI)

Pinochet's neoliberal policies opened Chile to global capitalist markets.

According to neoliberals like Friedman, this should have been beneficial for several reasons. First, in-flows of foreign capital should have spurred investment in new industries, thereby, promoting technological innovation and creating jobs in more

advanced and higher-paying industries. Second, greater openness to world trade should have allowed the country to benefit from the greater economic efficiencies of pursuing its comparative advantage, where countries export goods that are cheaper to produce domestically while importing goods that are more expensive to produce internally (Easterly, 2006). Table 3.3 presents data on foreign direct investment (FDI) and exports in Chile's economy. Again, the effects of Pinochet's neoliberal policies are easy to discern, but they do not appear to be as momentous as is generally assumed.

Table 3.3
Chilean Indicators of Globalization 1970-1989

<u>Year</u>	<u>Gross Fixed Capital Formation</u> % of GDP	<u>Foreign Direct Investment</u> (net inflows)			<u>Exports</u> % of GDP	<u>Manufactured Products as % of Total Exports</u>
		<u>In Millions of \$U.S.</u>	<u>% of GDP</u>	<u>% of Total GFCF*</u>		
1970	18	12.3	0	0	15	4
1971	17	-19.0	-0	-0	11	5
1972	16	-1.1	-0	-0	10	5
1973	15	-4.8	-0	-0	14	4
1974	21	-2.3	-0	-0	20	4
1975	22	5.0	0	0	25	10
1976	16	-1.0	0	-0	25	10
1977	16	21.0	0	1	20	11
1978	18	181.0	1	4	20	10
1979	18	244.0	1	5	23	8
1980	17	213.0	1	4	22	9
1981	19	383.0	1	6	16	8
1982	14	401.0	2	10	20	7
1983	12	135.0	1	4	24	7
1984	12	78.0	0	2	23	7
1985	17	144.3	1	3	27	7
1986	17	315.5	2	6	28	9
1987	20	890.5	4	14	29	9
1988	21	967.5	4	13	33	9
1989	24	1283.5	5	14	34	10

Source: WDI Database
*Author's calculation based on WDI statistics

The first expectation is that Pinochet's pro-business policies would stimulate a major jump in investment with FDI playing a leading role. Here, the results are more than a little mixed. Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF) did rise from an average of 17 percent of GDP during 1970-73 to 21 percent in 1974 and 22 percent in 1975. However, it then fell back to levels similar to those of the Allende era until the late 1980s at the end of the Pinochet era. Then it rose from 17 percent in 1986 to 24 percent in 1989. Clearly, neoliberalism did not produce a revolutionary surge in investment. Foreign investment did increase considerably, but the in-flows of FDI were fairly minor until late in the regime. Significant foreign investment did not occur until the late 1970s; and even at the end of the Pinochet era (1987-89), it only accounted for 5 percent of GDP and 14 percent of all investment in Chile, hardly a dominating position.

The second expectation is that exports should rise rapidly and that this should promote industrial upgrading. The first part of this expectation is strongly supported by the data in Table 3.3. During the Pinochet era, the ratio of exports to GDP jumped two-and-a-half fold from 14 percent in 1973 to 34 percent in 1989. Clearly, exports became a driving force in Chile's economy. Yet, just as clearly, their contribution to industrial upgrading was quite limited as measured, for example, by the share of manufactured products in total exports. This was only 5 percent before Pinochet seized power. The neoliberal reforms did not produce great improvement, however. Manufactures averaged just under 10 percent of exports during the rest of the 1970s and 1980s. Rather, Chile's major exports included copper, paper, wood, and wine

(CIA, 2009). This stands in stark contrast to East Asian countries where opening the economy to globalization stimulated industrialization. In Taiwan where successful development has occurred, for example, the share of manufactures in exports skyrocketed from 8 percent in 1952 to 50 percent in 1963 and finally to 82 percent in 1972 (Clark, 1989).

Such aspects of Chile's neoliberal economy as the stagnation of manufacturing and the rapid expansion of finance suggest that the fruits of its growth were not widely shared. Unfortunately, an examination of wages, poverty, and inequality confirms this impression. Data on real (i.e., inflation adjusted) wages and the real minimum wage are only available after 1980. Table 3.4 shows that the "trickle down" was extremely limited under Pinochet. Because of the sharp recession in the early 1980s, real GDP per capita only increased by 11 percent between 1980 and 1989 from \$2,725 to \$3,024. Yet, this was quite good compared to the stagnant real wages which only grew by 2.8 percent during this decade. That is, the growth in real wages was only a quarter (25 percent) of that of the real economy. One reason for this was that the real minimum wage actually contracted by 20 percent. While many in the upper classes gained buying power and economic opportunities, the middle classes and poor faced the near elimination of retirement and medical benefits, higher unemployment, increased levels of poverty, and little welfare support from the state (Rosenfeld and Luis Marre, 1997). Private social welfare programs, moreover, further exacerbated social inequalities because the poor were more likely to have access to inadequate schools and inadequate public health clinics and to be without

sufficient savings or pensions while the free market system allowed the wealthy access to more modern forms of education and medical care (Collins and Lear, 1995).

Table 3.4
Increase in Wages 1980-1989

<u>Year</u>	<u>GDP Per Capita</u> (<u>\$U.S.</u> <u>2000</u>)	<u>Real Wages</u> (<u>1995=100</u>)	<u>Minimum Wage</u> (<u>2000=100</u>)
1980	2,725	77.2	66.0
1989	3,024	79.4	52.7
Change 1980-1989 (percent)	11%	+2.8%	-20.2%
Ratio to Change in GDP Per Capita	--	25%	-184%

Source: ECLAC

The crash of 1982 included the failing of private banks, a drop in the GDP by 14 percent, and an unemployment rate of nearly 33 percent. All of which prompted the government to provide subsidies to failing private industry (Ffrench-Davies, 1990; Fischer, 2009). Ironically, the recovery from the crash had less to do with the private sector than to the stability of the only industry that remained under government control, the copper industry, as well as changing global economic conditions (Martínez and Diaz, 1996). Moreover, the government purchased failing banks and businesses with public funds which, in turn, it sold at extremely low prices to foreign investors once they became viable again. Therefore, it was the temporary government control of business and a mounting national debt that kept the system going (Klein, 2007).

To protect his dictatorship and to prevent any backlash from those in Chile who did not benefit from his economic policies, Pinochet repressed any groups

thought to be a threat to the regime. During this “internal war” (1973-1978), workers, labor leaders, leftist group members, and anyone who objected to Pinochet’s economic policies were fired from government positions, isolated from the media, and demonized as threats to the state. Throughout the regime, workers and social protestors were subjected to violence and loss of legal representation within the society. From the onset, union leaders and worker activists were victims of kidnapping and torture. The first building confiscated by the military regime in 1973 was the headquarters of CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores), the bureaucratic head of the workers union and party. The organization was banned and all of its properties confiscated. In addition to suspending political and civil rights granted under the Chilean Constitution, the Pinochet regime quickly took steps to suspend workers rights within the workplace and Chilean society. Elections in all social groups, including unions, were banned as were collective bargaining and strikes. Over two-thirds of the federations and confederations associated with CUT were systematically dismantled. Tri-party labor commissions and state-led mediation boards were also banned (Winn, 2004b). In addition, to losing democratic representation and political power within the national government, workers lost real wages and other protections.

The repression of the Pinochet regime drew heavy international criticism from Europe and the United Nations. By 1978, most unions and leftists groups had been eliminated, and the culture of fear had taken its toll on the Chilean population. Thus, violence was no longer necessary to maintain control. In order to appear more legitimate internationally and internally, Pinochet’s “war of repression” came to an

end, and a new system of labor laws and policies (the Plan Laboral) was institutionalized. Many of the labor decrees and policies that followed were an attempt to legitimize Chilean labor relations in the face of increasing international criticism. Included in the Plan were the reduction of the state welfare programs mentioned above and very specific labor codes that would reaffirm Chile's commitment to neoliberalism. These protected business rights and privileges at the expense of labor. Among these measures were decrees that reshaped workers' contracts to allow for employer flexibility in defining job descriptions and work force locations and no-cause firings. They also lowered traditional severance pay minimums, lowered minimum wages to minors, changed overtime pay regulations to allow for longer work days, and eliminated most employer maternity and sick leave contributions (Winn, 2004b). Union relations were redefined in ways that made workers less likely to join unions and to have less power to act collectively. Union membership became voluntary and limited to four types of unions: enterprise, interenterprise, independent workers and construction workers. Collective bargaining was limited to enterprise unions which were splintered into small groups with little collective action. Closed shops and strikes were either illegal or severely limited. Labor courts which handled litigation were disbanded. State labor enforcement agencies were weakened and often reinforced employers' interests over workers' rights. In total, the Plan Laboral promoted neoliberal labor conditions, which increased flexibility in hiring and firing practices and dismantled labor collective

action, leaving labor at the mercy of market forces (Winn, 2004b; Collins and Lear, 1995).

However, Peter Winn (2004b) argues that despite repressive measures and legal enforcement of anti-labor policies, the Pinochet regime was unsuccessful in eliminating labor resistance. Workers throughout Chile founded a movement that gave dissenting voices the representation denied them in the political arena. Strikes and new labor unions were able to obtain increased wages and some benefits lost during the regime. Organized worker resistance paved the way for the end of the Pinochet regime and would be the precursor to the new democratic alliance of the Concertación Government.

By 1983, the economic depression began to take its toll. One-out-of-eight Chilean workers were employed by emergency work programs and were earning less than minimum wage. Anti-government protests were staged among unionized workers, the poor, and some middle class and professional groups. Although economic growth rebounded after the recession at impressive rates, it was only in 1989 that per capita output crawled back to the levels of 1970. The only real winners of Pinochet's neoliberal regime were the wealthiest. From 1978 to 1988, the gap between rich and poor exploded, as the top 10 percent saw their share of national income rise from 37 percent to 47 percent while the bottom third saw their share shrink from 23 percent to 18 percent. By 1990, 45 percent of the total population lived in poverty (Collins and Lear, 1995). The middle classes saw the balance of their mortgages soar as the value of the peso continued to be devalued (Collins and

Lear, 1995). Although the economy began to bounce back after 1985, most of the economic growth was based on massive exportation of timber and fish, the drop in the price of oil, and the increase in copper prices. Most of these factors continued to benefit multinational foreign interests and a few domestic elites. Overall, the increasing social problems and the plight of the poor stimulated the massive protests of the late 1980s that led to the fall of the Pinochet regime in 1988 and the creation of a democratic *Concertación* government which reestablished the constitutional state. In 1988, Chileans voted against another presidential term for Pinochet, and, in 1989, voted for Christian Democrat, Patricio Aylwin, who represented the new coalition between the moderates who had turned against the dictatorship and the leftist parties (Fischer, 2009; Olavarría, 2003; Winn, 2004b).

The Transition to Democracy: Economic Policies in the Concertación Government 1989-2006

The emerging democratic *Concertación* government, a coalition made up of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Communists and other leftist political parties, did not end neoliberal policies. Rather, in order to preserve the fragile political coalition which defeated Pinochet and the conservative right, the *Concertación* coalition actually continued to pursue neoliberal policies for several reasons (Olavarría, 2003). First, although the Pinochet regime lost the presidency in 1988, the military and its supporters on the far right framed the new constitution. The military was granted the power to appoint a majority in the Senate. Thus, the centrist *Concertación* government did not gain enough power within the legislature to pass any policies not supported by the far right or at least not supported by Chilean business and political

elites. Second, the economic growth of the late 1980s deterred the coalition government from altering economic policies that were finally providing some stable growth. Since the *Concertación* had to contend with the continued power of the military and Pinochet himself, establish a new democratic government, and deal with the human rights violations from the Pinochet regime, the establishment of new economic policies was not a priority of the first administrations. Why alter economic policies that had significant support from both business and political elites?

From the onset, the new government was committed to the neoliberal policies of the Pinochet dictatorship which meant to keep Chile's economy open to international capital with little interference from the Chilean government. Moreover, the government pursued privatization programs, set high interest rates to attract foreign capital, signed free trade agreements with other countries in South America, North America, and later China, and kept inflation down through balanced budgets and limited government spending (Oppenheim, 2006; Taylor, 2002; Portales, 2000). Unlike the Pinochet economic regime, the new democracy had made some amendments to the radical neoliberal regime. It reintroduced some government controls over the economy that moved it away from a strictly neoliberal model. Included in these controls were provisions which taxed short-term capital influx into Chile, forced businesses to put capital into the Chilean central banks for a year, provided protections of various financial assets, and controlled foreign investment options (Oppenheim, 2006).

According to Greider (1997), it was these government controls that contributed to the ensuing economic growth of the 1990s. In addition, much of the boom in many industries, including the forestry and fishing industries, was due to public investment in the private sector. In addition to selling off public assets at very low prices during the 1980s, the Chilean Economic Development Agency (CORFO) continued to provide various businesses with technical as well as financial assistance. It funded research and development and promoted new industries and then sold them to the private sector. State intervention promoted economic growth and development much as it had during the Pinochet era through the public acquisition of private debt (Cypher, 2004).

The success of the *Concertación*'s government economic policies is much more impressive than that of Pinochet's. The pursuit of moderate neoliberal economic policies since the democracy was restored resulted in extensive growth rates in terms of GDP. Table 3.5 shows that the annual growth rate increased even more impressively over the next 15 years since the Pinochet Regime as it almost doubled to \$5,703 in 2005. The democratic era, in contrast, saw only fairly marginal changes in the structure of Chile's economy. The only noticeable changes were a decline in agriculture from 8 percent to 4 percent of GDP and a slight increase in financial services from 13 percent to 16 percent. Manufacturing and mining stayed fairly constant at about 17 percent and 8 percent of GDP respectively. Overall, the tertiary or service sector came to dominate the economy, as the combined contribution of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing was only 29 percent in 2005.

Table 3.5					
Chile's Economic Development Level 1990-2005					
Year	GDP Per Capita In \$U.S. 2000*	% of Agriculture of Total GDP*	% of Mining of Total GDP	% of Manufacturing of Total GDP	% of Financial Services** of Total GDP
1990 ⁺⁺	3081	8	9	18	13
1995	4279	7	8	16	14
2000	4903	6	10	15	14
2005 ⁺⁺⁺	5703	4	8	17	16

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) <http://www.eclac.org/estadisticas/bases/default.asp?idioma=IN> (last accessed 8/1/2009).
* Source for GDP percentages: Banco de Chile. *Chile Social and Economic Indicators 1960-2000*. and Banco de Chile. *Statistical Synthesis of Chile 1999-2005 and 2003-2007*.
** Includes financial services, insurance, real estate, business services
++ Percentages of GDP for years 1990-2000 based on constant millions of 1986 pesos
+++ Percentages of GDP for years 2005-2007 based on constant millions of 2003 pesos

Table 3.6 shows that the democratic governments have had a noticeably better record than the Pinochet dictatorship in terms of overall growth. As just noted, Gross National Product (GNP) per capita increased significantly more during the democratic era than the Pinochet period. Moreover, growth was substantially more stable after 1990, as there were no marked contractions as occurred under Pinochet. For example, real GNP per capita rose every year between 1990 and 2007 except for a 2 percent decline in 1999. The democratic governments were also much more successful than Pinochet in keeping inflation under control. For example, the inflation rate in consumer prices plummeted from 26 percent in 1990 to 8 percent in 1995 and then declined further to around 3 percent between 2000 and 2007. Despite these notable successes, however, there is evidence that the benefits of this growth

continued to be concentrated in the hands of the Chilean elites. In particular, while the unemployment rate never returned to the double digits that existed for most of the dictatorship, Chilean workers continued to face an unemployment rate that was well over double that (3.4 percent) of the Allende era, averaging a little over 7 percent from 1990-98 and 2006-07 and over 9 percent from 1999-2005. In addition, the government did little to change labor laws that benefited employers by allowing them a free hand in hiring and firing processes and anti-union and collective bargaining practices which kept wages and benefits for the majority of workers low (Taylor, 2002).

Table 3.6
Chile Economic Performance 1990-2007

<u>Year</u>	<u>GNP Per Capita *</u> In \$U.S. 2000	<u>Economic Growth Rate Per Capita</u> %**	<u>Inflation Consumer Prices</u> Annual %***	<u>Unemployment Rate+</u>
1990	3081	2	26.0	7.8
1991	3268	6	21.8	8.2
1992	3603	11	15.4	6.7
1993	3784	5	12.7	6.6
1994	3931	4	11.4	7.8
1995	4279	9	8.2	7.3
1996	4528	6	7.4	6.3
1997	4760	5	6.1	6.1
1998	4849	2	5.1	6.3
1999	4751	-2	N/A	9.8
2000	4903	3	3.4	9.2
2001	5009	2	4.5	9.1 ⁺
2002	5061	1	3.5	9.8
2003	5203	3	2.5	9.5
2004	5459	5	2.8	10.0
2005	5703	4	2.4	9.2
2006	5903	4	3.1	7.7
2007	6117	4	2.6	7.1

*Source for GDP per Capita and % of Growth: ECLAC
**Author's calculation based in ECLAC statistics
***Source: World Development Indicators Database
+Source for unemployment rates 2002-2007: ECLAC....

During the transition to democracy, Chile's role in the global economy had grown significantly, clearly surpassing the level of integration into the global economy achieved during the Pinochet era, as indicated by the data in Table 3.7. First, Chile became significantly more export dependent. Exports as a portion of its GDP declined significantly from 33 percent to 27 percent of GDP between 1990 and 1996, but then jumped substantially from 26 percent in 1998 to 34 percent in 2002 and to 47 percent in 2007. Second, foreign capital became much more important in the Chilean economy. Foreign Direct Investment rose steadily throughout the democratic era from \$661 million in 1990 to \$4.6 billion in 1998 and to \$14.5 billion in 2007. It rose from 2 percent to 9 percent of GDP with a spike of 12 percent in 1999. As a share of total investment, FDI actually declined from 14 percent at the end of the Pinochet era to 8 percent from 1990 to 1993, but then skyrocketed to 19 percent in 1994 and 28 percent in 1996, 40 percent from 2004 to 2006, and an overwhelming 68 percent in 2007. Thus, foreign investment had clearly become much more important in Chile since the mid-1990s. However, the overall investment rate dropped significantly from 26 percent in 1996 to 21 percent in 2007. This decline implies domestic investment, rather than being augmented, may have been pushed aside. The significant drop in the overall investment rate may be a precursor of more economic problems. Furthermore, manufacturing products continued to be fairly marginal in Chile's exports, indicating that the export growth of the last two decades has not promoted industrial upgrading. While their share did grow gradually to a peak of 17 percent in 1993, 1994, and 2001, they had dropped back to 10 percent

by 2007. Therefore, as was true during the Pinochet Regime, Chile's economic growth as a product of the global economy had not been equitable which explains why there continued to be large social inequalities within Chile during the 1990s.

Table 3.7
Chilean Indicators of Globalization 1990-2007

<u>Year</u>	<u>Gross Fixed Capital Formation</u> % of GDP	<u>Foreign Direct Investment</u> (net inflows)			<u>Exports</u> % of GDP	<u>Manufactured Products as % of Total Exports</u>
		<u>In Millions of \$U.S 2000.</u>	<u>% of GDP</u>	<u>% of Total GFCF*</u>		
1990	24	661.2	2	8	33	11
1991	21	821.7	2	9	32	13
1992	23	935.1	2	8	29	14
1993	26	1034.3	2	8	26	17
1994	24	2583.1	5	19	28	17
1995	25	2957.0	4	19	29	12
1996	26	4814.6	6	28	27	13
1997	27	5271.4	6	28	27	14
1998	26	4627.8	6	24	26	16
1999	21	8761.0	12	58	30	16
2000	21	4860.0	6	31	32	15
2001	22	4199.7	6	25	33	17
2002	21	2549.9	4	15	34	16
2003	20	4307.4	6	25	37	16
2004	19	7172.7	7	43	41	13
2005	21	6983.8	6	36	41	13
2006	19	7357.7	5	40	46	11
2007	21	14457.3	9	68	47	10

Source: WDI Database
*Author's calculation based on WDI statistics

In order to reduce poverty and the other social problems associated with the “modernization” of the Pinochet era, the newly elected democratic government did implement several programs labeled “growth with equity” (Schild, 2002). Recognizing the limitations of private social welfare in reducing poverty or bringing about equal development, the *Concertación* regime created programs that would

redefine the government's economic role from its previous radical neoliberal position. Hence, the government would play a very limited role in economic policies but would attempt to assist individuals who had been adversely affected by previous neoliberal policies and programs. The state, in cooperation with the civil society, including economic and social actors, began to provide assistance to individuals to integrate them into the economy and to promote development by providing loans and training programs and financial support to those who are unable to survive without assistance (Austin, 2003). However, while spending on education, poverty assistance, and economic training provided necessary funds to the poor in Chile, the government continued to support the neoliberal doctrine of limited state responsibility. As Schild (2002: 170) notes: "if the completed first phase of neoliberal reforms succeeded in altering the rules of the economic game in Chile, this second, more subtle, phase of institutional reforms has entrenched the values and premises of the marketplace associated with neoliberalism as the dominant political grammar and rationality of government." Schild (2002) further argues that these programs focused on individual gains, development, and personal responsibility.

This moderate form of neoliberal policies was successful in improving the conditions for the poorest sector of Chile while at the same time increasing the gap between the rich and poor. Poverty continued to decrease, and job creation programs also led to a significant reduction in unemployment rates. Table 3.8 shows that the growth of wages between 1989 and 2002 (when the wage data end) was much more robust than in the Pinochet period. GDP per capita grew by 67.4 percent, while real

wages increased 49.7 percent in part because the real minimum wage doubled. Consequently, the ratio of the growth in real wages to that in real GDP per capita was 74 percent, triple the rate in 1980. Despite growth in agricultural and export industries such as fruit, fishing, and lumber, jobs in these sectors were temporary and did not pay living wages nor provide safe and reasonable working conditions. One million Chileans only averaged about the equivalent of 225 U.S. dollars per month (CIA, 2009). In fact, much of Chile's economic growth came at the price of increased productivity due to long working hours by the labor force. In 2003, workers in Santiago averaged 2,250 hours per year, the world's highest by more than fifty hours (U.S.B, 2004). Growth in the late 1980s and 1990s did provide some new opportunities for labor due to emerging technology. But because of international competition, workers were once again facing unstable employment, lower wages, and little or no bargaining power for better wages or working conditions (Schurman, 2001, 2004).

Table 3.8
Increase in Wages 1989-2002

<u>Year</u>	<u>GDP Per Capita (\$U.S. 2000)</u>	<u>Real Wages (1995=100)</u>	<u>Minimum Wage (2000=100)</u>
1989	3,024	79.4	52.7
2002	5,061	118.9	106.8
Change 1989-2002 (percent)	+67.4%	+49.7%	+102.6%
Ratio to Change in GDP PC	--	74%	152%
Source: ECLAC			

In addition to higher real and minimum wages, poverty rates and social inequalities within democratic Chile were also significantly reduced during the democratic era after growing substantially under Pinochet. This certainly suggests that democratic Chile had reduced Pinochet's economic repression to a very significant extent. Compared to other Latin American countries during the emergence of neoliberal policies in the 1990s, Chile was the only one which had made any real progress toward poverty reduction (Portes and Hoffman, 2003). Between 1987 and 1992, over a million Chilean people moved above the poverty line. In 1996 the poverty rate (23.2 percent) declined by almost half of the poverty rate (44.6 percent) of 1987. Much of this decline resulted from the government's intervening with wage controls and by raising the minimum wage in 1990 by 17 percent above that of the Pinochet era and again in 1992 by another 15 percent. In Table 3.9 the percentages of Chileans living below both the poverty and extreme poverty lines demonstrate the very poor record of the Pinochet regime in this area. Between 1965 and 1970 under democratic governments, both poverty and extreme poverty were more than cut in half, dropping from 39 percent to 17 percent and from 17 percent to 6 percent respectively. By the late Pinochet era, these gains had been almost totally erased. The post-Pinochet democracy again reduced poverty levels substantially and actually improved upon the 1970 situation. By 2006, poverty had been reduced to 13.7 percent and extreme poverty to 3.2 percent of the population. In addition, Chile scores relatively well on the availability of basic utilities. Table 3.10 shows that most homes have had access to piped water (82 percent in 1970, 88

percent in 1990, and 93 percent in 2006) and electricity (85 percent in 1980 and 99 percent in 2006) for quite some time. The availability of sewage services increased substantially under Pinochet from 36 percent in 1970 to 70 percent in 1990 and continued to improve to 82.5 percent in 2006 under the democratic governments.

Table 3.9 Poverty Rates 1965-2006 (Percentages)		
Year	Population living below the poverty line	Population living below the extreme poverty line
1965	39	17
1970	17	6
1987	39	14
1990	38	13
1995	27	7.6
2000	20	5.6
2006	13.7	3.2

Source: ECLAC

Table 3.10 Households with Availability of Basic Utilities 1970-2006 (Percentage of households)			
Year	Piped Water	Sewage	Electricity
1970	81.6	36.0	N/A
1980	81.4	61.0	84.66
1990	88.2	69.9	88.1
2000*	90.6	79.5	97.5
2006	92.9	82.5	99.0

Source: SALA 2001
*Source for years 2000 and 2006: ECLAC

Yet, despite this undeniable improvement, substantial social problems remain. Major segments of the population have been excluded from neoliberal growth, and real divisions within the country remain. “According to official figures, the poverty

rate in this South American country of 16 million people declined from 38 percent in 1990 to 13 percent in 2006. But a survey by Un Techo para Chile in 2007 found there were still 533 shanty-towns home to 29,000 families nationwide” (Estrada, 2009). Moreover, Chile has a high degree of income inequality, relative to most other countries in the region. The figures in Table 3.11 show that, while the Pinochet era represented the height of inequality, income disparity within Chilean social classes continues to be severe. For example, the ratio of the incomes of the richest fifth of the population to that of the poorest increased from 11.5 in 1968 to 17.0 in 1990, showing that the dictatorship was associated with a massive increase in inequality. The first decade of democratic governance brought no improvement. The inequality ratio actually inched upward to 18.0 before decreasing significantly to 14.3 in 2006. Thus, the record of the democratic governments in improving the citizens’ quality of life appears to be somewhat questionable. For example, in 2002, 83 percent of Chileans reported that their lives had not improved under democratic rule (Grandin, 2006).

Table 3.11
Distribution of National Income by Quintiles, by Geographical Area 1968-2006

Year	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5	Top 10%	Ratio of Richest to Poorest*
1968	4.40	9.00	13.80	21.40	51.40	34.8	11.47
1989	3.70	6.80	10.30	16.20	62.90	48.9	17.00
2000	3.41	6.85	10.74	17.55	61.46	45.0	18.00
2006	4.06	7.70	11.67	18.59	57.98	42.0	14.30

Source: ECLAC
*Calculated by author from ECLAC data

Table 3.12 shows that Chile had made very considerable, if not spectacular progress, in overall health outcomes that occurred before, during, and after the Pinochet dictatorship. For example, between 1960 and 2005, infant mortality fell from 118 to 8 per 1,000 live births. The mortality rate for children under 5 dropped from 155 to 10 per 1,000 live births; and life expectancy increased from 57 to 78. On all three of these indicators, then, Chile has reached the level of the developed world. Yet, the government had never spent very much on health, no matter what the form of government. Indeed, governmental health spending even went up a significantly under Pinochet from 1.7 percent of GDP in 1970 to about 2.5 percent during most of his administration. It rose again a little in the democratic era from 2.0 percent in 1990 to 2.8 percent in 2005. Moreover, due to the privatization of the health care system under Pinochet, many Chileans have limited access to health care. For example, the number of hospital beds per 1,000 has fallen continuously during both the dictatorial and democratic periods from 3.8 in 1970 to 2.5 in 1990 to 2.3 in 2005. The supply of physicians, in contrast, stagnated during the Pinochet years when there were over 2,000 people for each doctor. Afterwards this ratio was cut by nearly two-thirds from 2,166 in 1990 to 776 in 2005.

The contradiction between improved health conditions and reduced resources in the health care system may be explained by several factors. First, Chile's progress was part of a world-wide trend that saw, for example, infant mortality decline considerably in most regions and areas. Infant mortality in all middle-income countries, including Chile, plummeted from 80 to 38 per 1,000 live births between

1970 and 1990, in contrast to Chile's more spectacular drop from 78 to 18 (World Bank, 1993: 292-293). UN health programs, such as immunization promotion, and improvements in and the spread of medical techniques almost certainly explain this (World Health Organization, 2010). Second, Chile has a strong record in education. (See Table 3.13 below). Since health care outcomes are better in countries with more highly educated populations (Clark and McEldowney, 2001), this also explains Chile's good performance. Finally, Chile's good access to clean water and large increase in sewage service (see Table 3.10 above) undoubtedly helped to improve national health statistics as well.

Table 3.12
Chilean Health Indicators 1960-2005

Year	Public Expenditures on Health as % of GDP	Infant Mortality (Per 1000 Births)	Children Under 5 Mortality (Per 1000 Births)	Life Expectancy	Average Number of Inhabitants Per Physician	Hospital Beds per 1000 Inhabitants*
1960	N/A	118	155	57	1810	4.0
1970	1.7	78	98	62	2175	3.8
1975	2.4	56	N/A	67**	2359	3.7
1980	2.1	35	45	69	2707	3.4
1985	2.7	24	N/A	72	2181	3.5
1990	2.0	18	21	74	2166	2.5
1995	2.4	13	14	75	1521	2.2
2000	2.8	10	11	77	844	2.7
2005	2.8	8	10	78	776	2.3

Source: ECLAC
*Years 1970-1985 include beds in government establishments, years 1990-1995 include beds in Ministry of Health, and 2000-2005 include beds in by Public National Health system and other public and private establishments
**Life Expectancy for 1977 as 1975 was unavailable

Chile has done well in basic education. For example, Table 3.13 shows its literacy rate was 88 percent, and it had a primary school enrollment rate of 90 percent

as early as 1970. Since then the literacy rate has improved to 96.5 percent in 2005, although primary school enrollment slipped slightly to just under 90 percent. Above the primary level, the results are mixed. Enrollment in secondary schools was a low 28 percent in 1970 and has only improved to 55 percent since then. One factor here was undoubtedly the decreased priority on education during the Pinochet era. Government spending on education fell from 5.1 percent of GNP in 1970 to 3.1 percent in 1990. It recovered a little under the democratic governments to 3.7 percent in 2005. In contrast, college enrollments are comparable to those of the developed world, growing from 16 percent in 1970 to 21 percent in 1990 to 28 percent in 2005, suggesting an elitist emphasis in post-primary education.

Table 13.3
Chilean Educational Indicators 1970-2005

Year	Illiteracy Rate Of Population Aged 15 and Older*	Public Expenditures on Education**		Net Enrollment Ratio by level of education*** (Percent)			Educational Level of Economically Active Population ⁺⁺
		% of GNP	% of Total Government Expenditures	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary ⁺ (Gross %)	
1970	12.4	5.1	22.0	90.2	28.0	15.6	4.3
1975	N/A	4.1	12.0	94.0	33.4	12.3	7.5 ^a
1980	8.6	4.6	11.9	N/A	N/A	N/A	7.6
1985	N/A	4.4	15.3	90.1 ^b	43.6	15.5	8.3
1990	6	2.7	10.4	87.7	54.6	20.7	8.6
1995	5.1	3.1	14.0	87.3	54.9	28.2	9.6
2000	4.2	4.1	16.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	10.0 ^c
2005	3.5	3.7	16.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Source: ECLAC
**Source: Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) <http://www.eclac.org/estadisticas/bases/default.asp?idioma=IN> (last accessed 8/1/2009).
*** Source: Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) <http://www.eclac.org/estadisticas/bases/default.asp?idioma=IN> (last accessed 8/1/2009).
+Source: Statistical Abstract of Latin America 2001.
++Source: Banco de Chile. *Chile Social and Economic Indicators 1960-2000*.
a. Education Level for 1976 as 1975 was unavailable
b. Primary and Secondary ratios for 1983 as 1985 ratios unavailable
c. Education Level for 1999 as 2000 was unavailable

Since the Allende era, the Chilean work force has become more educated.

However, the average Chilean still does not have the equivalent of a high school diploma despite the increasing importance of its service economy over its agricultural and manufacturing sectors. According to Schild (2002), spending on education since the return to democracy has led to considerable improvement in facilities, especially in poor regions. As well, there has been an increase in literacy rates to about 98 percent for both men and women. School attendance increased for women on all

levels. However, these gains do not necessarily affirm the success of these programs because they hide gender and racial/ethnic inequalities. Relative inequality rates continued to grow with Chile being one of the most unequal countries in the world. “New winners and losers have emerged, predominately in formal employment and are related to what is now referred to openly in Chile as the ‘feminization’ of labour” (Schild 2002: 177). Neoliberalism, therefore, has not inhibited overall development in terms of health, education and access to modern facilities, but neither has it done much to improve employment opportunities and income inequalities within Chile.

The *Concertación* government was one of Latin America’s most stable. It controlled the presidency throughout the transition to democracy. However, the growing social divisions despite economic growth in the 1990s brought a strong challenge from the right in the 1999 presidential election. Richard Lagos, the coalition’s first socialist candidate, barely survived the first round of voting in Chile’s closest election. He almost lost to Joaquin Lavín who represented Chile’s elite, beating him in the second round by 3 percent of the total vote (Siavelis, 2007, Taylor 2000). The power of the *Concertación* seemed to be waning; and it was predicted that it would not be able to defeat Lavín again in the next presidential election. The Lagos presidency would eventually gain most of the popular support within Chile (70 percent approval rating). However, several *Concertación* deputies and ministers became involved in political scandals which alienated the public from a future *Concertación* president (Franceschet, 2006). The ruling government had to shift focus and provide a candidate who would show a change within the coalition and somehow

reconcile the contradictory effects of the left's continuing support of neoliberal policies at the expense of the middle and working classes. Thus in 2005, the coalition selected the country's first female presidential candidate, Michelle Bachelet, hoping that her personal history as well as her gender would signal a new direction for the government. It also wisely capitalized on cultural gender stereotypes that women make less corruptible politicians than men (Fraceshet, 2006; Siavelis, 2007).

Michele Bachelet was the daughter of General Alberto Bachelet Martínez, who was a supporter of Allende and who subsequently was murdered by members of the Pinochet regime. Both Michelle and her mother were tortured and forced into exile in 1975. Bachelet returned to Chile in 1979 after finishing medical school in Berlin, but she was forced to retake her studies in Chile because the University of Chile did not recognize her degree. She graduated in 1983 as a surgeon, but returned to the university to specialize in pediatrics and public health until 1986. As a member of the Socialist Party of Chile in the late 1980s, Bachelet fought against the Pinochet regime staying politically active despite the state repression she had faced in the early 1970s. During the transition she served in her party's Central Commission and was an active member of the *Concertación* coalition. She also studied military strategy in 1996. She was appointed Minister of Health in 2000 by the Lagos government and was the first woman in Latin America appointed Minister of Defense in 2002 (Gobierno de Chile, 2007; Davison, 2005, Rohter, 2006; Time, 2008). Her long political experience and connection to Lagos as well as support from the public gained her the Socialist Party nomination.

Bachelet was a perfect candidate for the *Concertación* government for several reasons. First, her family's and her personal history made her an important symbol of those oppressed by the Pinochet regime. Second, Bachelet offered a break from politics as usual for the *Concertación* government. Many felt that, as a woman, she represented an outsider's view on the political machine. Despite living in one of the most conservative countries within Latin America, where about 30 percent of women are employed outside the home, Bachelet was known as a public health care worker. She worked with the poor, which was an image which she embraced during the campaign. She participated in a campaign of providing greater social justice, gender equality within the government, and a voice within the government for everyday Chileans. However, she also embraced the *Concertación* commitment to neoliberal policies, or "growth with equity." Thus she exemplified change but not so much of a change as to alienate her from the moderates in the coalition (Franceschet, 2006).

Finally, Bachelet represented something very different in a candidate due to her gender and personal background. As a divorced woman with three children and an atheist in a predominantly Catholic nation, Bachelet both embraced and challenged gender stereotypes of women in politics. While she did not embrace traditional images of maternal identity, neither did she embrace masculine ruling styles. However, she did capitalize on her ability as a woman to expel corrupt politicians from the government and to be above corruption herself. Therefore, she hoped that these gender associations would gain her support from those who did not support another presidency for the *Concertación* coalition (Franceschet, 2009). She

promised to appoint women to the governmental ministries and to provide real change for women within the Chilean government. All of these factors combined to facilitate her election as the first Chilean female president in 2006.

A New Era? Neoliberalism and Michelle Bachelet

During her presidential campaign and her first couple years in office, Bachelet continued the *Concertación* coalition's commitment to previous moderate neoliberal policies, which included: low tariffs on international goods, low taxes on foreign investments and transnational corporations, and limited government control over markets (Caputo and Galarce, 2006). In her 2008 presidential address, Bachelet continued to follow the doctrine of open markets and globalization. She stated, "Chile's openness to the world has doubtlessly been beneficial." She actively promoted Chile's incorporation into the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). Her administration also expanded the Chilean Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with China (BBC, 2008). Despite the effort to promote global economic growth, capital flight from Chile continued to be a problem. In 2006, 17 percent, of the GDP, or 25 billion dollars fled the country mostly from international mining companies (Caputo and Galarce, 2006).

Like the Lagos government before her, Bachelet continued to try to balance the demands of the neoliberal model with the reality of growing social inequity. This balance was supported in large part by copper revenues from the state-owned Codelco which continued to make up for budget shortfalls due to capital flight. In 2007, copper prices continued to soar, and Codelco continued to make up 70 percent

of the tax revenues from mining to the Chilean state. Yet, it only made up 30 percent of the country's mining profits because many mines had been privatized to international owners who paid lower taxes (Zibechi, 2007). The State used these profits and increased tax expenditures imposed on the wealthy to fund low-income programs and for employment creation. However, growing social protests among workers and a frustrated middle and working class put more pressure on the government to fulfill its promises of growth with equity (Taylor, 2002, Zibechi, 2007).

After taking office, Bachelet kept her word about promoting gender and class equity through representation and government programs targeted to help the poor. Bachelet did appoint a gender equal cabinet of ministers. Campaigning on pledges to help Chile's poor, Bachelet succeeded in raising state expenditures for pensions by ten percent, increasing funding for public child care facilities (*los jardines*), and expanding employment programs for the poorest sector in Chile (Siavelis, 2007). However, despite expanding commitments to health care and education made by the previous Lagos and other *Concertación* administrations, she faced several early political crises demonstrating the growing rift between supporting neoliberal economic policies and social equality (Zibechi, 2007). For example, lack of government funding for schools attended by low income children caused inequalities between private and public educations that promoted early protests (within months of Bachelet taking office). These were followed by demonstrations by over half a million students demanding that the government prevent price increases for college

entrance exams and bus passes and that it allocate more money to schools that were not as effective in educating youth. By the end of the crisis, Bachelet committed her regime to increasing federal expenditures to \$200 million and fired the ministers of education, economy and interior. However, few believed that the firings would address the inequalities within the education system which had been privatized under the Pinochet regime (Siavelis, 2007; Ziebechi, 2007).

An important symbol of the Bachelet era came a year later with the semi-privatization of the Santiago bus system. In order to modernize the system, Bachelet continued a plan developed under the previous administration to streamline bus routes using large private commercial vehicles within the city in addition to providing electronic payment cards. New lines were supposed to remove redundancies of the old system run by several independent operators. However, for many in poorer areas of the city this change meant more transfers, longer trips and more money for fares. The new bus system failed because there were not enough vehicles for the new routes especially in poor areas where there was less profit. The poor lost more direct lines into the city center, were forced to walk farther to bus stops, and experienced longer waits for buses that were late, crowded, and sometimes did not arrive at all. Within the first month the new bus system borrowed money from the public metro subway system in order to pay for increased costs. Commuters had few alternatives since the metro was overrun with disgruntled former bus riders. After three months Bachelet requested government intervention to make up for millions of dollars in losses and to

lend companies money to meet vehicle demand (Zibechi, 2007; *The Economist*, 2008).

Despite reports of a growing crisis, Bachelet remained committed to neoliberal policies and Chile's integration into the global economy. "We must insert ourselves into this globalized world and work to contribute to ensuring that it does not mean a more unequal world" (Television Nacional de Chile, 2007). However, the global economic crisis starting in 2008 had created a change in pro neoliberal rhetoric. In an interview by *Newsweek*, Bachelet distanced herself from neoliberalism calling for more state intervention and social programs.

Chile has done a lot to rid itself of poverty, especially extreme poverty, since the return to democracy. But we still have a ways to go toward greater equity. This country does not have a neoliberal economic model anymore. We have put in place a lot of policies that will ensure that economic growth goes hand in hand with social justice. There does not have to be a trade-off between growth and social protection. A democracy does not mean much if it does not respond to the needs and will of its people. (Newsweek, 2009).

Conclusion

Several conclusions can be derived from this description of four decades of Chile's pursuit of neoliberal policies under both a dictatorship and democracy. First, neoliberalism as envisioned by the hyper or radical theorists discussed in Chapter 1 was never practiced in Chile despite the presence of an authoritarian, terrorist state committed to neoliberal doctrine. The Pinochet government did successfully adopt many neoliberal principles such as the privatization of many public goods including health, education, retirement, and national finance. But it never privatized all industries. Moreover, state ownership of the copper industry allowed Chile to recover

from two major economic recessions and several minor recessions and to promote some social programs under recent democratic governments. Indeed, it was the state that promoted research and development and provided economic safety nets and investments which contributed so much to the celebrated economic “miracles” that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s.

More importantly, it was the use of violence and repression by the Pinochet government that transferred political and economic power from Chile’s working and middle classes back to the previous political elites who favored the expansion of global capitalism. The Pinochet government stopped any political and social opposition to its neoliberal regime and effectively removed all labor organizations and collective bargaining strategies that would have been a check on the economic policies which were concentrating wealth in the hands of the elite. Despite some changes within the new democratic coalition, the constitutional and political powers of the right continued to benefit the elite. Employers were allowed to fire workers at will, keep wages well below growth in production, and inhibit the ability workers to fight for better working conditions, stability, or pay.

Second, Chile has not followed a moderate course of neoliberalism either. While it has used the state to regulate global markets in small ways, it has not provided an effective check on global capitalism nor has it provided an adequate safety net for its population. Chile’s emphasis on low inflation, national reserves, and adhering to international pressures for open markets has prevented real wealth redistribution and real improvements in its social infrastructure. Education, health,

housing, resource and environmental protection, and adequate employment continue to be determined by global market forces. These public goods, left to the market, in Chile are reinforcing growing social divisions. Although concerted efforts have been made by the ruling coalition to protect certain groups from the negative effects of its neoliberalism agenda, it failed to provide “growth with equity” when measuring development in terms of equal access to health, education, and providing stable employment.

Although Chile continues to be one of the most stable democracies in the region with continued growth in its GDP, its neoliberal policies have failed to deliver economic development for most of its citizens. While programs have alleviated levels of extreme poverty since the transition to democracy, they have not improved poverty levels, employment levels, real wages or living standards beyond those of Allende’s Chile. Measures of Chile’s success under neoliberal policies must be limited to its inflation levels and the growth in wealth and productivity supporting its elite and international corporations.

This chapter looked at the history of Chile as a case study of the role of the state and the effects of neoliberal policies on economic development and social inequalities within a developing country. It provides important background for understanding how these policies affect populations in general. In Chile there are few winners and many losers within this strategy of economic growth. However, what is unclear is how these policies affect the everyday lives of the people living in Chile. More specifically, if globalization and neoliberalism is gendered, what effects

did these policies have on women? As the Chilean state continues to pursue neoliberal policies that relegate social goods to the private market, Chilean women are going into the economy to help support their families and to purchase education and health services that the state does not provide. Moreover, within neoliberal Chile there is a cultural shift in which women have become market citizens. By highlighting the problems faced by workers and other groups organizing for rights and benefits in the next chapters, I will provide important information on how Chilean women have responded to neoliberalism by becoming employed and by becoming social advocates. As many herald Chile as the neoliberal miracle, the election of the first woman president has many envisioning Chile as more gender equal society. Is this true? Are women gaining power through democracy and employment within neoliberal Chile? In the next chapter I will explore how a sample of women and their families are perceiving globalization and neoliberalism and how they are experiencing the effects of these political and economic policies on their work and family lives.

CHAPTER 4

GLOBALIZATION, WORK, AND THE STATUS OF CHILEAN WOMEN

In this chapter, I will explore the relationship between Chile's neoliberal policies and women's status within that society. First, I describe the situation of women by using quantitative indicators. Second, I examine how my interviewees defined the concepts of globalization and neoliberalism. I then discuss how my respondents perceive social inequalities in Chile in general, the status of women in the culture and in both the public and private spheres, and the election of President Michelle Bachelet. Their perceptions of the beneficial and negative impacts of globalization on women's lives are highlighted to provide greater insights into global feminist theory. Including both national quantitative and anecdotal data from my Chilean case study allows the contradictory and complex relationship between neoliberalism and the changing role of women within the global economy to be understood from both macro and micro levels.

Many feminist scholars and globalization theorists contend that globalization and neoliberal economic policies have gendered effects that impact the lives of women throughout both developed and developing societies. As discussed in Chapter 1, there is little consensus about how globalization and neoliberal policies affect women. Sassen (2002) argues that globalization and neoliberal policies have impacted women in terms of employment. She notes:

Globalization has greatly increased the demand in global cities for low-wage workers to fill jobs that offer few advancement possibilities. The same cities have seen an explosion of wealth and power, as high-income jobs and high-priced urban space have noticeably expanded.

How, then, can workers be hired at low wages and with few benefits when there is a high demand and the jobs belong to high-growth sectors? The answer, it seems, has involved tapping into a growing new labor supply—women and immigrants—and in doing so, breaking the historical nexus that would have empowered workers under these conditions. The fact that these workers tend to be women and immigrants also lends cultural legitimacy to their non-empowerment (Sassen, 2002: 255-256).

Women, according to Sassen, are gaining employment as low wage domestic workers, factory workers for industrial subcontractors, and other service workers throughout the world. Since Chile has been committed to neoliberal policies since 1973 and has become more integrated into the global economy, we can expect that women in Chile today would more likely be employed outside the home.

Although Sassen argues that most of the work women are doing in the new global economy is low wage and low skill with little chance of advancement, she also argues that women gain empowerment through this employment.

A substantial number of studies now show that regular wage work and improved access to other public realms has an impact on gender relations in the lives of immigrant women. Women gain greater personal autonomy and independence, while men lose ground. More control over budgeting and other domestic decisions devolve to women, and they have greater leverage in requesting help from men in domestic chores. . . . But even aside from relative empowerment in the household, paid work holds out another significant possibility for women: their greater participation in the public sphere and their emergence as public actors (Sassen, 2002: 259-260).

Sen (1999) also argues that women benefit from outside employment opportunities. He associates employment with empowerment, as it gives women more choices both inside and outside the home.

. . . working outside the home and earning an independent income tend to have a clear impact on enhancing the social standing of a woman in

the household and the society. Her contribution to the prosperity of the family is then more visible, and she also has more voice, because of being less dependent on others. Further, outside employment often has useful 'educational' effects, in terms of exposure to the world outside the household, thus making her agency more effective (192).

If Sassen and Sen are right, we can expect that women are empowered within neoliberal Chile. Through employment, they gain financial independence and power to change gender roles within their families. They also should become more recognized within the outside culture as they participate more in the Chilean workforce.

Unlike Sassen and Sen, other global feminists argue that global capitalism and neoliberal policies in particular are harmful to women. While globalization has provided more work opportunities and has changed attitudes toward the role of women within the global economy, women often face insecure and often dangerous working conditions, declining welfare programs that provide support for their families, and increased workloads both within the private and public spheres (Mohanty, 2003; Mies, 1989). Mohanty (1997) notes that employers in manufacturing sectors employ women and immigrants because they can exploit them. Women are recruited to be the new laborers because employers assume that they are more docile and easier to control and that they will work for less pay. Thus, according to Mohanty and Mies, we could expect that Chilean women do not gain power through employment but rather are exploited by their employers.

However, global feminists today argue that we cannot overlook the benefits women do gain from work within the global economy nor the dangers and

exploitation they face within those jobs. Koggel (2006) argues that globalization brings women more individual choices of employment and this empowers them individually by giving them more choices to support their families through outside employment. However on the whole, globalization impacts women negatively because they are often relegated to jobs where they earn low wages and have few chances for advancement. More importantly, this often leads to more work because they do not necessarily receive help from their husbands with domestic chores. She notes:

Thus measuring women's increased participation in the workplace does not give us the whole story about the effect on their well-being or agency. For a fuller picture, we need to take account of the many barriers to women's freedom and agency, even when their participation in the workforce is permitted or increased, by examining not only the global context, but also the embeddedness of women's work in localized social practices and political institutions. Recognition of various forces of power at the global level is never far away in the analysis of the local (169).

Therefore, in order to understand how Chilean women are impacted by work within their society, we must study their individual lives within the Chilean culture and society. We can expect that employment alone will not empower Chilean women but will depend on the types of work they do as well as how Chileans view women and their role in society.

Quantitative Indicators of the Status of Chilean Women

In the previous chapter, I explored the history of neoliberal policies starting in the early 1970s and demonstrated that these policies were beneficial to some Chileans and detrimental to other segments of the Chilean population. Since the reemergence

of democracy, direct economic policies that target the poor reduced the numbers living in absolute poverty in Chile. Yet, inequality between rich and poor continued to expand. How had women fared during this time period? When evaluating the status of women, it is important to examine many key indicators of their power in society including: educational levels, health factors, economic status, and political representation. Proponents of globalization and neoliberalism claim that women will benefit from these policies because they will enter the work force, and their wages will give them more power within their homes as well as in the general society. Thus after forty years of active neoliberal policies it should be expected that Chilean women will have gained opportunities in the work force and power within their homes and the society due to more access to education and better health conditions. Chilean national data on key indicators of women's status reveal a contradictory story. Women in Chile have seen major improvements since the 1970s in key areas like education and health. However, unlike women in other regions of the world, Chilean women have not gained significantly in the employment sector. Nor have they gained more political representation within their society.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show Chile's educational gains both in enrollment and literacy between 1970 and 1990. Although all Chileans were slightly less likely to attend primary school during the Pinochet dictatorship, they were much more likely to attend secondary and post secondary schools. Women's enrollment in preschool, primary, and secondary schools has equaled that of men's since the 1970s. The major change for women in Chile is that they, like men, are now much more likely to go on

to post secondary degrees than they were in the 1970s. Women currently make up slightly more of these enrollments than do men. Due to the high levels of school enrollment women are highly literate. Table 4.2 demonstrates that illiteracy rates of all Chileans in both rural and urban areas have improved since the 1970s despite privatization of the education system. Women have not been disadvantaged in Chile as they are only slightly more likely to be illiterate than men. Privatization of Chilean schools had a much higher impact on rural Chileans than on girls per se, as rural populations have relatively high levels of illiteracy rates even today.

Table 4.1
Education Female Enrollment by Level of Education, 1970-2007
(Percentages)

Year	Preschool		Primary		Secondary		Post Secondary	
	Total Pop.	percent of Women*	Total Pop.	percent of Women	Total Pop.	percent of Women	Total Pop.	percent of Women
1970	---	52	90.2	50	28.0	53	9.0	38
1975	---	----	94.0	49	33.4	53	14.0	42
1990	---	49	87.7	49	55.0	51	20.7	---
2007	---	---	94.4	49	85.3	51	52.1	51

Source: ECLAC
*Source: Instituto de la Mujer, 2005

Table 4.2
Illiteracy Rates of Population 15 years and older, According to Sex and Zone,
1970-2010
(Percentages)

Year	Both Sexes			Women			Men		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
1970	11.0	6.6	25.6	11.8	7.7	27.9	10.1	5.4	23.6
1980	8.9	6.2	21.9	9.2	6.8	23.2	8.5	5.5	20.9
1990	5.9	4.1	16.8	6.1	4.4	17.5	5.7	3.6	16.3
2000	4.2	2.6	12.2	4.4	2.9	12.3	4.1	2.4	12.1
2010*	2.9	---	---	2.9	---	---	2.8	---	---

Source: Sorurce: Instituto de la Mujer, 2005
*Source: ECLAC

Women's health in Chile is also another indicator of progress for Chilean women over the past 40 years. As noted in Chapter 3, infant and child mortality rates have improved over time despite the fact that public expenditures have remained low (about 2 percent) and physician to patient ratios have increased. Women's life expectancy is longer than in 1970 (see Table 4.3), and as in developed nations, women live longer on average than men do. Table 4.4 shows that maternal health has also greatly improved since the 1970s where fewer than 2 deaths per 1000 are related to pregnancy or childbirth. The biggest cause for maternal mortality rates in the years between 1980 and 1985 was associated with abortion, perhaps, because it is illegal in Chile. Since most women in Chile have their children in hospitals, complications during childbirth are less likely to lead to death (see Table 4.5). The average number of children per woman has also dropped significantly from 3.63 children per family to 1.85 in 2005 (ECLAC). This decline is significant since only about 50 percent of women are using modern forms of contraception.

Table 4.3
Mortality According to Sex and Age 1950-2008
(Percentages)

Year	Women					Men				
	0-4 years	5-19 years	20-59 years	60 and older	Life Expectancy (in years)	0-4 years	5-19 years	20-59 years	60 and older	Life Expectancy (in years)
1950-1955	14.8	2.5	22.5	60.2	56.8	16.1	2.8	27.5	53.6	52.9
1970-1975	7.3	1.0	16.8	74.9	66.8	8.6	1.5	26.8	63.1	60.5
1985-1990	2.0	0.5	9.8	87.7	77.4*	2.4	0.9	19.1	77.6	70.4*
2008**	2.4#	0.3+	4.3++	93+++	81.5***	2.4#	0.5+	8.3++	88.8	75.5***

Source: Institucio de la Mujer 2005

*Life Expectancy calculated for 1990-1995

**Source: Ministerio de Salud Departamento de Estadisticas de Salud 2008

***Life Expectancy calculated for 2005-2010

#National total no sex differences calculated, includes incidents for years 0-10

+Includes years 10-19

++Includes years 20-64

+++Includes years 65 and older

Table 4.4
Maternal Mortality Statistics 1970-2005

Year	Mortality Rate*
1970	16.8
1980	7.5
1990	4.1
2001**	3.1
2005**	1.6

Source: Institucio de la Mujer, 2005

*Rate per thousands of live births

**Source for 2001, 2005: ECLAC

Table 4.5			
<u>Chilean Women's Health Indicators 1995-2006</u>			
(Percentages)			
Year	Percent of Women 15-49 Using Modern Contraception	Live Births by Women of 20 or More Years	Institutional Child birth Care
1995	30.1	85.4	99.2
2000	41.7	83.8	99.8
2003	41.9	84.3	99.8
2006*	64.2	-----	99.8
Source: FLASCO *Source for 2006: ECLAC			

Women have also made economic gains. Chile's "Growth with Equity" programs have benefited the poorest of the Chilean population, women included. Table 4.6 shows that absolute and relative poverty have decreased almost by half between 1990 and 2000. In 2009, women were not more likely to be represented in poverty than men. Female headed households accounted for 47.9 percent of households living in extreme poverty and 43.2 percent of households living in poverty (Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional, 2009). More importantly, women compared to men are not overrepresented in impoverished and poor groups. Table 4.7 further demonstrates that female-headed household incomes are improving since the 1990s, as these households are less likely to be poor today. Feminization of poverty is declining. Finally, the ratio of average women's wages in relation to men's has been improving since 1995 (see Table 4.8). However, the changes in wages up until 1995 were not due to the fact that women were earning more, but rather to men's falling wages (Institución de Mujer et. al., 1995).

Table 4.6
Sex Distribution of Population by Chilean Poverty Line 1990-2000
(Percentages)

Year and Sex	Impoverished	Poor but Not Impoverished	Not Poor	Total
1990	12.9	25.7	61.4	100
Men	12.6	25.3	62.1	100
Women	13.2	26.1	60.7	100
1996	5.7	17.5	76.8	100
Men	5.7	17.2	77.1	100
Women	5.8	17.7	76.5	100
2000	5.7	14.9	79.4	100
Men	5.5	14.9	79.6	100
Women	5.8	15.0	79.2	100

Source: FLASCO 2005

Table 4.7
Percentage of Non-Poor, Female-Headed Households 1997-2009

Year	Percent
1997	76.8
2000	83.6
2003	88.7
2009*	84.3

Source: FLASCO 2005
*Source: Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (CASEN) 2009

Table 4.8
Ratio of Average Female Income Compared to Male Income* 1995-2003

Year	Percent
1995	67
2000	61.1
2003	77.2

Source: FLASCO 2005
*Income differences include the total employed population in urban zones

Despite the fact that women have made economic gains, they have not made the gains expected in the work force during Chile's commitment to neoliberalism. Table 4.9 shows that women's participation in formal employment has increased only slightly, from 30.6 percent in 1990 to 35.6 percent in 2004. Today they still make up less than 40 percent of Chile's employed sectors. There has been an increase in women's formal employment but at a much lower rate than is the case of women in other regions of the world (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002). Furthermore, employed women are segregated into certain types of professions and economic activities, primarily the service industries (see Tables 4.10 and 4.11). Women are much less likely to be employers than men and, conversely, are much more likely to provide personal services. They are significantly underrepresented in agriculture, mining, construction and transportation, and less likely than men to be in manufacturing. Women are more concentrated in the commerce and service sectors, a fact which helps explain why they have lower wages in comparison with men. Thus, women's representation in formal work in the Chilean neoliberal economy has increased, but not in high-paying fields or to the extent that would lead to many women gaining power from wage work.

Table 4.9					
<u>Distribution of Population 15 and Older by Economic Activity 1990-2004</u>					
Year and Sex	Percent of Population 15 and older	Percent of Population Economically Active	Employed	Unemployed	Inactive*
1990					
Men	48.8	69.4	70.0	61.9	25.6
Women	51.2	30.6	30.0	38.1	74.4
1995					
Men	48.5	67.6	67.8	63.8	25.8
Women	51.5	32.4	32.2	36.2	74.2
2000					
Men	49.0	66.7	66.9	63.9	28.6
Women	51.0	33.3	33.1	36.1	71.4
2004					
Men	49.0	64.4	65.1	56.8	30.8
Women	51.0	35.6	34.9	43.2	69.2
Source: SERNAM					
*Includes those who are retired, students, and those who engage in housework					

Table 4.10						
<u>Sex Distribution of Employed Urban Population by Occupational Category</u>						
<u>1997-2005</u>						
(Percentages)						
Year and Sex	Employer	Self Employed	Salaried	Personal Services	Non Wage Earning Family Member	Total
1997	3.2	24.0	65.4	5.0	2.4	100
Men	4.0	26.0	68.4	0.1	1.5	100
Women	1.6	19.9	59.1	15.2	4.2	100
2000	3.0	25.2	64.4	5.1	2.3	100
Men	3.5	28.2	66.6	0.1	1.6	100
Women	1.9	20.2	59.2	15.0	3.7	100
2005	2.9	24.9	65.7	4.5	2.0	100
Men	3.5	27.3	67.6	0.2	1.4	100
Women	1.7	20.5	62.2	12.4	3.2	100
Source: SERNAM						

Table 4.11			
Employed Urban Population, By Sex, According to Economic Activity 2006			
(Percentages)			
Occupational Category	Men	Women	Percent of Women in Occupation*
Agriculture and Horticulture	8.2	3.9	10.5
Mining and Quarry	2.7	0.3	3.2
Industrial Manufacturing	16.5	10.8	26.5
Utilities	0.8	0.2	12.3
Construction	15.5	1.3	3.0
Commerce	17.5	26.6	46.4
Transportation, Storage and Communication	11.3	3.6	11.9
Financial Institutions	8.5	7.2	38.0
Community, Social and Personal Services	17.9	45.0	56.1
Total	100.0	100.0	
Source: ECLAC			
* Source SERNAM, for year 2000			

Sen (1999) argues that work empowers women by giving them more choices to participate outside the home and also more power within the home. Employed women gain dignity, less isolation, and improved gender roles within the home (Elson, 1992; Korzseniewicz, 1997; Rakowski, 2000). National statistics cannot directly give us an accurate picture of women's power in the home, but they can measure the levels of violent acts taking place within the home. Domestic violence is a serious problem for women throughout Chile. Table 4.12 shows that the number of incidents from 1995 through 2006 has more than doubled. Table 4.13 presents the types of domestic violence experienced by women in two highly populated areas of the country. Only approximately half of these women faced no violence at all while

over 10 percent were subjected to psychological, physical, and sexual abuse.

Although globalization and neoliberal policies are not necessarily responsible, it is clear that women's entering the workforce has not yet eliminated violence within the home.

Table 4.12 Official Estimates of Domestic Violence Incidents by The Carabineros de Chile 1995-2006	
Year	Number of Incidents
1995	38,200
2000	55,406
2006	95,829
Source: SERNAM	

Table 4.13 Domestic Violence Statistics by Region and by Type of Violence 2001 (Percentages)		
Type of Domestic Relation	Santiago	Region IX
No Violence	49.7	53.0
Only Psychological Abuse	16.3	18.9
Only Physical Abuse	05.9	02.8
Only Sexual Abuse	00.8	01.0
Psychological and Physical Abuse	13.2	11.1
Psychological and Sexual Abuse	01.2	01.8
Physical and Sexual Abuse	00.5	00.8
Psychological, Physical and Sexual Abuse	12.5	10.7
Total	100	100
Source: SERNAM		

With the election of Michelle Bachelet in 2007, women gained entry into the executive branch of government at higher levels than ever before. However, women's political representation in other levels of government in Chile continues to be relatively low. Bachelet's administration was the first to appoint as many female cabinet members as men. Yet women's representation in both the national Congress and local levels has never been more than 13 percent (See Tables 4.14 and 4.15).

Again, there is no evidence that links neoliberalism or globalization with women's representation in government at any level, but their proportion in the National Congress has been increasing gradually. Women in Chile were politically and socially active informally through women's groups throughout the Pinochet regime but were not necessarily represented by formal political parties (Frohmann and Valdes, 1995).

Table 4.14				
<u>Chilean Women's Participation in Government</u>				
(Percentages)				
Level of Government	1995	2000	2003	2007
Executive*	11.1	31.5	17.6	50
Legislative**	7.2	9.5	10.1	12.7
Local***	7.2	12.3	12.3	---

Source: FLASCO 2005
 *percentage of women cabinet seats
 **percentage of female-held seats in national parliament
 ***percentage of executive positions in local governments

Table 4.15			
<u>Composition by Sex of National Congress 1950-2010</u>			
Legislation	Women	Total	percent held by Women
1951-1953	1	192	0.5
1953-1957	2	192	1.0
1957-1961	3	192	1.6
1961-1965	5	192	2.6
1965-1969	14	192	7.3
1969-1973	10	200	5.0
1973	15	200	7.5
1990-1993	10	158	6.3
1994-1997	12	158	7.6
1998-2002	16	158	10.1
2002-2005	17	158	10.8
2006-2010	20	158	12.7

Source: SERNAM

Women's status in Chile is relatively high in certain areas. They are well educated and have access to adequate health and sanitation. Women are becoming more economically active in the formal economy and have benefited from anti-poverty programs which reduced their chances of being poor as defined by the government even when they are the sole wage earners for their families. However, they are not highly employed in the formal work force and experience discrimination in the types of jobs they do have. Although these data give us a picture of how Chilean women have fared, they do not necessarily present a connection between neoliberalism and the status of women. Are women who are employed finding that they have more power within their lives? Do they see the neoliberal economy as providing opportunities for women or limitations to women's development? Is globalization good for Chilean women or not? The next section will address these issues.

Defining Globalization and Its impact on Women

When starting this project I had no idea whether or not the people interviewed would have an opinion on or even understand the term "globalization." Moreover, I was skeptical about whether they would see an impact of globalization and neoliberalism on women's lives. As discussed in previous chapters, scholars do not agree about what globalization encompasses. However, most academics and social scientists do associate it with the spread of less expensive communications and technology, the rise of neoliberal economic policies, and the changing nature of the state in the internationalization of economies and politics. Would everyday workers

and people with less education worry about globalization at all, let alone associate it with these characteristics?

In order to determine how my respondents defined globalization and whether or not they linked globalization with Chilean neoliberal policies and with a changing status of women, I asked a series of questions about Chilean governmental economic policies and then followed up with a question about globalization. My findings demonstrate that, at least among this group of employees and women advocates and NGO members, my initial concern that Chileans do not understand or define globalization or see connections to their lives was completely unfounded. Although my respondents did not represent all Chileans nor even all social reformers in general, they did provide some important details on how these particular individuals understand globalization within their society and how women fared in a country that has embraced neoliberalism for the past forty years.

Starting with my first few interviews, it became clear that I would not have to avoid the words globalization or neoliberalism. All of my respondents, of all incomes and educational levels, did understand what I meant by both. In all fifty-two interviews, I never had to define globalization. Most of the interviewees mentioned neoliberalism and Chile's commitment to globalization, on their own, before I prompted them with my questions. All my respondents defined globalization in terms of neoliberal policies of privatization and free markets. Many also associated globalization with cultural homogenization based on American values of consumerism and individualism. Almost all recognized the importance of technology

in terms of creating connections among Chileans throughout the country as well as with people in other parts of the world. Here is how Jim, a 23-year-old high-school graduate and Marxist housing advocate, described globalization.

We have to understand that globalization isn't primarily for improving people or countries or world integration. It has one objective, capitalism, and this is especially bad for Latin American countries. The U.S. has a lot to do with it. The U.S. government and its policies have a lot to do with globalization. It is capitalist and neoliberal globalization. It has no positive impacts (H1).

Elizabeth, a social-activist nun, admitted she knew little about it, but then responded to my questions this way when asked about the impacts of globalization on Chileans:

I know little about this. Yes, globalization could serve a huge good. Like the globalization of solidarity, to conquer poverty in the world. The media must be a power, but unfortunately this power is in the hands of the rich and everything stays the same. There is no possibility of change if the powerful control all means of communication. It is more globalization from an economic point. . . . From what I have read, the world rules [over] the economic part. The state in Chile has less influence because it is the [world] economic power that rules. For example, *TransSantiago*. This would normally be a public service of the state, but now it is private and for profit. This has happened in general with everything. The mines, for example, are in the hands of foreigners, and they are destroying Chile's entire ecosystem (H7).

Thus, my respondents were quite aware of what globalization is, or at least, defined it in some way. How did they view its impacts on Chile? In general, like Elizabeth and Jim above, a majority (52 percent) of my respondents identified negative impacts of neoliberalism and globalization on Chileans. According to these respondents, globalization was promoting the interests of wealthy Chileans and international corporations at the expense of Chilean workers. Some of these respondents also associated globalization with cultural homogenization and thought

that outside values and economic interests were threatening Chilean businesses and national pride. All were skeptical about how small national businesses and Chilean workers were receiving any benefit from Chile's economic growth through its neoliberal policies. Naomi, a 58-year-old primary-school educated, community organizer, described the negative effects of globalization on workers in Chile.

While salaries tend to be Third World, we can't have a better economy. The Chinese exploit their people, and we receive their products here at a lower price, and so the small businesses can't compete. And this affects the national pride of labor (B9).

Nicci, a full-time secretary and organizer, explained the effect of working for transnational companies.

Thanks to globalization in business, we do not know the owners because we are hired by subcontractors without any benefits. Like before I worked in a lab, all women, subcontracted, for minimum pay. It was owned by a foreign company, and if we wanted to organize to demand insurance, whatever, there wasn't anyone to fight against (U5).

Ben, a 62-year-old high-school graduate, construction worker and union organizer, and Mike, a 63-year-old union worker earning his high-school diploma, discussed the negative impacts of globalization policies. These included: low salaries, foreign-company control of the Chilean economy, and environmental destruction.

The policies are bad for workers and extraordinary and fabulous for the companies. It is bad for us, but it is worse for indigenous people. Our women have to work to support our families. The big Chilean furniture businesses have destroyed all the land in the south. So the farmers and indigenous peoples there live in poverty. They have distributed the population in the periphery in poverty. The big transnational companies are in charge of all the basic services in this country, like water, electricity, telecommunications. So because of globalization all these costs are higher, and my salary won't cover those expenses. Chile is the country with the most cell phones in the

world per capita, so its image is a country with technology, but at what cost? At the cost of the stomach, for appearances, forsaking unions, because it has fallen into consumerism, individualism (H11).

The worst example of the transnational companies that take advantage of the country is Exxon. For 20 years it administered a mine without paying taxes here, and now they have sold the company for 13 million dollars. So it is easy for these foreign companies to come in, take our resources and not pay taxes. Chile applies a mineral royalty of 2 percent, and in the U.S. and Canada it is 16 percent. CUT proposed a 10 percent royalty to the government, and it rejected it. With a democratic government we would be in charge of our own resources, and there would be more work for everyone (H12).

Only three respondents (6 percent) described globalization only in a purely positive way. All three were from the upper class. These interviewees associated globalization with the opening up of Chile to more modernization, economic growth and/or cultural exchanges of people and ideas. For example, Lisa, a manager for a transnational corporation, extolled the impacts of globalization in Chile.

It is positive. We are very nationalistic, and to grow is a little scary, but it is important and has had an enormous impact. It is like she (pointing to me) is here and she will go back there [the U.S.] and tell them a little about what Chileans think, and that is important (U12).

Many (42 percent) of my respondents recognized that the effects were complex and contradictory and discussed both the positive and negative impacts of globalization on Chile. Again, many of the lower class interviewees, while acknowledging the benefits of new technology, felt that the social inequalities, especially between rich and poor were problematic for the majority of those living in Chile. These interviewees associated positive impacts of globalization with the expansion of the internet and modernization of Chilean industries. However, they

almost always acknowledged that these benefits could only be accessed by the wealthy and left the poor in Chile further behind.

Most of the more educated interviewees who defined both positive and negative impacts of globalization on Chile believed it brought more employment and social opportunities for Chileans. However, they acknowledged that these opportunities were either controlled by outside foreign interests or that Chileans, themselves, had not taken advantage of the benefits of globalization. Moreover, like the lower-class respondents, these interviewees acknowledged that the government had not protected workers, women, the poor, and indigenous populations enough from the negative impact of neoliberal policies even when globalization promoted more international cooperation on improving living standards of these populations worldwide. Katy, a human-rights lawyer, noted the impact of globalization on human rights laws in Chile.

Human rights are respected because there are certain international trade agreements in existence. Globalization via these agreements affects, for example, the workers. Due to the agreements, they have to change the daily work hours for workers, giving them fewer hours and paying them less. They [political and economic globalization policies] are affecting human rights, not because they do or do not [want] to follow them, but because they are following these agreements. What is lacking is a place where workers can go to denounce these changes (P7).

My interviewees' descriptions of globalization showed that the greatest class division between them appeared to be in terms of attitudes about globalization and women in Chile. There were two different stories being told in terms of women in neoliberal Chile. The first story of globalization, told by those with more education

and professional careers, recognized that neoliberal policies had not provided success for everyone. However, Chilean women were gaining from Western ideas of gender equity and the benefits and prospects that Chile's more open economy provided. The second, discussed by women from poorer backgrounds and less formal education, emphasized the barriers women face in terms of poverty and the lack of viable job opportunities that prevented their families and themselves from achieving the image of success sold by globalization supporters within Chilean society.

Positive Impacts of Globalization: Giving Women More Choices

On the whole, most of my respondents believed that neoliberalism negatively impacted women. However, a few upper-middle-class women were more likely to discuss positive impacts on their individual lives, their families, and gender roles within the society. Moreover, lower-class women also discussed the positive impacts of their jobs on their individual lives. In general those who did discuss positive impacts of neoliberal policies and globalization on women associated it with women's employment outside the home. Changes in media and cultural portrayals of working women were increasing. Many of my respondents believed this cultural change meant that Chilean women were more respected within the society and empowered in their jobs both outside and inside the home.

Moving Away from the Housewife: Images of Employed Women in Chile

Although most of the professional, highly-educated respondents defined the impacts of globalization as both positive and negative for Chilean women, there was a consensus that on the whole, globalization and neoliberal policies were providing

more opportunities for women. Several upper-class interviewees discussed a link between women's changing roles and globalization directly. Although a majority of these respondents acknowledged the growing class inequalities within Chile discussed by the lower-class women, most of them believed that globalization was related to women's empowerment even if indirectly. Polly, an American immigrant married to a Chilean native and a finance employee for a transnational corporation, explained the impact of globalization on Chile.

Well I think that globalization has good and bad things. But in Chile talking about globalization from an economic point of view, for women it has been good because it has created new sectors, new industries and so you have a disbursement of men into new places and you make room. There is all over growth. But it is a growth not in the same sectors. The banking sector here is all men. So we are having new sectors, and that is nice because you have room and women move up. In terms of job opportunity, globalization has been good. In terms of the media and TV, it is good because you do not know what you are missing unless you see it. If you grow up in a town this size, you do not know. And so I think that women here have maybe two more generations before we get to where we are in the States in terms of what you know is available and what you can do with what you have. And so it has sped up the process for women to sort of come into their own. I think globalization also has been nice for Chilean women who only grow up with other Chilean women, and then all of a sudden you know other women, just on a personal level. Ten years ago there was a lot of fear, a lot of resistance to incorporate these people necessarily into your life. And now ten years later they are much more kind of open to receiving you into their life, into their social circle. Ten years ago when I lived in Santiago there were 5,000 foreigners and now there are many more (P8).

While the lower-class women saw the expansion of the global economy as negatively impacting Chilean small businesses and workers, the upper-class women believed that it brought more opportunities for improving Chileans' quality of life. In these interviews, they discussed increased employment opportunities, higher salaries,

and more access to foreign goods at cheaper prices. This is not surprising as upper-class women would have more access to material wealth and higher salaries. As Ellen, a social worker, described both the negative and positive impacts of globalization on Chileans:

I think the economic policy in our country has created a considerable impact. Achievement is measured in terms of what you earn and what you own. This occurs at every social level. In a way the measure of the money that you have is what grants you access to certain privileges. It is perverse. But on the other hand globalization as a global idea has created positive changes. The ability to be in contact with another person that lives far away, with a different culture and way of life without a doubt has created some incredible advances never seen before. The possibility to be able to access foreign goods through free trade agreements has improved the Chilean quality of life. For example, you can own goods now, that before were too expensive, at a very lower cost due to salary increases (U11).

Almost no one I talked to within the lower-class, less-educated women discussed women's empowerment in relationship to globalization. However, several upper-class respondents did discuss a link between women's changing roles and globalization directly.

Brian, a government employee working on domestic violence issues within Chile, saw this relationship even more strongly. When asked whether or not economic and political globalization had a positive or negative impact on Chileans, he argued that in terms of gender equity, Westernization was good for women although not always empowering to all Chileans on an equal basis:

It has a positive impact. On gender issues, positively definitely, because our globalization is definitely Western. You do not have to confuse easy transfer of funds and speed of information with globalization of societies. In Chile it is positive especially for women because it is a Western globalization, Western developed countries

drive globalization. We are definitely more advanced in gender equality and equality of opportunities, and by itself that has a positive impact. Another issue is what Chileans do with that globalization, how the positive effects have not been equally distributed as it should be for a democratic government. I think that we are already on the wrong road again. Globalization itself, opening up, has been very positive especially for gender issues (P5).

In addition to seeing the spread of Western values of gender equity, many of my respondents from both the upper and lower class believed this influenced Chilean culture. According to some of my interviewees, a major benefit of globalization in Chile had been alterations in the culture of machismo. On the whole, these respondents believed that the Chilean culture, including media portrayals of women, was legitimizing women's employment outside the home. These representations challenged beliefs that women's work was in the home and that men were the natural head of the household. The perception of the need for women to be earners to support their families was not only more acceptable within the culture, but also it was a positive image promoted by the society. Erica, a 48-year-old graphic artist and full-time organizer, explained:

We [women] are well thought of as fighters, in our neighborhoods, and women who work are well thought of. And it wasn't like that before. But, it depends on your beliefs. For example, in a Catholic family the woman has to have a lot of children, be in the home, and the man brings home the money. If we are talking about the "middle class" where the woman has to help earn money for the family, I think she is well thought of by society (U1).

For those who believed that cultural portrayals of women were improving, most believed that the media, by showing women as actors outside the home, were

legitimizing and making women's new roles more respected. As, Irene, a 43-year-old union leader argued:

Society is more open, it has grown. Women are thought of better by society, are more respected. We are better educated. We know more about politics, the economy. We are equal with men (U3).

Most of these respondents believed that women in Chile were gaining equal rights by working outside the home. Jan, a 33-year-old daycare worker, noted certain changing attitudes toward women.

They [attitudes toward women and women workers] have changed a lot because it is accepted to work outside the home. Both the woman and men have the same rights because they work outside the home (H17).

Women's Employment Outside the Home: More Choices, Better Relationships.

While there was a group of women who associated globalization with a positive change in the cultural construction of gender roles in Chile, the vast majority of my interviewees discussed the benefit of globalization for women as working outside the home. For them, outside employment benefited their own individual lives. All but four of the women I interviewed were either part-time or full-time employees. Two were retired, one was a full-time housewife, and one was a full-time student. While this group of women did not represent a random sample of Chilean women employed in the formal and informal sectors, they did provide some important insights about what they faced as women in the Chilean workforce which might illustrate how their work empowered them both individually and within their families.

In order to gain insight on how work might be empowering to my respondents, I asked several questions about their personal experiences as well as how they viewed Chilean women's role in the workforce in general. As noted earlier, there was agreement that there was a cultural shift in Chilean gender roles that was allowing for women to become workers outside the home, and most of my respondents believed that was a good thing for themselves personally and for women in Chile in general. Since most of the women who talked about their work lives (60 percent of my interviewees) said they liked employment, I asked them to discuss whether or not they thought it changed the way they viewed themselves, their family lives, and how they defined gender roles. Most women did associate it with changes in their self esteem, the way they viewed their roles within the family and what they thought men and women should be doing both within and outside the home. Particularly, the upper-class respondents believed that through employment they gained power within the family that allowed for higher self esteem and better relationships with their husbands and children. Only two respondents believed that their employment experiences did not influence their attitudes and behaviors at home.

Most of my respondents either agreed that they liked working or argued that they had more positive than negative experiences working outside the home. In general, all of the respondents believed that women should work outside the home. They believed that they were meant to have jobs either from necessity or because of something about themselves personally that drove them to want more than housework. Of the women who saw outside employment as changing their feelings

about themselves, their families, and gender roles in Chile, most evaluated their experiences as positive. Many women reported that their self esteem had gone up through work experience. As Ada, an Argentinean immigrant, business lawyer, noted about her current job:

Here I realized that I am very capable, and I have reinforced my own sense of self. I have my priorities clear with the children. I learned how to value myself more, to be able to have opinions without fearing that someone would say I was a fool. That is what I have achieved these two years (P10).

Jan, a high-school graduate, daycare worker also noted:

You see that you have achieved something and you see your abilities. And you teach your children that it is possible. It helps you quite a lot (H17).

Moreover, Helen, a university-graduate employed full time in a NGO, noted that her work as a full-time organizer helped her overcome the past discrimination she had experienced as a woman both in the home and at work.

I feel better with myself. I feel privileged because I can work the little I do and earn a good salary. Not everyone can do that. I can do this volunteer work and have a good feeling about life. I am learning a lot working here. I have to recognize that before I had some discrimination. Here the subject of gender doesn't matter to me. Before equality was a theory, but here it is really nice. There are nice women, nice men, It is all the same (U2).

The university or technical-college educated and professional women almost always emphasized how much they enjoyed their work. Lisa, a tech graduate and manager in a transnational company, noted:

Yes, it is part of my life. I am restless and couldn't be in the house a long time. I really like working. I'm accustomed to working my whole life. I like to work with people and work in a team (U12)

They did not talk directly about the economic necessity of their work, but rather how it is something that was part of their self identity, or something that they did for themselves.

For example, Amanda, a full-time graphic artist, full-time social advocate, and law school graduate, explained the change since pursuing a professional degree and job.

If you had asked me that long ago, I would say it was postponing all my personal goals, working for others, my family, my previous marriage. Everyone came first, it was my choice. Now that I am older, my law degree is the first thing I did for myself (P2).

Melissa, a doctor at a local hospital in a poor district, discussed the importance of her vocation when asked about the positive experiences she had working outside the home.

First, I am able to practice my profession, my vocation. I can't imagine myself doing anything else. I give my best to public service. When I can help someone, I feel completely fulfilled (P6).

Most of the women who embraced working outside the home, often qualified themselves as being different from the norm. It was as if their dedication was something not all women had, although most expressed the belief that women should have the choice. Thus, most of the interviewees believed that their own work was valuable and in most cases empowering. One 45-year-old, informal traveling farm goods vender, Tori, even admitted that working in Chile's current economy had changed her traditional notions of gender roles.

Before getting married I had the idea that the man would work and the woman would take care of the house and the children. But after marriage I realized it wasn't so. And now the woman has to work as much as the man, they must help each other. Now, with my partner, we are working it out and moving ahead (H15).

Speaking of the women she worked with in a fish factory, Elizabeth, a social-advocate nun, discussed the changes in gender roles she observed within the factory during the 1990s.

Women had to work because the man's salary couldn't maintain the family. In a positive sense women were liberated by this. They felt they were bringing money home, and saw themselves conversing with other men and women. For the home and the children it was pretty tragic because there was very little childcare then. It was hard for men because women grew a lot, and the men were left with their mining or construction work and did not grow. Then men were laid off and so it was the women maintaining the home, and that was difficult for men (H8).

A minority within my group, twelve interviewees (23 percent) discussed how their roles within their families challenged traditional roles in a variety of ways. The biggest change according to these women was that their husbands helped out with childcare ranging from helping with some chores to doing all the childcare. Half of this group (11.5 percent) also reported that their husbands helped out at least a little with cleaning and other domestic chores. Other interviewees lived in alternative domestic arrangements with other family members including sisters, nieces, daughters, and granddaughters where chores were evenly split by all members.

There was a class difference between the women in terms of how they viewed work conflicting with their roles as mothers. Only the upper-class, professionally-trained, or higher-paid workers felt that work improved their mothering by giving them their own identity. They were also less likely to talk about work interrupting their roles as mothers. Many of the professional and university-educated women believed their outside work on the whole contributed to their independence and

fulfillment and ultimately made them better mothers which outweighed time lost with their children. Helen, a psychology graduate, a part-time real estate agent, and full-time organizer for a large women's foundation, argued that work positively influenced her family life.

Yes, and it is positive. Here I have a project, I have direction, I am happy, satisfied. I am better. My children are better (U2).

Natalie, a paid full-time advocate in an NGO, when asked if work affected her home life, noted:

My children are grown now, I did not have much trouble with them. They became wonderful people. We talked about it, and we were close when they were young. I value more the quality than the quantity of time together (P3).

Again Ada, the Argentinean immigrant, discussed how her work life changed after having kids.

I changed a little after having children. Before I was work, work, work, a workaholic. Now I think about what the job is going to give to me when I'm older. There are businesses that do not encourage life outside of work but purely work for the sake of working, and you have to be in the office even if you have no work to do. Being at home with the children is much more comforting. Although I can't stay at home all day, that is my personality, I like to work. But you have to always look for an optimal balance and never neglect your family for your job (P10).

Negative Impacts of Globalization on Chilean Women

Although most of my respondents discussed some positive aspects of employment in regard to themselves individually and saw the changing portrayal of women as workers as a means to enter the workforce, the majority of my interviewees believed that globalization and neoliberalism negatively impacted women. In this

section I will examine how formal employment burdened women with more responsibilities, how employment did not necessarily change the machismo nor sexism faced by women, and finally, how growing social inequalities were hidden by cultural portrayals of globalization.

More Work and No Time

According to my interviewees, outside employment was empowering for women. It got them out of the house, made them more financially independent, and gave them additional resources for their families; however, it also meant more work for women. I asked them about their work schedules inside the home (housecleaning, childcare) and outside the home (paid work and organizing). Of the twenty-nine women (63 percent of the female respondents) who reported these work hours, all but one worked at least part-time outside the home. Almost all worked for at least 8-9 hour days; some as much as 12 hours for five to six days a week. Twenty-six of my interviewees reported being responsible for some and sometimes all of the housecleaning and childcare in addition to their jobs. Of these women, thirteen (45 percent) were political or social advocates in addition to their other jobs. Three (11 percent) were full-time paid organizers and did not have another job, and one (3 percent) had volunteered in the past but no longer had time for it. Of the sixteen women who did not report their specific work hours (35 percent of respondents), eleven worked at least part-time in addition to their political and community activities. Three were paid full-time organizers, and one was a housewife and advocate. Again, all of these women were responsible for at least some if not all of

the housework, except for one full-time student who claimed she did not do any of the housework or childcare. Thus, almost all of these women were performing a double shift, and they described it as a problem for women in Chile.¹⁰ Moreover, thirty-four women (71 percent of my women respondents) were taking on a **third shift** as a social advocate promoting women's and workers' rights.

Almost all my lower class interviewees discussed how outside employment prevented them from having adequate time to address the needs of their children, their homes, and mostly themselves as women. Despite liking their jobs, the vast majority of these women often used words such as sacrifice and burden in describing their work experiences. Most were very critical of the conflict between employment and performing adequately as mothers. Almost all the women stressed their challenge in balancing work and motherhood. While the upper-class women were less likely to discuss how their work negatively impacted their roles as mothers, they did recognize that they often could not spend as much time with their children as they wanted. Many of the lower-class women felt that the balance between home and employment was hard to maintain. Most of these women liked working, but they often noted that their negative experiences of employment related to the time they lost with their families.

¹⁰ See Hochschild (2003) for discussion of the second shift. Hochschild found in the U.S. that full time employment outside their home did not mean less work done by women within the home. She found that most women put in an extra forty hours of work doing household chores and childcare on top of their paid employment.

As Stacy, a 42-year-old daycare worker, explained:

The sad fact is having to leave my children and not seeing what they were doing. Now that mine are grown they ask me if I remember missing a certain activity at their school, and that I always left home early and came home late (H17).

And as noted by Jan, a high-school graduate, daycare worker, when asked if working affected her home life:

As a mother, yes. But equally there's the economic contribution. I have to leave my child when he has a fever, the kind of 'conflicts' that I see mothers of these children have to face. They are things that one has to do (H16).

The lower-class women were much more likely to revere the role of mother and housewife and were much more likely to see their work as interrupting those duties rather than enhancing them. Although Lisa had discussed how important employment was to her identity and self fulfillment, when asked how work had affected her home life, she noted that she had grown apart from her husband and that:

My big regret is that I haven't been home with my children more when they were little. But I am not made for that, and I have done the best I can (U12).

All the women who discussed women's experiences in the workplace came back to the issue of time. They believed that women did not have enough time to do all the things they needed to do as employees, organizers, mothers, or women. They recognized that women were facing a double shift and some even a triple shift when taking on social organizing.

During one interview with two organizers in a women's organization, Renee, a high-school graduate, hospital worker explained:

For me, the long hours, not having time to spend with my children. I do not have time to share with the family. Almost no time to work in the social organizations. The low pay. Having to spend a lot of time commuting to and from work. It is tiring, but I prefer it (H13).

Nicci, a technical-school graduate in teaching and administration, added:

The work itself, none. Oh, but the boss was very bad, tough. She tried to prohibit all relationships between co-workers. But at home my daughter was alone. And for that I stopped working (U5).

Renee continued:

When women have to enter the work force for necessity, no one takes care of the children. And so all the problems with youth today, drugs and alcohol, are blamed on us too (H14).

Not surprisingly, most of my women interviewees, therefore, believed they were overburdened with work with no time either for outside leisure activities or political or social groups. As full-time mothers in addition to being full-time workers, many of the women believed they lived only for work and home. As Paula, a 35-year-old lawyer, explained when asked if she participated in any outside groups:

No, I do not have time. My kids are very young. I work and I go home. I do not have a social life. Not at this time. I would like to, but at some time in the future (P9).

Stacy, a 42-year-old high-school graduate and daycare employee explained her work in the home:

I work until midnight or one in the morning because I have to prepare everything for the next day like food and other things. One doesn't have any time to dedicate to oneself (H18).

Both she and her coworker Jan explained why they wanted to stop working despite the fact they had both liked working in the past. Jan, a 33-year-old high school graduate, finished her explanation about what she does at work:

I want a job that demands less time, to have more time with my son and to study (H17).

Stacy added:

I want to stop working because there comes a time when one wants to rest (H18).

Indeed, since the economic situation of many poor women drove them into low-wage work, they found that they faced few options for self development. As Jan explained:

Also when you are married and working you become independent of your husband. It liberates you a little. If you want to pursue a profession you can't because the economic situation doesn't allow it and you do not have the support of your family and husband (H17).

Or as Tori, an independent vendor who traveled around Chile to sell produce, noted:

I'll tell you I'm tired. But I have to keep going because there is no other way. There are times when I want to stay home and not travel (H15).

How did these women manage all the work required of them? Most of the women who discussed their work in the home did have help from others. The professional women reported they had paid housekeepers and/or nannies. All but one of the professional women had paid help around the house at least once a week. Only a couple of professionals also reported that their husbands helped with childcare and sometimes house cleaning; however, most of the professionals including two of the Americans admitted that they received little help from their spouses. A couple of the professionals did say they had negotiated more help from their husbands. Natalie, who had an master's degree in Social Work and was a full-time paid organizer for a

NGO, explained that since his retirement her husband took care of meals and cleaning.

Besides my husband, once a week someone else cleans the house. My husband doesn't help, he participates. It is a long story because when we were first married he asked me 'What should I do for you? What should I help you with?' It isn't helping, it is doing (P3).

The two American women immigrants Jenny and Hailee were both professionals working for TNCs in Santiago. Jenny was married to a Chilean native, and Hailee to a British national. They gave opposite accounts of their household division of labor. Hailee, a civil engineer, stated that they followed more traditional gender roles within the home.

My husband doesn't do much of anything in the home. He is from England, so you see it doesn't matter where you are from. He does other things, though. He fixes the cars. I tend to do most things around the house, and I have a lady who comes three times a week who helps (U13).

Jenny, with a master's degree in economics, on the other hand, explained that her husband from the onset was expected to do more in the home. When asked who helps her in the home, she responded:

Besides the nanny, my husband. We met in the States, so he kind of knew how it was. So he has to help cook and clean and take care of the kids (P11).

Also the women who had attended university were more likely to have paid help than the women from poorer backgrounds. Eleven of the fourteen women reported that their husbands were unlikely to help within the household, although three stated that they did. Nicci, a 48-year-old full-time student and social advocate, reported that her husband did all of the housework while she studied. The poorer and

less educated women were more likely to live with or receive help during their work days from extended family, either their parents, adult children, and sometimes siblings rather than their husbands. Among my male interviewees, only Brian, the government employee dealing with women's issues of domestic violence, admitted that he helped with housework, but he also admitted that his wife did more than he. Unlike the women professionals, he and his wife did not rely on outside help most likely because they had no children.

Thus, although a minority of interviewees saw some changes in gender roles within the home, a majority did not. The ways in which women compensated for their increased workload was through paid help or from other female members of the extended family. For the majority of my interviewees, outside employment did not provide freedom from work within the home. Instead, it increased their workload either through their outside employment, organizing activities, or both. Lower-class women had more difficulties because they were less likely to have help from the husbands or paid workers. Moreover, many of my respondents still accepted traditional gender roles within the family. Like many of my respondents, Ada, a lawyer for a TNC, seemed to perpetuate traditional gender roles despite the fact that her own experiences challenged them. She was a workaholic and got her identity from her employment, but at the same time, she denounced any woman who would sacrifice motherhood duties within the family for outside employment.

There seemed to be little difference between how all of my respondents viewed gender roles within the household. None of my interviewees complained

about their husbands' lack of help. Moreover, most seemed to take it for granted that household chores and childcare were done by women, either themselves, a helping relative, or if they were able to afford it, domestic help. This pattern reflects worldwide studies on the division of labor in the globalization era. Entrance into the working world has not created a more equal distribution of household labor in either developed or developing nations. Reproductive labor is still primarily done by women. Women in developed nations as well as upper-class women in developing countries rely on the paid labor of immigrants and women of color, while poorer women leave childcare and household duties to relatives within their extended families. (Nakano Glen, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001 Parrenas, 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochchild, 2003; Sassen, 2002). Yet many of the women associated women's working outside the home with more power for themselves within the home in regard to their husbands' authority. For example, Teri, a high-school graduate, housewife and participant in a women's spiritual group, explained:

In the past, mothers were subjugated by their husbands. And now, no. If I do not want to, I do not do it (H6).

Nevertheless, this power had not extended to less work for women inside the home nor had it changed traditional gender roles for men in the home to a large extent.

Social Inequalities and Divergent Stories on Women

In addition to experiencing increased stress within their own lives, most of my interviewees believed that women within Chile still experienced both classism and sexism within the society, preventing women from obtaining equality. Almost all of the lower-class and many of the upper-class interviewees believed that globalization

at best did not improve this situation and at worst increased gender and class inequalities. When asked about the biggest problems faced by women in Chile today, a majority of all my respondents said discrimination and machismo both on the job and in the culture in general. Nearly 65 percent of my respondents described job discrimination, indicating a lack of jobs and low wages. The ways in which my respondents explained this problem varied between groups. Older and women with less education and poorer backgrounds tended to highlight low wages as a problem faced by all Chileans. Nevertheless, they did talk about it having a gendered effect on both women and children. Women with college and professional degrees and higher salaries tended to talk about the discrimination women as opposed to men face on the job in terms of hiring practices, lack of promotions due to family obligations, and wage inequality.

The differences in the ways these women constructed gender inequality within Chile is important because it reflected how class differences influenced perceptions of social inequalities. As noted by Mohanty (1991) and Basu (1995), poor women worldwide tend to resist the dichotomy between men and women and between public and private spheres. They argue that women in the Third World often mobilize as mothers and politicize the everyday. They are actively seeking better lives for themselves, their husbands, and children, and often see poverty and racism at the heart of their subordination rather than patriarchy. During my interviews, many of the poor women discussed women's issues in several ways. Often they saw women's issues as class issues, with poverty and class inequalities creating specific issues that

women and their families had to face. For example, the seven high-school and primary-school educated, participants in a church spiritual group all agreed that the lack of well paying jobs for men was leading to increased rates of alcoholism and drug addiction which affected both their family lives and women in particular in Chile. When asked about what problems women and their children have today, Nancy, a sixty-year-old primary-school-educated, natural-medicine-clinic organizer explained:

Drugs. And there are very few jobs. These separate families (B8).

Many of the women who focused on domestic violence associated it with economic factors and the lack of adequate employment. In addition, other respondents talked about specific issues that related to poverty. They cited problems in low-class neighborhoods including: the lack of adequate housing, education for women and/or their children, and health care, as well as environmental degradation. Finally, some of my interviewees believed that poverty and the lack of viable employment for men were forcing women into the job market which conflicted with their roles as mothers and wives. As noted by Juliet, a 75-year-old part-time, primary-school educated, hairdresser:

Because men do not have work, women have to leave their children with other people to work as a sacrifice. They leave home early and return late because of transportation. Women are working because the economic condition is bad (B1).

Although the women with less education and lower salaries tended to discuss women's issues as related to or as an extension of men's and children's poverty, this did not necessarily mean that these women were more likely to accept or support

traditional gender roles in general. Jan, a 33-year-old married, daycare worker, implied, as did Juliet above, that women have to sacrifice themselves to work outside the home to support the family.

Economic problems, and the lack of time to dedicate themselves to being more of a wife and women rather than a worker and mother (H17).

However, when asked what roles men and women should perform in the home she explained:

Whatever needs to be done. My husband helps me and he does whatever needs to be done, even the ironing. We do not see it [housework] as gendered (H17).

The professional women and higher-salaried women, on the other hand, were less likely to talk about poverty in general, although like the lower class women they too acknowledged almost unanimously that Chile has great divisions among the rich and poor. Instead, these women talked more directly of the types of discrimination faced by women in the working world and at times the home. The high-school educated women were more likely to allude to it with talk about the machismo women face in Chilean society, and those with less than a high-school education did not address gender discrimination directly at all. When asked what is the biggest problem faced by women in Chile, only women with some university training or above actually used the term discrimination. Beth, a university-graduate, social worker within a large health clinic, described the biggest problem for Chilean women as:

Complete lack of recognition for their abilities. For example, surgeons, the majority are men and not because women aren't capable

of doing the job. As a woman, if you want to enter these professions there is a lot of insecurity. If a woman on the job gives a man an order, he won't do it, and she has to complain to the boss and then gets no respect for doing that (U9).

The more educated women were also more likely to talk about discrimination against women in politics and within social movements.

Although they did not mention discrimination when asked directly about the types of problems women faced in Chile, poor women did talk more directly about elements of patriarchy at other times. Pauline, a 22-year-old student and part-time volunteer organizer, explained how Chilean society portrays women:

Women's work isn't valued for the simple fact that they are women. For the majority of women who work outside the home, it is double work because, when they return home, they have to have to cook, clean house, take care of the children. Women are very undervalued in Chilean society (H10).

Naomi, a retired steel worker and community organizer, also noted that women faced discrimination on the job and at home.

The woman continues to be the head of household. If men's salaries are low, women's are lower. And yet she has the added responsibility of children, keeping up a household (B9).

A few women also discussed the chauvinism/machismo women face on the job as well as in society in general. Jan, a 33-year-old daycare worker, explained how women are treated in the workplace:

Badly. Not in all jobs obviously, but generally they are discriminated against because of machismo. Men do not want women to be superior to them nor earn a better salary. They won't stand for it, won't tolerate it (H17).

Again, even when addressing discrimination, many of the women who came from poorer backgrounds described it in ways relating back to the family. As Deborah, 53-

year-old non-traditional, second-year political science major, discussed the problems women and children in Chile face today:

The depression problem is terrible and the lack of communication between women, between families. Children have technology and modernity, but they are abandoned by the family. The concept of family and family unity is lost. In the conditions in which we live everyone is running around trying to survive; how to pay the monthly bills, how to be able to get ahead. There is also discrimination. Yes, there is still poverty and discrimination. Women can work outside the home, but they earn much less than men. And when they work outside the home, they return home to all the duties they left during the day. And that situation has to be faced. Salaries today aren't enough and both have to work and they have to work more hours, at a terrible cost to the family (U4).

Cultural Portrayals of Women's Work

A few interviewees associated globalization with an increase in media representations of women employed outside the home, a situation they viewed as positively impacting women in Chile. However, an overwhelming number of respondents from all ages, educational levels, and working backgrounds responded that media and public portrayals of women within Chile were still negative. Even respondents who believed images of women in Chile were improving, especially portrayals of working women, discussed the chauvinism women faced within their society in media portrayals. As Ada, a 34-year-old lawyer for a TNC, explained:

I think they [women] are well thought of, as much more responsible. . . They are well thought of as workers. But because of chauvinism, women do not have access to the same conditions or they think we are going to be satisfied with much less. As a general concept, as a person, women are well thought of. Women are stronger, hard working, and responsible. We are in charge of many things. Things aren't bad, but there is chauvinism (P10).

Specifically, most respondents believed that the image of women in Chile was often as housewives and mothers, neither of which were valued or portrayed the reality of women's roles within Chile. As Justina, a 44-year-old lawyer for a government ministry, remarked:

For the Chilean woman, as women in the rest of the world, domestic work is neither valued nor recompensed. One thinks that the role of women is necessarily to be at home. If you would take a survey of the male world, they would say if women work a little or do not work it is all the same to them, but they do not value the work in the home. It is not a job. Therefore, I have my doubts that this society is that traditional, at least at the level that is expressed in the media, the opinions of leaders from TV personalities to radio announcers. All those that have a public image express this very traditional idea of women, as homemaker or also a woman that works. I do not know if this society is as traditional as that image. Now as for the indigenous woman in this country there are still elements of racism, but we haven't recognized them because we have shut the indigenous population away in the south of the country and we do not have any opinion. It is not part of our world (P4).

Most respondents did not believe that Chilean society valued the housewife role for women. Despite a trend in Latin America to revere women as mothers and housewives, my respondents did not see Chileans esteeming their work or their place in society. Jim, a 23-year-old high-school graduate and full-time organizer for a women's NGO, believed that portrayals of working women were improving only slightly.

The door has opened a little, but not enough to say that Chile values the woman working in the home. We have to have advances to give them more alternatives. Chile has the intention to value them, but doesn't (H1).

Indeed in most of my interviews, when discussing gender roles and problems women face in Chile, lack of respect was often cited as a major issue.

In discussing the images of women moving beyond the role of housewives, it was often clear that the respondents themselves undervalued the role and work done by housewives. In discussing how society continued to socialize women into traditional social roles Pauline, a 22- year-old high-school graduate, explained:

With all its prejudices, it [Chile] basically believes that women are born and live for the house. At school they were taught to be housewives, and it continues today but is more subliminal, not as strong as before when they taught them to knit. But even so, in Chile all the toys, the TV programs, the media force women into a role until the woman believes it herself. And it isn't so. Women have the inner strength to get ahead (H9).

Although no one actually argued that women should not be housewives, these respondents argued that the portrayal of women as employees made them stronger and more legitimate members of society, as well as better off individually. As Lisa, a 35-year-old manager for a TNC, explained when asked if women should work outside the home:

They [women] have to be part of both spheres, to take care of themselves as women. To be physically well and healthy, to keep socially active today, to be able to have conversations on a par with their husbands. If the woman is in the home and outside, she has another view of the world (U12).

However, most of my respondents were working outside the home through either paid jobs or volunteer organizing which might explain their focus on images of women working outside the home. A few interviewees did express concerns for women who were solely housewives. They argued housewives needed more societal support as did women who were not.

Almost all of the respondents, whether they believed cultural portrayals of women were changing for the better or not, stated that the move of women into the work force came at a price. While the image of women as workers had become more acceptable, most respondents understood that women's gaining roles outside the home did not bring them freedom from their roles of mothers and homemakers. Many interviewees discussed the double shift when asked about how Chilean society portrayed women. As Beth, a 63-year-old social worker, remarked:

For women the only work is in the home. Machismo still exists, and they think that is where a woman ought to be, with no recognition for the work she does there. And the women that work outside the home also have the role of housewife, mother, etc. Some have to turn over their paycheck to pay for help in the home (U9).

Thus many acknowledged that gender roles were expanding for women, but were not changing for men, thereby bringing more burdens for women. Melissa, a 58-year-old medical doctor, explained:

Women still haven't been able to rid themselves of the role of housewife, even though they work outside the home. The woman is the one who does everything at home, as well as working outside the home. We need help to be able to spend more time with our children when we get home, instead of being a kind of robot that cooks and cleans, but domestic help is expensive. The woman is the pillar of the family, and the man is still macho (P6).

In explaining gender inequalities in cultural portrayals and discrimination, most respondents put the blame on machismo cultural values and sometimes directly on men. When asked if she had been treated differently at work because she is a woman, Paula, an Argentinean immigrant lawyer, answered:

Yes. Here in Chile, yes. I think men feel different and they tend to show you that or make you notice that they feel different. It is true,

but it is a very chauvinistic society. They feel superior, I really do think that. Not to say that of every man, but it is that kind of society. It is very chauvinistic (P9).

She later explained that she felt that the men in Chile and the Chilean society as a whole were more sexist than Argentina.

However, most respondents also associated machismo with women as well.

Olivia, the president of a women's organization and a high-school graduate, explained:

In this country women have to do triple the work. With all the developments, this country continues to be chauvinistic. We have to educate women because they are the ones that keep encouraging chauvinism when they have children. Not me. In my house we all have the same responsibilities; we all do the ironing, the cleaning, the cooking, no matter if man or woman. And it doesn't make the men any less men, they are the same and have the same manliness as always (HS12).

Amanda, a law student and organizer, noted that it is often women that tend to perpetuate traditional gender roles.

We are poorly evaluated, because we are whiners. We are sensitive. And it is the same women that have a bad opinion of women. That is why I said we have to convince women that we are capable of governing, governing in the home, studying, of doing everything. And I say this with sorrow. Because when there is a woman who gets ahead, there are always other women waiting for her to fail (P1).

Moreover, Yolanda, a government worker helping the victims of human rights violations during the Pinochet regime, explained how women in Chile had lost strength as their solidarity declined. She noted when asked about how Chilean society portrays women:

Men look at us now with a little more care, with a little more attention in terms of the possibilities we have. Men are more attentive. I do

not know if they are more worried. Women can do and do a lot, and men do not know if they are more worried. As women, we aren't as caring among ourselves. We were always confiding in one another, supporting one another and all that. As a society of women facing other women we need to have more confidence in each other. And there is also the fear of choosing better things, asking for and demanding more, like equality. Women are always waiting for men to give us equality (U8).

Media Portrayals of Globalization: Images vs. Realities of Women in Chile

Many of the respondents noted that the most dangerous aspects of globalization and neoliberal policies were their portrayals of a prosperous, developing society while hiding the reality of social inequality and poverty. Most recognized that there were winners and losers in Chile due to neoliberal policies and women were often the losers. Respondents with less education and lower salaries explained the paradoxical situation in class terms. Chilean society envisioned globalization as a path to economic prosperity and saw the economic growth in the 1990s as overcoming poverty in the country. But these interviewees lived and worked with others in a different reality. Olivia, president of a women's organization, described this discrepancy. She pointed to the cultural nature of globalization that sells an image of economic success but hides the reality of the poverty Chileans face.

The problem is we have a double standard. We see one thing and it is another thing in reality. This country says it has completely overcome poverty. Recently I went to visit a young mother of six children with uterine cancer, and it pained me so. Her husband wasn't working because he said he was taking care of her. She still had to do all the work in the house and is living off what the family and neighbors give them. So for me the important thing is to change this culture of hiding. When you go by the homeless shelter and see the people, sleeping outside, nothing to eat. This is poverty. This is our reality. These are our countrymen, our brothers. Why do we hide the reality? What is

going on? Last year the Chilean government made a donation for poverty in Africa. That is good, but why not first look to our needs? Why do we not look at ourselves and see we have the same needs? We are a successful country, we have everything. This country has to get out of this poverty, and not just material poverty, but intellectual and spiritual poverty. (H12)

Moreover, many of the lower-class as well as upper-class social advocates argued that the biggest problem with media portrayals of globalization was its emphasis on individualism and material wealth which created more class divisions between people and discouraged class consciousness in the poorer middle classes. Naomi, a retired steel worker and former barrio organizer, indirectly discussed the double image as she explained the problems families in Chile faced:

Low salaries, drug addiction that affects children, and they have to confront those with what they see on TV: what they should buy, have, wear, eat, etc. But they can't because of the low pay. The youth are limited in what they can do and what is easier for them is crime and drugs (B9).

Some of my respondents went so far as to describe neoliberalism as interrupting democracy and equality or as the continuation of the Pinochet dictatorship. When asked about how peoples' lives have changed in the new democratic era, Elizabeth, a 62-year-old social- advocate nun, explained:

There's no doubt that the brutal repression ended, but repression continues, just not in a systematic way. Things are the same economically because we have the same neoliberal system. They are administering the system and laws that Pinochet left behind. This highly influences things like the elections. Economically nothing has changed. Also, they say that unions are free, which is a lie because unions aren't permitted to unionize. They set up dialogue tables, and I do not believe it. The owner is always going to be the one who wins in these dialogues (H8).

Moreover, just as portrayals of globalization hid the poverty that some Chileans faced, Pinochet personally became the target of Chilean malcontent not the economic repression caused by the neoliberal policies which continued under the democratic regimen. According to Olivia, president of a women's organization:

Everything bad was centered in Pinochet. We saw an enemy in that one person, and never saw the others behind him as enemies. And everyone thought once that person was gone, tranquility would return. But he had implemented the capitalist system, and now we are seeing the results of that. And we are seeing what globalization means. We hadn't seen it before. We did not see it. It did not exist for us (H12).

Pauline, a high-school educated, domestic violence advocate, went further when she explained social inequalities in Chile.

First, globalization creates a huge technological gap within the same country, although we are a democracy. . . . Second, social classes. It is so disguised. . . Even in Chile there is a bourgeoisie that is fat and rich. There is a disguised royalty. Democracy never arrived. We are in a dictatorship, but a different kind (H9).

In addition to hiding class inequalities, media portrayals of globalization that stressed economic growth and prosperity rather than the growing gap between the rich and the poor also directly affected women in Chile. Julie, a daycare worker and organizer, argued that women face difficult challenges in the current democracy as a result of neoliberalism and the image sold by the media, the government, and the women themselves.

In Allende's time it was the blockade that did not allow food to get through. In Pinochet's era it was the psychological and physical repression, that harshness. Now it is the unequal distribution of goods. For example, inequality in salaries. The reports to the world show that all is good and do not take into account that great masses of workers have nothing to eat. In Allende's time women were more transparent,

happier, and healthier. During the dictatorship came the pain and sadness of not knowing where your parents or men were. And now the image is of successful women, which they aren't. They have to present themselves that way, although they do not have anything to eat and do not pay attention to their children (H15).

Deborah, a political science major and lifelong community organizer, acknowledged that women might have more opportunities as workers within Chilean society and might have gained more political power but stated that ultimately this really did not equate to more rights for women. They did not make high salaries and thus had to work more hours both within and outside the home. This disparity, in addition to the growth of individualism, left women less likely to have the time and inclination to participate politically and socially. She explained that women focused more on participating in the labor force which had not resulted in better lives from them.

Not raising quality of life, women have more possibilities but I can't say that these possibilities include a different quality of life. I think that life is much harder and they are more exploited in all ways. So the subject of women is on the television, above all because we have a female president. If you look at it from the point of view of gender, we have not advanced in respect to women's rights of participation. We can talk about laws on behalf of women, but on the subject of women's quality of life, we haven't advanced at all. We have the same needs (U4).

Advancing Gender Equality? The Election and Presidency of Michelle Bachelet

Assessments of the impact of having a female president on the status of Chilean women were contradictory. Some saw President Bachelet as a positive role model. Others believed her election was not sufficient to bring real change. To get a range of opinions and attitudes concerning Bachelet's election and presidency, I

asked about impressions of Bachelet; whether interviewees had supported her during and after the election and whether or not her election was important in changing gender roles and moving towards equality for women and other minorities within Chile. The 54 percent who told me how they voted were evenly split between those who did vote for Bachelet (29 percent) and those who did not (25.5 percent). When asked whether they supported her presidency, the vast majority of my group (90 percent) responded and indicated less support for Bachelet than there had been during the campaign.

This waning support during my interviews was not surprising because 2007 was one of the low points of Bachelet's administration. The implementation of TransSantiago, the privatization of the city's public bus system, had just occurred. At that time, the president's overall approval rating was falling to an all time low of 35 percent in September, 2007 (La Tecera, 2007). A vast majority of my respondents described their disappointment with the president in regard to TransSantiago. They felt this policy showed that she was not protecting the interests of the poor. However, even those who told me they did not support her explained that they did not blame her personally for TransSantiago but rather the party she represented.

Critics did not claim Bachelet was unqualified to be president because she was a woman. Rather, opponents felt she did not diverge enough from the previous administration's agenda or was not being "forceful enough" to accomplish her own ideas. This weakness was often associated with gender and related back to cultural

stereotypes common in Chile and Latin America. Many of my female respondents said they did not vote for her because of her agenda, not her gender. Nevertheless, their descriptions of her reconfirmed their own or perceived societal stereotypes of her administrative style. Many of them criticized Bachelet for not being an authoritarian type of leader. She was perceived as too deliberative and bringing too many voices to the table to discuss issues rather than pushing through a strong agenda. Many felt that her weakness came from being too isolated from real power. They said that she was controlled by her party and its neoliberal agenda. Thus, they believed that she did not protect her constituency and the poor from the policies that hurt them like TranSantiago. More importantly for many, she did not exhibit the right qualities for leadership, which in many cases included more masculine leadership qualities. For example, Ada, a lawyer for a private firm, discussed whether she saw Bachelet's election as important for women in Chile.

I used to think so. But the truth is that the way things are now, I do not know. I do not know if we can have another woman in the presidency. I do not think she has presented the best image. She hasn't done her job very well. . . . The difference with Lagos was he knew perfectly everything that was going on. He took a much tougher position, almost authoritarian. The image Bachelet sold was of a mother, a good person, someone who cared about everyone, but never the image of a tough politician. She has confused her style. I support her for what she does, but she shouldn't enter into discussions of detailed subjects (P10).

There were inconsistencies in the ways some of the respondents viewed Bachelet and gender roles themselves. Lisa, a 35-year-old technical-school graduate and manager within a transnational corporation, explained her reactions to Bachelet's election and presidency:

As for the president, I was very happy she was elected, for the fact of being a woman. It was good and notable. As a country, it demonstrated a great attitude to the world. She hasn't shared the political tendency. Sadly men are a little colder and work to achieve objectives, and a woman shouldn't have to lose her identity to be like that. Now the other side is taking advantage of her image and saying she is fat, her suits are ugly, she isn't wearing make-up. They would never mention those things about physical appearance if she were a man. She has to be always proving herself because they are judging her, not for her work as president, but for her appearance. It is complicated (U12).

Like other interviewees, Lisa was saying that critics claimed that Bachelet was not measuring up to paternalistic expectations of the presidency associated with leaders in Latin America, and more generally men. She was also pointing out that Bachelet was not living up to cultural expectations of women in Latin America either. She is not pretty enough, nor a sex idol. Lisa associated this perception with sexism within Chilean society, but she also fell prey to the same stereotypes when discussing Bachelet's performance as president:

It is not going to end well. I think she should have acted before with solutions to crises. When there is a problem she should be responsible and make a decision. But now she has no credibility. I think it is because of bad advice (U12).

But then Lisa stated that Bachelet's election was important for women in Chile:

Yes, of course, for the fact that she is a woman and is capable (U12).

A vast majority of my respondents ultimately fell prey to this inconsistency. They really liked Bachelet as an individual and ultimately believed she was an important symbol for women in Chile. But they did not consider her capable of making real changes to gender roles in Chile either because she was not a man, or because she was a victim of party politics.

Another criticism, coming especially from the less-educated, lower income respondents was of Bachelet's overall agenda. These respondents believed that Bachelet's election was not good for women because she did not represent a break from the neoliberal agenda that caused massive inequalities within Chile. As Jack, a primary-school-educated, farm-worker-syndicate president, noted:

I do not think she'll make any changes for them [women, the poor, and indigenous populations]. She wouldn't be in that party if she really wanted that. And for the changes needed in education, she has made many promises, but it is complicated (B6).

However, when asked if her election would signal a change in women's roles in Chile, Jack acknowledged:

In some way there will be a little change. Women will participate more in organizations and will be capable of reforming their rights. I see it positive in that aspect (B6).

Many did see Bachelet as an important symbol, but they did not believe she could really help women because she was incapable of changing policies that directly affected women. Specifically, many of my respondents, especially those who participated in leftist and Marxist groups and/or politics, were very skeptical about Bachelet's ability to improve women's lives because of her support for her party's neoliberal regime. The following exchange between Renee (H13), a high-school graduate and full-time hospital worker and organizer, and Nicci (U5) a full-time executive secretary and co-organizer in a women's neighborhood association, underscored the skepticism.

Did your organization support Bachelet? Why or why not?

Renee: No. And less (so) personally. It is the continuation of the same system.

Nicci: Politically she represents the neoliberal system, the system that deepens inequality and we are anti-neoliberal. We understand from the point of view of gender that she is in a job of power. It can inspire women that they can have power.

Do you think she will create changes within the government which will help women, the poor, indigenous groups and the working classes?

Renee: No, because after a year she hasn't done a thing. They are persecuting us, jailing us when we go to the streets, because we are activist organizations. The political program is the same.

Do you think that women's roles in Chile will change now that she is president?

Renee: In some cases yes. You see that they (women) have started to take the reins. They can have opinion, change things, at home at least.

Nicci: I see it more as an inspiration. In business my role doesn't change, I earn the same, do the same things.

Renee: The economic inequality continues.

Bachelet's continued support of neoliberal policies, especially TransSantiago, created a lot of disillusionment among women who were concerned with women's poverty and women's empowerment within Chilean society. Indeed, although a good majority of critics and supporters did point to the ways in which Bachelet's agenda was addressing some key issues for women workers such as providing more daycare and support for pensions for the elderly, most were very skeptical that her agenda would gain enough momentum to really address women's issues.

Yet most of my respondents seemed to admire her as a person for various reasons. They liked her status as a survivor of torture under the Pinochet regime or because she was a single mother who had divorced. Deborah, a non-traditional, 53-year-old political science major, explained her support of Bachelet.

And in the second round (I voted) for Bachelet because you had to choose between her and the Right and because I would never vote for the Right and because she was Michele. It wasn't because she was a woman but rather because I recognized her as worthy for being a victim of repression and for having fought against the dictatorship. So my vote was for her, because I trust her (U4).

Many believed that Bachelet, as a woman, was bringing value to the government, supporting the idea that women were more responsible and less corruptible than men. As noted by Julie, a high-school graduate, daycare administrator, and full-time community organizer, when discussing her impressions of the Bachelet government and its effects on women in Chile:

I do not think she has done badly, like how badly male presidents have behaved. None of our governments were disciplined like now. The Right acts like the savior of a situation that is really not so bad. . . . You can see some changes in the health field with the mental health services for workers. They are small achievements but they give us hope. [Women's roles] are beginning to change. I think that women haven't known how to capitalize on it and take advantage of it (H15).

Moreover, many of my interviewees saw Bachelet as challenging traditional gender stereotypes that portray women as weak and incapable of management. At the same time, they reiterated their own feelings that women were more emotional, more nurturing, and had their own unique abilities that made them better leaders than men. Beth, a social worker within a large health clinic in Santiago, voiced her own gender

stereotypes as well as those of the Chilean society. When asked whether or not she felt Bachelet's election was important for women, she responded:

Yes, because she is a very capable woman. I admire her. We have made more advances because of her. Women have different abilities than men, like intuition, although it isn't measurable or scientific. One now knows that a woman can make decisions for an entire country. Now a woman isn't seen as weak, without abilities (U9).

Whether or not my interviewees supported Bachelet personally or liked her less authoritarian style of leadership, they recognized the importance of the election of Chile's first female president. Some of my respondents (41 percent of those who answered) believed that the changes in cultural portrayals of gender were related to Bachelet's election. As noted by Ellen, a social worker:

There is change that probably comes from having a female government that has allowed women greater participation today. Fifty-two percent of the population in Chile is female, where women are not just housewives but they carry the economic weight in the home, take care of the children and work (U11).

Irene, a leader in the national office of daycare center unions and full-time organizer with a technical degree in child care, also explained the importance of Bachelet's election for gender roles in Chile:

Yes, they [gender roles] have already changed. Now we [women] feel more protected. Our self esteem has grown. Many women identify with her (U3).

Many argued that her election showed real progress for women within a traditional machismo society. Tanya, a doctoral candidate in sociology and life-time participant in the Chilean women's movement, stated that women used Bachelet as a way to gain power in their individual lives.

Women were saying, well now you cannot beat me at home because we have a woman president. You have to respect me. So what happens in this country is much deeper than it appears to be in the papers. It is wonderful. We are going through a tremendous struggle, but men are showing how desperate they are (P1).

She continued:

You can't say that it is only the women's movement. It is very important, but it is not alone. It has to do with an international agenda, with the democratization process and also with the needs of capital production. We need women for the labor process. So it is difficult to say that it's a single thing. All of that produces that today. In Chile women have a very high educational level. Women in the labor force have higher educational levels than men in the labor force. So you have professionals, technicians. In the middle levels in many places women have been working there for a long, long time. I think that Bachelet is a consequence of that process. Of course what changes is the idea. Symbolically, the presence of Bachelet and the Cabinet with so many women is very important because suddenly it becomes normal that women are everywhere. So it is not the exception. It is something that is "being" normal. It started with one minister in 1991 and then three and then five and now nine, ten. Maybe there will be ups and downs, but it is already there. It is very difficult to go back, because the labor force needs us. It is not ideological, it is economical (P1).

Like Tanya, many scholars and casual observers associated her election with Chile's commitment to globalization and neoliberalism. Lisa, the 35-year-old manager in a transnational corporation, discussed whether or not women's roles in Chile would change with Bachelet's election.

No, at best on a low sociocultural level where they can say, 'Hey, a woman president.' But the truth is that for quite awhile women have been positioning themselves in high areas, in management. It is important as an image for this person [Bachelet] who hasn't had the chance before, because it is so public. Yes roles are changing and it is coming from the outside, from the U.S. where we see women with so much power, and Europe with more equality. But in Chile we need to believe in ourselves (U12).

Here Lisa was implying that at least symbolically Bachelet's election demonstrated to the world that Chile was embracing gender equity in the ways in which they perceived gender equality in the West. However, she also recognized that Bachelet's election was the result of women's changing roles in Chile that she linked to globalization. Many believed Bachelet was a role model for the next generation of women and presented women with a means to demand more rights. Lara, a high-school graduate administrative assistant for a safe house, explained how Chilean portrayal of women changed:

I think the portrayal of women has changed a lot and more with the president because she is a woman. I think women have been liberated and made advances (H2).

Naomi, a primary-school-educated, retired steel worker, believed that Bachelet had a presidential style that went beyond ideological divisions.

She is more popular than the political parties because she behaves like a president. The people recognize the little she has been able to achieve. The president of this country can propose laws, but if the Congress and House of Representatives do not agree, what can the government do? I think they [gender roles] have changed because there is more participation and women are making demands in all areas for their rights, their homes, health, even confronting ministers on the street. This did not happen before (B9).

However, despite recognizing the symbolic importance of a female presidency, a majority did not believe her election was enough to eliminate women's inequality within Chilean society. Fifty-six percent of those who answered questions about her impact did not believe that her election would ultimately be good for women in Chile in general. They did not think that her election would be enough to

overcome the institutional sexism within the private sector. Brian, a government worker with a master's degree in Public Administration, explained:

Now with a woman president they have to think about it. When she does public addresses she does touch on that and says it hasn't been easy. Now little girls look at her and say "I want to be president when I grow up" instead of just "I want to be like you when I grow up". She also addresses that when she can. So there is progress. But in the private sector and private business, it is very difficult. Men are in power. You do not see women managers. My wife works in an international corporation in the private sector. But internationally they have their guidelines. Here in Chile they do not have women managers, they are not given a big role, they give the female positions different names so they are paid less. (P5)

Most interviewees in every educational level and income background ultimately did not believe Bachelet's presidency would bring real change to women's lives or change women's roles within Chilean society. Moreover, many of my respondents worried that her presidency would affect whether or not women could be elected to that position in the future. While Bachelet's election might be a symbol of women's breaking the glass ceiling of political power, many felt that an unsuccessful presidency would make it that much more difficult to gain political office or managerial positions within the private sector in the future. No one reported that they had gained more opportunities or changed their employment outside the home because of the president. It remained solely a symbolic victory of women. Thus women were left on their own to face discrimination in the working world.

Conclusion

The relationship between globalization and women's rights and empowerment is complex. Although it was expected that commitment to neoliberalism would

greatly increased women's employment outside the home in Chile, women still make up less than forty percent of the workforce. Both Sassen and Sen are correct in stating that women who are employed do become empowered both individually and within their society. In Chile we see that there is at least a cultural push for women to leave their traditional roles in the home and gain employment in the private sector. Through work these women did gain empowerment through financial independence and personal satisfaction. However, both Sassen and Sen overestimate how this empowerment influences women's roles within their households. Almost all of the women I interviewed worked, but few were able to create more equitable relations in regards to domestic work with their husbands.

Unfortunately, not all women gain equally, and globalization and neoliberalism continue to divide Chile's population and women specifically by income, education, and political power. Women's employment outside the home did not change the inequalities they face on the job or in the broader Chilean culture. All of my interviewees argued that Chile remains a patriarchal society. Women continue to face sexism within the home and on the job. They continue to live within a machismo society that undervalues their labor. Therefore, Koggel is correct when she argues that women within globalization both win and lose within neoliberal societies. Employment is not sufficient to empower women. Societies must confront gender inequalities women face in the home, on the job and within the larger culture.

It was not surprising that the differences between my interviewees and their perceptions of globalization and how it affects women in Chile were highly related to

their class backgrounds. The two stories being told here reflected the realities my respondents were living. Women who were less educated and earned lower incomes believed they were being duped. They saw media and government portrayals of globalization and neoliberalism as being too optimistic and hiding the class inequalities that affected their everyday life. Although they were employed and for the most part enjoyed working, they did not connect job satisfaction to globalization. Rather they believed globalization and neoliberalism created barriers for them in terms of income, workers' rights and the political and social power to change their working realities. The college and professional educated respondents were living the benefits of globalization. In many cases, they had access to better paying jobs and opportunities. Often this was due to Chile's neoliberal policies and commitment to economic and political globalization. They believed that growing opportunities in employment affected women directly as they had more freedom in the private sector to find jobs. Western cultural values that emphasize women's equality, especially in liberal terms of equal access to education, jobs, and political power, were stressed by these interviewees as being the basis for women's ability to gain more rights within Chilean society.

Although views concerning whether or not globalization would create barriers to or tools for women's empowerment differed depending on my respondent's social class background, a vast majority of them were socially active and were themselves advocating social change within Chile. Thus their experiences as social advocates provide important insights concerning the impact of both neoliberalism and

globalization on social and political organizations in Chile. In the next chapter, I examine the Chilean women's movement, and I explore how women have collectively sought to attain women's rights overtime noting changes in social movements throughout Chile's neoliberal dictatorship and democratic eras.

CHAPTER 5
UNIFIED AGENDAS, FRAGMENTED ACTIONS:
WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN POST-PINOCHET CHILE

This chapter explores the relationship between Chile's neoliberal policies and commitment to globalization and women's reactions to those policies through social activism. First, I will present a more detailed history of Chilean women's movements, focusing particularly on the period during Chile's commitment to neoliberal policies in both the Pinochet Regime and democratic era. I will then discuss my interviewees' experiences in NGOs, grassroots groups and unions and the connections they made between Chile's neoliberal policies and their organizations' goals and activities, their relationship with the Chilean state, and the future of their roles as social and political advocates. The examination of how women's political and social activities have changed and the description of current activities of some Chilean advocates provide a better understanding of the relationship between women's empowerment and globalization. The complex nature of women's opposition to and use of globalization as a means to gain rights for workers, women, and other minorities within the Chilean society is highlighted.

While not all global feminists agree on the extent employment outside the home empowers women within their homes and society, global feminists argue that women are not passive victims to the inequalities they face under neoliberal policies in their local communities (Mohanty, 2003, 1997; Mies, 1982; Basu, 1995, 2000; Naples, 2002; Desai, 2002; Hrycak, 2002; Bickham Mendez, 2002). However, there is no consensus on the impact of neoliberalism and globalization on women's social

activism. Meyer and Prüfel (1999) argue that globalization and neoliberalism have begun to destabilize traditional gender relations throughout the world and provide women with opportunities to challenge sexism within their societies. As Koggel (2006: 79-80) notes:

There is no single effect of economic globalization on women's participation in the workforce or on their freedom or agency. . . . Women's freedom and agency are not always improved when they enter the work force, and merely increasing women's workforce participation is not an adequate development policy. The dynamic relationship between grassroots activities and national and international policy shows how women's agency can effect positive social change, even as women grapple with the negative local and global conditions on their lives.

Sassen (2002) discusses globalization's impact on women's social and political activities. Women who are employed are more likely to become involved in political and social groups and organizations that challenge the social inequalities they face within their communities. Although she specifically concludes that it is immigrant women who are able to combine their employment with collective action, other globalization scholars argue that globalization has initiated both women's labor and women's rights movement in general (Sassen, 1998; Louie, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Costello et. al, 2002; Rivoli, 2009). Thus according to both Sassen and Koggel, we should expect that women in Chile are not passive victims of the effects of neoliberal policies within their society. Rather, they participate in a number of groups that help them individually deal with the problems they face.

Rakowski (2000, 1998) argues that women are empowered by these actions in a variety of ways. Women's participation in groups, social movements, and NGOs

help women individually as women gain power and security in activities outside the home through the company of other women. Some groups also give women the power to provide in better ways for their families through credit programs and loans, food, daycare services, and healthcare. She also notes that women's political and social activities empower women within their societies because they become aware of the social problems all women face within their communities. By joining grassroots groups, protests, NGOs, unions or other community organizations, women begin searching for solutions to problems that women and their families face within their communities. Moreover, Desai (2002) argues that women throughout the world are providing local alternatives to neoliberal policies of development. This in turn increases women's agency and improves the lives of women within their local communities.

Although women are empowered through movements that challenge the inequalities they face in neoliberal societies, Naples (2002) argues that women's organizations and resistance to globalization do not form a unified movement. Thus, it is important to understand social inequalities within women's political and social activities. Women's groups throughout the world are divided by unequal power and access to resources. On the international level, conferences and unified gender movements in the past have been controlled by Western women participants from middle-class backgrounds who tend to dominate leadership roles in international organizations. Women's groups from developing countries are often overlooked or must meet certain criteria in order to form relationships with larger international

women's organizations. On the whole, formal NGOs are usually staffed and operated by upper- and middle-class women within developing societies. They tend to receive more funds and gain more representation within international meetings than do grassroots groups that are organized by women within smaller, poorer, communities (Markowitz and Tice, 2002). Therefore, both on local and international levels, women's political and social activities reproduce the social inequalities that they are attempting to change within their societies. Moreover, Basu (2000) argues that this division has failed to create an united international women's movement to provide effective economic alternatives to neoliberalism.

Pearson (1997) also argues that states and local communities are relying on women's activities within these organizations to support communities and families adversely impacted by neoliberal policies. Thus in addition to being exploited as employees within the private sector, women are also exploited as political and social advocates. States use women's labor within various groups to provide social services once provided through welfare programs. Consequently, while women individually may be empowered by their activities within grassroots groups, NGOs, and political groups, they are required to do more jobs in order to keep their families and communities secure within their neoliberal societies. Therefore, the ways globalization impacts Chilean women's political and social activities are varied. It is important to understand why women join these groups and movements, how belonging impacts the daily lives of these women as well as other women within their communities, and finally how unified or divided these groups are. Are women

empowered and/or exploited by this work? Is there a unified Chilean women's movement, or are groups divided by class and racial/ethnic interests?

The History of the Chilean Women's Movement

Women's movements and activism have had a long history in Chile. Like other countries in Latin America, Chile experienced historical periods of colonialism, dictatorship and repressive military regimes, and transitional democracies which shaped women's lives (Blondet, 1995; Soares, et al,1995). Women successfully mobilized to gain suffrage in 1949 and to challenge human rights violations and to help bring down the oppressive Pinochet regime. Yet, current women's activism in Chile has struggled with the re-emergence of democracy (Jacquette, 1989; Frohmann and Valdes, 1995; Oxhorn, 1994; Hispher 1998). Throughout the course of women's activism in Chile, the discussions of women's empowerment and equality reflected various political, economic, and social interests. Early movements from the 1930s through the 1940s focused on traditional women's issues such as suffrage and poverty (Frohmann and Valdes, 1995). However, once women gained the right to vote, women's rights discussions shifted to broader political movements where gender issues were ignored or were dominated by discussions of women's rights as mothers within the growing political and social turmoil. In the 1960's and 1970's women were very active in community projects, including the *Centros de Madres*, or mothers' centers, which focused on providing women with resources to support their families (Noonan, 1995).

Women were marginalized in formal politics even during the socialist era of the Salvador Allende government (1970-1973). Most political discourse was class based, and most policies that addressed women's inequalities continued to designate women in terms of their roles as mothers and housewives (Power, 2000). The inability of the Allende government to address women's issues and inequalities together with increasing economic factors affecting the poor enabled right-wing conservative groups to recruit military wives and middle and upper class women, as well as poor women, to form popular sectors and to become prominent members of the 1970-1973 anti-Allende movement (Power, 2002; Baldez, 2002).

Movements of nationalist struggle and women's rights arose under the Pinochet dictatorship between 1973 and 1990. In response to dire living conditions, women's mobilization focused on human rights violations, looking for their missing relatives, and the promotion of a Chilean democracy. Ironically, Pinochet's definition of women exclusively as mothers enabled them to use this role in their resistance struggles. Indeed, because women initially protested as mothers, they were granted political power denied to others, thereby, making their protests vital to his overthrow (Frohmann and Valdes, 1995; Dandavati, 1996).

Noonan (1995) argues that these democratic movements enabled women to regain feminist and women's rights agendas. They justified women's nontraditional behaviors and allowed women to recognize the link between the state and family oppression. Indeed, these women's movements, which began as human rights movements, were able to "politicize" women's daily lives and focus attention on

issues such as poverty, domestic violence, and state violence against their families (Chuchryk, 1989, 1994; Alvarez, 1990). But Jacquette (1989) argues that although women played major roles in anti-dictatorship struggles and often were granted political voices in Latin American countries' transitions to democracies, once democracy was established, women and gender issues were either co-opted and marginalized into political parties or excluded altogether.

Dandavati (1996) finds that the Chilean women's movement played a vital role in the reconstruction of the democratic state (1988-1994) and in the transition. It was able to push gender policy issues to the political agenda with the Plebiscite of 1988. Women's gains from these movements included the creation of *Servicio Nacional de la Mujer* (SERNAM), the state institution of women's affairs that oversees the other ministries' treatment of gender issues. The Intra-family Violence Law of 1994 to protect women from domestic violence, the elimination of legitimacy of children from the Civil Code, the elimination of adultery from the Criminal Code, and the legalization of divorce in 2004 were major legislative victories (Franceschet, 2005). However, despite mass mobilization in the late 1980s, in the 1990s, as noted in Chapter One, divisions between women due to class and race/ethnic interests as well as divisions between groups over how to work with the state have fragmented the Chilean women's movement and threatened future mobilization and effectiveness (Dandavati 1996).

Women during re-democratization (1988-1991), therefore, followed two paths: 1) working within political parties and formal structures and 2) functioning as

autonomous groups (Dandavati, 1996; Frohmann and Valdés, 1995). Both types of movements faced similar problems. Women within political movements brought women's issues into the debates regarding reconstructions of Chile's democracy, and women's grassroots movements increased the recognition of the plight of the poor. However, institutionalization of some of these women's groups into SERNAM, an organ of the government, caused fragmentation among the various movements, making unified gendered agendas difficult to create. All groups were deficient in producing clear leaders who could represent women's issues in state building. Therefore, while both types of groups shared common goals, they did not create a course of action that crossed class and racial/ethnic lines (Dandavati, 1996; Frohmann and Valdés, 1995).

Unfortunately, although political and legal gains were made by women's organizations, Chilean women faced many political and social obstacles to gender empowerment. Much of the recent literature on women in Chile has focused on women's marginalization in the elected democratic governments since 1988 and on the decline of women's activism since the emergence of the democracy. Women obtained less representation in the government than before Pinochet's era; and many felt alienated, disillusioned, and abandoned (Adams, 2003; Frohmann and Valdes, 1995; Schild, 2002). Chilean scholars associated the continued marginalization of women with several social and political events. *First*, the re-emergence of political parties either co-opted women leaders from former movements or tended to overlook controversial gender agendas as politically divisive and unpopular (Ríos Tobar, 2003;

O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Franceschet, 2005). *Second*, support and resources provided by national and international sources declined. Resources from the Catholic Church, NGOs, and foreign investment that assisted women's groups in overthrowing the Pinochet regime disappeared or were sent elsewhere, thereby, further increasing women's groups and organizations dependency on the state. Thus, women's groups fought for resources among themselves, creating further divisions along class and racial/ethnic lines (Franceschet, 2005; Richards, 2004; Schild, 2002). *Finally*, the state underwent economic restructuring with new attention to both development and women's issues. However, its greater reliance on women's NGOs and women volunteers placed greater burdens on women's time. They were supporting their families with more work within and outside the home. Thus, Chilean women had less time for activism (Craske, 1998).

Franceschet (2005) identifies three levels of women activists who make up women's movements in Chile today. First are the *institucionales*, including middle-class and professional women in SERNAM (the state feminists) and feminist NGOs. The *autónomas*, are feminist advocates whose organizations and associations remain autonomous from the state. The *grassroots* women are involved with various local organizations that may or may not specifically address gender inequality or women's rights but may rather deal with broader issues such as race/ethnicity, class, and poverty. Like Dandavati (1996), Franceschet (2005) finds that the divisions between these groups are often based on class, ideology, and race/ethnic lines. The divisions often are based on: differences over the appropriate role of the women's movement,

which groups can represent each other's needs, and unequal access to state and international resources. Specifically, many grassroots activists face severe challenges especially since the transition. They lack resources because international support from the Catholic Church has declined and moved to other developing countries. Many of these groups rely on volunteerism, which is problematic as these women are not paid, even when contracted by the government (Schild, 2000, 2002). As most grassroots organizations are not represented in the state through the policies of SERNAM or through other state policies, most of their advocates resent top down approaches which do not adequately represent indigenous populations and the poor (Franceschet, 2005; Richards, 2004).

Moreover, Richard's (2004) study of indigenous and poor women's groups within Chile finds that SERNAM, the state's main agency, did not represent the diverse needs of women throughout Chile. She argues that SERNAM policies defined women as a homogenous category while ignoring important class, race, and ethnic differences. As most state funding for gender projects is channeled through SERNAM and as SERNAM often deals only with established NGOs, many grassroots organizations are not represented which prevents effective gender public policy. These divisions among women also prevent unified conceptions of gender equality and empowerment. Moreover, Richards (2004) argues that the state's neoliberal model prevented the incorporation of indigenous and poor women's desires for more state protections from unemployment, environmental degradation, and poverty.

The challenges faced by women's advocates in Chile's democratic transition led to new types of political participation and women's activism within Chilean civil society. First, in the late 1990s, two organizations emerged in order to bridge the gap between grassroots organizations and SERNAM (Franceschet, 2005). ANAMURI represents 50 social class and race/ethnic grassroots organizations in order to gain SERNAM funding opportunities for these groups. REMOS, in turn, is another umbrella organization of grassroots organizations which was created to be the voice of popular women's groups in government. Both organizations represent a first step in bridging women's activism within the state to those in the broader civil society. However, Richards (2004) argues that these organizations have yet to overcome the inadequacies of state policy based on neoliberal principles which contradict many indigenous and *poblano* women's interests.

The second type of political and social activism involves moving beyond the state and focusing on participation in the emerging international civil society (Richards, 2004; Franceschet, 2005). Women active in *institucionales*, *autónomas*, and grassroots groups all participate in international women's conferences and in human rights campaigns. Richards (2004) argues that these human rights movements provide indigenous women with better opportunities to address the inequalities they face both as women and as members of indigenous populations than were provided by the state feminist movements which only stressed gender inequality. In addition, by emphasizing human rights rather than gender rights,

Richards argues that these women gained a voice that overcame the discourse of state neoliberal policies which stressed economic development over indigenous autonomy.

Unfortunately, while international women's organizations and conferences had in essence created new spaces and voices within the Chilean women's movement, they have also created further tensions between women's groups within Chile (Franceschet, 2005). The *autónomas* activists used preparations for conferences to criticize the *institucionales* groups, further alienating themselves from other NGOs and women's groups (Alvarez et. al, 2002). In addition, international organizations and their support had not provided an alternative for women in these groups and organizations because most of their resources for women continued to be funneled through SERNAM and the state (Schild, 2002).

The future of women's political participation and activism in Chile is unclear. State feminists continue to play a role in promoting gender agendas, but their actual power over state policy continues to be limited by the political parties and structure of the state. The continued political power of the right also seriously undercuts SERNAM's potential effectiveness (Franceschet, 2005). On the one hand, a woman at the top of the executive branch may be able to strengthen gender policy support; and the recent emergence of umbrella NGO organizations like REMOS has provided new voices for grassroots organizations which address poor and indigenous women. However, many grassroots organizations continue to be excluded and are not represented by state policies (Richards, 2004).

I wanted to update these earlier studies of the Chilean women's movements and to gain a deeper insight into the relationship between globalization and women's activism in Chile, the importance of cultural globalization (individualism and materialism), and the increasing class and ethnic divisions within the Chilean women's movements. Therefore, I interviewed women and men active in NGOs, unions, grassroots organizations and women's groups within Santiago. We discussed their experiences within their organizations, their organizations' goals, successes, and failures, and their attitudes about social inequalities, women's empowerment and globalization. In these interviews, I hoped to establish: how these advocates were dealing with class divisions among women's organizations; what they perceived to be the biggest challenge facing women in Chile; and whether or not the challenge was related in any way to Chilean neoliberal policies. Moreover, I inquired how they perceived the Bachelet administration: Would having a woman president make these groups more likely to work with the state? Was Bachelet perceived as a helpful symbol to women's political and social activism or a barrier? Finally, I wanted to understand how advocates perceived women's empowerment in Chile both on an individual level and within the society as a whole. How did they define empowerment and equality? How were they combating problems faced by women?

Of my original 52 interviewees, 36 were social and political advocates including: all of the interviewees with a primary-school education, 14 of the 17 interviewees with a high-school education or diploma, 11 of the 14 with a university or technical-school education or degree, and 3 of the 11 in the professional group. I

also talked to additional employees in SERNAM, the women's ministry, about its relationship with NGOs. The male and female advocates represented 27 organizations including several unions or work syndicates, community clinics and soup kitchens, religious groups, women NGOs and one Mother's center. I wanted to determine why they became social and community advocates, the types of activities they participated in within their organizations, as well as the problems that they were combating in Chile. Consequently, I asked them a variety of questions. Why they become active or join their particular group? What were the group's goals and activities? What successes were achieved, and what barriers were encountered by the organization? What was the organization's relationship with the state and other international organizations? What changes in Chilean society would benefit their particular organization, and finally what were the future plans of the organization?

Overall, my findings support previous studies done on women's organizations in Chile since the democracy. Most of these groups were separated by class, and there were few connections between lower-, middle-, and upper-class advocates. However, while class differences affected their focus, all of the advocates shared certain commonalities regardless of their incomes or educational backgrounds. All had made some connection between neoliberal policies and their organizations' goals. While individual members of groups and organizations disagreed about the positive and negative effects of neoliberalism and globalization, they all indicated that it had a major impact on their participation. Most of the participants emphasized their organizations' autonomy from the state. Most groups purposely stayed away from

the government except for applying for money for some projects because they did not want state interference in defining their goals and activities. Most of the groups received very little help from international groups and organizations in terms of funding but were cooperating with groups regionally and internationally in terms of setting goals and creating educational opportunities. The most relevant connection I found between these women participating in NGO and grassroots groups was what I refer to as the “Third Shift.” These women were doing three types of work: housework (often with some help); part-time or full-time employment outside the home; and finally, their social activism (few were paid as organizers). Most defined employment and social activism as empowering, but all felt exhausted.

Activism within Globalization: More Voices Fighting Individualism

In Chapter Four, I discussed how many of my lower-class respondents did not describe a direct relationship between women’s empowerment and globalization. Rather, they felt that because the government was committed to neoliberal policies, there were increased class divisions within Chile that affected poor women and their families adversely. However, all of the primary- and high-school educated advocates did make an indirect connection between neoliberalism and women’s rights and empowerment in Chile when they described the goals of their organizations and what they viewed as the biggest change necessary for their organizations to meet their goals. Mary, a 61-year-old primary-school-educated and co-founder of a large women’s NGO, explained the goals of her organization:

We are an organization that gathers together women farm workers and indigenous women. We are anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. And

we defend biodiversity and sovereignty of the country's food. As an organization we have established principles. It is a gender organization because we are a women's organization. We are an organization of class because we represent the most oppressed sector of society. We are an organization of ethnicity because we recognize women in eight of the nine oldest cultures of the country. . . . This is an organization that defends and promotes the rights and interests of women (B7).

When asked about the changes within Chilean society that would be most helpful to her organization, Mary continued:

We are an anti-neoliberal organization. A change in the economic model, and that would mean removing the base that sustains the entire society. It isn't fixing the neoliberal system. It isn't humanizing the market economy system. It is a change where the interests of the citizens are put first in the development of this country (B7).

Some advocates made this association even in groups and organizations whose goals and activities were not focused on women's role in the workforce, labor rights, or economics at all. Randy, a 38-year-old psychology student and full-time organizer for a local safe house, described the goals of her group.

To promote the discussion of violence against women, not domestic violence. Domestic violence is about the husband, wife and children as victims of violence in the same situation, but violence against women means the woman is the direct victim. To empower women, to realize their abilities, (give them) the tools to get out of violence, and help them have a change of perspective in their thoughts, and also in their perspective on gender (U6).

Randy's group was a feminist group trying to promote education on a women's issue and to provide empowerment for women. However, when asked the biggest change in Chile that would be most helpful for her organization to meet its goal she answered:

It would need a change in the system to solve this problem. Because of the neoliberal political system, we have violence, intolerance, poverty, and all that (U6).

Many of the NGO and grassroots members linked neoliberal policies not only with free market capitalism but also with changing cultural values. They associated both with the United States, greed, materialism, and sometimes violence. As Helen, a 46-year-old full-time organizer for a large women's foundation, noted the biggest change in Chile needed for her organization to meet its goals:

We think that is the neoliberal economic system. Although they say Chile is a model, we say no it isn't. The people are very sick psychologically and economically. People seem to be doing well. The economic indices seem good, but I think it requires a deep change in the economic system and not just in Chile, but in the human being, in people's values. The current economic system that is leading us is leading us in an evil direction, a violent direction. What is happening, what you see in the U.S., is happening everywhere. We think a very big change is needed in society and in human beings. The media is responsible in great part. Like what you see on TV, the models you see. If I think I am going to be on TV tomorrow showing the good I do, I'll never be on TV. If I kill someone tomorrow, I'll be on TV. It is showing a model of the society (U2).

Many of these advocates believed that globalization made it difficult for women to mobilize because of changing values emphasizing individualism, new in the democratic era. Natalie, a 62-year-old organizer and full-time social worker, noted that individualism is a barrier to her organization and is the cultural value that must change in Chile in order for her organization to meet its goals.

The system prevents a radical change and the system has made the people's movement lazy, sleepy. Individualism has become important, and people expect solutions to come from outside. Our work is to contribute to break this mold, to teach that solutions do not fall from

the sky, but rather with the involvement of people in their own lives. We do not expect much from outside (P3).

Individualism and the pursuit of individual wealth and status, according to my interviewees, created barriers for recruiting this new generation of women, as they were too busy as full-time employees and uninterested in creating change.

Natalie, a full-time social worker and advocate for a NGO working with Chilean youth on a variety of issues including gender and violence, talked about why women's participation in social activism had changed. She noted that one of the reasons is the type of work women do.

Another thing that influences their participation is that women tend to work in informal jobs that take a lot of time away from being able to participate. One thing that hurts me a lot, more than material poverty is the growing spiritual poverty. It comes from resignation and not looking for a way out. I do not mean all women are like this. It is based on cases I have seen. And when some women do become empowered, the rest of the women feel distanced from them (P3).

When I asked local activists who were life-long members of the women's movements their perceptions of how women's activism and organizations had changed since the Pinochet era, many answered as Julie, a 66-year-old food kitchen director and community advocate, did.

With democracy came happiness. Everyone came out and filled all the streets singing and Elwin (Chile's first president in the new democracy) came here. The greatest harm is individualism, especially among women, our envy and gossip. You have to have a lot of inner strength to continue to advance and not stop. It paralyzes us. It hurts me a lot. I want to cry when I see these intelligent women who are not trying to construct anything nor think about anything. People do not have any food to eat, but their wallets are filled with credit cards and

they withdraw money here and there. The children here tell us that on weekends they have Coca-Cola and fast food, and they do not want the food we serve them (H15).

In addition to changing attitudes, others active in NGO and grassroots groups noted that as women entered the work force and relied on their mothers and other family members to take up the slack at home, traditional advocates were finding less time for social activism and political participation. Deborah, a 53-year-old second-year political science major and life-long local advocate, noted the changes of women's participation in social activism.

One reason is the individualism, and being so worried about how to survive economically that they do not participate as openly as before. Since our daughters and the majority of women now work, the older women, the grandmothers, have taken charge of the grandchildren. The older women were those that participated most, but they are now limited by being mothers again caring for the children (U4).

One aspect of globalization that has made a positive impact on women's groups and movements around the world has been the increase of inexpensive communications and technology. The internet, especially, makes it easier for groups around the world to exchange ideas, educate the public of their goals, and more importantly communicate with each other creating more frequent contact with other international groups. Connections between women's organizations has increased and influenced many of the social and political advocates I interview. Tanya, a 56-year-old sociology doctoral candidate, life-long women's movement participant, and head of a large women's studies NGO, acknowledged that the women's movement in Chile was always international but noted:

Globalization today has more to do with the processes, the technology and so forth. Also we have been improving a lot, and we are using technology very strongly, a lot. So I communicate with all our networks in Latin America all the time. I have e-mails with the feminists from Mexico, and we are sharing a large amount of information. We are inviting ourselves to a lot of seminars and meetings also at the educational level. We are using globalization in favor of us. Of course there are negative aspects (P1).

Most of the members of the NGOs, unions and grassroots organizations, both men and women, discussed the importance of technology and globalization bringing more voices together and redefining the ways in which they could be social advocates. Even many of the smaller groups with limited funds used the internet to distribute flyers and newsletters on particular issues and to provide important contacts with other groups at the regional and international levels where ideas for campaigns and educational materials were regularly exchanged. Over half of the organizations participated with other international groups in various activities including educational campaigns and international meetings, marches and/or conferences. Many organizers including Mary, a co-founder of a large women's NGO, spoke of these international links as being vital to her organization.

We are women connected to the world. We globalized the fight and globalized hope. We are part of the Worldwide Farm Worker's Life, and coordinator of the Latin American Organization of Field, and part of the Articulation of International Farm Workers. They are worldwide organizations. I coordinate the International Seed Campaign (B7).

However, while most of the groups incorporated the internet in some way into their organizing and used it as a means to stay connected to other international groups, it did not necessarily mean that connection led to more financial support for the groups.

When asked if her group received funds from her international connections, Mary explained:

None. Those groups are like us. Our participation costs us. We receive support from support [government] institutions, but not from these organizations. These are as poor as we are because we do not have the necessary resources. But they are as rich as we are because we have awareness, strength and we are organized. That is our wealth. The farm worker way is to create an alternative to the neoliberal model. We aren't institutions. We are organizations that we coordinate. There are support institutions that support activities, but they make demands. The resources aren't just money. They send a lot of material. There is research; there are professors that come; there is an interchange of members. This builds solidarity. This is the difference between an organization and a group. A group is interested in one project, and we are organized around a utopia, a dream (B7).

Only eight of the 27 organizations reported that they received any money from other international groups although some of the other groups did receive assistance during international conferences at some time in the past. The rest of the organizations were responsible for funding their own group's activities, staff, and goals either through fundraising or government support.

Most of the advocates believed lack of funding was a primary reason for the decline in social activism and the changing nature of Chilean activism. Groups, especially women's groups, lacked funds both because international funding had dried up due to the end of the Pinochet regime and the expansion of the Chilean economy, and because of declining governmental funding. Lack of funds for supplies often prevented smaller groups from participating in various activities, or more often, members were not able to afford transportation costs. Georgia, a founder

of a domestic violence group, explained the difficulties her group faced as they used art to address domestic violence in Chile.

Well, mostly it is a matter of resources. For example, some time ago we were invited to paint some giant murals on a huge marquee for a traveling event, for us it was an honor because it was two huge walls. One side was painted by Ramona Para, who is very well known, and we got to paint the other. And it was a great honor to be associated with the great artist, but we couldn't do it because we did not have the paint (O1).

Despite these obstacles, most of the advocates believed that women would continue to play as vital a role in social activism as they had in the past. Tanya, a life-long member of the women's movement, argued that the women's movement within Chile would thrive especially in response to the backlash from men. Naomi, a 58-year-old life-long community advocate, also believed that it would be women who continue to lead the way in terms of social activism.

It was women who defended life. Men who weren't imprisoned stayed at home, afraid to go out. So it was women who had to go out. Historically worldwide women have had this role of defending life. Now women's participation is less, but they all aren't staying home. Yesterday, I went to the May 1st march for the workers, and there were many women with their children, professors, young girls, students, women older than me marching. With democracy they were staying at home, but now their participation is increasing due to discontent and despair with the government. Everything that was gained during these past governments was because women primarily were those who did the fighting. We still have problems, like Third World wages that we have to use to buy things at First World prices (B9).

Activism and the State: Keeping Autonomous Even From President Bachelet

Because many of the social and political advocates were anti-neoliberal and critical of the cultural impacts of globalization on Chileans, I wanted to see if they were also against working with the government in terms of meeting their goals,

funding their activities, and pursuing women's rights and empowerment. As discussed in my first section, previous studies found that many women's groups, especially groups representing poor women and indigenous women had become isolated from the state. It was primarily middle-class and larger women's NGOs that worked with the government and within the government (Adams, 2003; Frohmann and Valdes, 1995; Schild, 2002; Franceschet, 2005; Richards, 2004). However, Franceschet (2005) also finds that new women's organizations such as REMOS and ANAMURI were emerging to become a bridge between small grassroots women's organization and the state. I wanted to see if the advocates I interviewed had a relationship with the government whether through funding, mutual projects, or information exchanges. More specifically, I wondered if women's organizations were more likely to deal with the government when it was headed by Chile's first female head of state.

Almost all of the NGO, grassroots organizations, and union participants I interviewed described their relationship with the Chilean state negatively, many emphasizing that they wanted no relationship with the government at all. Although many were very critical of the government's pursuit of neoliberal policies, most indicated other reasons that they felt prevented their organization from being able to work with the democratic government. *First*, many, especially smaller grassroots and women's organizations, did not want the government interference or political manipulation of their goals and activities. *Second*, other advocates felt that they could not work with the government for ideological reasons because they did not

view as it as democratic. *Finally*, many believed that government was not doing enough in pursuit of such women's issues as domestic violence and gender discrimination. In particular, they felt that SERNAM was not on the right track in dealing with the problems women faced in Chilean society.

Most of the smaller women's groups did not have a relationship with either the Chilean government in general or SERNAM in particular. Several groups were separate because of the nature of the groups. For example, two were religious groups that received all their funds and support through the Catholic Church. Many did not want to work with the government for political reasons or because they did not want to lose their autonomy by becoming affiliated with the government. When asked how much contact her organization had with the government and SERNAM, Erica, a full-time participant in a humanist community group, responded:

None, but we could have. We have always wanted to keep ourselves separate from the influence of any government. There are people here who work for the government, but not in any high positions. We prefer to be separate for autonomy (U1).

Georgia, a leader of a domestic violence group, explained why her group had not applied to the government for funds despite a need to support activities.

We would need to do [what is] required by the government [which] is to have a legal status, which is a label which describes you as a formal group, and fill out a document. And we do not have it. The reason we do not have it is because the majority of these young people in our group who come from different places do not believe in the government. They are artists who reject the usual ways of Chilean life. The young people today are very disillusioned. They do not have many opportunities at the student level or at the working level. And so that document that is required of us has to be formalized into a hierarchy presided by a president, vice-president, secretary, a treasurer.

And young people do not believe in that hierarchal structure. We feel that we cannot stand above one another for us to be a group. We reject it for the sake of a document because meanwhile we love one other and creativity flows and intellectual matters flourish and we do not believe in status symbols (O1).

Although seven organizations and two clinics did receive at least some funding from or worked with government ministries on some projects, these members were still very adamant in declaring their autonomy from the government. Mary, a co-founder of a large women's NGO group, explained why her group preferred to be autonomous from the government.

Because we are the other side of the coin. We are autonomous from the point of view of the government and of the state. And that is what social movements and organizations are. Any democracy has to guarantee that the other side can organize to be able to exercise their rights as citizens. I'm a citizen, and as a citizen, I'm autonomous of the government. The problem is that under this system the citizen is consumer, isolated, super exploited, marginalized from information, from the decision-making, a citizen that responds to the market rules and not to the development needs of their country (B7).

However, when asked how her organization raises funds without the government she replied:

We are autonomous of the government, but that doesn't mean we aren't involved with them. We make our own policies, and that is how we are autonomous. The government doesn't come and tell us what to do. We are autonomous in terms of our opinion about the government. That doesn't mean we do not work with funds from the government, that we do not apply for some programs (B7).

Thus, unlike some of the smaller groups that believed that getting funds from the government would intrude on their autonomy, many of the larger groups believed

they could keep their autonomy through their activities and ideologies. However, although many groups did apply for money from government projects, most relied more on internal fundraising and international support if available. Olivia, a president of a large women's NGO, explained that the government had provided more support in the past including loans for their organization's headquarters and some administrative costs. But over time, the democratic government was providing less and less, often due to political conflicts between her organization and the government. Helen, a full-time member in a large women's foundation, explained her organization's changing relationship with the Chilean government and the resources her group received:

There is no relationship because we are critical of the government. We did not vote for the current government. The only government with which we have had a relationship since democracy is Elwin's and after that no more. We like that there is a female president. We love her. But she supports the same system. We would have liked that she would have done well for the people. But it is a neoliberal system. Sometimes a particular project is supported. At times someone asks for something, and they get a little. Right now there are no financed projects. It is not that we have a policy of not applying for funds. In general we work with what we have. One of our volunteers works in SERNAM, so we have a relationship of affinity, but not institutional. Yes, last year SERNAM came out speaking in support of our organization, we have a lot of mutual affection between us, but it is extra official, not institutional (U2).

Another problem which made many respondents suspicious of and frustrated with working with the Chilean government was their perception that the government either did not allow representation of their interests or was still using violence to silence political dissent. Many respondents discussed the persecution that social

protestors, especially groups representing the poor, indigenous populations, workers, and even women faced. These persecutions included: harassment, physical violence from the police, and even jail. When asked whether or not they believed Bachelet's government would help women and other minorities in Chile, Renee and Nicci, two members a grassroots organization, explained:

They are persecuting us, jailing us when we go to the streets, because we are activist organizations. The political program is the same (H13).

In addition, many believed that those groups that were pushing for real change, especially leftist groups, found organizing even more difficult in the democratic era.

Ben, a 62-year-old union member, explained:

The Chilean union movement is very precarious. And since returning to democracy it has gotten worse. During the dictatorship we had greater participation and cooperation. Not everyone pays their dues for different reasons. Therefore, our work as union leaders is a vocation, without recompense for social commitment. We have been persecuted, tortured, jailed for fighting for better salaries. And not just during the dictatorship. It's a repressive act, which of course shouldn't happen in a democratic government. Now it is softer, you lose your job for your union membership. In Chile now with a "democratic government" union leaders have been arrested, beaten, and marches have ended with tear gas bombs (H10).

Moreover, the Chilean Constitution still did not allow representation of many leftist worker and women's groups within the government. Deborah, a 53-year-old second-year political science major and life-long local advocate, explained:

One problem that needs to be discussed is political exclusion, and breaking the barriers of the Right and creating more participation from all political sides. This country still has Pinochet's constitution. There is no democratic competition to represent all the people because politicians are elected beforehand (U4).

Several advocates discussed this lack of democracy as the problem within the Chilean government. Many related it back to class inequalities within Chile. Jim, a housing advocate, described the government policies with the greatest impact on his organization as:

Obviously, the housing policies and secondly those for the electoral system, at the municipal level and higher. We do not have adequate policies for housing. The electoral system only works for the big businessmen. We have to change these to open doors to true democratization (H1).

For women's groups, there is the possibility of working with SERNAM which specifically is meant to deal with gender issues. However, past studies have shown that, as with the rest of the government, women's groups are divided by class in terms of their access and support from SERNAM (Franceschet, 2005; Richards, 2004). Nevertheless, when I asked the two members of SERNAM about the divided relationships with NGOs, they described the relationship as positive and productive.

One SERNAM respondent¹¹ stated:

The relationship with the NGO sector is a good one in Chile. Since our return to democracy, our income per capita is higher and higher, and all the economic indicators are better for Chile. We are not the focus for international help for poorer countries. And most of the NGOs live from that help from overseas, from the U.S. So NGOs are suffering from funding because we are not such a poor country anymore, and they have come to the state for most of their funding. So lots of them live from the state. There is also the issue of the political battle NGOs were giving in the 1980s and everybody was part of that.

¹¹ I have chosen not to identify the names of the two government workers who worked in SERNAM to keep their identity private. Although I have already changed their names, I believe their general information: sex, age educational background, job description, etc. provided in my respondent descriptions may give enough information to help identify these persons; therefore, I have chosen to leave it out in this particular discussion.

Women's NGOs were also part of that. And that went away. We work with NGOs. In SERNAM specifically we do not fund directly, until recently. We work with NGOs, there are discussion groups, where the ministry meets with the civil society. For example, campaigns for domestic violence, we try to do that with the NGOs. We fund it, etc. There could be progress in that. There is a distance between NGOs and the state in general in Chile now and SERNAM is part of that. Something is happening now with this government. It is not working closely with the people even though Bachelet's slogan is "citizen's government". SERNAM has to work more closely with women's organizations that were working from the 1980s. But they do studies for us, we still fund some of them. Some of these women's centers are run by NGOs, and now some of the shelters are being run by NGOs. Many of them are run by local governments and some by the local health institution, but 50 percent are run by NGOs.

This respondent really emphasized that SERNAM was improving its relationship with women's groups and NGOs and seemed to believe that NGOs were benefiting from the relationship. Another interviewee did specify that the SERNAM tended to work with NGOs that were large enough and organized enough to conduct studies on specific women's issues. For example, in the case of women's health, SERNAM would locate groups that dealt with women's reproductive rights, health issues, and so forth. It often would coordinate workshops, exchange data, or provide funding to those groups that were capable of applying for funds and conducting studies. In addition, SERNAM worked with public and private universities. This respondent made it clear that SERNAM continued to be divided from grassroots women's groups since they did not have the resources, staff, and often the desire to form a formal relationship with SERNAM. As found by previous studies, it was most

often poor women who did not find representation of their issues and agendas nor get funding for their projects from SERNAM.

Within my groups, I continued to find this division, it was only the larger groups that worked with SERNAM. Many of the smaller groups did not. This separation was sometimes by choice because some participants did not want to deal with the bureaucracy or the challenge to their autonomy. However, often it was related to practical conditions. Larger groups with full-time, paid administrators were able to work with the government because their staffs and organizers were available during government hours. Those active in smaller groups with limited funds had to schedule their activities around their formal work hours, and this situation often created conflicts.

Nicci, an organizer for a women's group, explained why their group received no support from the government.

We do not receive resources. A while back we went to SERNAM to look for material and monitors for talks, and no one helped us since the workshops had to be held after 8 p.m. or on Saturdays. The professionals refused to do it outside of office hours. They have invited us to meetings, but always during the work day hours, at 10 or 11 a.m. when no one can come(U5).

Many of those in women's groups, even those from larger, middle- and upper-class groups, were very skeptical about the ability of SERNAM to address women's issues. Olivia, a president of a large women's NGO averred:

The relationship with SERNAM isn't good, but we have to try to work with them. We talk about violence against women. They call it domestic violence. We do not agree with that term because it means

violence among all the family members, and leaves the woman aside. Today in Chile so far this year, there have been 17 deaths of women by violence, and for all last year there were 65. If there isn't a policy directed to protection of women in particular, then we aren't going to make any advances (H12).

Amanda, a lawyer and full-time participant in a women's network within a large international union, was also very critical.

SERNAM is an entity very criticized by women's organizations. Since SERNAM is a governmental entity, it, therefore, acts under its command, and the women's issues it works on are directed by the government of the time. SERNAM is interested in reducing statistics of violence, infant mortality which are issues we are concerned with. But these statistics are always manipulated. It isn't real (P2).

Most of the criticism of SERNAM related to the criticism of the government in general. Many believed that it was a political compromise that pushed gender issues into an underfunded, less powerful branch of the government that was more symbolic than effective at dealing with gender issues. Claire, a full-time, paid employee of a women's foundation and volunteer for several community and political groups, described the problem as:

They [the government] say that they are going to improve the conditions, and you realize that things are worse. There are more police, helicopters. They have left everything undone to help women. They have institutionalized the problems in SERNAM, which is a white elephant. The topic of parity that the government talks about is just conversation because the female ministers in her [Bachelet's] cabinet are obviously well educated in the best schools. They talk about parity for only the top 5% percent of society (U7).

Even two interviewees from SERNAM discussed the problems of funding and power that SERNAM had within the Chilean government. One respondent explained that

despite many achievements by SERNAM, this governmental branch still faced major obstacles including:

Funding. To convince the ministry in charge of the budget. It has been a long rocky road to get everybody to work on gender issues. The gender issue is not something one agency can solve, but it is good to have the agency to get the other sectors to work on this. You need the Ministry of Agriculture to work with you because women that work in agriculture in Southern Chile have big issues there: temporary work where women go to work the harvest. They generally do not have contracts. They work three months a year. They do not get pensions. All that is gender inequality. It has been a rocky road for SERNAM to get everybody involved and for them to attend our needs. The Ministry of Work [handles] contracts, women in work, pregnancy, all those issues. SERNAM doesn't have the power to work on them itself. [The ministry] can issue regulations, work with the private sector. That hasn't been easy.

Those groups that did work with SERNAM, whether officially or not, were still very adamant about declaring their independence and were still skeptical about the relationship between their groups and the government. I did ask whether or not they felt that this relationship would change with Bachelet as president. Again, they were skeptical about Bachelet's presence fomenting more links between NGOs and the president. Olivia, a president of a large women's NGO, argued that women in the government were not necessarily good for women's organizations or social activism in general.

To begin with, there is a strong point of view about the subject of women. Women do not want to take responsibility either, and they aren't participating as much. The majority work for the government. So, working for the government they do not do things all the way, nor do they talk about the things they should. It is worse now because when a woman is directing the country and you start talking against her, you are fighting your own gender. For me she is misunderstood,

that's all. She was elected by the whole of the population, 90 percent of the citizens. She is supposed to serve all, not just some. So we can't deny that she has done things on behalf of women, but not many. I'd say a few. She has taken away all of our financing for organizations. We do not have financing. Fifty percent we have to finance, and the other 50 percent we get from some projects that we do for an institution that the government finances. If we did not do that, we wouldn't have it. People do not have the money to run the shelters and such places (H12).

Most of the advocates I talked to about Bachelet did not believe that her power in the presidency would improve their organization's relationship with the government. None of them told me that they would apply for more funding or participate in more government projects with her administration. Some did acknowledge that they supported Bachelet's agenda that increased funding for daycare centers, expanded health coverage for the poor, and proposed constitutional changes to allow more representation of unions and leftist parties. When asked whether or not Bachelet had made positive changes in the government, Julie, a health care advocate and day-care center director, answered:

Not completely, but I think so. You can already see some changes in the health field with the mental health services for workers. They are small achievements and they give us hope (H16).

However, many felt that her government was unable to really help create real social change. This had less to do with Bachelet herself and more to do with her neoliberal agenda. Erica, a humanist social advocate, explained why she did not support Bachelet.

It is not her as a woman, but it is what she represents. She represents a form of life we do not want. She can't help women, the poor, or

indigenous people in Chile even if she wanted to. The system is closed. If she doesn't want to change the system, it is impossible (U1).

Although most of the members of NGOS and grassroots groups that I encountered stressed their autonomy from the government, there were a few unions and groups that talked about their relationship with the government in positive terms and believed that the government could be an avenue for change. Sometimes these connections were related to personal ties between the group and a particular ministry or with the goals of the group in general. The union organizers purposefully negotiated with the government to provide support for candidates who included labor rights in their agenda. Irene, a president of a large union, explained that her union and foundation had very strong ties with the Lagos administration and continued to work with the Bachelet government. Jim, a housing rights advocate, explained how his organization directly emerged out of Bachelet's agenda.

We were born from a proposal that Bachelet made last year on May 21. She promised to give housing to all the most marginalized sectors, the poorest in Chile. She made the commitment in a public conference, announcing they would provide houses of 50 meters squared. We began with a committee of 20 people, the majority of whom were women. We encountered a lot of obstacles at first. People called us liars because it wasn't happening. And we said we aren't liars. We are doing the social policy of the president. They did not want to listen because nothing is ever given to the poor for free. It is always hard for the poor to get what they deserve. So we decided to form this organization. There are 500 families participating now. We took over city hall and obligated the mayor of our city to support this organization. We are talking about it now (H1).

Whether or not these participants and their organizations worked with the government full-time or part-time, the lack of government financial support was problematic. Almost all of the advocates stated that they had funding problems and that they needed more help financially and changes in government policies to meet their goals. All the organizations and clinics relied heavily on volunteers and internal fundraisers to provide manpower and needed supplies. For smaller groups in poorer areas, this meant that many of their goals and activities were put on hold for the future. Jack explained that despite existing for over forty years, his farmer's union could not have activities outside of Santiago because of lack of funds. When asked what activities his organization used to achieve its goals and its success, he responded:

We do fundraising, going to associates for their contributions. We participated in a contest with our technical team for funds for training. Outside of Santiago, we do not have any activities to make new contacts. We need resources to make new contacts because plane tickets cost money. The biggest success is maintaining the organization up until today. It is not as advanced as we would like. We need more support from the government, and we haven't gotten any yet. We haven't gotten better salaries. Among all these things, the success has been to maintain the organization (B6).

However, of the nine organizations and clinics that did receive funding, many admitted that government funding was small and insufficient to meet their organizations needs and activities. Most of these groups relied on internal fundraising and what little support they could get from international organizations.

The Struggle for Women's Empowerment: Women's Rights in a Divided Movement

Although globalization scholars, including Sassen (1988; 2002), associate economic globalization with an increase in women's employment and women's social activism in their communities, this activism has not created a unified movement of women fighting for strictly women's rights or anti-neoliberalism agendas either. Women throughout the world join individual movements for various causes. These include: workers rights and benefits, land rights, indigenous rights, environmental protections, agricultural improvements, and sometimes feminist rights. While this means more voices within civil society, it also means that women's movements and other progressive movements for social change face fragmentation of organization participants and goals often along class and ethnic lines. Such fragmentation can make these movements less effective (Naples, 2002; Desai, 2002; Rakowski, 2000).

Previous studies of the Chilean women's movements found that there were a lot of divisions among women since the fall of the Pinochet regime. Once democracy emerged, women either quit the movement altogether or divided themselves into groups that followed separate agendas and activities. My respondents also argued that this division was an obstacle to women's and other types of social activism in Chile. I discussed changes in women's participation and social activism since the Pinochet Regime with members of the women's movement during the Pinochet era from all social backgrounds. I found that many believed that women's participation had changed in significant ways. Almost all of the change related to increasing class,

age, and/or racial/ethnic divisions. Claire, a full-time paid organizer, described the change in women's political participation this way:

Once the dictatorship ended there was a lot of participation. But then, they [the government] institutionalized the conflicts and created the NGOs that analyzed and manipulated the conflict. All to maintain the status quo. It [the protection of inequalities within the government] has come to a stop. An old movement like MENCH is constituted by older women who fought the dictatorship, and a new group has come out with younger women. Sadly they both say they are right, and say they represent women, but they do not cooperate with one another (U7).

Tanya, a life-time member of the women's movement, also described the division between women's groups. Formal NGOs were co-opted by political parties, and upper-class women organized themselves into university groups and more formal feminist movements. Poorer women remained active in small grassroots groups with fewer contacts and less unified agendas among all of them. Class divided these groups by funding and access to governmental programs, and more importantly, it divided advocates by agenda. As noted in the last chapter, women's class (educational level and income) created different attitudes about globalization and its impact on women in Chile. It also created divisions concerning the reasons for women's activism and their goals.

My interviewees became social advocates for a vast variety of reasons and participated with groups that pursued a vast variety of goals. While they do not represent all Chilean NGO, grassroots, and union participants, their activities and problems mirror those documented in previous studies (Fracneshet, 2005; Richards, 2003; Schild, 2000, 2002) Several patterns did emerge in regard to my respondents'

political and social activities. *First*, the advocates from different backgrounds joined for different reasons. Those from poorer backgrounds joined groups and organizations out of a sense of economic and political necessity. This was not the case for the women from wealthier backgrounds who often were more educated. *Second*, although the advocates from poorer backgrounds were more likely to be focusing on poverty in Chile as the major goal of their organizations, both poorer and upper class participants at some point acknowledged gender inequalities either in Chile, in general, or in their movement, specifically. Thus, Post-Pinochet activism and social participation focused on women's empowerment within their movement and Chilean society as a whole. All participants agreed that women in Chile needed protection from domestic violence, more education about AIDS and other health problems women face, access to higher wages and employment outside the home, and ultimately more representation within the political system. *Finally*, all of my respondents felt overworked. However, despite working long hours both inside and outside the home, many lower- and upper-class women were spending a lot of time as social advocates. All discussed how they were empowered in their individual lives by this work. But this power came at a price. They were also exhausted.

Not surprisingly poorer women tended to join groups that dealt with poverty, workers' rights, and poor Chilean families. Many of these participants started in the Communist movement, labor groups, or their communities' outreach programs to help the poor gain access to food, medicine, and other basic necessities. Although many were active during the Allende years, most of the older advocates participated

during the Pinochet regime as a means to resist the dictatorship. Furthermore, the women with less education and less income were also more likely to discuss self empowerment as a reason for joining the movement. Juliet, a full-time housewife and part-time hairdresser, joined a local Mother's Center because she was depressed and couldn't sleep.

The doctor told me that I had to participate in something because I couldn't stay locked in the house all day because it made me feel bad. Then I began to participate (B1).

Eve, a member of a spiritual group, joined because:

I needed a place to go, and with my responsibility [in the household], I needed a place to lose my shame, be able to talk, to be able to do many things. We were able to do good things and do them well (B3).

Self empowerment for these women also grew through a sense of helping other women. Lara, an employee and volunteer for a women's safe house, explained why she continued to be active.

I keep working here because I like it. I like helping women and I like knowing my rights because when I started here I did not know a thing about them. I had no idea. I did not even know about the House (H2).

Most of the goals of the smaller organizations focused on broader issues including: combating neoliberalism, poverty, violence, inadequate health care, environmental degradation, and fighting for all workers and family rights in Chile. These women also tended to be more involved in religious groups. However, whatever the broader agenda of the group, these advocates, both men and women, were highly aware of the need to fight for women's rights within their own groups and within Chile. When asked about the goals of her religious women's group, Teri,

a high-school-educated community advocate and homemaker, discussed the spiritual emphasis of the group but added:

We felt that the home is centered around the woman. If she is happy, the mother I mean, then the whole house goes well (H7).

Jack, a president of a farmers union, discussed educating farm workers and protecting their rights as one of the primary goals of his organization but admitted that women were more exploited both on farms and in factories. Thus laws needed to be adjusted to protect women's rights as workers. When discussing whether or not workers' rights in general were improving in the democratic era, Ben, a construction-union organizer, talked in depth about how women workers were losing rights rather than gaining.

Chilean women will have to work until 65, five years more, because this is what businesses asked for. As if that is not enough, they take away the maternity laws. Today the economic groups determine that women should give birth where they work. And they say she is going to have more months to nurse her child. And so up to the ninth month of her pregnancy, the temporary worker is going to be behind those machines, or subject to dangerous chemicals, resulting in birth defects. Our major concern is that this woman who fought the dictatorship, who was tortured with her mother, a doctor, Michele Bachelet, is going to sign the law and say this is going to give the woman more time to nurse her child. And this is a mistake. So Bachelet is not governing; it is the economic groups that rule. Workers rights are going backwards due to globalization worldwide (H10).

Some primary-school and high-school-educated advocates started organizing for more general rights such as: political rights during the Pinochet Regime, labor rights, or representation for the Communist party. But many found that these general movements did not provide enough space for women and began a more gender

specific approach to their activism. Mary, a co-founder of a very large women's NGO, discussed her life-long activism and the emergence of her current NGO:

I did not join this organization. I created this organization with one of my friends. We built it. It was a dream. It was a long road of years of fighting, and being in organizations with men, until we decided to do it and build this place for women (B7).

Jim, a housing rights advocate, first joined the Communist Party but then helped establish his new group because:

We saw today the government is proposing a social integration in every sense. Above all, directed to women. We can have social integration that says a woman has the same capacity in the work place, in housing, economy. We decided it was urgent to organize ourselves to be able to meet this goal (H1).

Although many of the lower class women were aware of the need to address women's issues specifically or form women's organizations separate from men's groups within particular movements, others made it clear that they were not feminists or working for women alone but rather worked for equality in general. Olivia, a high-school-educated, president of a large women's NGO, explicated her aversion to feminist organizations both within and outside of Chile.

I do not understand feminists. So I said, and what happens with women who want to be men, lesbians? I couldn't understand the feminist organization. We are women working for the rights of women, not feminism. We are looking for women's equality, to have the same rights, this means we aren't equal (H12).

The upper-class advocates, and those working in larger NGOs took on more feminist approaches to their activism and were much more likely to embrace the term feminism. They tended to focus less on women's poverty and instead focused directly on women's rights and empowerment. These women talked less about

joining movements because of individual need. They joined as a means of promoting women's rights in the workplace, the political system, or in Chile in general. Irene, a president of a daycare center union, discussed the formation of her organization and why she joined.

It is an organization of women who decided to form a union as the women working in these centers saw that their rights weren't represented and they weren't being listened to. . . . When I was working in a daycare center, I was always demanding my rights no matter what my boss said. The union was already formed, but it was smaller and only professionals were members. Then the union opened for all workers, and there was voting. My co-workers encouraged me to run for a position (U3).

Like many of the poor, less educated NGO and grassroots participants, the upper-class advocates also met resistance from men within their social organizations, whether they represented women's organizations or were part of larger unions and other social advocate groups. Amanda, a leader in the women's division of a national union and union organizer, explained that while she joined the union for workers' rights, she noticed right away that there were few women represented, few if any women leaders, and that women's workshops were led by men in the organization. She explained the goals of her current organization:

First, that women join the world of unions. Second, that women lead unions, in the short term. In the graphic sector, where there are many more men than women. These few women do not unionize. My work, what makes me happy, is to see that these few women join the union. From the point of view of the Women's Network of UNI, it is one of the goals of the organization. Because in the worldwide union movement where they fight for workers rights, like in many organizations, there isn't much gender equity. Then my objective is that women be present, because generally the union leaders are all men who talk about equality and participation in the fight for rights, but the minute you see their organization, you do not see any women. It is

very hard for me to be a union leader. In the confederation, out of the 15 national leaders only two of us are women (P2).

Although they may have joined for different reasons, both lower- and upper-class advocates tended to define social inequalities and empowerment for women in Chile in similar ways. Even those who saw divisions within the women's movement based on class, race or even different agendas tended to express the wish to pursue women's empowerment in the same sort of ways. Although Olivia, the high-school-educated and anti-feminist president of a large NGO quoted above, saw differences between her group and women in political groups (the professionals) particularly, she outlined the goals of her organization as increasing women's rights within the Chilean society.

Our goals have to do with the social, cultural, and economic development that are essential elements in women's lives (H12).

Her position is in line with professional advocates like Tanya, a former co-director of gender studies at a university and co-director of a women's organization, who defined herself and her group as feminist. The goals of her organization include:

It is a center for the study and development of women and they have been working in particular on women in the rural areas, indigenous women and family, and several subjects (P1).

All NGO and grassroots group members believed women needed more recognition within the Chilean society, and all strove in their own ways to work on contemporary problems facing women.

Most of these advocates agreed that women in Chile faced many problems: high levels of domestic violence, lack of recognition and power within the home, job

and wage discrimination, high levels of poverty, and the double shift of work both within and outside the home. All of these respondents, when asked about social inequalities, made reference to gender inequalities in the culture as well as other social inequalities. Despite similar goals in terms of women's empowerment, there was a class division in terms of how these different women perceived the relationship between different women's groups. The advocates in smaller groups with fewer resources felt alienated from the government, larger NGOs, and professional advocates within Chile. Sometimes this alienation resulted from choice. Many believed that the social and political advocates of professional women were not able to represent lower-class needs and agendas whether or not they worked within large organizations or within the government. With some groups, alienation was not their choice. Rather it resulted because they were unable to meet with professionals due to work conflicts and lack of resources. The professional advocates and government employees, on the other hand, perceived that they were connecting to smaller NGOs. Tanya, a leader of a large NGO, explained that she was in contact with small groups throughout her work:

Yesterday we had an all-day activity. We won [a government] project here with our friends. So we have a network of leaders from six regions in the country, and yesterday we started with leaders from Santiago and the Fifth Region. And we had a wonderful meeting, and we are working on power leadership, and we will build a network with internet to support those leaders in terms of how to take advantage of Bachelet's government to go further. So I am always in touch with women's groups (P10).

The disconnection between the professional and more formal organizations and the smaller grassroots organizations was made clear to me during the March 8th

International Women's March in the Plaza de Armas in Santiago. Although I was able to meet representatives of several large NGOs and it was highly organized with activities, speeches, and drama performances, my first impression was that there were fewer women than men in the Plaza. In addition while large union groups and the formal women NGOs had a presence there, it seemed to me that there were not many grassroots organizations participating. I discussed this with several of these advocates later. The professional groups involved described their role in the March and were very happy with the turnout. The grassroots groups participants, on the other hand, later confessed to me that they had an alternative march and never made it to the Plaza. Their members either could not attend due to working responsibilities, or those who did march were arrested before they got to the Plaza.

Unfortunately, divisions between women's groups also related to the added responsibility of participating in organization put on women. Most of the social advocates, discussed the personal costs of their activism on their individual lives. Irene, a president of a daycare union, defined the negative aspect of her work.

The government should support union organizations more. I missed a lot of family time and with my partner. And now I do not have time for any other man. The negative aspect is the lack of time for my personal life. I have missed a lot, birthdays of family members and friends (U3).

This lack of time was particularly problematic for poor women. They would often have to take on new caretaking roles even after retirement. Naomi was in the home full time taking care of grandchildren. Thus, she admitted that she was less active in community organizing and had less time for social activism, despite being

active in three organizations. The women who made less income and came from poorer communities often did not receive outside financial support from their families or organizations and found that juggling employment and their organizational work created problems for organizing or participation in women's groups. Nicci, a full-time worker and organizer, explained the obstacles to success for her women's groups:

First, neither the society nor the government made things easy for us. We couldn't even find a place to meet. We are always looking for a place to get together. The fact is, women have entered the labor force, but they have to work eight to ten hours for minimum pay. When one gets home at 11 p.m. at night, when can they attend meetings? (U5).

Upper-class women were more likely to be paid for the activism in one way or another. This situation allowed some to give up their full-time jobs although most did have to support themselves with some outside work. On the whole, all the social advocates interviewed argued that they were overworked and did not have enough time or energy to accomplish what they wanted to in terms of their political and social activities.

Despite often having similar goals in terms of women's empowerment and sharing similar experiences of gender discrimination in the home, at work and within their organizations, these groups are unlikely to form a unified movement again in Chile to push for needed legal, economic, and political reform to empower women. All the advocates perceived this as a problem. All of the political and social advocates believed that a unified movement was necessary for real change. Most agreed that groups would need to come to some sort of agreement about where the

fight for equality for all women and people of Chile should be waged. Mary, a high-school-educated, co-founder of a large women's NGO, argued that the success of her group was based on the fact they were able to unite many smaller groups together under a unified agenda.

We are a recognized and respected organization. In a few cases we have been able to influence the actions of the government on behalf of women in our sector: for example, programs for the salaried worker that made a few small advances like the health care card for assistance during those times she is not working. This doesn't mean that they have fulfilled the law, but we have been able to establish the right to have a separate dining room and bathroom for women and men and some education about domestic violence. None of these has been optimal for what we need, but we have achieved something. Everything that has been done for women here corresponds to the historical fight on behalf of women. It was a huge fight. There were many organizations here. They were only interest groups. The organizations with strength and identity disappeared to leave room for groups that only work on one project. The biggest step we have taken is reinstalling women's organizations, organizations of representation, of negotiation (B7).

Neoliberal policies may have played a part in dividing the Chilean movement.

These women on the whole had less time to participate in social activism in general, and were more likely to be split by agendas that separate Chilean women by class and ethnicity. As noted in my previous chapter, the women I interviewed did not benefit from globalization in the same ways. The problems that might push upper- and lower-class women into joining groups were very different. The poorer advocates were much more likely to join groups that emphasized dealing with class inequalities among Chileans as a means to empower women. They faced real issues of poverty in their lives. Fewer of the wealthier, professional women I interviewed were social advocates. Those who did join groups were much more likely to be in groups

dealing with gender discrimination than with class or ethnic discrimination.

Ultimately, as neoliberalist policies provide different opportunities and challenges for women in Chile, it is likely to continue to divide them in the ways they fight to become more empowered.

Nevertheless, through my interviews, I found that globalization and neoliberal policies also provided a way to unite these different women and their agendas.

Almost all the advocates I talked to recognized two trends that united their agendas.

First, most of the advocates were frustrated by the changing nature of social activism and political participation in Chile. Many of these respondents believed that Chilean democracy needed to expand to include more social and political participation by dissenting voices. As Mike, a construction-worker union organizer, explained the biggest change needed to help his organization.

Changing the Constitution could bring us some benefits and could bring unions back to what they were. We do not have any representation in Congress. We are left on the outside (H11).

Tanya, a life-long participant in the women's movement, also noted that Chile needed to become more democratic for real change.

Recognition of civil society, the opening of channels for social participation, visibility of the social movements and social leaders. Not only for the women's movement, for all civil society. Unfortunately our leaders once they arrive in government are so happy at having so much power, they are not interested. It has taken a really long time to have the declaration that social participation is a need... You have to show that it is important that a democracy has to do with participation, that to have a rich democracy, you have to open channels. It is very hard and that has to do with our political elite. They have not understood what political and social participation means, and political parties have been in a deep crisis (P1).

Second, most of the advocates, no matter their personal backgrounds or the size of their organizations, were very opposed to neoliberal policies. Many believed that true democracy and equality in Chile could not be accomplished through neoliberalism and the economic and cultural trends of globalization. As Jim, a housing advocate, noted when asked what changes in Chilean society would most help his organization:

It is a neoliberal model that does not represent the majority. The only thing they do is to encourage more international investment in Chile. We clearly have to change the economic system. This is not going to happen. I believe it is a government that will make advances, but not enough. This government is not going to make a complete change. They need to change the election system to allow representation of the poor in the government (H1).

Conclusion

In this chapter I examine how women in Chile have used social activism to fight the social inequalities they experience in their lives and whether or not this activism has been impacted by globalization and Chilean neoliberal policies. Global theorists including Sassen (2002) and Koggel (2006) associate globalization with gender empowerment and increased social activism, and certainly my findings show that most of my interviewees were social advocates in their community. Despite having outside employment and being responsible for the majority of domestic chores within their households, most of the women I interviewed spent a lot of time in NGOs, grassroots groups, and/or unions as a means to promote social change within their communities and within the Chilean society. The history of the Chilean women's movement makes it clear that women in Chile have always played an

active role in fighting for social change. Women fought in many movements for political and economic rights, against a political regime that terrorized their families, and for the establishment of a new democracy. They won direct representation in the democratic government through SERNAM and indirectly paved the way for the region's first female president elected on her own merit.

According to Rawkowski (2000, 1998) and Desai (2002), women are also empowered within their individual lives through joining and participating in women's groups and organizations. The women advocates I interviewed certainly were. They learned about important issues impacting their own lives as well as those of women in their communities. Many of the women who lived in poorer communities were helping each other provide important services to their community. Most of the women participated in these groups not because they were paid or received material gains but rather because they believed it helped them become better people and it helped other women within Chile. However, Pearson (1997) cautions that this labor can be exploited by the state and community and that this provides an extra burden on women.

My study supports this theory because the biggest obstacle to women's activism in Chile relates to the problem of time and too much work. These interviewees were often engaged in a third shift: they were employed full-time outside the home, doing most of the work within the home, and working part-time or full-time within their organizations and groups. Therefore, depending on women to provide more for their families in terms of social welfare, education and productive

works is putting an incredible burden on individual women. Employment alone is not changing gender, class, and racial inequalities within the home, jobs, or even in social movements. Activism does empower individual women and provides these women ways in which to make changes; however, it also creates stress, exhaustion, and even health problems for the individual Chilean women who take on the roles of caregiver, full-time employees, and social advocates.

Despite the long history of activism, the Chilean women's movement has been in decline and faces many obstacles. Chilean neoliberal policies, on the one hand, have created a need for women to fight for their right to social services for their families and their rights as employees as they enter the workforce. However, at the same time, these policies divided the women's movement along class and ethnic lines, provided unequal funding for non-governmental organizations, and deprived certain social groups within Chilean democracy of political representation. As Naples (2002) and Basu (2000, 1995) found in other societies, these Chilean groups did not have the same resources to achieve their goals, and there were few connections between groups to establish a united agenda. My respondents are active in organizations and groups that are divided by class and race. This division separates women in terms of how their organizations operate, how they define women's problems, the solutions they believe needed to empower women, and how they work with the Chilean government for social change. All participants in the organizations and groups I encountered believed that neoliberal policies impact women and Chileans negatively. They also believed that globalization and

neoliberalism made social activism more difficult. Increased work and changing social values that embrace materialism and individualism have prevented the expansion of the women's movement and have also burdened those who are active in social movements by placing yet more responsibility on women's shoulders.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

Summary and Implications of the Findings

In this dissertation I explore the attitudes of 52 Chileans toward globalization and neoliberalism and their impact on their nation and the lives of Chilean women.

Chile has

had a long history of pursuing neoliberal economic policies and has been cited as an economic miracle. Therefore, it is a fruitful location for examining globalization and global feminist theory through qualitative, feminist ethnographic research. By examining national policies, quantitative measures of development, and how various women in the labor force and political and community organizations perceive and live within the Chilean economy, I show the dynamic relationship between national and international policies and gender inequality and women's empowerment.

Understanding women's status within any society is a complex issue and must take into account various economic, political, and social indicators as well as understanding women's everyday life experiences (Mohanty, 2003; Mies, 1989; Sen, 1999, Koggel, 2006, 2008; Naples, 2002; Desai, 2002). My study examines Chilean national and international policies committed to globalization and how they impact Chileans on the whole, women throughout the nation, and women's groups within Santiago.

Chile was one of the first nations to commit to neoliberal policies. For the past forty years it has pursued free trade, privatization of social services, limited government control over the economy and limited government spending on social

services. However, even under the Pinochet dictatorship which forcefully repressed labor and political opposition, Chile was never a completely neoliberal state. Both the dictatorship and ensuing *Concertación* government relied on state-owned copper to support the country. Since the reemergence of democracy, the *Concertación* coalition has implemented policies that have controlled foreign direct investment and redistributed some resources to the poorest sectors of the Chilean society. Through limited regulation and wealth redistribution, the government has been more successful at producing stable economic growth and reducing official levels of poverty.

The success of the Chilean neoliberal economy is a controversial issue. Steady growth since the 1990s has made many proponents of neoliberalism describe it as a model of economic growth and a strong neoliberal success story. Easterly (2006) argues that commitment to neoliberal policies should benefit nations as open economies spur increased foreign investment, technological innovation, increases in exports, and more efficient economic growth. However, my study demonstrates that economic development through neoliberal policies is complex, and success is certainly not as clear cut as theorists assert. In Chile, neoliberal policies have not resulted in a movement toward manufacturing goods as the dominant form of export. Thus, industrial upgrading and technological advances have been limited. Most of the Chilean economy is based on the export of agricultural and fishing products and mining. Neoliberal policies have led to growth in GDP and reduced inflation;

however, Chile's economic growth has been limited and has largely benefited its elite populations and international corporations.

Therefore, Chile's commitment to neoliberalism has created and perpetuated vast social inequalities within the society. Even today, Chile has one of the largest gaps between rich and poor within Latin America. Because of low real wages, high unemployment, and minimum wealth redistribution, Chile's economic growth was not shared by the vast majority of Chile's workers. However, because of some economic regulation and "growth with equity" programs pursued by the *Concertación* government, Chile has reduced the number of people living in both extreme poverty and below the poverty line as defined by the government. Chileans also have access to clean drinking water and adequate sewage. Chileans are more educated and have experienced better health over the past forty years despite limited resources invested in health by the Pinochet government and the privatization of its education systems. Unfortunately, these benefits have not been equally shared by all Chileans. For example, relatively high illiteracy rates continue in rural areas. More Chileans are now attending secondary schools and higher-education institutions, but primary-school enrollment is lower today than during the Allende era. Chileans have more access to health care for some basic diseases, but the quality and amount of care depend on their ability to pay. Income inequality has not improved in Chile during the twenty years of democratic rule, nor has unemployment fallen below 7.1 percent.

The social inequalities within Chile have influenced the ways in which my respondents perceive and understand the impact of neoliberalism and globalization on

Chile and on their lives. A vast majority of my interviewees recognize the uneven economic development within Chile and believe it to be a major problem within their society. Moreover, lower-class respondents also believe that these inequalities are hidden because official measurements of poverty show that only 3.2 percent of Chileans live in extreme poverty, and 13.7 percent live under the poverty line. Official poverty rates do not take into account the fact that many Chilean families are sharing households to get by, have limited access to health care, and that both men and women are working for wages that do not adequately support their families. More importantly, proponents of Chile's neoliberal policy and the media portray Chilean society as prosperous and developed. Most of my respondents believe this image to be dangerous and to be an obstacle to addressing real problems within the society.

Globalization and neoliberal policies have had major impacts on women throughout the world. Women are entering the work force to compensate for shrinking welfare support, to supplement family incomes as men's wages fall, to take over as economic provider of the family when men leave the households, and as a means of attracting foreign direct investment into developing countries as they provide them with a cheap and manageable labor force. Sen (1999) argues that this workforce participation enhances their lives through self development. Women who work earn income that decreases their chances of poverty, malnutrition, disease, and their isolation. My study shows that the relationship between neoliberalism and Chilean women's employment is a complex one. As with the population as a whole,

women in Chile are both making great gains and suffering vast gender inequalities within the society. Women are as likely as men to be educated. Moreover, women are now slightly more likely to go to post secondary institutions than men are. This trend is not related to Chile's neoliberal policies as women's enrollment and literacy rates were equal to men's as early as 1970. However, women have not seen their school enrollment decline due to the privatization of Chile education system. Thus, Chile's neoliberal policies have not hurt women at least in terms of education. Furthermore, health indicators demonstrate that maternal mortality rates are declining and women's health and longevity have been improved over the past forty years.

In addition to improved education enrollment and health, Chile's commitment to "Growth with Equity" programs has not only reduced poverty rates for Chileans in general but has eliminated Chile's feminization of poverty. Women are only slightly more likely to be poor than men, and these rates have been dropping. Women are also more likely to be working today. However, neoliberal policies have not brought a majority of women into the *formal* workforce, and women are still likely to be segregated into low-paying occupations. Despite forty years of neoliberal policies, women's *formal* employment in Chile is still relatively low. With less than 40 percent employed in the formal sector, women's work outside the home is either not occurring or invisible because they are primarily employed in the informal sector. Thus, neoliberal policies are insufficient in promoting women's employment in the *formal* sector alone. Although there may be economic incentives to use women as they make less money than men in all employment sectors, my study shows that other

cultural forces including machismo continue to influence whether or not women find employment outside the home.

Most of the women interviewed in this study do work, and a vast majority of them do so in the formal sector. Although they do not represent all women in Chile or even all women workers in Chile, their experiences do point to some of the benefits of employment stressed by Sen (1999) and Sassen (2002). Their individual working experiences show that women gain individually through employment. All but one of the women like working and gain financial power within their families, and most of them associate work with improving their self esteems. The biggest change for the interviewees is the recognition that globalization universalized Western cultural values, a trend they believe is changing gender roles within Chile. Many of my respondents believe that Chilean society is more accepting of women's outside employment giving them more freedom of choice. Many believe that when women enter the paid workforce, they become more respected both within the home and in the society.

However, there are significant *class divisions* in perceptions of the ways in which employment influences their lives. Professional women and those with higher incomes perceive their work as improving their lives, even enhancing their roles as mothers and wives. Primary-educated and high-school-educated and those who made lower wages, on the other hand, see their jobs as preventing them from being adequate mothers and wives. Despite this difference, both groups of women do most of the work within the home with little or no help from their husbands. A small

minority see changes in gender roles within the home, but the vast majority do not. If my women respondents receive help with child care and domestic chores, it comes either from other female relatives or from paid domestic servants. Therefore, Sassen (2002) and Sen (1999) overestimate the relationship between women's increased financial support and men's adopting new household roles. Moreover, all women respondents are overwhelmed by responsibility. Most feel they do not have enough time to perform all the work required of them both inside and outside the home. Many argue that while the society gives them more choices in employment and self development, they do not have the time to work, take care of their families, and to attend school in pursuit of those options. Most respondents believe that women work as a necessity to supplement men's falling wages or support their families when their husbands cannot or will not. This means that they are unlikely to be able to choose work, but rather are compelled to join the work force.

My interviews demonstrate that employment is not sufficient to empower women. It does not liberate women in Chile from the broader forces of classism and sexism that continue to shape their lives. My respondents believe that machismo in the culture is still a problem for them and most women in Chile, and that poverty prevents all Chileans from maximizing their potential. Women in Chile continue to suffer from high levels of domestic violence, sex segregated occupations, and low wages. Therefore, many of my respondents have taken on another job: social activism.

Sassen (2002) argues that while the types of jobs women assume in the global economy may not pay well or may not provide benefits, women do gain power within their communities through this work by gaining access to collective action. Women throughout the world have mobilized to fight oppressive work conditions, promote gender equality, and fight social problems associated with neoliberal policies. My respondents are also engaged in social groups, non-governmental organizations, and movements to fight injustices and the problems occurring within the Chilean society. Chile has a long history of women's activism, and an important part of the women's movement related directly to fighting the Pinochet regime. Today, however, globalization and neoliberalism play contradictory roles within my respondents' social activism.

Most of the activists I interviewed believe that globalization is beneficial to their group or organization. Through technology, these groups feel more connected with their members, other social groups and international agencies and receive important goals and connections for the members. In addition, neoliberalism provides a united agenda for the various groups despite differences among the groups. Almost all my interviewees who were involved with collective action claim their group or organization is anti-neoliberal. Most believe that these policies hurt Chileans in general and women specifically. Despite some groups' focusing on a larger, gender-equality agenda or working on specific issues like domestic violence, all claim that neoliberal policies must be changed in order for society to empower women. Chile's commitment to globalization and neoliberalism has not challenged

machismo attitudes within the culture nor the sexism women face in the home, in the work forces or the political system.

However, the Chilean women's movement has been in decline since the end of the Pinochet regime, and many of my respondents believe that women are less likely to become active **because** of neoliberal policies and the culture of globalization. The spread of consumerism and individualism makes Chileans more likely to seek outside employment and less likely to get involved in their communities. Women in particular have less time to be active because they are more likely to be working outside the home and/or taking on more domestic work in their retirement by caring for grandchildren or sick and/or aging relatives. Many of my female respondents are involved in a "third shift." In addition to their domestic and job responsibilities, they somehow find time to engage in collective action as well.

Rising class inequalities restrict the success of women's activism in Chile in another way. These women are unable to overcome class divisions that separate their ability to unite for concerted effort. Poor women are often excluded from important resources despite efforts by both the government and formal NGOs to include their voices. They are often unable to communicate and participate in activities with more professional advocates because of their work hours. Moreover, the women's groups are often unable to communicate with each other in terms of their agendas and goals for women's empowerment within Chile. More formal organizers describe grassroots

organizers as being uncommitted to the general fight for gender equality. More informal groups accuse the formal NGOs of not representing their interests. All of the advocates believe that the government is incapable of supporting women's groups and reducing gender inequality within Chile despite the election of Michelle Bachelet as president.

The election of Michelle Bachelet demonstrates the complex relationship between globalization and women's status. All of my respondents believe that her election is an important symbol for women and girls within Chile today. She demonstrates that gender roles, at least in terms of women's employment outside the home, are changing and allowing women more choices. However, this symbolic victory is limited. Even my respondents question Bachelet's leadership because she did not follow paternalist styles of leadership. Many support her not because she challenged stereotypical gender roles but because she represented them. More importantly, my respondents do not believe that Bachelet would resolve the problems women and the poor face in Chile because of her commitment to neoliberalism. Her election does not encourage my respondents to become more politically or socially active. Those within groups do not believe her election would bridge gaps between NGOs and women's grassroots groups and the government. Unfortunately this means that all of the groups continue to struggle with limited funding that reduces the effectiveness of their activities.

Implications for Future Research

Although my respondents provide important insights into how neoliberal policies and globalization impact them and others within Chile, we can make only limited conclusions based on their perceptions. Their experiences as employees within the *formal* and *informal* sectors of the economy and their experiences as social advocates indicate that the critiques of globalization, made by Koggel (2006) and Mohanty (2003) for example, are correct when they argue that employment is not sufficient to lead to women's empowerment within their homes and societies. Neoliberalism creates obstacles for women's equality at the same time it provides opportunities for women's empowerment. However, these women do not represent all women in Chile. These employees do not represent the entire paid labor force, and the social advocates do not represent all of the collective action occurring in Chile. Therefore, more research is required to allow generalizations about the impact of neoliberal policies on women in Chile and developing countries.

First, qualitative, ethnographic research with its small samples needs to be supplemented by surveys using random samples of the entire population. Because I had access only to women and men who are for the most part critical of Chile's neoliberal economy, larger, more representative surveys can determine whether or not these attitudes are held by Chileans as a whole. This study does describe in detail how my respondents perceived and explained

globalization providing important information for developing insightful questions for larger studies. Specifically, in order to fully understand the impact of globalization, future studies must include measures of the cultural impacts of individualism and consumerism in addition to measures of economic development.

Second, although my respondents provide important details concerning women's work in Chile, more in-depth studies on the types of work women are doing in Chile would enhance understandings of how outside employment both empowers and burdens women. Official employment data are insufficient because they do not include women's employment in the *informal* sector. Again, a larger representative sample of women would help identify the types of work in which women are engaged and their attitudes toward and perceptions of both domestic and outside employment.

Third, my research occurred shortly after Michelle Bachelet assumed office as president. My respondents express mixed feelings about the benefits and problems of having a female head of state. A survey, now that her term has ended using a randomly selected sample, could determine how successful her agenda and governing style ultimately proved to be. Overall, did Chileans perceive beneficial changes in the society and its images of women because of her presidency?

Fourth, greater attention must be paid to cultural issues as they interact with economic policies such as neoliberalism. Clearly, machismo is still a

very potent cultural force in Chile, and we need to develop a better understanding of the interacting influence of culture and economic policy on the well-being of Chilean women.

Finally, this study explores class and gender inequalities within Chile and their possible relationship with neoliberalism. All of my respondents believe that racial/ethnic inequalities are a fundamental problem within the society and that neoliberal policies negatively impact Chile's indigenous groups. I had no access to indigenous women employees and advocates; thus, I could not explore this relationship. However, I believe that racial and ethnic inequalities must be explored in the future to examine in greater detail the impact of women's employment and activism on social inequalities within neoliberal Chile.

Despite the global crisis in 2008, most countries throughout the world remain committed to neoliberal policies of free markets and limited government. In 2010, the *Concertación* coalition lost its first presidential election after twenty years. Chile elected its first president from the Right who promised more deregulation, privatization of copper, and support for global markets. These electoral results might indicate either popular satisfaction with neoliberal policies or the alienation of the lower classes from the political system. A survey of the Chilean population would answer this question.

The purpose of this study is to explore how women in Chile define and explain the relationship of globalization to the status of women within their country in their own words. Their descriptions go beyond limited measures of economic development in general and women's status within developing countries specifically. Women's work within the home, on the job, and their activism is important and shapes women individually and collectively. Women's activism and empowerment is shaped by global forces; therefore, more comprehensive studies within Chile and across countries and regions are required if we want to understand how women continue to struggle and fight for gender equality within neoliberal economies.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

All interviews took place in Santiago, Chile

February 23, 2007, 7:00pm, Interview with Georgia in residence of a friend

March 10, 2007, 8:00am-11:00am: Interview with Lara in community center

March 10, 2007, 8:00am-11:00am: Interview with Randy in community center

March 10, 2007, 8:00am-11:00am: Interview with Pauline in community center

March 14, 2007, 5:15pm-Interview with Jan and Stacy in Santiago Jardin

March 15, 2007, 3:30pm-Interview with Nancy at her community soup kitchen

March 16, 2007, 8:00am-Interview with Yolanda, in her office

March 19, 2007, 9:00am-Interview with Katy, in her office

March 20, 2007, 10:00am-Interview with Beth, in her office

March 21, 2007, 3:00pm-Interview with Olivia, her office

March 30th, 2007, 10:00am-Interview with Brian, in his office

March 31st, 2007, 11:00am- Interview with Mike and Ben in their office

April 2, 2007, 10:am-Interview with Jack in his office

April 2, 2007, 8:00pm-Interview with Amanda in her home

April 3, 2007, 4:00pm-Interview with Mary in her office

April 4, 2007, 9:00am-Interview with Justina in her office

April 4, 2007, 11:30am-Interview with Janet in her office

April 6, 2007, 7:30pm-Interview with Deborah in her home begins, finished interview
April 23 at 4:00pm

April 9, 2007, 4:00pm-Interview with Melissa in her office

April 10, 2007, 6:00pm-Interview with Anne in her home

April 11, 2007, 6:30 pm-Interview with Claire in her office

April 12, 2007, 6:00pm-Interview with Erica in her home

April 13, 2007, 3:00pm-Interview with Jim in his truck and at a coffee house

April 17, 2007, 10:00am-Interview with Romeo and Juliet in their home

April 17, 2007, 5:00pm-Interview with Ellen in her office

April 17, 2007, 8:00pm-Interviews with Jackie, Roberta, Teri, Janice Eve, Emily and Sophie in their women's spiritual group meeting

April 23, 2007, 8:00am-Interview with Hailee and Jenny in a coffee house

April 23, 2007, 11:00am-Interview with Helen in her NGO office

April 24, 2007, 1:00pm-Interview with Polly in her office

April 25, 2007, 10:00am-Interview with Elizabeth and Aria in their home

April 25, 2007, 12:00pm-Interview with Julie in her Jardin office

April 25, 2007, 3:30pm-Interview with Irene in her office

April 25, 2007, 9:00pm-Interview with Renee and Nicci at the NGO meeting space

April 26, 2007, 3:30pm-Interview with Lisa in her office

April 27th, 2007, 3:30pm-Interview with Tonya in her NGO office

April 30th, 2007, 11:00am-Interview with Natalie in her NGO office

April 30th, 2007, 1:00pm-Interview with Ada at a coffee shop

May 2nd, 2007, 10:00am- Interview with Tori, in a friend's residence

May 2nd, 2007, 6:30pm- Interview with Naomi at her home

May 3rd, 2007, 9:00am-Interview with Paula at her office

APPENDIX B INTERVIEW QUESTIONS SETS

I. Questions for clinic and hospital employees

1. What is your name, age, where do you live?
2. Are you married? Have kids? How many?
3. Who do you live with?
4. What type of education/training have you had?
5. When did you start working? .
6. Why did you start working?
7. How long have you worked as a (profession)? In this clinic?
8. How much do you earn in pesos?
9. Are you part of any other political groups or committees?
10. What types of services does this clinic provide?
11. What do you do in this clinic?
12. What success has your clinic achieved?
13. What barriers has your clinic encountered?
14. What changes within Chilean society would be the most helpful to your clinic in achieving its goals?
15. How much contact does your clinic have with the Chilean government?
16. What type of resources does the government provide this clinic?
17. Does your organization perceive the Chilean government and SERNAM as a means or an obstacle to the achievement of your goals?
18. What changes has Bachelet made in providing social services to people in Chile
19. What positive changes have you seen in the democratic government in regards to helping the poor, women, indigenous people?
20. What negative changes have you seen? What has the democratic government left undone?
21. What type of resources do international groups and organizations provide your organization?
22. Do you find your organization benefits more from international resources than domestic resources?
23. How important do you think economic and state policies are in affecting the lives of women, the poor, the working class, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why?
24. Do you think economic and political globalization has a negative or positive impact on Chileans? Why?
25. How has Chilean economic and political globalization policies affected your clinic?
26. How many women work here in this clinic?
27. How does Chilean society portray women? Women workers? Do you feel this is a good portrayal?

28. Do you think attitudes towards women and women workers have changed in Chile? How?
29. In general, what types of problems do women have in Chile? What do you think is the biggest problem for women in Chile?
30. Did you vote in the last presidential election?
31. Did you support President Michelle Bachelet? Why or why not?
32. Do you support her now?
33. Do you think Bachelet's election as president is important for women, the poor, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why or why not?
34. Do you think that women's roles in Chile will change now that she is president?
35. How many days per week do you work, hours per day?
36. How many hours in the home do you work?
37. Do you have help? From Whom?
38. What are some positive experiences you have had working?
39. What are some challenges you face working outside the home?
40. Do you think working in this clinic has affected your home life? How?
41. Do you think that this work has changed your attitudes about yourself? About how you define gender roles and social equality for women, the poor, and indigenous people?

II. Questions for government employees

1. What is your name, age, where do you live?
2. Are you married? Have kids? How many?
3. Who do you live with?
4. What type of education/training have you had?
5. When did you start working? .
6. Why did you start working?
7. How long have you worked as in the government? In this department?
8. How much do you earn in pesos?
9. Are you part of any other political groups or committees?
10. What are the goals of your department?
11. What success has your department achieved?
12. What barriers has your department encountered?
13. How does your department define gender, class and ethnic inequality?
14. What other departments and ministries does your department work with?
15. Does your department have good relationships with these other government departments?
16. What NGOs or other groups does your department work?
17. Does your department have a good relationship with these other groups?
18. What changes has Bachelet made in the government? Will these changes help your department meet its goals?
19. What changes in the government would be the most helpful for your department?

20. How many women work here in this clinic?
21. Do you think women in the government are treated differently than men in the government?
22. How important do you think economic and state policies are in affecting the lives of women, the poor, the working class, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why?
23. Do you think economic and political globalization has a negative or positive impact on Chileans? Why?
24. How has Chilean economic and political globalization policies affected your department?
25. Do you see a relationship between these policies and the problems your department addresses?
26. How does Chilean society portray women? Women workers? Do you feel this is a good portrayal?
27. Do you think attitudes towards women and women workers have changed in Chile? How?
28. In general, what types of problems do women have in Chile? What do you think is the biggest problem for women in Chile?
29. Do you think Bachelet's election as president is important for women, the poor, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why or why not?
30. Do you think that women's roles in Chile will change now that she is president?
31. How many days per week do you work, hours per day?
32. How many hours in the home do you work?
33. Do you have help? From Whom?
34. What are some positive experiences you have had working?
35. What are some challenges you face working outside the home?
36. Do you think working in this clinic has affected your home life? How?
37. Do you think that this work has changed your attitudes about yourself? About how you define gender roles and social equality for women, the poor, and indigenous people?

III. Questions for other employees (those in business, law, etc.)

1. What is your name, age, where do you live?
2. Are you married? Have kids? How many?
3. Who do you live with?
4. What type of education/training have you had?
5. When did you start working? .
6. Why did you start working?
7. How long have you worked? In this job?
8. How much do you earn in pesos?
9. Do you work on salary or by the hour?
10. Are you part of any other political groups or committees?
11. What do you do at work? What is expected of you?

12. How many women work here in this clinic?
13. Do you think women in your office are treated differently than men?
14. How important do you think economic and state policies are in affecting the lives of women, the poor, the working class, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why?
15. Do you think economic and political globalization has a negative or positive impact on Chileans? Why?
16. How has Chilean economic and political globalization policies affected your job?
17. Do you think there are social inequalities in Chile? What are they?
18. How does Chilean society portray women? Women workers? Do you feel this is a good portrayal?
19. Do you think attitudes towards women and women workers have changed in Chile? How?
20. In general, what types of problems do women have in Chile? What do you think is the biggest problem for women in Chile?
21. Did you vote in the last presidential election?
22. Did you support President Michelle Bachelet? Why or why not?
23. Do you support her now?
24. Do you think Bachelet's election as president is important for women, the poor, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why or why not?
25. Do you think that women's roles in Chile will change now that she is president?
26. How many days per week do you work, hours per day?
27. How many hours in the home do you work?
28. Do you have help? From Whom?
29. What are some positive experiences you have had working?
30. What are some challenges you face working outside the home?
31. Do you think working in this clinic has affected your home life? How?
32. Do you think that this work has changed your attitudes about yourself?
33. Has this work changed how you define gender roles and social equality for women, the poor, and indigenous people?

IV. Questions for community and NGO organizers

1. What is your name, age, where do you live?
2. Are you married? Have kids? How many?
3. Who do you live with?
4. What type of education/training have you had?
5. Why did you decide to join your organization?
6. Are you paid for your work or are you a volunteer?
7. Is this your only job?
8. How long have you been an organizer? In this organization?
9. How much do you earn in pesos?
10. Are you part of any other political groups or committees?

11. What are the goals of your organization?
12. What success has your organization achieved?
13. What barriers has your organization encountered?
14. How does your department define gender, class and ethnic equality?
15. What changes within Chilean society would be the most helpful for your organization?
16. What type of resources does the government provide your organization?
17. How much contact does your organization have with the government?
18. How much contact does your organization have with SERNAM?
19. Does your organization perceive the government and SERNAM as a means or an obstacle in achieving its goals?
20. What alternatives to working with the government does your group pursue?
21. Does your group have contact with international organizations? Does this contact help your group achieve its goals?
22. Does your group participate in international meetings?
23. What type of resources do international groups provide your organization?
24. Do you find that your group receives more from international groups or from the government or domestic resources?
25. How important do you think economic and state policies are in affecting the lives of women, the poor, the working class, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why?
26. Do you think economic and political globalization has a negative or positive impact on Chileans? Why?
27. How has Chilean economic and political globalization policies affected your organization?
28. How does Chilean society portray women? Women workers? Do you feel this is a good portrayal?
29. Do you think attitudes towards women and women workers have changed in Chile? How?
30. In general, what types of problems do women have in Chile? What do you think is the biggest problem for women in Chile?
31. Did your organization support Bachelet's candidacy for president? Did you?
32. Do you and your organization support her now?
33. Do you think Bachelet's election as president is important for women, the poor, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why or why not?
34. Do you think her administration will help the poor, women, and indigenous Chileans?
35. Do you think that women's roles in Chile will change now that she is president?
36. Will your organization pursue more activities that involve the government now that she is president?
37. What plans do you have in the future for your organization in achieving its goals?
38. How many days per week do you work, hours per day?

39. How many hours in the home do you work?
40. Do you have help? From Whom?
41. What are some positive experiences you have had working?
42. What are some challenges you face working outside the home?
43. Do you think working in this clinic has affected your home life? How?
44. Do you think that this work has changed your attitudes about yourself? About how you define gender roles and social equality for women, the poor, and indigenous people?

V. Questions for local barrio activists

1. What is your name, age, where do you live?
2. Are you married? Have kids? How many?
3. Who do you live with?
4. What type of education/training have you had?
5. Do you work?
6. How long have you been working?
7. How much do you earn in pesos?
8. Are you part of any other political groups or committees?
9. Were you politically active before the Pinochet Regime?
10. What activities did you participate in?
11. What was life like in this barrio before the Pinochet Regime? What types of problems did women and their families experience during the Allende years?
12. What happened to the people in this barrio following the 1973 coup?
13. What types of problems in addition to police violence and state repression did women and their families experience?
14. Why did you decide to become active?
15. Are you still active any organizations today?
16. How has women's activism changed since the emergence of the new democracy?
17. Do you think the Pinochet years still influence women's political and social movements?
18. What types of problems do women in this barrio face today?
19. How important do you think economic and state policies are in affecting the lives of women, the poor, the working class, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why?
20. Do you think economic and political globalization has a negative or positive impact on Chileans? Why?
21. Do you think there are social inequalities within Chile today? What are they?
22. How does Chilean society portray women? Women workers? Do you feel this is a good portrayal?
23. Do you think attitudes towards women and women workers have changed in Chile? How?
24. In general, what types of problems do women have in Chile? What do you think is the biggest problem for women in Chile?

25. Do you think Bachelet's election as president is important for women, the poor, and indigenous populations in Chile? Why or why not?
26. Do you think that women's roles in Chile will change now that she is president?

(If respondent is employed end interview with the following questions)

27. How many days per week do you work, hours per day?
28. How many hours in the home do you work?
29. Do you have help? From Whom?
30. What are some positive experiences you have had working?
31. What are some challenges you face working outside the home?
32. Do you think working in this clinic has affected your home life? How?
33. Do you think that this work has changed your attitudes about yourself? About how you define gender roles and social equality for women, the poor, and indigenous people?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEWEE'S DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
Table C.1-Primary Educated Informants' Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married?	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/ Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Juliet	B1	F	75	Yes	5	Third Year Primary	pays for market food lives off pension \$237 per month	Part Time hair dresser/ NA	Mother Center activist, marcher during Pinochet/NA	Full time housewife
Janice	B2	F	50	Yes	2	Some High School	NA	Independent Vendor/NA	Women's church organization/NA	NA
Eve	B3	F	50	Yes	4	Some High School	\$20 per week, husband's salary not disclosed	Cleaner/ 1 day per week	Women's church organization/NA	NA
Emily	B4	F		Yes	2	Some High School	\$384 per month	Housekeeper /NA	Women's church organization /NA	NA
Sophie	B5	F	53	Yes	4	Some High School	Formerly \$59 per month	Former Staff at a school/NA	Women's church organization	NA
Jack	B6	M	77	Yes	5	High School., 2 nd year	\$266 per month	Full Time Organizer/ M-S varies between 8 or more	President of farm syndicate/Full Time	NA/Wife does most work
Mary	B7	F	61	Yes	3	Almost finished Primary	NA	Former florist quit to be full time organizer /transportation paid	Co founder of a women's NGO, life time member of women's movement/Full Time	NA
Nancy	B8	F	60	Widowed	2	Primary to 5 th year	NA	Natural medicine and soup kitchen director	Full time organizer	NA/ lives with mother, daughter and grandson
Naomi	B9	F	58	Yes/ Separated	3	Primary (8 th grade)	Gets support from son NA	Retired steel worker/ NA	Life time Community organizer Church activist and ex prisoner activist/NA	Full time housework and grandchild care/NA

Table C.2-High School Educated Informants' Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married?	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/ Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Jim	H1	M	23	No	No	High School Diploma	NA	Artisan/ 2 days a week	Full time organizer for housing group, also in communist party/NA	NA
Lara	H2	F	23	Yes	1	High School Diploma	NA	Administrative secretary /45 hrs M-F	Paid and does organizing	NA
Romeo	H3	M	77	Yes	5	High School Diploma	Retired pension \$237 per month	Construction foreman/ 55 hours M-F	Political marches in Pinochet, was prisoner	Wife Julie does house work
Jackie	H4	F	50	Yes	2	High School Diploma	no salary	Works with husband/NA	Women's church organization	NA
Roberta	H5	F	45	Yes	3	High School Diploma	\$197 per month	Drives school bus with husband/NA	Women's church organization	NA
Teri	H6	F	35	Yes	3	High School Diploma	Husband's \$692 per month	None disclosed	Women's church organization	NA
Elizabeth	H7	F	62	No	No	High School Diploma	\$178 per month in 1994	Cleaner/ Fish factory 12 hr days M-S (When she worked)	Activist Nun	NA/Share work in house with other nuns
Aria	H8	F	76	No	No	Some High School, studying to finish	NA	Hospital worker, cleaner, factory worker/NA	Activist Nun	NA/Share work in house with other nuns
Pauline	H9	F	22	No	No	To 4 th year high school, studying to finish	NA	NA	Domestic violence group, communist party	NA

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married?	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Ben	H10	M	62	Yes	2	High School Diploma	NA	Construction Worker/ 9 hrs M-S	Union organizer 2-3 hrs per day	Few as spend almost 3 hrs in commute to home /Wife
Mike	H11	M	63	Yes	3	High School Diploma through group	NA	Construction Worker/ 9 hrs M-F, sometimes weekends	Union organizer /NA	NA
Olivia	H12	F	57	Yes	4	High School Diploma	No salary gets room and board sometimes and transport.	Full Time Organizer	President of women's NGO/NA	NA
Renee	H13	F	43	Yes	2	High School Diploma	NA	Housewife	Yes, hrs not disclosed	12 hrs per day/Kids help
Tori	H14	F	45	Yes, Separated, Lives with another partner	3	High School Diploma	\$394 per month	Independent vendor/ Travels to Santiago, spends 1 week selling full days	No	2.5 weeks does full time when home/partner helps with kids when gone
Julie	H15	F	66	Widowed	4	High School Diploma	\$433 per month	Day care operator /6-14 hrs M-F Does all and lives in school	Full time community organizer, very active in church/NA	Does little due to health / 2 live in daughters and granddaughters
Jan	H16	F	33	Yes	1	High School Diploma	NA	Daycare worker /9 hrs M-F	No	6 hrs a night after work all childcare/Mom helps while at work
Stacy	H17	F	42	Yes	2	High School Diploma	NA	Daycare worker /9 hrs M-F	No	5-6 hrs a night, some help from husband

Table C.3 University/Technical College Educated Informants' Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Erica	U1	F	48	No	No	High School Diploma/Started Business Degree in University	Estimate s \$60 minimum per week, varies by orders	Graphic printer owns business/ 45 hrs M-F sometimes weekends	Full time organizer in humanist group/ 21-25 hrs	Lives with sister and niece, all share work
Helen	U2	F	46	Yes	2	University Degree /Psychology	NA	Real estate worker/ 30-40 hrs per week	Organizer for large women's foundation/ NA	3 hrs per day/ has housekeeper
Irene	U3	F	43	No	1	Technical degree in Childcare	\$453/m \$335 after taxes	Union Manager for large syndicate/ 12 hours M-F weekends if there are activities	Elected president, also volunteers for the union and two other womens' work organization/ NA	2-3 hrs/sister lives in, both take care of house and sick brother
Deborah	U4	F	53	Yes	3	Some University/ in second year in poli-sci	\$180 per month estimated	Community instructor/ NA	Full time community organizer/NA	NA
Nicci	U5	F	48	Yes, Separated	4	Executive Secretary Degree/Teaching Certificate	Not Disclosed	Executive Secretary/ 10hrs M-S	In women' NGO, NA	None/ Partner helps
Randy	U6	F	38	Yes	3	High School/Some college training in Psychology	Not disclosed	Student, no hours now	Volunteers for women's NGO/NA	Doesn't do, husband does childcare
Claire	U7	F	50	No, but has long term partner	2	High School Diploma, Some university in Psychology	\$680/month	Full time organizer for Foundation /6 hrs M-F	Also Volunteers 12 hrs per week in political party, community work 1 day per week	2 hrs per day M-F, gets help from partner and kids

Table C.4 Graduate and Professionally Trained Informants' Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married?	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Tonya	P1	F	56	Yes, Separated	2	University Degree/Phd candidate in Sociology	NA	Paid Organizer/ 12 days M-F	Volunteers for other groups/ Does some weekends as well	Works weekends /Hired help in household
Amanda	P2	F	39	Yes, Separated	No	University Degree/About to earn law degree	NA	Graphic Artist/ 9 hrs M-F	Union leader /Weekends, full days	NA/Shares all work with partner her income goes to her parents
Natalie	P3	F	62	Yes	4	Masters Degree	\$1164/month	Full time organizer for NGO /10 hrs M-F	In past was active in political group and others, now only in current employment	Couple hrs at night, weekends/ Husband cooks and cleans also have housecleaner
Justina	P4	F	44	Yes	2	Law Degree	NA	Government ministry worker /Full time	Part of political groups/NA	NA
Brian	P5	M	34	Yes	No	MS in Public Policy	NA	Government ministry worker 48 hrs per week	No	NA/share work with wife, but she does more
Melissa	P6	F	58	Yes	3	MD	\$1055/month maximum	Doctor /34 hr weeks between public office and private practice	No	NA/Cleaning woman
Katy	P7	F	61	Yes	2	Law Degree	NA	Government ministry lawyer /40 hr weeks	No	NA/Cleaning women, lives alone

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married?	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Polly	P8	F	36	Yes	2	MA in International Relations	NA	Finance worker in a transnational corporation /10 hrs M-f, travels 3 days per week	NO	Does child care /hired help, husband helps with childcare but not housework
Paula	P9	F	35	Yes	3	Law Degree	NA	Lawyer for a transnational corporation /8-9 hrs M-F	NO	Does all childcare /housekeeper, husband does help with kids
Ada	P10	F	34	Yes	2	Law Degree	NA	Lawyer for a transnational corporation 40 hrs M-F	NA	Does childcare /paid housekeeper
Jenny	P11	F	41	Yes (Chilean husband)	3	MA Degree in Economics	Wouldn't Disclose said professional salary	Works for transnational corporation /12 hrs M-F	No	Not many, some on weekends/Has nanny but husband does help out

Table C.5-Last Informant's Demographic Information, Education Level Unknown

Pseudonym	Code	Sex	Age	Married?	Kids	Education	Income	Job/Work Hours	Organizing/Hours	Home Work Hours/Help
Georgia	O1	F	46	Yes	2	?	NA	Artist/Na	Founder of domestic violence group/NA	NA/husband and kids help out

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