

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Searching for Empowerment: Chilean Women & the Case of ComunidadMujer

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Politics

At Massey University, Manawatu, New Zealand

Victoria del la Varis-Woodcock

2016

ABSTRACT

Chile's neoliberal political economy appears to frustrate women's empowerment. The privatisation of social services combines with minimalist social provisioning to make women's social reproduction burdens greater. Cultural expectations linking women's identities to care complicate the stringencies of the neoliberal context. The research carries out a qualitative investigation into the empowerment practices of ComunidadMujer, a prominent feminist organisation with a history of activism on women's equality issues. By comparing their practices with the testimonies of diverse Chilean women sharing their experiences, this research reveals that ComunidadMujer's discourses exemplify, rather than challenge neoliberal logic. An interpretative exploration of the data uncovers women's uncertainty and disempowerment, not due entirely to conditions of socio-economic equality, but also to certain problematic discourses inflecting subjectivity, which disregard social reproduction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Emily Beausoleil for believing in the possibilities of the research, pointing me towards ideas, whispering scholars' names, answering my questions, and finally, pushing my writing beyond my expectations.

Many thanks also to Fernanda Santander, who acted as my informal research assistant in Santiago, Chile. The memory of her help and her emphatic nod to my research brought my fingers back to the keyboard time and time again.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| ABSTRACT | II |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | III |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS | 7 |
| INTRODUCTION | 8 |
| CHAPTER 1 | 10 |
| THE LITERATURE REVIEW | 10 |
| INTRODUCTION | 10 |
| THE ORIGINS OF NEOLIBERALISM | 10 |
| NEOLIBERALISM'S GLOBAL REACH | 12 |
| CRITIQUING NEOLIBERAL CRITICISM | 15 |
| GOVERNMENTALITY | 16 |
| NEOLIBERALISM AS GOVERNMENTALITY | 18 |
| GOVERNMENTALITY & THE COMPETITION ETHOS | 18 |
| SUBJECTIVITY, HOMO Oeconomicus & THE OIKOS | 20 |
| SOCIAL REPRODUCTION & NEOLIBERALISM | 21 |
| NEOLIBERALISM, WELFARE DEPENDANCY & GOVERNMENTALITY | 23 |
| WHAT IS EMPOWERMENT? WHO IS EMPOWERED? | 25 |
| EMPOWERMENT & THE NEOLIBERAL SUBJECT | 29 |
| NEOLIBERAL (IL)LOGIC | 30 |
| EMPOWERMENT & THE CARE ETHIC | 33 |
| CHAPTER 2 | 37 |
| THE METHODOLOGY | 37 |
| EPISTEMOLOGY | 37 |
| CONSTRUCTIVISM | 38 |
| POSTSTRUCTURALISM | 38 |
| FEMINISM | 40 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY | 41 |
| TIME FRAME & ANALYTIC STRATEGY | 41 |
| FIELDWORK IN CHILE | 42 |
| FIELDWORK SETTING, SAMPLE SELECTION & ACCESS | 42 |
| THE EXPERTS | 43 |
| PARTICIPANTS OUTSIDE CM | 43 |
| INTERVIEW SETTING | 44 |
| WRITTEN & VISUAL DATA | 44 |
| REFLEXIVITY | 45 |
| <i>EMOTIONS & SUCCESSES</i> | 46 |
| <i>CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY & GENDER</i> | 47 |
| ETHICS | 48 |
| CHAPTER 3 | 49 |
| <hr/> | |
| THE RESULTS | 49 |
| <hr/> | |
| INTRODUCTION | 49 |
| PART I AXIOMATIC MATERNALISM | 50 |
| PART II WOMEN'S PRECARIOUSNESS IN THE NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT | 52 |
| WOMEN RAISING FAMILIES ALONE | 52 |
| THE PRECARIOUSNESS OF WOMEN'S HEALTH | 53 |
| HUMAN SECURITY: A PRIVATE AFFAIR | 54 |
| AGING IN NEOLIBERAL CHILE | 55 |
| EDUCATION: EMPOWERMENT OR PROFIT? | 56 |
| WOMEN AT WORK | 57 |
| PART III WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO THE NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT | 59 |
| <hr/> | |
| SPATIAL & TEMPORAL NEOLIBERAL EFFECTS: HOW DO WOMEN RESPOND? | 59 |
| POLITICAL ACTIVISM: WE ARE TIRED OF IT | 61 |
| SOCIAL REPRODUCTION | 63 |
| PROBLEMATIC PATERNITY | 64 |
| THE WEALTHY RESPONSE TO SOCIAL REPRODUCTION: DOMESTIC WORKERS IN CHILE | 65 |
| AT THE UNION OF LIVE-IN DOMESTIC WORKERS, SANTIAGO | 70 |
| ISOLATION & SADNESS | 71 |
| CONTESTING SUBMISSIVE IDENTITIES | 72 |
| PART IV | 73 |
| <hr/> | |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| COMUNIDADMUJER, THE VOICE OF WOMEN | 73 |
| COMUNIDADMUJER & AXIOMATIC MATERNALISM | 75 |
| COMUNIDADMUJER & DOMESTIC WORKERS | 76 |
| COMUNIDADMUJER: POLICIES & PRACTICES TO EMPOWER WOMEN | 79 |
| SOCIAL REPRODUCTION | 79 |
| AGED CARE | 81 |
| EMPOWERING WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE | 82 |
| CONFOUNDING GENDER NORMS IN EDUCATION: LAS NIÑAS PUEDEN | 85 |
| THE COMUNIDADMUJER PRIZE | 86 |
| COMUNIDADMUJER & POLITICS | 87 |
| THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN & GENDER EQUITY | 88 |
| COMUNIDADMUJER & POWER | 89 |
| CHAPTER 4 | 91 |
| DISCUSSION | 91 |
| INTRODUCTION | 91 |
| SOCIAL REPRODUCTION BURDENS: IS GENDER ALL TO BLAME? | 93 |
| COULD A PREVIOUSLY DISEMPOWERED WOMAN BECOME EMPOWERED? | 95 |
| COMUNIDADMUJER: AN EVALUATION | 96 |
| REFERENCES: | 99 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. The despair of live-in domestic workers, who leave their children to raise others' children. p. 47

Figure 2. How a carer might feel about the devaluation and feminisation of care that accompanies privileged irresponsibility. p. 78

The images are the author's own.

Copyright Victoria del la Varis-Woodcock, 2016.

INTRODUCTION

Women's equality is increasingly being recognised as a social issue throughout the developed and developing world. In South America, issues confounding women's equality and empowerment are embedded in social and cultural beliefs and a problematic economic and political terrain (Leiva, 2012; Schild, 2002). This research's aim is to explore whether women are empowered in neoliberal Chile. According to Milton Friedman, the founder of neoliberalism, at stake in his theory is "the freedom of individuals to control their own destinies" (Friedman, 2012, p. 12). Yet in Chile, his theory's instituted tenets, such as the privatisation of health, education and pensions, crucially affect how women control their destinies. There, life is precarious. Human security has been privatised, work casualised, and indebtedness normalised (Han, 2012). Indeed, Chile's neoliberal context seems to vex women's equality and empowerment. One organisation in particular highlights the marginalisation of Chilean women. Since 2002, the non-governmental organisation ComunidadMujer (CM) [Community of Women], has fought to make women equal in Chile's extremely unequal society. This organisation and the challenges besetting it provide a focus for the research question.

The research aim of discovering whether women can be empowered within neoliberalism will be partly answered by analysing CM's contribution to the fight for women's equality. The research will investigate the strategies and initiatives CM uses as a prominent institution in Chilean society, to affect change. How the organisation's empowerment initiatives are influenced by neoliberal logics will also be examined. However, CM is not the only actor. The research will also explore how Chilean women negotiate the neoliberal terrain. We will meet a range of women: 'the elite'; students on strike; single mother-businesswomen; childless professionals; vulnerable domestic workers, and charismatic leaders. The research methodology is qualitative, featuring in-depth interviewing to explore how CM, and ordinary women experience and respond to the neoliberal context. This multi-layered exploration places the research at the forefront of scholarship touching on civil society's empowerment initiatives, and women's equality within neoliberalism. The research

might uncover *how* women can be empowered in today's neoliberal demos. However, to determine *whether* women can be empowered under neoliberalism, we need to find out what neoliberalism and empowerment mean in terms of what women overwhelmingly do. Women care for the young, sick and old, maintaining the material structures surrounding those cared for, which is part of care (Tronto & Fisher, as cited in Tronto, 2006, p. 5). However, women have also always laboured in the work force, just as they have eternally been political, side by side with men in any polis. So any answers about women's empowerment must search for and embrace women's potentialities in all these capacities.

To fulfil the research aim requires delineating the concepts and theories that animate the question. Thus, the research will begin in Chapter One, by reviewing the literature that develops, debates and defines neoliberalism and the neoliberal subject; social reproduction and the care ethic; and how subjectivity conditions empowerment. Chapter Two develops the poststructuralist and feminist theories that emerge from the literature, describing how a qualitative methodology best fulfils the research aim in terms of those theories. The research results appear in Chapter Three. We first explore the data through the problematic of 'axiomatic maternalism'. This mothering problematic seems to frustrate women's empowerment and therefore it complicates the neoliberal context that emerges from the data. Then, the data is arranged as a survey of women's varied responses to the problem of care, work, and privatised health and education. An exploration of CM's policies and practices for empowering women follows those surveyed testimonies, contrasting and evaluating CM's practices in light of ordinary women's experiences and challenges. The research concludes with a discussion in Chapter Four, where I probe the data's implications and discuss the impact of the findings. While the research territory is Santiago, and Valparaíso, Chile, the interpretations and insights that will be gained from the research will travel well beyond South American shores.

CHAPTER 1

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this literature review, I explore the geographical, historical, political and economic elements shaping the research question. To trace a heretofore-unmarked road from neoliberalism to possible empowerment for Chilean women, I have sketched historical outlines, from those of neoliberalism to those lineaments of domesticity discernable from ancient Greece. I have drawn on pertinent scholarship to define terms, map out conceptual territory, and to guide me theoretically through that territory. In particular, poststructuralist theory emerges as salient to the definition of empowerment with which this research is concerned.

The Origins of Neoliberalism

Neoliberal economic theory arguably originates in the European Enlightenment. This is because it was that era's thinker, Francois Quesnay, who said a state should let its populace freely expend the fruits of its labour to create common wealth (Bowman, 1966, p. 859). Quesnay coined the phrase *laissez faire*, or "Let them do as they please" (Bowman, 1966, p. 860). The Enlightenment thinker, Adam Smith (1776), encouraged by Quesnay, conceptualised market economics in his book, *The Wealth of Nations* (Berry, 2013, p. 4; Bowman, 1966, p. 860). Smith (1776) identified how each individual consumer unwittingly actuated the "invisible hand" of the market,

creating through “unintended consequences”, a benign economy (Berry, 2013, p. 12). The economist Friedrich Hayek (1994) and his student Milton Friedman (2012) would embrace Adam Smith’s beliefs in self-interest, competition, and the market (Smith, 2013, p. 542). Indeed, Adam Smith’s idea that market ‘intelligence’ surpassed state planning profoundly influenced Hayek (Peters, 2001, p. 14). On the other hand, Smith’s ‘voluntary transactions of buyer and seller in the market’ idea crucially affected Friedman (Smith, 2013, p. 546). We could say for Friedman, these transactions expressed freedom and empowerment. In fact, he equated market freedom and freedom from government interference with social and political freedom, ascribing these values to liberalism: “Individualism is [liberalism’s] creed; collectivism and tyranny its enemy” (Friedman, 2012, p. 11). Friedman would develop these ideas into his so-named “neo-liberalism”, a term he coined in 1951 (Friedman, 2012, p. 3). However, as Steve Buckler (2010, p. 162) explains, liberal thought insists the state must enhance well-being through social provisioning. That neoliberalism, as we shall see, rejects such an aim, suggests it is liberalism’s perversion. In fact, it has been said that neoliberal economics have led to a global crisis whereby the elite holds all the wealth, while the masses endure widespread and sometimes extreme poverty (Scholte, 2005).

Scholars place neoliberalism as an operation of state in the liberalism of post-Nazi Germany. There, an ‘ordered’ liberalism was conceived of by fraught economists, who, as Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe (2009, p. 2) note, placed a “strong emphasis on the social character of economic relations” (Brown, 2005, p. 40; Dardot & Laval 2013, pp. 75-100; Foucault, 2008, pp. 108-110). Faced with National Socialism’s horrors, those German economists reintroduced an eighteenth century liberalism based on government obeying “the internal rule of maximum economy” (Foucault, 2008, p. 318). They revitalised liberalism from one focused on population management and *laissez faire*, to one that *privileged* the market (Foucault, 2008, pp. 102-109). The Chicago School of Economics, where Hayek and Friedman taught, embraced this ‘ordered’ liberalism (Dardot & Laval, 2013). Crucially, as we shall see, historical ties between Chilean universities and the Chicago School ensured there would be a group of neoliberal economists, the “Chicago Boys”, for dictator

Pinochet¹ to turn to for economic advice on Chile's operation of state (Klein, 2009, p. 79). Eventually, Pinochet enforced state neoliberalism in Chile (Cárcamo-Huechante, 2006, p. 413; Klein, 2009, pp. 77-87; Manzetti, 2009, p. 209; Solimano, 2012, pp. 22-5). We could say that it was in Chile where neoliberalism came of age.

Neoliberalism's Global Reach

Neoliberalism is a global philosophical institution. As Perry Anderson states, it is “the most successful ideology in world history” (Anderson, 2000, p. 17; Ong, 2006; Peters, 2001, p. 15). Indeed, scholars convincingly argue that neoliberal politics shaped the process of globalisation itself (Beck, 2000, p. 383; Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 247; Kotz, 2002, p. 12). As Alfredo Saad Filho and Deborah Johnston (2004, p. 3) conclude: “The most basic feature of neoliberalism is the systematic use of state power to impose market imperatives, in a domestic process that is replicated internationally by ‘globalisation’”. A term coined by John Williamson, the *Washington Consensus* exemplifies neoliberalism's spread, describing the rejection of Keynesian economics by United States' policy-makers and think tanks, and their uptake of Hayek and Friedman's liberal economic theory (Hayek, 1994, p. 44; Manzetti, 2009; Smith, 2013, p. 542). Economic liberalism and the minimal state were foundational ideas shaping Consensus policy, which would be imposed upon borrowing countries by international financial institutions in the 1980s (Arestis, 2004; Peters, 2001, p. 19). Other policies were: measured state spending; liberalising interest rates, foreign investment and trade; reforming taxes; protecting property rights; privatising state assets, and finally, deregulation (Arestis, 2004, p. 252; Peters, 2001, pp. 18-19). Returning to liberalism's Enlightenment progenitor, Craig Smith (2013) defends Adam Smith from charges he legitimised today's global “unrestrained capitalism” (Smith, 2013, p. 542). In that capitalism, as Jean and John Comaroff point out, labourers, production, markets and money now shift like the wind, independent of governments, without loyalty, nationality, and disconnected from the personal and the moral (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012, p.158). How did we come to this?

¹ Augusto Pinochet and the Chilean military deposed Salvador Allende, Chile's democratically elected socialist leader, on September 11, 1973. Allende died defending La Moneda, the presidential palace, from the armed attack of the military forces. The coup was financially supported by the US (Ensalaco, 2000; Harvey, 2005; Marquez, 2013).

When lending institutions applied the Consensus, their policies became “structural adjustment programmes” (Bakker & Gill, 2008, p. 24). These ‘structural adjustment programmes’ ensured economies would become globally neoliberal. Alongside the growth in transnational corporations, they mark changes in capitalism that have helped to enmesh globalisation with the spread of neoliberal economics (Beck, 2000, p. 383; Kotz, 2002, p. 14). Accordingly, several scholars have pointed to the detrimental effects of the neoliberal economic turn on societies (Arestis, 2004; Gill, 1998; Jessop, 2002 & 2005; Kotz, 2002; Manzetti, 2009; Saad Filho & Johnston). Philip Arestis (2004) and Thomas Palley (2004) report the Washington Consensus policies endorsed by Williamson (1993) nosedived by the mid 1990s, with many countries experiencing financial failures (Arestis, 2004, pp. 252-268; Palley, 2004, p. 25). And yet Sarah Babb (2013) and others argue that there has yet to be an adequate set of alternative economic policies to succeed the Consensus.

Several scholars describe neoliberalism as an ideological regime, perhaps explaining why no competing economic theories gain traction. Ideology has been defined as a “science of ideas” (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1976, p. 533). Bob Jessop (2002; 2005; 2013) asserts the science of neoliberal economics is *hidden*. In contrast, Amy Bhatt, Madhavi Murty, and Priti Ramamurthy (2010, p. 129) describe neoliberalism as a spatial and temporal “event” carried across borders by neoliberal subjects. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000, p. 347) observe in neoliberalism global capitalism at work: they call it “Empire”. This “new world order”, they argue, globally unifies armed forces, networks of interests, organisational arrangements, state rationalities, and communication and money systems (Hardt & Negri, 2000. p. 32). However, *Empire* purposefully fragments global labour and rules it by “reinforc[ing] the cleavages of race, gender, language, [and] culture” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 398). This conception of a global regime unified by ideology has been called the “global apparatus” of neoliberalism (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 307). In my view, terms like ‘apparatus’, ‘regime’ and ‘ideology’ are well chosen in this literature review. A picture emerges from the literature, from the Washington Consensus (Arestis, 2004), to the global knowledge economy (Holmwood, 2014), to the all-powerful corporations’ survival beyond the Global Financial Crisis (Crouch, 2011), which shows neoliberalism’s inexorable ideological spread. The *Empire* concept underscores commonalities in diverse neoliberal political economies, such as the

knowledge regime, where students 'consume' a tertiary education (Brown, 2015; Holmwood, 2014). The question of whether women can be empowered within a neoliberal order parallels neoliberalism's expansiveness. If neoliberalism continuously expands, so does the research question's importance.

Upholding this critique of neoliberalism as omnipresent and coercive, scholars describe how it has expanded into the global economy (Anderson, 2000; Beck, 2000; Crouch, 2011; Klein, 2009). A corresponding segment of scholarship details neoliberalism's global social and political force (Harvey, 2005; Hilgers, 2011; Ong, 2006; Peck & Ticknell, 2002; Ticknell & Peck, 1995; Wacquant, 2012). In relation to such neoliberal criticism, Rajesh Venugopal (2015) has censured it for incoherence and bias. He is wrong, for any partisanship and incoherence honestly reflects neoliberalism's multiple local manifestations, as well as the partisan interests intersecting them. For example, David Harvey (2005) finds in China and Mexico the neoliberal privatisation policy sees peasants losing their land (Harvey, 2005, pp. 159-60). Examining Brazil, Loic Wacquant's (2012) thesis claims penal institutions are flourishing due to the market-oriented goals and social control instruments of neoliberal governance. Jamie Peck's (2010, p. 170) work examines the post-Katrina New Orleans rebuild, which benefits the wealthy, not the poor. Indeed, Adam Tickell and Jamie Peck (1995, p. 401) describe neoliberalism as an unstoppable geographical process, which requires macro-economic, rather than local contestation to counter its force. This scholarship investigating the effects of neoliberal economics make persuasive Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore's (2012) argument that neoliberalism should be investigated as a spatial phenomenon, with complex effects in multiple locations. They argue that scholars should carry out localised analyses to critique the variant effects of neoliberal economics, notwithstanding the analytical challenges involved (Peck & Theodore, 2012, p. 177). Their thesis, along with Ong's (2006) focus on the 'existing effects' of neoliberalism in Asian economics, and Wacquant's (2012) focus on penitentiaries in Brazil, indicates the want for an investigation focusing on neoliberalism's effects in Chile.

Critiquing Neoliberal Criticism

Problematizing neoliberal criticism itself is the scholarship of Daniel Goldstein (2012), James Ferguson (2010), and the afore-mentioned Venugopal (2015). These scholars find neoliberal criticism is characteristically unclear, beset by divisions, and troubled by theoretical mutability. However, Venugopal's (2015) thesis on neoliberalism as a chameleon concept becomes unconvincing through his own mutable exposition of the institution of Chilean neoliberalism. He establishes that Chilean neoliberalism has been portrayed in the literature multifariously, and could be understood according to the 'position' taken. Chile either demonstrates a technocratic application of economic principles, or it displays the "conceptual expansion of neoliberalism from economic policy to political power" (Venugopal, 2015, pp. 173-5). Then, Venugopal (2015, p. 176) finds Chile could illustrate the idea of neoliberalism as neo-colonialism. Despite neutralising the historic and 'the actual' in this distancing, the effects of neoliberalism in Chile demand academic attention. Venugopal's attention to the conceptual avoids uncomfortable detail, such as how in Chile, when Pinochet's Chicago School economists cut public spending by a third, and the state withdrew funding from kindergartens, schools, universities, health, cemeteries and pensions, unemployment rose to 20 percent (Klein, 2009, pp. 82-84). Even a former 'Chicago Boy' called the neoliberal policies "*Economic Genocide in Chile*" (Gunder Frank, as cited in Klein, 2009, p. 477). If Venugopal had reviewed Clara Han's (2012) anthropological study of poverty in Chile, or Patricio Valdivieso's (2012) analysis of Chilean political apathy, the highlighted effects of contemporary neoliberalism would have demolished his academic distance. Han (2012, p. 9) shows how the institutionalisation of Chilean neoliberalism changed Chilean culture. Those changes caused a "neoliberal depression" that Han's participants suffer, as they negotiate life "in the wake of state violence, a disappointment with democracy, and ongoing economic precariousness" (Han, 2012, p. 131).

When Goldstein (2012) critiques neoliberalism as an "epiphenomenon", arguing it needs to be investigated "in practice", he also upholds Peck and Theodore's (2012, p. 304) call for examining neoliberalism's practiced local effects. Ferguson's (2010) assertion that the schism between *forms and aims* of neoliberal politics offers a rich analytical seam, likewise upholds their call. This research's exploration of the schism

between CM's institutional form and their social aims, exploits such an analytical seam. CM's equality aims appear to oppose Chile's market economy aims, which benefit from women's lowly paid labour (Leiva, 2012). By examining the pro- or anti-neoliberal discourses that might appear in CM's self-narrative, the research not only attends to this scholarship's conceptual concerns, but it also fills a gap, which overlooks CM as a prominent institution in the Chilean polity. However, Venugopal (2015, p. 181) wants scholars to abandon neoliberal criticism altogether: "there are compelling reasons to reconsider the relevance of neoliberalism as a concept and to leave it behind". Yet, Venugopal's reasoning for abandoning neoliberal criticism emphasises its importance. Noting no contemporary "theorists that elaborate [neoliberalism], nor policy-makers or practitioners that implement it" exist, Venugopal (2015, p. 179) nevertheless admits: "Advocates of market deregulation, private-sector-led growth or any of the shifting components that might be part of neoliberalism do not describe themselves or their policies as such". This analysis highlights the import of the research aim: to explore whether women can find empowerment within 'the shifting components' of neoliberalism.

Governmentality

Jamie Peck (2010, p. 7) notes scholars have produced "messy hybrids" of neoliberalism definitions. Perhaps the mess arises because neoliberalism has been said to operate both within the state and within the state's subject (Brown, 2015). This duality comes from Michel Foucault's (2008) conception of neoliberalism. In it the state *limits* its control over the market for economic benefit, for without the economy performing the state could not guarantee its survival (Foucault, 2008). Foucault's definition of the "self-limiting state" is key, because it highlights the relationship between the newly self-limiting state, and a new kind of state-influenced subject (Brown, 2015; Peters, 2001, p. 73). Foucault (2008, p. 186) termed that strand of state influence, "governmentality". Numerous scholars affirm Foucault's thesis that states developed governmentality as a new 'technology of citizenship', or a new "*art of government*" to direct, or more cynically, control citizens' conduct (Brown, 2015; Cruikshank, 1999; Jessop, 2005; Larner, 2000; Ong, 2006; Peters, 2001, italics in original, p. 20). Governmentality does not control populations through dogma directing the collective, but rather through dogma controlling atomised,

autonomous individuals. States would want an individualistic populace, rather than a collectivist one if the former helps states achieve their survival ends. A corollary to this is the more individualistic a society becomes, the more it needs to be controlled.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) wrote, “The best of governments is that which teaches us to govern ourselves” (Goethe, 1931, p. 227). In *The Birth of Biopolitics* lectures, perhaps inspired by Goethe, Foucault (2008) traced how states rationalised their ‘ends’. Since the eighteenth century, those ends have largely involved nurturing the market to create wealth, policing the population, and their health (Foucault, 2008, pp. 53, 87, & 102). Foucault argues governmentality arose from the novel conception of “what it meant to be a living species in a living world, to have a body, conditions of existence, probabilities of life, an individual and collective welfare” (in Rabinow, 1991, p. 255). When the state moved to control these potencies, Foucault called it “bio-power” (in Rabinow, 1991, p. 266). Governmentality and bio-power are premised on Foucault’s (1994, p. 137) understanding of the way power works: “what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions”. Thus, the ultimate form of state power over citizens would be catalysing *desirable action* among the many ways they could act:

A power relationship can only be articulated on the basis of two elements that are indispensable [...]: that the ‘other’ (the one over whom power is exercised) is recognized and maintained to the very end as a subject who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible inventions may open up (Foucault, 1994, pp. 137-8).

When the populace reacts in a state-desired fashion, for example by saving responsibly for retirement, this is ‘biopolitics’. Goethe arguably prefigures the biopolitical intention by arguing, “a stoic attitude of *self-control* as well as *hard work* in the service of humankind, [is] the best that an individual could contribute to the progress of history” (Barry, 2014, Significance Section, para. 3, emphasis mine). Neoliberal governmentality arguably twists Goethe’s values, so the populace serves the market, rather than humankind.

Neoliberalism as Governmentality

The literature problematising neoliberalism as a form of social control in post-Fordist societies intersects with neoliberalism as ideology. As Jessop argues, neoliberal ideology functions discretely, stealthily instilling assumptions in unwitting subjects (Fairclough 1989, as cited in Jessop, 2002, p. 467). This literature segment is a key development, because as Wendy Larner (2000) argues, it intervenes in scholarship that had considered neoliberalism as a reaction to previous Keynesian governance. The segment can be illustrated by Nikolas Rose's identifying neo-Foucauldian governmentality techniques in Margaret Thatcher's government (Rose, 1993; Rose 1996). Michael Peters (2001) complicates Rose's governmentality approach by positing it against two other possible understandings: neoliberalism as hegemonic ideology in the Gramscian tradition (1971), or as "technocratic reason" of state, in the Habermasian tradition (Peters, 2001, pp. 76-78). While acknowledging the Gramscian hegemony of neoliberalism, Larner (2007) emphasised that obedience to such understandings might embed the rationale, arguing: "we need to take seriously *the complexity of real examples*" (Larner, 2007, emphasis mine, p. 220). Larner's (2007) intervention presages phenomenological critiques, such as that of Sophie Wynne-Jones's (2010) examination of environmental management policies in neoliberal Britain, or Imogen Tyler's (2013) critique in *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. However, a body of literature, which criticises the neoliberal rollback of social spending, expands upon the problem of social control postulated. This critique examines the cynical discourse behind welfare cuts in post-Fordist countries in the 1990s. 'Discourse' can be a "sermon", "treatise", or an entrenched idea in speech or text (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1976, p. 294; Krook & Mackay, 2011). The cynicism stems from how neoliberal ideology as governmentality uses discourse to create an ideal society – one that competes to the bitter end.

Governmentality & The Competition Ethos

The subject of the self-limiting neoliberal state embraces the competition ethos to serve the market and thus the state. A free market theoretically benefits all, whereas market interference like subsidies only benefits some (Friedman, 2012, pp. 8-9 & p.

21). As Friedman (2012, p. 7) wrote in 1951, neoliberalism uses “competition among producers to protect the consumer from exploitation, competition among employers to protect workers and owners of property, and competition among consumers to protect the enterprises themselves”. Hence, in a neoliberal state competition is *institutionalised*. Scholars validate the proposition that the populace is biopolitically institutionalised *to compete* to serve the market, through honing their *performance in it*. Before evaluating it, we need to see that other rationales of the relationship between populace and state might exist. Let us turn to Thomas Hobbes’s earlier rationale as a useful distinction. In 1651, Hobbes held there was a *social contract* between populace and ruler (2009). The populace only obeyed the ruler/the state, in return for protection from foreign and native enemies, so long as everyone consented to be thus ruled: “I Authorise and give up my Right of Governing my selfe, to this Man, or to this Assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy Right to him, and Authorise all his Actions in like manner” (Hobbes, 2009, pp. 246). Foucault’s (2008) contribution is to distinguish neoliberalism from earlier principles, such as that of a sovereign or ruling assembly entrusted to protect us from foreigners or ourselves (Hobbes, 2009, p. 246).

Foucault showed we are ruled by a state, which protects the market *above all else*, using governmentality to achieve this end (2008). Today, our enemies are the market’s enemies. This governmentality theory signals that under neoliberal rule, ideas held by individuals, institutions, or even state actors about what democracy, freedom, or empowerment mean, might be understood as biopolitics made manifest. Indeed, a scholarly critique sees neoliberal subjectivity disempowering citizens by diminishing their democratic consciousness. Alison and Alfredo Saad-Filho (2015), Wendy Brown (2005; 2015), Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval, (2013); Mario Pianta (2013), and Robert Wade (2013) have all criticised neoliberalism’s propensity to erode the sensibilities of democratic citizenship. In particular, Brown (2005; 2015) observes neoliberal economic rationality has swamped other values like equality and freedom, leading to an erosion of political engagement (Brown, 2015, p. 41). Taking up this point, Dardot and Laval (2013) explain how the institution of malign state policies encourages political disengagement:

Dilution of public law in favor of private law; configuration of public activity [for] profitability and productivity; symbolic devaluation of the law as the specific act of legislature; strengthening of the executive; prioritization of procedure; a tendency for police powers to break free of any judicial control; promotion of the 'citizen-consumer' responsible for arbitrating between competing 'political offers' – these are so many proven trends attesting to the depletion of liberal democracy as a political norm (p. 303)

Hence, the research must question whether the neoliberal subject's empowerment as it exists in their consciousness, can be disentangled from the governmentality accomplished through a predominant competition and performance ethos.

Subjectivity, Homo Oeconomicus & the Oikos

Aihwa Ong (2006) notes the inexorable expansion of neoliberal economic logic co-opting subjectivities and knowledge. Other scholars corroborate her argument that a moral and political structure sanctifying enterprise as a public good and an individual ethical endeavour now undergirds subjectivities (Brown, 2015; Dardot & Laval, 2013; Foucault, 2008, pp. 242-244). Several scholars see entrepreneurialism and economics invading morals about the self (Blakar, Nafstad, Roen, & Türken, 2015; Brown, 2015 p. 79; Dardot & Laval, 2013; Oksala, 2013; Rottenburg, 2014). A marketing/performance emphasis now shapes one's moral and physical subjectivity: "The body is now the product of a choice, a style, self-fashioning" (Dardot & Laval, 2013, pp. 285-7) Performance involves seeking and receiving an external measure of success, through fostering internal discipline. For successful performances, scholars argue the media encourages self-excess: "'Success' as spectacle is valid in and of itself" (Dardot & Laval, 2013, pp. 285-7). Foucault (2008) called this new 'performing' subject an "*homo oeconomicus*", no longer a producer of labour for exchange, but a holder of human capital for sale (Brown, 2015, pp. 64-65; Foucault, 2009, p. 226). Brown (2015, p. 99) wonders, is homo oeconomicus gendered? Deciphering Foucault's (2008) *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Brown (2015, p. 101) finds only a 'he' could autonomously enter the "domain of market freedom" unhindered by family ties.

Social Reproduction & Neoliberalism

To learn whether the neoliberalism is conducive to women's empowerment we must scrutinise neoliberal discourse surrounding social reproduction. The term 'social reproduction' encompasses the "reproduction of the species (including its ecological framework) and [the] ongoing reproduction of the commodity labour power" (Bakker & Silvey, 2008, p. 2). While women's social reproduction in the domestic sphere, paid or unpaid, is enmeshed with production, consumption, and 'human capital' development – making it profoundly economic, it is devalued by neoliberal *homo oeconomicus* logic. This logic can be traced to Adam Smith (1776), who arguably immortalised the economic public/private divide, and founded the male breadwinner stereotype. Though Adam Smith acknowledged women's contribution in raising children, and in production activities like spinning, he defined the domestic sphere as non-economic (Harkin, 2013, p. 503). As Eloise Buker (2006, p. 51) states, Adam Smith "gendered [the] economy". Liberalism, which so influenced Friedman (2012), continued the tradition of Enlightenment individualism (Hamington, 2006, p. 110). As Buker (2006, p. 64) observes, *before* neoliberalism, liberalism discounted women as "a silent, unseen workforce [...] who made liberalism a workable theory even though they were not included in the premises". Yet, in *Capitalism and Freedom* Friedman claimed, "As liberals we take freedom of the individual, or perhaps the family, as our ultimate goal in judging social arrangements" (as cited in Brown, 2015, p. 100). However, Chileans do not appear to have found freedom through the institution of neoliberal economics. Instead they have found: "State institutions and economic precariousness are folded into [their] intimate relations, commitments, and aspirations" (Han, 2012, p. 17).

Although women, families and communities reproduce market drivers – people – the neoliberal state does not acknowledge or protect women, families, or communities as enterprise drivers. The neoliberal state only concedes it should rescue those falling into absolute poverty (Hayek, 1994, pp. 133-4; Friedman, 2012, p. 9). However, feminist scholars define how social reproduction upholds capitalism (Beneria & Sen, 1981; Brown, 2015; Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2010; James & Dalla Costa, 1973; Laslett & Brenner, 1989; Molyneux, 1979; Picchio, 1992). They demolish the theoretical trap that omits the domestic sphere from economic account,

where even Karl Marx effaces women's unpaid work by defining labour as that which is waged (Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2010; Engels & Marx, 1978, p. 485). For example, Antonella Picchio (1992) notes women's social reproduction produces the labour force, and the accumulation and distribution of surpluses. She observes that 'the family' conditions the need for work, and hence, the need for politics (Picchio, 1992). Gutierrez-Rodriguez's (2010, p. 94) Marxist analysis notes capitalism and communism elevate the "exchange value" of productivity over "use value". Indeed, Hayek and Friedman's solipsistic theory premised on autonomy and competitiveness would have dissolved had they considered people as complex, interdependent, economic subjects. For a start, in explaining women's economic role, women's family and community relationships would have demanded a re-conception of the collective. Framing the individual as antithetical to and in competition with the collective is the result of positioning the masculine economic agent as autonomous and universal, and women and social reproduction as economically null.

Brown (2015, pp. 82-89) traces the etymology of homo oeconomicus to the *polis* and the *oikos*. Noting the word *economy* derives from the Greek word "oikos", which denotes home, hearth and grounds (Levett, 2001, p. 19), Brown differentiates the *oikos* from the contemporary economy (Brown, 2015, p. 82). In the *oikos* women reproduced, produced, and oversaw foodstuff and textile production, deriving surplus from expropriated slave labour for later consumption or barter (Nevett, 2001, p. 19). The economy, Brown argues, is no longer domestic, but rather "a self-constrained structure, one in which wealth generation becomes its own autonomous sphere" (Brown, 2015, p. 82). However, the *oikos* economy persists, as it is still the site of commodity labour power reproduction. Moreover, contemporary homes have inherited the *oikos*'s economic nature, including the 'expropriated' labour of vulnerable others. We will see the ancient Greek phenomenon of slaves maintaining those within the home persisting in Chile, where the expropriation of others' labour continues to uphold Chilean capitalism. In Chile today, many Peruvian migrants fill the role of domestic worker (Maher & Staab, 2006, p. 87). Not only does the domestic worker phenomenon reveal a gender/class conflict, it arguably perpetuates women's present-day inequality in Chile. Accordingly, Catherine Rottenburg (2014, p. 428) convincingly argues homo oeconomicus is tyrannical, when others become the means to her end. Because employing a domestic worker advances the

employer's social status (Maher, 2004, p. 132), while arguably diminishing the worker's status, the phenomenon evokes Rottenburg's (2014) tyranny. Furthermore, employing domestic workers perpetuates gender inequality by ensuring domestic work and care remains feminised and invisible, keeping all women's status low (Hochschild, 2004, p. 44). If employing a domestic worker exemplifies homo oeconomicus in action, it shows how partial economic empowerment can be.

Both Brown (2015) and Encarnacion Gutierrez-Rodriguez (2010) examine how women are disempowered by the capitalist/neoliberalist treatment of social reproduction. Gutierrez-Rodriguez (2010) is most interested in the damaging psychological affect of paid domestic work due to social reproduction's devaluation. Brown (2015, p. 107) critiques neoliberalism for privatising care, and for demolishing structures that help women with their domestic and non-domestic work burden. She emphasises the challenges besetting the employed-mother/domestic-worker-employer, decrying neoliberalism for undermining yet exploiting the domestic as an economic cog in the wheel of capitalism (Brown, 2015). These scholars' critiques crucially reveal the devaluation of women's social reproduction *differently felt* at opposite ends of the class spectrum. Brown's social provisioning rollback critique is upheld by Isabella Bakker and Rachel Silvey (2008, p. 10), and expanded by Buker (2006), who notes that kin and neighbours are no longer available to support overburdened, employed parents: "The strained economy and shrinking care system have created a fearful citizenry (Buker, 2006, p. 52). Taken together, these scholars show that capitalism, in exalting human capital for being exchangeable in the market, devalues domestic sphere activities, except when they are transacted for money. When those activities appear in Gross Domestic Product figures, for example, in neoliberal (il) logic, they have value.

Neoliberalism, Welfare Dependency & Governmentality

As stated earlier, in Foucault's (1994) governmentality theory, states' intrinsic wish is to control citizens. States wish to control the citizenry in total, from children and whole towns, to the criminal and insane, through citizens internalising suitable values and conforming to them (Foucault, 1994, p. 138). Poststructuralist insight, which is indebted to Foucault, holds that discourse shapes any given rationale: no power,

ideal, or entity is beyond it (Butler, 1999). To this end, the following discourses crucially affect women's dis/empowerment; complicating it, by seeing how any dis/empowerment rationale might be understood as governmentality. Firstly, neoliberal states have justified social spending cuts by exhorting the citizenry to nurture their own well-being through a self-responsibility discourse (Larner, 2000, pp. 11-13; Peck, 2001; MacGregor, 2004). This dovetails with the discourse that a state's job is to retreat, "liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2), in order to grow the economy (Harvey, 2006, para. 3). The counterpoint to retreating states nurturing a self-reliant citizenry at work for the market, is discursively framing those who fail at this, negatively. Accordingly, Frances Piven and Tim Sampson (2001) note the new political culture racially profiled and shamed welfare recipients. Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon (1994) maintain politicians and policy-makers established the welfare dependency trope, by framing welfare need as a character failure of the poor and poor women. Mimi Abramovitz (2010) critiques how neoliberal economics' patriarchal use of the self-responsibility ethos to justify welfare retrenchment made social reproduction women's responsibility (Abramovitz, 2010, p. 20). Other scholars detail the increasing burdens imposed on women's social reproduction by reduced social spending and market liberalisation (Bezanson, 2006; Bakker & Gill, 2008; Ewig, 2008; Floro & Hoppe, 2008). Despite the coalescence of the above discourses, that welfare still exists is evidence that women continue to need, and to be burdened by unfulfilled needs, while such needs and burdens are discursively effaced.

Development scholars corroborate the argument that reduced social spending brings hardship on women, however it is rationalised (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Hochschild, 2004; Lee & McBride, 2007). Christina Ewig (2008, p. 143) reports that women as carers have been used by states as "shock absorbers", who will ensure their families' survival through self-denial as the state withdraws social support. While the evidence of Alan Fenna and Alan Tapper (2012) shows that not all neoliberal political economies have retrenched welfare, their study is not international. It features one highly developed country – Australia. Indeed, Shamsul Haque (2014) argues that welfare cuts and reduced public spending are standard in developing countries under the New Public Management paradigm of governance. This managerial paradigm Peters (2001, pp. 20-21) links to governmentality through

the human capital ethos. To summarise, this ethos interweaves human capital/autonomy/self-responsibility/competition/performance notions to postulate people as economic investments/resources, capable through their entrepreneurship of exploiting themselves (Brown, 2015; Dardot & Laval, 2013). Yet, that ethos crucially conflicts with neoliberal discourses at the site of social reproduction. For if parents are only responsible for themselves, how can they care for children?

What Is Empowerment? Who Is Empowered?

Research investigating whether neoliberalism's effects on individuals are empowering must consider how individuals' empowered or disempowered subjectivities are created. Arising from the neglect of women as perhaps the most complex of economic actors, I will explain how subjectivity is a problem within neoliberal theory. Subjectivity can be defined as a consideration of the self, yet the self is intrinsically related to others. What if Hayek (1994) and Friedman (2012) had asked, *who am I?* Thinking about this, they might have contemplated birth, families, genealogy, or communities, which in turn might have evoked 'the collective' – positively. However, Hayek linked the collective to socialist 'collectivism', which he believed opposed individual freedom and creativity, and led to the state planning he reviled (Hayek, 1994, pp. 54-55 & pp. 63-64). Similarly, Friedman (2012, p. 55) pitted individualism as in conflict with collectivist thought. If it so transpires that individuals *can* be empowered under neoliberalism, nevertheless a political tension between the individual and the collective results. For example, a sense of autonomy might empower the wage-earning woman. However, if her sense of autonomy depends on employing another to do the family's "personal service", or "care work" (Waerness, as cited in Tronto, 2006, p. 16), her 'individual' empowerment must be scrutinised. Firstly, the employer is arguably empowered by disempowering the domestic worker. Secondly, two collectives are created: the 'empowered' wealthy and the 'disempowered' poor, which belies neoliberalism's much-emphasised individualism. If individuals are collectively 'empowered' they are 'a collective', or a 'class'. Therefore, the epitome of neoliberalism, the autonomous, and empowered individual is in this instance, a member of the capitalist class, placing the worker and employer in "two great hostile camps" (Engels & Marx, 1848, p. 474). Having suggested how

ideas about empowerment operate subjectively, we must find out, what is empowerment?

Empowerment is surely related to power, for the word empowerment suggests the process of coming into power. However, understandings of power are debated. Karl Marx (1848, p. 482) says proletarians cannot access the institutional power of religion, law, or morality, but the bourgeoisie can. Mary Wollstonecraft (1792, p. 128) says women are denied access to power, by being denied access to knowledge. On the other hand, Martha Nussbaum (2000, p. 12) notes that resources or knowledge do not give power, rather doing or being what one wishes to do or be equals power. Foucault (1994, p. 137) argued that power is not static, but a process of shaping others' actions. Foucault's thesis on power defines institutional power as inherently relational, meaning it can be resisted, "there needn't exist a fatalism about power" (Foucault, 1994, p. 140). Hence, the subject in a relationship of power will always *act*, even un-reflexively, but the subject can also choose to act in an otherwise way. Thus, being empowered would mean affecting how you and others act. Accordingly, we often see 'active' definitions of empowerment: "take control of circumstances"; "help themselves"; and "exercise power" (Adams, 2008, p. xvi). Personal, relational and collective dimensions or zones (Rowlands, 1997, p. 15) are also used to describe where empowerment is enacted. For example, Amartya Sen (1999) connects participation in the public sphere with women experiencing more power. Nelly Stromquist's (2002) definition emphasises empowerment's conceptual and *practical* elements: "cognitive (critical understanding of one's reality)"; "psychological (feeling of self-esteem)"; "political (awareness of power inequalities and the ability to organize and mobilize)", and "economic (capacity to generate income)" (Stromquist, 1995, as cited in Stromquist, 2002, p. 23). While this definition is comprehensive, I believe the 'cognitive', or knowledge element is a prerequisite for the other three.

Empowerment cannot be extricated from knowledge. As Sen (1999) and Stromquist (2002) note, capabilities, which require knowledge, empower women. Another related idea is that empowerment creates consciousness transformations (Rowlands, 1997, p. 24), which implies a shift towards greater knowledge, or self-knowledge, or power over oneself. Poststructuralism, as we shall see, it is a key

theory underpinning any empowerment definition. Poststructuralism explores the bloodlines of subjectivity and its sibling, identity, but it also gives them room to grow. It looks beyond subjectivity, or self-knowledge to see what shapes it, rejecting fixed notions (Ashley, 1996, p. 249). To bring the above points to the poststructuralist argument, a coming-into-knowledge would correlate to a shift in the practice of identity. Indeed, as Judith Butler (1999) argues, we must “understand identity as a *practice*, and as a signifying practice” (p. 184). Joan Scott adds, “subjects [...] are not unified, autonomous individuals exercising free will, but rather subjects whose agency is created through situations and statuses conferred on them” (Scott, 1992, p. 34). Taking my cue from these poststructuralists, my definition of empowerment emphasises the following: a coming-into-power/knowledge, with a concomitant transition in identity taking place; changing power-dynamics in relationships; and material well-being. A ‘coming-into-power’ implies process, but a poststructuralist analysis would consider the situated, relational subject, who experiences changing relationships and a changed identity as a result of that process. In sum, the ‘who, how, and why’ of dis/empowerment cannot be fixed or uncontested. When discourse changes, practices of identity, relationships, and understandings of the ‘who, how and why’ of empowerment must also change.

Returning to the domestic worker/employer dyad, Teresa Gonçalves (2014, p. 218) describes the dual processes and subjectivities inducing its power imbalance: “[A] false sense of autonomy is found among the privileged classes. To gain this sense they need other women as their domestic workers, who must in turn work to survive and submit themselves to precarious working conditions”. Her point indicates collective precarious working conditions, and raises the question of whether domestic work could be made empowering by improving those conditions. Empowerment has been linked to changes in individual consciousness, as well as an individual obtaining material means (Batliwala, 1993). Yet, the dyad of subjectivities suggested above shows how intrinsically relational empowerment is. Can empowerment transcend the instrumentalisation implied in the domestic worker/employer dyad? Can a woman transform her consciousness through acquiring material means, in spite of gaining those means through the unequal conditions of domestic labour that Gonçalves describes? How much pay would make domestic work consciousness transforming, rather than psychologically damaging,

as Gutierrez-Rodriguez asserts it is? Further, if many women are nonetheless transformed, is it a collective transformation? Would this collective transformation of domestic workers transform how society views domestic work? And again, how would this transformation change subjectivity?

Let us say that the domestic worker discussed by Gonçalves (2014) above, having worked to secure her material well-being, can now supplant a discourse of submission with empowerment. Yet, to practice her identity accordingly, she must negotiate this empowerment discourse relationally, to have others relate to her appropriately. However, Butler and Scott's poststructuralist analyses provoke doubts about the way women have been framed discursively and linguistically as empowered/disempowered in the first place. As Mary Talbot (2010, p. 8) explains, "People are gendered [through language] and actively involved in the process of their own gendering". Furthermore, Butler's (1999, p. xxviii) analysis suggests a relationship between empowerment and gender might *keep* women as "Other" – powerless. Furthermore, this 'Othering' would perpetuate powerlessness, by atomising women instead of unifying them, for collectives can be empowering (Gonçalves, 2014, p. 224; Rowlands, 1997). Recall that Sen (1999) linked women's inhabitation of the domestic sphere to disempowerment. Is it possible that domestic sphere disempowerment speaks about 'Othering' discourse? Does a modern day deficit of family, or personal time reveal that the domestic sphere must now be protected from the labour market's demands upon it? Buker (2006, p. 52) believes so, and points out that African American women have always endured too much work and too little family time in the domestic sphere. Similarly, many Chilean women workers also endure twelve-hour workdays for little pay, with many working two jobs to survive (Benedikter & Siepmann, 2013, p. 14). Moreover, despite joining the OECD in 2010, Chile has a dismal gender equality ranking (OECD Website, 2014, n.p.; United Nations Gender Inequality Index 2014, Chandra, 2015, n.p.). In fact, in Chile, workingwomen are also poor women (Gideon, 2006, 2012; Schild, 2002). This shows that while being employed may increase material resources, it may not lead to empowerment.

Empowerment & The Neoliberal Subject

In order to find out if Chilean women can be empowered within neoliberalism *regardless of their present state of disempowerment*, we must first attend to the literature exploring more deeply the question of women's empowerment within a neoliberal regime. There are extensive feminist and Foucauldian analyses, which consider the potential empowerment of the female subject, the citizen-subject, and the neoliberal subject. Barbara Cruikshank (1999) contributes to the definition of the female neoliberal subject that this review has explored, with her conception of the citizen-subject. Digging into 'the subject's' meaning, she finds that women might find a new freedom by redefining themselves as subjects and as citizens, for she does not see these two in conflict (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 20). As Cruikshank (1999, p. 21) argues, the acting-subject and acting-citizen cohere, and for women the coherence offers a potentially liberating subjectivity. For example, new possible ways to be political, or act politically, whether oppositional or propositional, arise from seeing ourselves differently. Citizens are not merely subject 'to' power, and therefore powerless, argues Cruikshank (1999, p. 19). They are subject to power, but they are also agents capable of altering subjectivities, and thus reconstructing ideas of citizenship. Yet, she also cautions us that liberation through altered subjectivity is more complicated than mere claims to 'empowerment' and improved 'self-esteem'. Her analysis of new governmentality techniques places the concepts of empowerment, autonomy and self-esteem within the biopolitical power practices the neoliberal citizen experiences (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 103). Thus, "autonomy" or the "self-esteem movement" are among Foucault's (2008) governmentality techniques, ensuring citizens govern themselves according to state ends (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 103). Cruikshank's analysis is corroborated by Simone Watson, a former prostitute, who commented she was "groomed very young by society, a neoliberal culture" to think sex-work would make her autonomous, therefore empowered (Former Prostitutes Call For Ban To Industry, Simone section, 2016, para. 1). Cruikshank implies that notions of self-esteem and autonomy are evidence of *state grooming*, *not empowerment*.

Neoliberal (II)Logic

How could we excavate such deviously bland values that have so invaded our subjectivity, that our very ideas about empowerment might be conditioned? Should we be in conflict with ourselves? We could examine the premises that build the neoliberal argument and reject them for incoherence, or accept their validity. To this end, we would find neoliberal illogic exemplified in Margaret Thatcher's famous speech about society: "There is no such thing as society. There are only individual men and women...and their families" (as cited in Brown, 2015, p. 100). Ms Thatcher is evidently conflicted about how society/individual's roles/families fit within the neoliberal theory she believed in. However, women are arguably still as conflicted about their roles as individuals, lovers, mothers, wives and partners, *and* workers, as Thatcher was in the 1980s. If women's labour benefits neoliberalism, logically the theory's advocates would contrive to render the domestic a site of uncertainty and disempowerment for women, in order to return them to the labour market. There, as Simone de Beauvoir argued, all too often women's work resembles slavery (Beauvoir, 2010, p. 568). However, if slavery could be disguised as autonomy, just as sex-work has been disguised as empowerment, women might opt for 'autonomy' and 'empowerment'. Indeed, a normative assumption of the research politicises the domestic sphere as the site where the neoliberal regime works most efficiently, by achieving the above.

If in neoliberal logic empowerment is about performance and autonomy, when the good in life is inherently relational, we are also going to be conflicted about relationships impinging on our self-efficacy, autonomy and performance. Take sexuality. If Foucault (2008) is correct about biopolitics, not just our entrepreneurial selves and market-place labour, but even our sexuality is co-opted by governmentality for market benefit. The result of this premise holding true is that state interests and neoliberalism shape our sexual behaviour and therefore our choices about childbearing, cohabiting, and marriage. Indeed, several scholars contend they do. For example, Ladelle McWhorter (1999, p. 180) credits Foucault's (2008) biopolitical analysis for her enlightenment about societies' explicit and implicit disciplinary practices of controlling sexuality, which she calls "regimes of normalization". McWhorter sees in Foucault's self-care principle, and his exhortation

to develop an identity and 'style', a route to a greater 'becoming', which she insists is her new politics (McWhorter, 1999, p. 209). Levy (2010, p. 31) sees sexuality subsumed by capitalism: "Passion isn't the point. The glossy, overheated thumping sexuality in our culture is less about connection than consumption". Although Ariel Levy does not explicitly connect this sexuality to neoliberalism, she notes the new, empty, performativity aspect to sexual behaviour, which has little to do with pleasure (Levy, 2010, p. 163). Dardot and Laval (2013) also link neoliberalism's entrepreneurial performance ethos to today's measure and expression of success. Performance demands ceaseless self-analysis, self-improvement, and thrives in competition. Sexuality is not exempt; "sexual practices become exercises in which everyone is encouraged to compare themselves with the social requisite norm of performance" (Dardot & Laval, 2013, p. 281). From this one could deduce that neoliberalism is inimical to the self-acceptance required for intimacy.

Catherine Rottenburg (2014) finds governmentality causes women to embrace the new neoliberal performance rationale, convinced their obedience to it speaks of feminism. These women embrace and embody *homo oeconomicus* constantly, she argues. They are their own panopticon, their own constant guard on duty (Foucault, 2008, p. 67). She explains:

using key liberal terms such as equality, opportunity, and free choice, while displacing and replacing their content, this recuperated feminism forges a feminist subject who is not only individualized but entrepreneurial in the sense that she is oriented towards optimizing her resources through incessant calculation, personal initiative and innovation (Rottenburg, 2014, p. 422).

Rottenburg's analysis implies that 'neoliberalist' women are not individually empowered, which suggests neoliberalism cannot collectively empower women. It also reveals subjectivity as neoliberal governmentality. Using this reasoning, women who embrace the spirit of entrepreneurialism will find fault with themselves, not the state, for their failures and life challenges. If women do not advance at work, they are not competitive enough; it is not that workplace gender inequality derives from gendered opportunities and discrimination (Chandra, 2015). Again, when women employ other women as domestic workers, they are not perpetuating the

feminisation of domestic labour, as Gutierrez-Rodriguez (2010) argued they are. They are giving those women the opportunity to become self-reliant, enterprising neoliberal subjects (Bhatt et al., 2010). When those women drop their own children at the local state-subsidised crèche in order to look after richer people's children for money, this is not neoliberal illogic, but women's autonomous workforce participation. Again, as Vanessa Reimer (2015) argues, using human capitalist reasoning, when teenage girls become pregnant, not only is their social reproduction devalued, but they also become society's 'poverty-perpetrators' due to their 'failed education' and 'missed opportunities', despite the numerous under- and unemployed *graduates* experiencing poverty (Silva, as cited in Reimer, 2015, p.114).

This frame of analysis returns us to Rottenburg's (2014, p. 422) account of the feminist neoliberal, whose subjectivity is coloured by equality and opportunity ideals. Remember, Rottenburg insisted that this subjectivity more accurately should be understood as biopolitical power. Taken together, we can see that Rottenburg and Cruikshank consider how biopolitics oppress women. Cruikshank's argument is an important one. It leads into an exploration of how women might begin to undo layers of biopolitical discourse to redefine themselves. If the neoliberal self-empowered, entrepreneurial, autonomous subject is exposed as a governmentality caricature, then we can supplant it with something real. Here though, poststructuralist theory shows us that even the 'real' subject is a discursive project (Butler, 1999; Scott, 1992). As Marsh (2010, p. 214) states: "There is no extra-discursive realm". Hence, if we determine that masculinist, or antithetic discourse has disempowered the neoliberal female subject, it follows that this disempowering discourse also conditions sexuality. If we take seriously Butler's proposition, that sex and gender have been united "as regulatory fictions that consolidate and naturalize the convergent power regimes of masculinist and heterosexist oppression" (Butler, 1999, p. 44), a truly regenerative discourse will begin to re-excavate the sexual as a site of subjectivity. Accordingly, where Rottenburg is wholly critical of the new subjecthood, Cruikshank convincingly argues women can outstep the biopolitical control that Rottenburg sees at work: "At stake is the possibility of living life differently as a woman, or for women perhaps not to live as 'women' but as subjects capable of constituting their own gender" (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 21). Armed with a new

understanding of their subjectivity as citizens and subjects, women can vanquish biopolitics.

Empowerment & The Care Ethic

For decades feminists have argued that the domestic sphere oppresses women: “But what makes the lot of the wife-servant ungratifying is the division of labor that dooms her wholly to the general and inessential; home and food are useful for life but do not confer any meaning on it” writes de Beauvoir (2013, p. 481). However, compare Beauvoir’s version of oppression with Sheryl Sandberg’s (2013) version of empowerment in *Lean In*:

Facebook is available around the world 24/7 and for the most part so am I. The days when I even think of unplugging for the weekend or vacation are long gone. And unlike my job at Google [...] my Facebook role requires a lot of travel. As a result, I have become even more vigilant about leaving the office to have dinner with my children when I’m on the road (p. 134).

Sandberg is Facebook’s chief-operating-officer and the 2011 Forbes-list, fifth most powerful woman – and she finally accepts her success (Sandberg, 2013, p. 37). She attributes her accomplishments to being a feminist: “We can reignite the revolution by internalizing the revolution” (Sandberg, 2013, p. 11). She has not been afraid to be a tyrant (Sandberg, 2013, p. 19), but along the way she learned manners: “The impression I made was that my job was to demand and his job was to listen. It was a mistake” (Sandberg, 2013, p. 84). Finally, Sandberg concedes: “I’m far luckier than most. I have remarkable resources – a husband who is a real partner, the ability *to hire great people* to assist me both in the office and at home, and a good measure of control over my schedule” (Sandberg, 2013, p. 135, emphasis mine). Does Sandberg seem empowered?

The research will help us to decide whether Sandberg *is* empowered. Armed with an awareness of governmentality, we can guess why *she thinks she is empowered*, when in fact, her life appears oppressive: Her husband is a ‘resource’; she is in ‘control’, but never ‘unplugged’; and despite her intelligence she has absorbed a “privileged irresponsibility” mindset (Tronto, 2006, pp. 11-13).

This mindset is arguably a manifestation of a neoliberal attitude to care: “Privileged irresponsibility’ refers to the ways in which the division of labour and existing social values allow some individuals to excuse themselves from basic caring responsibilities, because they have other and more important work to perform” (Tronto, 1993, as cited in Tronto, 2006, pp. 11-12). As Joan Tronto argues, privileged irresponsibility derives from a sense of entitlement in the privileged, who confuse the ‘personal service’ they have purchased, with care (Tronto, 2006, p. 13). A correlation to this is that the contemporary maternal care ethos is now expressed in consumption practices (Clarke, 2014; Miller, 2014). Moreover, this consumerist ethos categorises those parents – and single mothers stand out in this respect – unable to materially fulfil this ethos, as inferior carers (Glass, Hamilton & Trebeck, 2014, p. 201). Yet, equating care with consumption is arguably a corruption of care. If, as Yiannis Gabriel and Tim Lang (2006, p. 91) argue, consumption is linked to a modern concept of what is good, then Sandberg’s ability to consume makes her a good consumer and thus an apt representative of the modern good, but it does not make her empowered. It does not make her a good carer either.

Care as an ethic has been developed by founding theorists such as Nell Noddings, Carole Gilligan and Nancy Chodorow (Baker, 2006, p. 60). Care here is conceived of as an intelligence, and the interaction in a caring relationship is elevated. As Noddings argues, care is a reciprocal, moral force and a way of life (Noddings, 2012, p. 53). A more expansive conception of care has been developed by Tronto and Berenice Fisher (1990), who include not just people, but also the environment which nurtures them. Care for them is “a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible” (as cited in Tronto, 2006, p. 5). In contrast, Chodorow (1999) has privileged the caring, maternal subjectivity; Gilligan (1995), the care moral, and Noddings (2012), the care relationship. Despite their forceful arguments, as Baker (2006, p. 61) notes, other feminists argue forcefully in opposition: “the ethic of care comes dangerously close to being a new version of the years-old status quo for women – women’s primary work is in household-type tasks while men do the real work of governance”. However, what could unite these opposites is a de-gendering of care, a de-gendering of the domestic sphere

(the primary care location), and a de-neoliberalisation of subjecthood, which elevates subjects as performers and consumers, while ignoring them as ethical carers.

Arguably, Judith Tucker's (2006, p. 188) thesis supports this de-gendering argument, when she blames the "dominant ideology of motherhood" for neutralising political protest to the current maternal care paradigm. The care ethic contributes to this research by attending to the high stakes involved in caring, emphasising care as an acute social issue that breaches the neoliberal edifice dividing private and public (Tronto, 2006, p. 3). Indeed, Buker (2006, p. 66) argues that the growing inequality of care represents a real threat of social disorder. We can also say that private sphere conditions are linked to political principles in play. Hence, if women are to be empowered in a neoliberal regime, the domestic sphere would need to be reconfigured to empower. Indeed, care theorists Chodorow, Gilligan, and the feminist writer Susan Okin have called for such a reconfiguration, "so that men spend as much time nurturing children as women do" (Buker, 2006, p. 61.). As Buker argues, enforcing this reconfiguration would make care a public good and thus, a matter of state concern (Buker, 2006, p. 61.). Making care a public good would then entail disrupting the neoliberal regime.

Tronto's (2006) emphasis on the inequality the privileged irresponsibility mindset perpetuates is also salient, because using this reasoning, it is possible to argue that hiring domestic workers, or carers produces a politics, which conditions women's inequality. This idea relates to the analysis of the predominant character of post-Fordist labour, as that which produces "immaterial goods" (Hardt and Negri, as cited in Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2010, p. 99). We return here to Gutierrez-Rodriguez (2010), who, using Hardt and Negri's *Empire* analysis, determines that paid domestic work exemplifies the immaterial, "biopolitical quality" of labour conditioned by today's capitalist interests (Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2010, p. 99). Indeed, subordination and domination are internalised in the respective subjectivities represented in the employer/domestic worker dyad, with human nature and worker's concomitant detrimental psychological affect being exchanged for currency (Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2010). Joanne Oksala (2013)

challenges such politics of subordination and domination, citing Hester Eisenstein's argument that women's "so called McJobs", that is, "temporary, low-wage" jobs, arise from neoliberalism itself (Oksala, 2013, p. 35). However, she asserts welfare feminism is not the answer, but a redefinition of women as political activists, citizens, feminists, and subjects (Oksala, 2013, pp. 34-39). Oksala's argument brings us back in a full circle to Cruikshank's (1999, p. 19) thesis, which calls for a dismantling of oppositions of agency/domination; citizen/powerless subject; and subjectivity/subjection. If that dismantling produces care's revaluation, which leads to it being better supported by the state and the wider society, care is likely then to be more equitably shared among men and women. This will lead to more empowerment.

Overall, the combined contribution of the theorists discussed in this literature review authorises the research project to pursue the question of whether women can be empowered in a neoliberal regime. This critical engagement with the existing scholarship has complicated the research question, and demanded that women, empowerment, and even neoliberalism be examined as discursively constituted concepts, rather than as neutral entities. While the literature has provided us with an historical, political and geographical background, it has also provided a sense of the significance of the research question. Theories and terms, such as the 'ethic of care', and 'empowerment' have been teased out from the scholarship, complicating these theories and terms. Yet untangling these complications has provided us with new connections and substantial new material, which has helped construct a scaffold around a very broad, deep and lofty research question. We know from the literature that a devaluation of social reproduction seems to exist within neoliberalism, which compromises women's potential to be empowered under it. While I accept this premise, recalling Barbara's Cruikshank's (1999) affirmation that another possible future might exist for women, gifts me the resolve to proceed.

CHAPTER 2

THE METHODOLOGY

Epistemology

All research is grounded in knowledge theories, or epistemologies. The epistemological stance behind this research is post-positivist, which affects further epistemological positions taken, and methodology choice. Positivism, a knowledge theory originated by Auguste Comte in the early nineteenth century, has been aptly described as the theory of finding value-free truth in social research through scientific method, just as it could supposedly be found in the natural sciences (Smith, 1996, p. 14). The sociologist Weber rejected positivism, because in the study of human behaviour objective truth could not account for meaningful human acts, or intentions (Walker, 2015, Weber's Antipositivism Section, para. 3). This research is post-positivist then: it does not seek to discover objective truth, and moreover, it is clear that normative assumptions, or values, are imbued in the research itself (Furlong & Marsh, 2010, p. 194). The research intends to privilege subjective experience (Tickner, 1997, pp. 619-20). However, it questions and pays attention to the identities subjects enact, because it does not see identities or subjectivity as static. It questions how class, gender and ethnicity mark experience and constitute subjects' identities. Furthermore, by opening the field of identity to question, the political field opens. As Butler explains, "the reconceptualization of identity as an *effect*, that is, *produced* or *generated*, opens up possibilities of 'agency' that are insidiously foreclosed by positions that take identity categories as foundational and fixed" (Butler, 1999, p. 187). When 'identity' is discovered to be alterable, the subject,

through the power of reawakened agency, becomes open to social change, or willing to act for it.

Constructivism

In constructivism, the world is fabricated through our ideas (Parsons, 2010, p. 80). For example, the *norms and beliefs* surrounding socio-economic inequality are intrinsic to its manifestations, and to policy remedies. Hence, constructivism insists the making of the material world, of institutions, laws and social relations, is a social act. In turn, people make sense of this material world, and interact with it, guided by ideas, histories, and cultures (Kincheloe, 2005; Parsons, 2010; Reus-Smit, 2005, p. 188). Material and immaterial structures constrain people's behaviour, but they can be reconstructed as people's ideas about them change. The theory of constructivism can be illustrated by looking at these examples from the literature. Firstly, take the example of the simultaneous-childrearing throughout-employment-male-work model, detailed by Gilbert (2008). Gilbert postulates that should society's ideas about this accepted model change, families would benefit, rather than the labour market. To take another example: Chile's constitution is a structure, which shapes action. This is evident in Chile's Constitution, Article 19 (2012), which prohibits strikes by state workers and workers in businesses essential to the public. This effectively means strikes are outlawed. However, that structures can be *changed by ideas* is illustrated by the strikes taking place, among high school teachers, for example (Chile Teachers Union Vows to Continue National Strike, 2015, n.p.). Relatedly, the Chilean President is acting to change Chile's constitution (Chile's New Constitution: Bachelet Launches Process, 2015, n.p.). Thus, a constructivist premise of this research allows that structures have the power to impose and restrict action, but stresses that people interpret structures and change them by challenging the ideas they represent (Marsh, 2010, p. 216).

Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is another operative epistemology of the research. This theory sees subjectivities, which involve interior ideas about the self, as fluid; and identities, which express these ideas, as non-static. Foucault's (1994, 2008) writing on power

and governmentality inspires and supports the theory of poststructuralism, and shows why it is key within the conceptual framework of this research. Poststructuralism examines how discourse is activated through language (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 45). It exposes how language is freighted with forms of power – shaping identity and delimiting the world – and it challenges these practices. Foucault (1994) saw that power was enacted through the technique of governmentality, which could be defined as governing subjects so as to make them willing to self-govern. Foucault's theses about power and governmentality indicate the research would likely uncover discourses in participants' speech, and in the texts and speech acts produced by ComunidadMujer (CM) staff, or by CM as an institution. Within these discourses would be ideas about equality and empowerment, which might then be revealed as neoliberal forms of discipline and control.

This explains why poststructuralist theory can be an effective tool to politically challenge neoliberal governmentality (Peters, 2001, pp. 13-14). It would expose the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault, 1994, p. 138), and thus, how subjectivity is controlled. However, Foucault establishes that as we learn to understand power, so then do we learn to value freedom (1994, p. 138). Attending to how power is enmeshed with forms of compliance and resistance, we can reveal those subjectified, or controlled by power, by exposing such forms (Foucault, 1994). Where the state is in service to the market, it follows that the state will contrive, by internal domination, or governmentality, to make citizens compliant to market values (Oksala, 2013). Thus, in the data collection process of the research it should be possible to grasp and expose how the market has acted on participants to produce an internalisation of values conducive to market power and the state's interests (Brown, 2015; Oksala, 2013). These propositions help focus the research question on whether market values or market benefits can be seen in CM's understanding of women's equality. The research strategy is to question CM staff and examine how they present CM in a totalised way as an 'agent'. For example, by examining CM's programmes and practices, we can learn whether they embody neoliberal logics. Perhaps we will find that CM resists such logics; that they align with a discourse of resistance to them instead. Ultimately, the data analysis will determine how CM operates according to its collective subjectivities about the world, the market, the

constitution, the student movement, and its perceptions of how women are to be empowered so as to be equal.

Feminism

A meta-theory overarching the research, which interrelates with constructivist and poststructuralist epistemologies, is feminism. This theory critiques the way gender is used to maintain the political and power status quo (Höjer & Åse, as cited in Randall, 2010, p. 114). The feminist writers Barbara Cruikshank (1999), Wendy Brown (2015), Judith Butler (1999), Catherine Rottenburg (2014), and Ladelle McWhorter (1999) contribute different strands to feminist thought, however all have debated the concept, once again with poststructuralist insight, that subjects and their identities, and consequently their interests should not be presupposed (Randall, 2010, p. 121). As Butler observed, “perhaps a new sort of feminist politics is now desirable to contest the very reifications of gender and identity” (Butler, 1999, p. 9). Thus, a feminist, poststructuralist perspective of this research would be alert to how participants’ subjectivities and identity practices might be discursively shaped. For instance, ideas about motherhood, gender, and equality would be examined to determine what they say about power and social relationships.

This poststructuralist questioning of gender construction and identity informs the broader ethical and critical research purpose. That purpose is to explore the social consequences for women living in a neoliberal society; and how women understand, seek and potentially achieve empowerment in such a context. Following Foucault (2008), the research will explore how ideas about women’s equality might be affected biopolitically, by neoliberal discourses emanating from a market-centred state, or a society obedient to a market-focused logic. The research then, is *critically constructivist* (Kincheloe, 2005). A research premise is that while women want equality and empowerment in Chile, material inequality prevails. Furthermore, while ideas to combat this inequality are ostensibly empowering, critics could describe them as ‘disempowering’ through being obedient to neoliberal logics. In sum, critical theory and a feminist ethic inspire this research, and it moves forward with a poststructuralist and constructivist theoretical approach, whereby discourse is

considered to interact with subjects to shape society (Butler, 1999; Devetak, 2005, pp. 139-140; Kincheloe, 2005).

A Qualitative Methodology

I chose a qualitative methodology as the best way to answer the research question. As feminist, poststructuralist, and constructivist theories framed that question, a method was required, which could illuminate the subjective, provide contextual data, and accommodate an interpretive approach to deal with the contingency of given meanings. Qualitative research has that epistemological flexibility, allowing for structured and unstructured interviews, focus groups, and ethnography – in particular, participant observations (Warren, 2002, p. 86). This methodology also permitted me to use narrative as data collection tool, to foreground experience (Bold, 2012). Hence, this methodology facilitated an exploration of the discursive formations within participants' identity practices. Moreover, it furnished the research aim by allowing me to supplement the interview data with written documents, and visual data, which complimented my interpretive approach. Finally, by illuminating participants' personal experiences, qualitative research was able to reflect social practices, and reveal the need for social change (Warren, 2002; Warren & Xavia Karner, 2010). Appreciating that CM calls for social change to make women equal, a qualitative methodology facilitated an interchange between me as the researcher, CM, and other participants about such change (Silverman, 2011, p. 4). I accomplished this interchange through semi-structured and informal interviews; two focus groups; and participant observation.²

Time Frame & Analytic Strategy

Delimiting a data collection period and deciding upon an analytic strategy were key steps that shaped the research and the fieldwork. I decided to frame the research from the date of the coup, September 11, 1973, to the present. This allowed for the

² Seated at one of the tables of mentees at a CM mentoring seminar, the presenter María Luisa Silva asked me: What challenges have you overcome? When I answered, "Overcoming my fear about doing this fieldwork in Santiago" and everyone applauded, I was 'participating', not merely observing.

inclusion of appropriate historical texts, or narrative accounts that would contextualise CM and participants' present lived experience (Hancke, 2010). Attentive interviewing would allow me to make cultural inferences from people's speech; sensitive observation would allow me to make inferences from their actions. Given the poststructuralist lens of the research, this interpretive approach was crucial, as people are not merely autonomous, self-aware subjects, transparently accounting for themselves. On the contrary, my aim would be to consider discourse underlying participants' speech or texts, of which they themselves would be unaware. In particular, the poststructuralist lens would require an analysis of various discourses and narratives in CM's practices and texts. I would use a 'meta-method', discursive analysis, to determine how in text, or speech, or action, "versions of reality are produced to seem objective and separate" (Silverman, 2011, p. 8). In relation to interviewing and subsequent analysis, Jim Thomas (1993, p. 40) makes this point: "the critical thinker should be alert for informant answers that are contradictory, do not correspond with other informants' answers, that defy observed reality or that indicate cover-ups or gaps". Discourse analysis of speech, act, and text, would help me reveal motivating discourses within subjectivities, norms, and beliefs, which might conform to neoliberal values and logics.

Fieldwork in Chile

Fieldwork Setting, Sample Selection & Access

The month-long fieldwork took place mainly in Santiago, but also in Valparaíso, in July 2015. During the fieldwork in Santiago, I focused on gaining an understanding of CM's work within its social context. A year prior, I had identified CM as an interesting focus of study as it is prominent in the media, has more than a decade of history to explore, and the Directors' elite characteristics portended an interesting conflict of interests. Over a year, I corresponded with Paula Poblete, CM's Director of Studies, arranging access. A formal letter of request to research CM produced a letter of acceptance. Poblete scheduled interviews with four Directors ahead of the fieldwork departure date. Almost all interviews, including those outside CM were in Spanish, except when participants spoke English fluently. I recorded and transcribed all formal

interviews, with the Directors' transcripts being professionally transcribed. After receiving signed consent for the transcript release I then translated the transcripts into English for analysis. In total, I held two focus groups; interviewed eight CM staff-members and formally interviewed nine women outside CM. I conversed with many others.

The Experts

The Directors I formally interviewed were: President Esperanza Cueto, Executive Director Alejandra Sepúlveda, Director Maria Eugenia Hirmas, and Director Elena Serrano. In addition to interviewing these Directors, I observed the President and Executive Director in their roles, such as during the award ceremony for graduates of the programme, "The School of Political and Social Formation", or during the "Mentor Programme" seminar. Moreover, I informally interviewed Director of Studies Paula Poblete; the Mentoring Programme organiser, Patricia Urrejola; and the resident Publicity/Journalist, Tanya Cafena. I interviewed the President twice, on successive weeks. My interview questions ranged from, "How does Chile's constitution restrict, or influence CM's work?" to questions about Sheryl Sandberg, and her role as a feminist figurehead. Of interest was CM's institutional position within the polity, and also the values and ideas guiding their focus. The recorded interviews lasted one to two hours.

I arranged to interview the expert Ruth Olate, the leader of the Santiago Live-In Domestic Workers Union, by sending an enquiry to WIEGO, the *Women in Informal Employment* NGO. WIEGO emailed Olate's contact details, and I arranged an interview. Through Olate, I arranged the focus group with her members.

Participants Outside CM

To gain an understanding of the social context in which CM worked, I wanted to interview women outside CM. Through doing so; I gained a deeper understanding of Chile's neoliberal social and cultural phenomena. I gave equal weight to CM Directors and women outside CM in analysing their data, which is reflected in the results. At a CM mentorship seminar, the organisation invited me to recruit a mentee

as a research participant. I arranged this, and followed the participant observation and interview with further data collection via email. This participant's identity I kept confidential from CM. I recruited other women outside of CM by quickly establishing social networks, and by approaching individuals personally. In some instances, women spontaneously requested to participate. The Peruvian participants I recruited for my first focus group were unwilling to sign consent forms. Their reluctance to speak on record was undoubtedly due to their social precariousness. This led me to seek a waiver from the Human Ethics Committee for obtaining signed participant consent, which was successfully mediated through my supervisor. Consequently, I arranged a second focus group with twelve, live-in domestic workers at the Santiago headquarters of the Domestic Workers Union (Sindicato de Trabajadores Domesticas en Casas Particulares). This ninety-minute focus group produced lively discussion and participants approved my taking notes. No recording was made. All other formal participants gave me a signed transcription release form, enabling me to include their data in the research analysis.

Interview Setting

I interviewed participants in their homes; at cafes and universities; or at CM's, or the union's headquarters. I also informally interviewed striking students on two campuses, and attended a student meeting at the University of Chile.

Written & Visual Data

Gabriel Garcia Marquez's 1974 prediction that "Chilean children of this age" would suffer was an inspirational document (Marquez, 2013, p. 63). Before fieldwork, it inspired me to extensively research Chile's post-dictatorship suffering through a survey of scholarship on Chilean neoliberalism in crisis (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014; Benedikter & Siepmann, 2013; Castillo, 2012; Solimano, 2012; Valdivieso, 2012). Before, during, and after the fieldwork, document analysis would also allow me to make inferences from the artifacts participants used, or produced (Spradley 1979, as cited in Warren, 2002, p. 85). For example, at Chile's National Library, I accessed original publications from the early Pinochet era, such as a book of essays from the neoliberal think-tank, Centro de Estudios Públicos. In this 1980

publication were Karl Popper, Frederick Hayek and Milton Friedman's writings. A particular function of institutional texts is to convey the authority of their norms (DeVault & McCoy, 2002). For me, this 1980 document was the historical 'authorisation and promulgation of neoliberalism' document I had been looking for. Also conveying 'the authority of their norms' was another document I studied at the National Library, this time produced by CM. Poblete had directed me to the *Encuesta Voz de Mujer, 2013* study. A comparison of two such documents enabled me to develop a "narrative" of CM's work, within its historical, neoliberal context (Prior, 2011, p. 98).

Narrative thus described would appear as an overarching 'story' in documents, interviews, and in imagery, such as photos and other visuals (Prior, 2011). As Lindsay Prior (2011) concludes, documents need to be analysed holistically as active 'shapers' of relationships. They are, she asserts: "props, allies, rule-makers, calculators, decision-makers, experts and illustrators" (Prior, 2011, p. 106). Additionally, the CM Website provided a rich seam of text and video files to be analysed for cultural, technical, and political meanings. I also collected other written documents such as newspapers, flyers and brochures; visuals, such as photography, took field notes and wrote a researcher narrative. The narrative in my research journal aided reflexivity, because it allowed me to write spontaneously and subjectively (Bold, 2012, p.38). Returning from the field, on-going communication with participants, and further research of CM website documents and other Internet files provided additional data for analysis.

Reflexivity

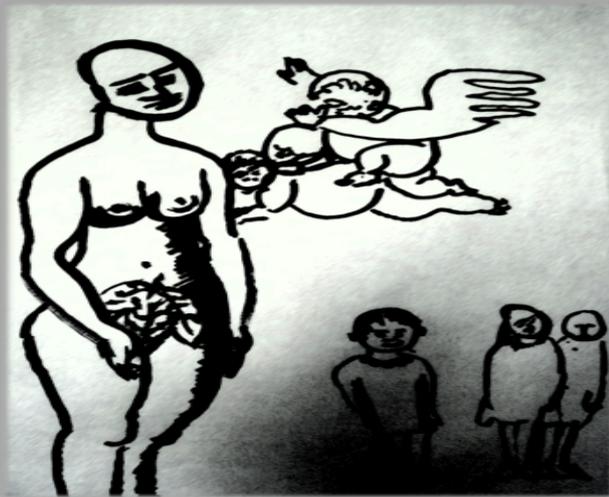
The constructivist point that the world's institutions are only as powerful and durable as the ideas of which they are constituted, crucially affected my position as a researcher. During data collection, despite consciously confining my normative assumptions, I quickly found the 'detached researcher' role artificial. In fact, my research's purpose was to protest neoliberalism and show that it is neither as powerful nor as durable as we think. Had I adopted a Neo-Gramscian Marxist epistemological perspective, I might have explored, through document discourse analysis, whether CM acted as a hegemonic construction to keep capitalism

supreme (Maguire, 2010, p. 145). I could have then omitted the fieldwork and interviewing Chilean women, instead developing a narrative from CM web-based texts. However, choosing a qualitative methodology, including interviewing, observations, and narrative upheld my critically constructivist, poststructural and feminist perspective, which shaped the way I created knowledge (Kincheloe, 2005). CM's interest to me derived from questions of how subjectivity shaped ideas of equality and empowerment. This personal history inevitably affected the research outcome. However, by assembling data adaptively and considering meaning interpretively, I consider that the research gained meaning from my chosen theoretical perspectives and normative assumptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, as cited in Kincheloe, 2005).

Emotions & Successes

During the interviews and focus groups, I grappled with a range of emotions. Due to my insecurity about the Spanish linguistic challenge I felt nervous. Though there were some communication difficulties, I consider there was also an advantage, because women spoke freely with me as an outsider. They seemed comfortable with me, and pleased that I had travelled so far to learn from them. I felt guilty and uncertain when aware of my judgment. Communication with my supervisor was vital for my morale, as everything to do with qualitative research fieldwork was novel. Research has shown me that managing heightened emotion is a normal part of fieldwork in general, and ethnography in particular (Bondi, 2005; Jaggar, 1989).

Figure 1. The image below represents the despair of live-in domestic workers, when they leave their children to raise others' children.



Critical Ethnography & Gender

Being a critical ethnographer allowed me to continually ask myself the question: “How could this be different” (Thomas, 1993, p. 4). This questioning process supported the constructivist, poststructuralist, and feminist conceptual framework of the research. This ethnographic method became purposefully political, when it highlighted gendered experience (Buscatto, 2011; Craven & Davis, 2005). As a critical ethnographer, I chose allegiance to my participants (Thomas, 1993, p. 4). However, this allegiance shifted over time, from inclusiveness of CM Directors, towards ordinary women. Observation allowed me to focus on others’ behaviour and the cultural setting, distancing me from the interaction, and it was through this tool that my allegiance shifted: CM Directors were unequivocally the elite. Hence, observation was a primary tool for gathering data about Chilean social settings: The participants’ individual characteristics; their social interactions, including dialogue; and the exchanges between participants and myself as researcher. Gender was sharply defined in many of the situations I observed, but in a work setting it was most apparent. This point is emphasised by Buscatto (2011, p. 37): “Observing gender in situ leads us to identify social processes of gender segregation that are not so visible in interviews, questionnaires or press coverage, and thereby to

supplement what those other sources indicate about occupational trajectories and gender norms". Not only did I observe gender enacted, but observing CM Directors and their 'staff', I saw how gender intersects with class, revealing power.

Ethics

To undertake the research fieldwork it was necessary to gain approval for the project as a high-risk application, from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. I applied to "Southern B" Human Ethics Committee in February 2015, and received a formal letter of approval on 9 April 2015. On 10 August 2015, I received approval to use oral consent in place of signed consent, where appropriate. This in effect formalised those interviews already undertaken.

The ethical considerations of this research centred on the vulnerability of interview subjects and observation participants (Johnson, 2002). They concerned subjects' reputations, possible harm caused to them through psychological, or privacy intrusions, and the obligation to truthfully record subjects' testimonies (Johnson, 2002). The risk of mistranslation was thus an ethical concern too. Constantly checking for understanding was my successful method to safeguard against cross-cultural misunderstanding. Moreover, the recording and transcription process allowed participants to correct the transcripts, which clarified any misunderstandings, though there were few. Misunderstandings can occur in shared cultural contexts, obstructing communication. In my view, the consent process, this introduced me as researcher from outside the culture prevented any misunderstandings from rupturing communication. I integrated confidentiality and seeking informed consent into the participant recruitment process, by presenting a translated Information sheet. This introduced the research topic; interview procedures, and participant's rights, and helped me establish rapport and trust. I maintained respect towards the interviewee at all times. Concerning reciprocity, CM may wish to publish the research (Punch, 2006).

CHAPTER 3

THE RESULTS

Introduction

Women participating in the research spoke of their discontent, anger and depression³. At the same time, they did not always name the precise causes of these feelings. They recognised their lives were better than women's of previous generations and saw signs of empowerment in their lives – such as educational and career successes – yet they did not *feel* empowered. In the literature review, social reproduction emerged as a problem for women, because neoliberal economic policies ensure women are overburdened by it (Abramovitz, 2010; Brown, 2015; Han, 2012, p. 5; Larner, 2010). Accordingly, the participants found the social reproduction costs they bear, or women bear generally, under Chilean neoliberalism, disempowering. Consequently, the state looms in the data as an object of derision. Women did not link their security or wellbeing to the state. Rather, they testified Chileans suffer due to neoliberal policies, such as privatised education: “the worst schools get the worst teachers. Students [at public schools] get a very poor education” (Cara, product purchaser, aged 57). Conversely, the rich get “the best schools with the best teachers, with the best education, learning languages... [They...] will rule the country in the future and so the system continues” (Cara). Overall, the women hinted at their uncertainty. The data intimated that these women's sense of vulnerability caused this

³ Apart from the expert participants, *all* the first names of other participants in the results are fictional, to protect participants' identities.

uncertainty, leading to conflicted identities. Some women expressed discourses in their identity practices compliant with neoliberal ideas of self-responsibility, entrepreneurialism and human capital. Yet while these discourses existed, contrary discourses seemed to arise from recognition of their disaffection: they wanted change.

This chapter answers the question of whether women can be empowered in a neoliberal order in four parts. The first part explains the ‘axiomatic maternalism’ that most of the participants see overarching Chilean social reproduction and to which all participants reacted adversely. Part two establishes the neoliberal context that shapes participants’ vexing social reproduction experiences. Women’s testimonies here draw attention to women’s dis/empowerment in this context, as they voice the challenges they face while striving to achieve the material well-being, capabilities, and good relationships that equal empowerment. This part also examines the effects of privatisation on human security and education, and explores neoliberalism’s spatial and temporal affects. Part three details women’s experiences of, and their responses to their social reproduction burdens. Childcare and work, and domestic workers’ care are here examined. Part four introduces CM and *their* ideas about women’s empowerment and axiomatic maternalism. It also explores how CM sees paid domestic work, their desire for power, and their relationship with SERNAM, the state’s institutional response to women’s inequality. This part also details CM’s policies and practices employed for the purposes of women’s empowerment.

PART I

Axiomatic Maternalism

Two Humanities students, Gabriella and Patricia, attending a public and a private university respectively, suggested that Chilean women carry a burdensome maternal responsibility for social reproduction. They said this is a cultural axiom. I refer to this as Chile’s ‘axiomatic maternalism’. Maternalism has been defined by

Lyn Weiner as “a kind of empowered motherhood or public expression of those values associated in some way with motherhood” (Weiner, 1993, p. 96). Judith Tucker explains maternalism “conforms to the dominant ideology of motherhood and emphasizes the importance of maternal well-being to the health and safety of children” (2006, p. 188). Taken together, these theorists imply that maternalism conveys an essentialist and traditionalist view of motherhood. Gabriella pointed to this when I asked: Can you describe the roles that women and men play here in Chile? This was matched by a diminishment of paternal responsibility:

Women usually work inside the house, taking care of the house and the kids. Some of them work outside the house. And men are mostly providers of money. In my older sister’s case, she has a young kid of 1 year and he usually falls ill easily, and she has been working on a [design] project, and she has to leave her project to look after her kid, and sometimes she asks her husband to do the same. Like, please take care of the kid, because I’m working on my project. And he says he can’t leave his job because he has a really important job and she’s the mother so she should take care of him (Gabriella, 18 years).

In fact, Gabriella’s testimony links thematically to Joan Tronto’s (2006) idea of “privileged irresponsibility”, discussed in the literature review. Leaving care to women has long been understood as a male prerogative, Tronto argues (2006, p. 12). Thus, a connection begins to emerge from the data, between stereotypes conveying male privilege and maternal responsibility and a burdensome social reproduction for Chilean women.

Patricia, a 23-year-old anthropology student who was leading her university on strike at the time of research, asserted Chile’s gender gap is “structural”, but that a misogynist culture conditioned men’s caring fickleness. She then described how male privileged irresponsibility within relationships combines with socio-economic exclusion to put Chilean mothers at risk of becoming single:

Women’s double burden of responsibilities is the result of the machismo in Chilean society, where a man can make and unmake a relationship. It’s also a consequence of the economic level [of women], because many come from vulnerable places, and the only choice they have is to return home pregnant, and then the man leaves her...

Patricia understood poor women's predicaments as an indebted student, with poor and divorced parents, living on a stipend. Gabriella's parents were also divorced, but Gabriella's father paid her student fees. Neither Patricia nor Gabriella embraced maternity as desirable. Gabriella's choice of the slang 'kid' and Patricia's 'burden' imply they associated being a mother with difficulty. However, Patricia also saw mothers *exceeding* maternalism: "women are still responsible for the triple functions of being a mother, being a worker, and at the same time, being politically active". Patricia thus affirmed that women have always been mothers and workers, and political in some way. Indeed, these women's critique of maternalism might derive from the *public* perception of motherhood as *disengagement* from the world. Camilla, aged 32 and also a childless student, conversely expressed maternity positively, saying she "wanted to be a mum", yet she wondered how she could become one without losing her identity. These women's testimonies establish how controversial and problematic motherhood is for women.

PART II

Women's Precariousness In The Neoliberal Context

Women Raising Families Alone

Two decades ago, Veronica Montecinos blamed the combination of patriarchy and neoliberalism for Chilean women's precarious existence (1997). She foresaw trouble unless Pinochet's patriarchal neoliberal apparatus, with its false male-provider notion was overturned (Montecinos, 1997, p. 232). Almost a decade later, another Chilean political analyst asserted Chile's income inequality was a social and political time bomb (Kremerman, 2004, p.1). For the cities' poor, neoliberal policies have "institutionalized work as discontinuous and unpredictable" (Han, 2012, p. 62). This unpredictability has destabilised families. In the 1970s, the number of women-headed families, or 'jefas de hogar', was twenty percent, reaching forty percent in the 1980s (Montecinos, 1997, p. 229). Today's official rate of women-headed households in Chile is an astounding 37.9 percent (Casen 2013, La Cuenta De

Desigualdad De Género, 2015, para. 3). These statistics both undermine and underscore Chile's persistent "male-breadwinner bias" (Gideon, 2012, p. 336; Montecinos, 1997; Staab, 2012). Moreover, the Ministry of Social Development finds 15.4 percent of women-headed households are constrained by poverty, as are 11 percent of male-headed households (Casen 2013 Da Cuenta De Desigualdad De Género, 2015, para. 7-9). However, these social statistics are controversial. The latest poverty statistics – 14.4 percent, a drop from the previous year's 15.5, with 4.5 percent living in extreme poverty – are disputed (Gustav, 2015, National Methodology Section, para. 4). Angus Deaton, the 2015 Nobel Prize Economist, asserts that the "figures are not credible at all", hinting at worse poverty (Gustav, 2015, para. 2). Notwithstanding this controversy, these statistics show a large proportion of Chilean households are very poor.

The Precariousness of Women's Health

Abundant evidence details the impact of the *precariousness* of women's lives (Cristóbal, 2002; Gideon, 2006, 2014; Leiva, 2012; Schild, 2002). For instance, a decade ago, Jasmine Gideon found that Chile's poorest, the women fruit pickers, suffer from "high rates of mental illness and higher rates of child malformation" due to pesticide use (Gideon, 2006, p. 1279). Women's work informality means women are less likely to contribute a portion of their earnings towards health cover, thus, despite health reforms there are "rising levels of indigence" in women's health (Gideon, 2012, p. 351). Irrefutably then, privatized health disadvantages Chilean women (Gideon, 2006, pp. 1275-8). Also making women's health vulnerable is Chile's criminalised abortion law, which leads to women enduring 300,000 illegal abortions a year (Jarroud, 2014, para. 2). According to Dr. Ramiro Molina, abortions are a marker of poverty (Jarroud, 2014, para. 19). With even the "medication abortion" tablet costing "600 dollars" (Jarroud, 2014, para. 6-9), those women finding such costs unaffordable would be compelled to bear a child, leading to their further social and economic precariousness. Gabriella and Patricia confirmed Dr. Molina's expert testimony. Patricia said women have to spend two days "filling in forms" in public hospitals to get the morning after pill. Conversely, wealthier women visit private clinics to get the contraceptive pill, or morning after pill, or as a last resort,

have “abortions in Argentina” (Patricia). If they have children, Chilean couples believe they are too poor, or perceive that it is too expensive to get married, so rarely marry (World Family Map, 2014, Marriage & Cohabiting Section, para. 4). Chile’s abortion law is currently being contested (Jarroud, 2014).

Human Security: A Private Affair

Economist Andrés Solimano (2012, p. 44) notes Chileans use personal debt to pay for basic social goods like education, health, and pensions, as well as for consumer goods. Human security also involves food and housing, which in Chile are subject to monopolies, thus unaffordable for many (Benedikter & Siepmann, 2013, p. 15). Roland Benedikter and Katja Siepmann (2013, p. 11) describe Chileans’ financial misery caused by paying high interest on loans taken out for basic necessities: “The social effects are numerous. The most important ones are mistrust, a new ‘everybody for himself’ mentality, and social disintegration”. Despite this ‘social disintegration’, social reproduction of course continues, however women manage it. Solimano (2012) condemns as unjust companies profiting enormously from social reproduction, through health insurance, pharmacies, and pension insurance. As he explains, these “highly concentrated sectors operate in critical activities from the point of view of human welfare and economic security” (Solimano, 2012, p. 126). An extreme example of the market benefitting from social reproduction sees women in the private health system paying for their own pregnancy and childbirth cover. As Gideon (2012) observes, women are disadvantaged by the steeper private health insurance costs for women in their fertile years (ISAPRES); so they opt for the cheaper state system (FONASA) (Gideon, 2012, p. 340). This situation is worsened by women’s income lagging men’s by 26 percent (Global Gender Report, 2014, Chile Section). In recognition of women’s social reproduction costs, a 2008 pension reform attached state payments to women on a per-child basis; however, it also guarantees a universal minimum support to those not contributing to private schemes (Kritzer, 2008, Pension Reform: Coverage, Contribution Patterns, and Adequate Pensions & Toward Gender Equity sections). Thus, these reforms in health, pensions, and childcare would appear to represent superficial modifications to the political

economy, rather than the structural changes arguably needed to redress Chilean women's precarious human security status.

Thus, most apt is Christina Ewig's (2008, p. 148) assessment that "ISAPRES generated a greater role for the private sector, and so in doing caused greater segmentation along class and gender lines". Like research participant Alana and her two daughters, 32 percent of women are self-employed in the non-agricultural informal economy (OECD Report, Trends in self-employment and female self-employment, 2009, Table 2). Un-contracted women do not contribute to any health scheme, but rely on state "indigent" health provisioning (Gideon, 2006, pp. 1275-8; 2012, p. 351). As Staab (2012, p. 312) explains, "few entitlements are granted on the basis of citizenship and those that are not tied to paid employment, apply some form of means-testing". When a state spends minimally on care, it is generally left to poor women to care for the old, young and sick for free, or as lowly paid domestic workers (Maher & Staab, 2006). In Chile, this phenomenon causes further class and gender segmentation, as the wealthier continue to work, hiring carers. Overall, privatised human security causes class divides, and by giving men more social benefits through employment uninterrupted by childbirth, it furthers gendered segmentation. Indeed, privatised human security suggests a state/market collaboration around social reproduction, diminishing paternal responsibility and privileging men: With paternity-leave and pregnancy-cover, fathers are respectively deprived of paternal benefits and exempted from pregnancy costs. This skewing arguably contributes to the cultural association of care being a woman's responsibility. It could also contribute to many women raising families alone.

Aging in Neoliberal Chile

In neoliberal Chile it seems the state circumscribes the cost of aging by assigning the burden to women. The state has provided for aged care minimally by establishing an entity called SENAMA [National Service For Older Persons], with the entity's funding arising from its own fixed asset base. While an uncritical analysis might see SENAMA as a post-neoliberal social provision, it is important to highlight its financial and funding limitations:

SENAMA is created as a functionally decentralized public service, *with a legal personality and its own assets* (emphasis mine; Senama website, Who we are page, para. 2, n.d.)

Moreover, SENAMA acts as an eligibility gatekeeper by surveying households, awarding points to the most vulnerable seniors as recipients for state support. This supports Staab's (2012, p. 318) point that in Chile, social entitlements depend on "means-testing". This means testing corresponds in humiliation to the "needs assessments" the poorest Chileans endure to qualify for assistance, which includes evaluating their consumer goods, such as TVs (Han, 2012, p. 64).

Education: Empowerment or Profit?

In light of recent findings linking inequality to education (Solimano, 2012, p. 101), and recent student protest (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014), privatised education emerges as a key event in Chilean neoliberalism. In late 2015, the Bachelet government doubled its contribution to tertiary education, making university tuition free for the poorest 50 percent (Ha, 2016, para. 2; Morgan, 2016, para. 2). However, students continue to demand an end to the provision of education for profit, while the Ministry of Education allays the profit-making universities' fears (Guzmán, La Tercera, 2015, p. 79). In fact, education for profit continues. The privatisation of tertiary education was one of many privatisations the Chicago School economist Castro imposed in Chile in 1979 (Klein, 2009, p. 80; Manzetti, 2009, p. 211). Pinochet's regime privatised tertiary education four years after Milton Friedman's seminal speech at the formerly free State Technical University (Cárcomo-Huechante, 2006, p. 425). Cristián Bellei, Cristian Cabalin, and Victor Orellana (2014, p. 427) conclude that privatisation modernised universities, but sped up Chile's "pronounced socio-economic inequality". In 1980, writing alongside Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman for the neoliberal think-tank *Centre for Public Studies*, Arturo Fontaine applauded universities' renewal of free thought and annulling of free tuition (1980). Fontaine argued privatised universities showed Adam Smith's market ideas triumphing over "bureaucratic socialism" (Fontaine, 1980, p. 23).

Today, in the capital Santiago, advertising attracting private university enrolment is ubiquitous on buses and trains, and in metro stations near universities. Simbürger's (2013) analysis of this advertising reveals the education business discursively links for-profit tuition to social mobility, yet the seductive imagery obscures education's commodification. Potential clients riding the escalator see a be-suited, degree-brandishing youth, flanked by proud parents. In another advertisement, a man climbing a ladder metaphorically socially advances (Simbürger, 2013, pp. 70-72). Contrasting this with Chile's state expenditure on tertiary education – at that point the OECD's lowest – makes a scathing critique (Simbürger, 2013, p. 67). Moreover, Simbürger's analysis indicates advertising as governmentality technique. Through poststructuralist theory, which insists that discourse shapes identity, we can see a human capital discourse potentially shaping an, *I'm going places, despite debt* identity. Behind this discourse lies the market's profitable education business, profitable interest on student debt, and profitable human 'capital' production. This triad has produced a culture of "overtime work, consumption and debt" (Leiva, 2012, p. 108).

Women at Work

Poverty is not necessarily linked to unemployment, but to the quality of jobs. As Veronica Schild (2002, p.189) states, in Chile "women are not only the poorest of the poor, but most importantly, the poorest of the poor workers". Today, half of Chilean enterprises are informal, a direct result of early neoliberal reforms (Bauens & Lemaitre, 2014, pp. 66-68). The majority of informal workers are women, many working from home and "excluded from non-wage benefits such as health insurance, pensions, paid sick leave and maternity leave (Gideon, 2006, p. 1276). Scholars suggest Chilean women's work represents cheap labour for the market (Leiva, 2012; Gideon, 2006, p. 1270). This draws attention to the government's social reforms to alleviate Chilean women's inequality and poverty. Beneath them it seems are policies consistently benefitting the market. For example, a critical analysis sees that businesses escape paying for maternity cover; and can avoid subsidising childcare by not employing more than 19 women (Sepúlveda). Regarding maternity leave, since 2011, only formally-employed women receive 30-weeks state-paid leave, with

6 weeks of pre-natal leave. However, *only five days* of paternity leave are granted to allow fathers time to register the birth (Chilean Employment Benefits: The Basics; 2015, para. 6; Staab, 2012, p. 318). As in maternal health, this maternity-leave system benefits the market, because the state rather than the private sector pays. This allows business to sideline social reproduction issues, which entrenches existing gender norms.

In fact, the Chilean state has historically enacted pro-market, human capitalist policies, despite those policies being unfavourable to the worker. For example, “Flexibility, privatization and the dissemination of and culture of ‘entrepreneurship’ among Chile’s poor”, were President Piñera’s response to “declining labour productivity” (Leiva, 2012, p. 103). A recent policy response from President Bachelet’s government to lessen mothers’ poverty arguably amounts to a pro-labour market command: Get those poor mothers into the *workforce* and their children into subsidised care. Under President Bachelet, state provisioning of early childhood education (ECE) has substantially expanded (Staab & Gerhard, 2011, p. 1097). Possibly, Bachelet’s policy victory here derives less from her paediatric emphasis on the developmental importance of ECE, and more from the state having never sold JUNJI, the pre-privatisation ECE entity (Staab and Gerhard, 2011, p. 1098). In other words, Bachelet had a ready-made state-owned entity to work with, one free from market ownership. Furthermore, this policy does not stymie the market’s source of cheap labour: women. It could even be argued that this response is about suppressing social complaint; keeping the working poor too occupied to protest. The prioritising of children’s education also begs the question of why the Chilean state will provide a free education in state subsidised crèches, but not educate mothers. Overall, President Bachelet’s social reform has been framed as gender-equity aware (Stevenson, 2012), but gender-equity policies *should be* empowering, and this policy I argue, is not. When poor women lacking an education leave their children in crèches, to labour at lowly-paid, low-skilled work, they are not being materially empowered. On the other hand, if those women were provided with free adult education by the state, they *might become empowered* through getting skilled work.

PART III

Women's Responses To The Neoliberal Context

Spatial & Temporal Neoliberal Effects: How Do Women Respond?

In the literature review, the domestic sphere emerged as a controversial zone, featuring dis/empowerment. Yet, the data produced differing results about empowerment in the domestic sphere. The student agronomist Camilla enjoyed housework. The daughter of the hostel-owner Alana, created her own informal microenterprise by catering from home rather than be formally exploited. Therefore spatially Alana's kitchen, though rudimentary, fostered empowerment. Lisaveta, the university administrator testified that she and her husband worked too hard to start a family. Like the engineer/costings manager Cassandra, temporally and spatially Lisaveta, and as we shall see below, Cara had home-time deficit. These Chilean women's experience is supported by the Pew Research Survey data, which shows men and women struggle to balance work and life (Donohue, 2015, para. 5). Today it seems disempowerment exists almost universally due to work conflicting with family care needs (Buker, 2006, p. 52). Protecting domestic time therefore suggests fundamental privilege, as flexible contracts and overtime work are internationally commonplace. Conversely, to come and go at will from the domestic sphere, would seem to indicate that neoliberalism empowers some. The *inability* to come and go at will indicates the temporal, spatial, social and economic disempowerment of others.

Cara's working conditions spatially and temporally kept her away from home. Cara, who is studying part-time to become an English teacher, survived as a single mother because her mother raised her daughter, while Cara supported them all. Cara laboured for 23 years for a demanding boss, like "many women [who] have to support their families and have to accept very bad working conditions". However, Cara underlined how Chile's political economy affects women differently. Upholding the economist Solimano's claim that the richest Chileans live like demigods on supernormal profits from former state-owned enterprises (Solimano, 2012, pp. 85 & 123), Cara noted the spatial cleavages of inequality:

As you approach the mountains, in the best areas, the whiter people are. You can see it clearly. Those people have maids at home. They live like in a semi ... feudal society, you know? They have servants, two, three... Who knows? And those servants aren't the ones who will make money, obviously, and have an education.

Cara's observation underscored how class *entrenches* spatial inequality, cementing racial inequality. Geographically, Santiago's rich dwell in the mountain foothills and breathe clean air; the poorest people with the most indigenous blood dwell at lower altitudes, breathing the dirtiest. My flatmate Pablo provided an historical background to this phenomenon: There were forced relocations, leaving the foothills free for the wealthy, in the Pinochet era. Notwithstanding this, Cara's spatial emphasis probably resulted from smog levels three weeks earlier becoming an emergency (Chile's largest city temporarily shut down due to smog 'emergency', 2015, para. 4).

These spatial effects of neoliberalism also mean temporal differences across class lines. Sarah Sharma's (2012) account of "the politics of time" details how those at different ends of the power relationship experience time differently, as they do space (2012, p. 68). In Santiago, I rode the bus with women workers, who had likely travelled further and taken longer than me to get to their wealthy employers' suburbs. Walking down the manicured street to my interview with CM Director Hirmas, I passed an elderly woman in a uniform sweeping leaves. At Hirmas's home, an elderly woman in a uniform served us morning tea. The following morning Hirmas was travelling to Paris with her statesman husband for a summit on the future of Latin America. Who would look after those domestic workers when they were no longer able to work for others? Would the state-paid indigence health cover and minimum pension provide adequately for them in their advanced old age? The fact that these women, who were evidently older than retirement age, were still working, suggests that the temporal effects of neoliberalism means a lifetime of work for the poor. Gabriella speaks the last point about the spatial and temporal effects of neoliberalism. I asked her, "Chile's world-famous for the large gap between rich and poor. Why do you think this is? Is it because of education?"

It's not just because of education, but also because of our economic system. We have poor women, or *poor people living in a poor place*,

being educated in poor schools. The teachers are tired, they have bad pay, and they *don't have time*. The kids *are surrounded by drugs, parties...*(emphasis mine.)

Gabriella's testimony shows how privatised educational opportunities for the rich compounds the effects of a poor public education, further marginalising poor women temporally, spatially and socially.

Political Activism: We Are Tired of It

At the time of interviewing, the two Humanities' students, Gabriella and Patricia, were leading students on university strike. This meant that no classes were given at their universities, despite students having borrowed to pay for education. Clearly, the on-going, increasingly violent student demonstrations and strikes (Sim, 2015, para. 1) mark privatised education as unsuccessful. However, Gabriella and Patricia explained the strikes were part of a larger revolt against Chile's neoliberalism. Gabriella believed Bachelet's planned education reforms would not fundamentally change the neoliberal political economy, which she saw as corrupt: "It's Bachelet's pseudo-socialism. She's a puppet of her party or any other powerful group of business people". Regular student demonstrations began in 2006, demanding a free education (Bellei et al., p. 430). However, the student chant, "No al lucro" [No to profit] is understood by all to also mean "No to abuse of power" (Benedikter & Siepmann, 2013, pp. 18-19). No doubt the protests are inspired by the "skyrocketing concentration of wealth in the hands of a relatively few individuals and families" (Solimano, 2012, p. 122). Then again, the protestors would surely be animated by present-day results of the "Crony Capitalism" of Pinochet's Chicago Boys in government (Manzetti, 2009, pp. 233-6). The Chicago Boys dealt out subsidised loans to conglomerates to buy state-owned enterprises like banks, insurance and pension funds, and mutual bonds (Manzetti, 2009, p. 238). Andres Solimano also hints that Chile's superrich families' obtained former state assets in the Pinochet era dishonestly (2012, p. 121-24). However, there are recent examples of corruption and embezzlement linked to government (Manzetti, 2009, p. 233), to inspire discontent.

During my interview with Patricia, we sat behind a barricade of chairs in the courtyard, a student sentry limiting campus access to students only. Chairs hung from iron palings, delineating the university “en toma” [on strike] from the normalcy of the street. I asked Patricia, “What if the government rebuffs student demands?” She answered: “We will take to the streets again and again until they meet our demands”. When I asked: “Do you have other demands apart from a free, non-profit education?” Patricia said:

We want a non-sexist, secular education, that isn't hetero-normative. Machismo is impregnated in teachers' lectures from primary school right through to university. We have sexist teachers who privilege the hand of the man over that of the woman... The student movement is working for women-inclusive reforms, so is the labour movement... working for the participation of women in the unions...

Patricia's comment reveals that Chilean youth find the education system perpetuates women's inequality. She asserted the education system caused women to “internalise misogyny”. Moreover, Patricia said that the student movement insists it is not enough to make education free. The education system must be freed from discrimination and misogyny to be truly freeing. Patricia said Chilean society must be freed from the abuse of power in all spheres, for Chileans to be free.

In Santiago and Valparaíso there were signs of social disintegration. Homeless people, amputees, and drunks went begging. Enterprising street hawkers sold pitiful wares, and traffic-light acrobats performed in the smog. Universities were on strike. High schools were strung with banners asking striking teachers for support. However, rising above Chile's unspoken social disintegration, wealth also materialised. As Alana, the fifty-year-old hostel-owner from Valparaíso described it, “The rich live in their own world here.” Alana contrasted her daughter's employer's vineyard, with Valparaíso's poverty: “Up in the hills they have no running water, no electricity”. Asking Alana why the teachers, port workers, and students were on strike, she said, “We are tired of it.” Alana's response to the disintegration was to become politically active: “I would like to see a general strike in this country. Everybody. Every worker. That would change things”. Alana's activism included her

recycling initiative in the absence of any public recycling system; running a neighbourhood support group; and making her dusty verge into an herbal oasis. The lack of public recycling intersects with private street-cleaning services for the rich, and the poorest retrieving items to sell from the litter. Alana's thrifty father taught her to believe she could succeed and her verdant doorstep exemplifies her success. Yet, Alana said, like many Chilean women, she prefers 'single-ness'. She showed me a blog "reflecting the feeling of Chilean women nowadays". Here the writer praised her resourcefulness: "I masturbate left and right and discover every part of my body, because I am my own best lover, and in this, nobody outdoes me" (Noseda, 2014, para. 3). Alana's democratic consciousness within her disintegrating society saw her forge ties to strengthen her immediate community. Conversely, she shunned formal politics, intimating only a revolt would change the 'system'.

Social Reproduction

Most women's first response to the social reproduction burdens imposed on them is to choose the cheaper state health plans (FONASA) rather than pay for private cover (Gideon, 2012, p. 340). This means gestation and birth are state costs, while the market collects the profitable premiums of those few wealthy women, who can afford pregnancy cover. Cassandra, an engineer, verified how much adequate private family health coverage costs. Her husband "passes over bucket loads of money to pay for our family's health cover" (Cassandra). Camilla, a student, whose partner pays for her health cover, said of public health, "we don't have that much trust in the public system". Though Camilla admitted getting health coverage through her partner makes her "vulnerable", she said, "The public system is a last resort." Retirement looms as a negative counterpoint to Camilla's unpaid domestic work. Camilla stated her greatest vulnerability and inequality with her partner inheres in retirement: "When a woman doesn't work out of the home, she doesn't pay anything [towards a retirement fund], so I don't have anything for my retirement. My mum neither." It is not surprising, then, that a contrasting response to bearing social reproduction costs comes from those women who avoid pregnancy altogether. Lisaveta, a 32-year old university administrator, had no plans to get pregnant. Alana's daughters also shun having children, despite their relationships: "They see it as too hard here" (Alana).

Gabriella, the 18-year-old literature student believed studying arts precluded her from ever affording children. S. Möller-Sollis, a 23-year-old electrical engineer, upheld Gabriella's assertion: "We usually say if you study arts, music or that kind of degree in Chile you will starve" (personal communication, January 10, 2016).

Problematic Paternity

According to the data, in neoliberal Chile there is a problem with irresponsible paternity. All the women I spoke to complained about it⁴. Either fathers contributed financially, but their work seemingly excused them from caring, or they failed to contribute at all. However, the women's unified response to this was to raise their children independent of fathers' and state support. Cara and Alana described the struggles they had to raise their children without paternal help: "He left for America and never paid a cent. We have no contact with him whatsoever" (Cara). Again, Alana explained: "I brought up a friend from the South. She looked after my daughters in exchange for board, while I went out to work. Their fathers never paid a cent. I didn't ask them for money." She said many Chilean women were like her, "not needing men, proudly doing it by themselves". In spite of employing domestic workers, Camilla's wealthy friends juggling non-domestic work and motherhood are "exhausted by doing both things" or "taking pills for depression" (Camilla). Yet, Camilla and her friends seemingly overlooked paternal responsibility for caring. One of Camilla's friends opted for full-time mothering. However, that friend now wants to return to employment, as she "doesn't feel freedom now to do whatever she wants. She needs to ask permission, where she can spend the money, or where she can do certain things". Camilla puzzled, "I want to have kids [...and] I would like to do a kind of professional work, but I have the question: How am I going to do both things at the same time?" Arguably, Camilla's phrasing shows paternal care is also problematic for her, because she does not consider her partner in the question of how she will juggle work and 'kids'.

⁴Cara and Alana's husbands did not materially or emotionally contribute to their children's care. Cassandra's husband worked too many hours to participate in the care of Violeta and Bea. Camilla stated all her friends' husbands exempted themselves from care, and Gabriella's earlier testimony attests to her brother-in-law's privileged irresponsibility.

The Wealthy Response to Social Reproduction: Domestic Workers in Chile

Cassandra, observed at her home with her daughters, Violeta (4) and Bea (18 months). Señora Maria, the domestic worker, attends. Time: midday dinner hour.

Violeta waves her fork of pie in the air.

Violeta, eat! Cassandra says.

Violeta waves the fork again.

Cassandra enjoins me in conversation. She says the longer she spends at home for lunch, the harder it is to leave the girls; the more they act up. After lunch Cassandra will return to work at the nearby high-rise building. Her work involves using spreadsheets on two computers. Her daughters' pictures above her computers decorate her workstation.

Señora Maria sits on the sofa, Baby Bea asleep in her arms.

Violeta's keeps her untouched fork remarkably mobile.

I am going to tell you off for not eating your dinner, Violeta, Cassandra says.

Señora Maria watches us and I compliment her on the food. She smiles.

When Cassandra finishes eating we begin our interview. I ask, if you won lotto what would you do with the money?

Spend more time with my children, Cassandra says. I would spend more time with them, but I would still work.

Looking at some cupcakes on the table, I know why Cassandra told the cupcake salesman at the crèche: 'We still have some'.

Violeta keeps wielding her fork beside me.

Cassandra notices. She asks, Violeta, have I told you off for not eating your dinner?

Yes, Mum.

OK. You can have a cupcake, Cassandra says.

Violeta passes me a cupcake too.

Today, Chile has approximately half a million domestic workers (Thomson, 2014, para. 3). CM Director Sepúlveda noted that 14 percent of Chilean women do this

work. However, with many foreign domestic workers in Chile (Maher & Staab, 2006), the number may be higher. Lisaveta, the university administrator, testified that employing a domestic worker is a status marker in Chile: it shows you can afford to.

Cassandra, aged 33, is a well-to-do engineer. Her response to the challenges of reconciling childcare and work is also to hire a domestic worker. Cassandra left construction sites for a more family-friendly schedule at a computer workstation. She now costs large construction projects like hospitals and hotels. While interviewing Cassandra, she intimated that her upbringing under a nanny's care made her feel that her children should be similarly raised. She so valued Senora Maria she stated she would pay her "three times more" if she could. In contrast, Camilla distinguished herself in our interview from Cassandra and most of *her* peers by wanting 'to be a mum', that is, wanting a period of fulltime mothering, instead of employing a nanny. However, Camilla's reluctance to challenge her peers' care choices was salient:

At that time in that group, all of them were professionals, and I wanted to say, 'Hey, but why don't you give yourself time to be a mum? Why do you have to continue being a professional?' But I didn't feel the strength, or the confidence to say anything

Camilla's silence about her peers' care choices is remarkable considering how the issue impinges on women. However, the reason for her silence may be discomfort discussing the political, economic and social structure upholding care choices. If the custom of employing domestic workers is a class marker, this suggests care is marked for lower class women to do. Why would Camilla wish to be socially alienated by challenging this premise?

Camilla admitted to liking housework. However, despite her occupations – being a student and keeping house – leaving her *unseen* by her peers, she did not challenge their inability to see:

I'm beginning to feel invisible. Because most of the day I'm at home studying or doing the housework, which I like to do. But I feel if I speak with my girlfriends, who are working as professionals, if I start speaking about housework, then I feel invisible. So I thought, oh well, I have to speak about other things that will interest them.

Here, as poststructuralist theory postulates (Butler, 1999), we see discourse shaping subjectivity and identity practices. Camilla's identity practices are incongruent with those of her peers, being coloured by different discourses. Camilla finds her studying and housekeeping practices invalidated, yet at the same time she cannot *identify* with her peers' identity practices. We could say Camilla is dividing her identity practices into public/private versions. Camilla emphasised that her peers could afford to *not* work. Moreover, choosing employment despite their earlier-noted 'exhaustion' and 'depression' arguably shows women practicing identities compliant with the autonomous, human capitalist, self-responsible, and entrepreneurial ethos. Yet this compliance does not empower. Camilla's preference "[to be with] my family" and to enjoy keeping house runs contrary to this ethos, but empowerment did not seem to attend Camilla either. If employing a domestic worker *were* a status marker, Camilla doing the same work *unpaid* would arguably place her *beneath* the domestic worker on Chile's status scale. This would explain Camilla's reluctance to challenge her peers' choices, and her feeling of invisibility and uncertainty for not doing so.

According to neoliberal notions about autonomy, self-responsibility and performance, Cassandra should be empowered. She is a mother and a successful, married professional, who owns a house in a good area and drives an expensive car. I recruited Cassandra at CM's mentoring programme seminar. Professional women mentees pay for this programme; mentors volunteer. At the seminar the psychologist Maria Luisa Silva taught mentees "five emotional competencies" and the "power of vulnerability". Silva asked the assembled women to discuss and give feedback on their unhappiness. There was wholesale discontent. At my table two childless professionals were particularly sad. The middle-aged woman was dissatisfied with her solitary life. The younger woman could not stop 'doing more'. Later, at the breakfast buffet I met Cassandra, and the following week I interviewed her. Cassandra told me "anger" lead her to the mentor programme:

I was very sad with my work because I felt I had professional stagnation. I woke up at night. I slept badly. It was the 3 in the morning, and I woke up and couldn't sleep, I thought and thought that I didn't like my work, carrying on so long doing the same thing

To escape her work rut Cassandra's mentor told her to "go to work dressed as if she were going to a party". The mentor also urged Cassandra to inform colleagues and managers: "Here I am. If you need anything, I'm here". However, earlier that day I saw how Cassandra was invisible to a colleague when she waited outside his cubicle for his attention. Cassandra was visible, yet he refused to 'see' her, so we left. The workplace gender discrimination this observation revealed was only part of Cassandra's troubles. It was clear during our midday meal together with her daughters that Cassandra also had difficulty reconciling her roles of worker/mother. Cassandra implied, when she stressed how hard it was to leave her daughters with Senora Maria after lunch, that she was sad about 'not being there' for her daughters. The 'invisibility' episode showed Cassandra and her daughters' lost time together was not compensated by workplace fulfilment.

* * *

Alana's friend Beatrice lived out her first year of life in a banana box in a bedroom. Meanwhile Beatrice's mother cleaned, cooked and raised her employers' children in the rest of the house. I told my flatmates, Quebecois Dominique and Santiaguino Pablo, and their friend Marco this story about domestic worker maltreatment. The men examined their hands. Dominique said, "Very ugly" and shifted topic.

"The elite has had nannies forever, they have been considered part of the family and they have been very well treated" (Director Serrano).

Speaking as an individual wealthy woman, CM Director Alejandra Sepúlveda underscored her dependence on her domestic worker for the social reproduction of her two teenagers. Sepúlveda's emphasis implied this worker facilitated her career successes. However, Sepúlveda evoked the employer/domestic worker conflict over identities described by Teresa Gonçalves (2014) in the literature, when she used a collaboration discourse to explain her relationship to her domestic worker:

This person I treat as a collaborator, she helps me at home so that I can work, and I help her, especially as she is separated. She is a single mother, and there is a high percentage today in Chile of single mothers (Sepúlveda).

Collaboration implies actors sharing power. However, unless Sepúlveda truly shares her power with her domestic worker, in the form of dividing her money and decision-making authority with her, we have to question her word choice.

It seems unlikely that Sepúlveda pays her worker superlatively, when she emphasised her single mother's vulnerability. History in Northern America shows women choose this occupation when there is no other work available (Duffy, 2011, p. 33). This underlines that women are not choosing domestic service from an empowered position, or choosing it to become empowered. Women working alone within the domestic sphere rendered, as it has been, devalued and invisible, are not transported to liberation: "This context gives the employer a tremendous amount of power, which is magnified when the employer, or relationship also reflects power differences related to race and ethnicity, class and citizenship" (Duffy, 2011, p. 34). Interviewing Sepúlveda in her wood-panelled office, I thought about the symbolic and emblematic power exemplified by her delicate hands.

When I suggested employing a domestic worker perpetuated the feminisation of domestic labour, Sepúlveda commented:

It all depends on how you treat this person. If you recognise this person as a worker, respect their identity, and you offer a job with protection, you are giving this person an opportunity of work, and your children aren't necessarily going to learn that this is a person, you can make vulnerable, or maltreat.

Sepúlveda's argument ignores the multiple levels of inequality structured into the work by its poor pay, invisibility, and lost opportunities to advance socially through work. Indeed, in the Political Constitution of 1833, domestic workers, along with criminals were denied the vote "by condition of domestic service" (Vargas, 2014, p.12). Noting the prevalence of migrant workers doing this work, she acknowledged the state needed to be "more proactive" to defend their rights.

Sepúlveda missed three points when she denied domestic worker employment perpetuates its feminisation. Firstly, as Maher (2004) points out, employing workers without citizens' rights leads to citizenship being equated with a right not to do "dirty work" (Maher, 1999; Anderson, 2000, as cited in Maher, 2004, p. 145). Secondly, it undermines the human rights tradition, whereby rights uphold universally the dignity of each person as a member of the family of humanity (Hunt, 2001, as cited in Shafir, 2004, p. 13). Later, she noted women in the domestic sphere gain few opportunities to "enter into training". The rationale of this sphere being disempowering for one set of women, but not another seems illogical, when both paid and unpaid domestic workers sacrifice 'training', which would raise 'human capital'.

At the Union of Live-In Domestic Workers, Santiago

I arranged a focus group with domestic workers at the headquarters of the Union of Live-In Domestic Workers, in Santiago. Our focus group took place in the dining room/meeting room on a Sunday afternoon. The women slept upstairs on their nights off. Their union leader, Ruth Olate, had spoken to me four days prior. Olate, who started as a domestic worker aged twelve, now devotes her life to activism. Olate lives at the headquarters. She raises "consciousness", pleads with psychologists to voluntarily help her members with "self-esteem" and "psychological maltreatment" issues, and communicates with the eight other union branches. With an estimated "350,000 domestic workers" nationwide (Olate), her work is significant.

The women emphasised their social reproduction contribution to society: "We are in the house creating the next generation"; "We have raised generations of Chileans"; "My employer couldn't cope without me"; "I take care of everything, including the children. My employer is a doctor. She works long hours. She works and looks after her husband. I do the rest." This point is significant for showing how husbands get 'looked after' by wives, beyond the domestic worker's caring and personal service, which indicates the extent of Chilean male privilege.

Law number 20.786, which protects domestic workers and became effective in November 2015, does not protect foreign workers lacking work visas (Bustos, Jarpa, & Reyes, 2015, para. 7). Nonetheless, another theme emerging in discussion with Olate and during the focus group was the uncertain effects of this law. Olate wondered how the government “that exists for nothing” would enforce the terms, such as the minimum wage for a 45 hour week, when 72 hours had been standard, with Sundays free by law. Olate was realistic, rather than optimistic, “We’ll see”, she said. Speaking of the law, an older woman expressed her democratic consciousness: “We are part of society; we have to defend our rights”. However, another woman intimated the price paid for that law’s implicit democratic stance would come from the workers: “We will have to put money away for health payments, we will be left without money”, she said. Thus, an overarching theme was the hardship of the work. When asked, what happens to your children? The answers were: “They are abandoned!” Then: “I saw my child for three days every three months”; “I left my four year old, she cried every day. It broke my heart”. Furthermore, the women concurred that employer/mother jealousy when charges loved their nannies, was universal: “There’s always jealousy”; “The children are not allowed in our rooms”; “I kissed the baby, the mother was furious”. All nodded agreement when one woman said jealousy led employers to fire domestic workers. They also agreed when one woman said children suffered as a result of their ‘disappeared’ nannies. This assertion contradicted Director Serrano’s claim regarding *her* mother and their family’s domestic workers, that: “Women have bonds that only we know about, that bring us together in a way that only women understand”. Moreover, when I reported to Olate that Serrano had said her childhood “nannies” were treated like family, Olate said, “They all say that. But they are not family”.

Isolation & Sadness

The live-in domestic workers emphasised the isolation and sadness that attend the work. They described “women who have worked all their lives inside [with] no other life”, who are often “super sad, very lonely”. Noting “there are houses where the people don’t talk to you, just give you orders” with “no conversation”, many women

described feeling invisible. “It’s as if I don’t exist”, one said, “they open the door and let us in without a word” said another. Some women acknowledged there was friendship between worker and employer, but it had “limits”. Others completely disagreed. These women, it seemed to me, had a ‘raised consciousness’. They talked about attending workshops “to strengthen ourselves” and “develop skills”. Following on from this, rights’ infringements were discussed by the migrant Marta, who had years earlier been forced to leave her four year-old in Peru. The problem of domestic worker isolation is compounded when domestic workers are migrants, as many are in Chile (Maher & Staab, 2006). Scholars of the migrant domestic worker phenomenon find that too often migrants are deprived of the rights and status of citizenship (Maher, 2004, p. 131). Marta, who once worked alongside another woman, enduring 18 hour days, described their deprivation of rights: “It was a big house. They made us work too hard, until two in the morning. Then we couldn’t sleep, we were so stressed”. Marta’s testimony shows slavery exists in today’s domestic sphere, just as it did in the oikos.

Contesting Submissive Identities

Subjectivity and identity practices united these issues, and the discussion yielded various responses on this theme. Firstly, there were those who tried to separate their identity from their work. For example, Peruvian Marta, proudly emphasised *her daughter* would never have to serve others because of Marta’s heroic motherhood identity, “I carried rocks, doing a man’s labour to support my daughter and me”. Marta added, “[My daughter] said, I hate chemistry, but I’m going to study it so I can do different work to you. She is studying engineering now”. Marta implied the work would be intrinsically disempowering – if she let it. Yet there were some tasks that penetrated Marta’s shield: “They want us to hand wash bloody underwear. This is humiliating.” Olate, in describing domestic work also underlined identity as a trenchant issue: “I don’t like it when they call us ‘nanas’. It’s like losing your identity, because we all have a name. Why do they have to call us nana? This has made me fight for us to be part of the working world” (Entrevista a Ruth Olate, 2010, para. 1). Conversely, another woman was determined to proudly identify with her role as a domestic worker: “If you are going to do this work, own it. I’m proud of what I do. I do

my best. I know how important it is.” However, no one else backed this woman, whom I will call Bella. An older woman said to Bella, “*I hate it*”. “Why hate your work?” Bella countered. The older woman repeated, “I hate it”.

PART IV

ComunidadMujer, the Voice of Women

Of the twelve CM Directors, the four I interviewed stated that CM’s role in the Chilean polity is to represent women, to improve their employment and political status. This is upheld by CM’s publicity, where their avowed mission is: “To promote the participation and empowerment of women in the labour and political environment, promoting cultural transformation to ensure full exercise of rights and equal opportunities between women and men” (ComunidadMujer Website, Nuestra Institución, Misión section, n.d., para. 2). From Executive Director Alejandra Sepúlveda, I learned that CM supports policies initiated by the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity. However, she maintained that although CM also instituted government-funded programmes, it worked independently of government. CM was not-for-profit, and relied on private donations and corporate funding (Sepúlveda). Notwithstanding CM’s egalitarian mission statement and avowed independence, a perusal of CM’s website provides a ‘narrative’ consistent with neoliberal discourses, especially those favouring the successful entrepreneur. For example, the “Leadership Programme” includes “mentoring, training workshops and seminars”; “supporting career development, entrepreneurial training or social engagement”; and “Circle of Leadership” workshops (CM website, Liderazgo section, n.d.). Interviewing Director Maria Eugenia Hirmas, she corroborated CM’s focus, stating “women’s participation in the labour market, in decision-making positions, and in politics” was CM’s focus. This mention of decision-making is significant, for it signals that CM’s is intent on getting women into *positions of power*. However, CM President Cueto articulated CM’s position differently. She intimated that CM aspires to speak with one voice, for all Chilean women:

...I am President of ComunidadMujer⁵. I have no academic training, nor much theory on gender issues, but rather the strength to create a network, an institution that can occupy a space in the public sphere for women, like men have their space. ComunidadMujer will have room to be the voice of women (Cueto).

Not all Chilean women can be decision-makers, however. Usually this term describes a select few. Immediately there arises a conflict between CM's self-narrative as figurehead and spokesperson of universal 'womanhood', and as elite NGO getting privileged women into positions of greater power.

Indeed, even CM's founder, Cueto confessed some uncertainty about CM's role:

For a time I didn't know what I was saying, I tried to be calm, telling myself that we [CM] have a strong association of women, that is concerned about other women, and that we are united by our agenda of making gender more progressive.

Cueto's statement highlights CM's uncertain agenda. It raises questions about conflicts that might arise when CM's elite Directors focus on, and speak for 'other women'. For example, being extremely wealthy means Cueto likely has a large personal staff. I observed three other Directors also depended on domestic workers. Director Serrano conceded that CM's twelve Directors are connected to big business. Hence, improving poor Chilean women's access to a decent health service, a good education, or a liveable wage would financially affect the Cuetos', and other Directors, through taxation or direct cost. This implies a conflict of interest between CM Directors and their women's equality aspirations. Indeed, this conflict is discernable in an analysis of the visual and text data on CM's website. On the 'women and work' page for example, a photo of a smiling woman-worker-in-overalls beside a fruit-carrying conveyor-belt projects a 'factory work is empowering discourse'. However, this contrasts with the human capital discourse inherent in

⁵ Esperanza Cueto, her father and two brothers are the major shareholders in LATAM, an airline with market capital worth \$US4.8 billion, and 53,072 employees (The World's Biggest Public Companies: #1, 387, Latam Airlines, 2015, n.p). The Cueto patriarch, an immigrant accountant fleeing the Spanish Civil War, opened a café and a leather factory, before venturing into the airline business in the 80s (La TERCERA, Negocios, Ahora el Ebola section, 2014, para. 1).

CM's *Mentor Programme*, which uplifts professionals only. There is no CM mentor programme for factory workers. Having outlined CM's governance, aspirations, and potential conflicts, we now turn to CM's maternal martyr, who to CM is gender's handmaiden and the architect of women's inequality.

ComunidadMujer & Axiomatic Maternalism

For CM, women's greatest obstacles are gender norms, and in her interview, Director Serrano attacked gender as the supreme cause of women's disempowerment:

the essential contradiction according to Marx was class, not gender. So let us solve the class problem first, and then we'll do the gender. That was the common thinking in the 70s. I do not buy that. The essential contradiction that we live with in this world is gender (Serrano).

To CM then, class, or neoliberalism is not women's problem, but gender. Above all, caring is gendered. Scholars affirm a "maternalist" ideology based on the male-breadwinner, woman-homemaker model persists in Chile (Gideon, 2012, p. 340; Staab, 2012, p. 323). Cueto maintained, however, that despite this exalted maternalism, cultural discomfort keeps the care issue hidden: "It is a very un-sexy phenomenon to talk about. The people don't want to know about care. It's an uncomfortable theme" (Cueto). Sepúlveda suggested Chileans' discriminate against carers: "discrimination in Chile is strongly linked to this role of carer of children and family that we make exclusively women's by cultural association". Sepulveda then argued care should be society's problem: "[It] has to do with co-responsibility between men and women for the care of children, and between society and all stakeholders involved". She implied the Chilean state sanctions both a father's and the wider society's diminished responsibility to care. Hirmas, the CM Director, and media communications expert affirmed, "There is a cultural problem. Mothers feel guilty sending their toddlers to kindergarten, because people say you are a bad mother, you don't take care of your children". Hirmas traced this good-mother/axiomatic-maternalism to a propaganda campaign televised during the Pinochet dictatorship:

you saw images presenting the traditional family, always consisting of the father, mother, and one or two children. There was always a son, who represented the future. The father occupied a primordial place; he was the provider, the head of the household who went out to work. The woman was always on a secondary plane. She was the housewife, mother, nurse, and sacrificer, always at home, waiting on others, caring, cooking, and washing.

Noting this campaign only showed women collectively picking fruit, Hirmas suggested the dictatorship entrenched a gendered, social reproduction paradigm of maternal sacrifice, female invisibility, and male privileged irresponsibility. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that when Pinochet's televised maternalist propaganda aired in the 1970s, the number of families headed by single mothers was already high, at twenty percent (Montecinos, 1997, p. 229). Perhaps Pinochet's propaganda was meant to confound the single mother phenomenon. Nonetheless, Cueto affirmed this paradigm persists, citing the televised praise of a woman caring for three children and her bedridden father-in-law for 15 years: "culturally she is the heroine, you see, so we generate a position whereby to take responsibility for everything gives you an identity. This is a dangerous game for women". The discourse CM is presenting here is that women's identity practice as carers is *endangering*, not the unremunerated, unsupported *working conditions* of that care.

ComunidadMujer & Domestic Workers

Although my interview with Cueto did not touch on the subject of domestic workers, she alluded to privileged males' demands, which indicates that even with her domestic staff, there is still care work for elite women:

In Chile today, for women to have more power and exercise it, it is impossible to look after their partners. [...] I don't know if in your country it happens, but women who have more economic autonomy, who are in positions of power, are in a transitional generation where men in this culture in particular, feel very threatened and one has to struggle, as you say between childcare, aged care and other spheres, but also in the most intimate sphere there have to be many transactions and negotiations, for women who have power.

Cueto did not allude to the domestic workers invariably sustaining these men and women in power positions, leaving the powerful free to negotiate their intimacy terms. Though Cueto overlooked domestic workers, one CM programme could feasibly improve domestic workers' conditions, if only they were able to participate in it. CM's *School of Social and Political Formation* is a six-week programme educating nascent leaders, aged 18-24 years (CM Website, Liderazgo section, n.d.). This *School* teaches leadership, public speaking, self-esteem, and networking skills. I alluded to this school during my interview with Ruth Olate, when I saw a CM certificate on her wall. Olate proudly explained that CM presented it to her on International Women's Day 2015, for her contribution to women's equality. I asked Olate, had any domestic worker participated in CM's School of Social and Political Formation? Olate answered none had, "because the school takes place during hours when domestic workers are at work". Evidently, CM's School does not suit domestic workers' timetables. Yet CM could re-timetable the school. If domestic workers were to attend, this would foster leaders, empowering these women to perhaps escape being the gendered "subaltern" (Bhatt et al., 2010, p. 142). The male-dominated, Chilean union movement has always invalidated domestic work as invisible and menial (Leiva, 2012, pp. 109-111). CM arguably maintains domestic work's 'invisibility', paid or unpaid, despite Sepúlveda asserting "Law 20.786" was "super relevant".



Figure 2. This image suggests how a carer might feel about the devaluation and feminisation of care that accompanies privileged irresponsibility.

Despite CM's earlier emphasis that carers needed 'psychological support', CM neglecting to include domestic workers in their *Political School* arguably perpetuates the psychological and material devaluation of care. Encarnacion Gutierrez-Rodriguez (2010), whose writing was explored in the literature review, insists domestic work psychologically disturbs the worker. She implies, furthermore, that this affect is precisely what the employer is paying for. Following Gutierrez's argument, there is no room for worker empowerment in domestic work. Among the many domestic workers I spoke to, only one woman saw her work positively. She was younger than some. Perhaps she was lucky to have a good employer, for some women testified that a few employers are "respectful". Then again, others noted they do not stay that way for long. Foucault (1994) argued "slavery is not a power-relationship when a man is in chains, only when he has some possible mobility, even a chance of escape" (Foucault, 1994, p. 139). Using Foucault's insight we can see that while domestic work might provide work, an income, shelter and even friendship, the

power relationship dictates that these benefits are only as certain as the employer's whim.

ComunidadMujer: Policies & Practices to Empower Women

Social Reproduction

Though CM Directors emphasised women's social reproductive burdens, they did not link these burdens to criminalised abortions, or privatised health, pensions and education. CM did not promote Michele Bachelet's bill supporting therapeutic abortion (Jarroud, 2014, para. 22). Nevertheless Sepúlveda said, though legalising therapeutic abortion is not on CM's agenda, they realised "it is very necessary to advance in this field". Regarding the provision of state-funded maternity leave, Sepúlveda acknowledged CM's lobbying failure. CM's avowed bid to make right wing, billionaire Piñera's government (Chile turns right with billionaire president, 2010, n.p; Han, 2006, p. 242, note 5) extend the six-month, state-paid maternity leave to all mothers, including for example, "seasonal workers," failed, admitted Sepúlveda. This admission corroborates Staab's (2012) claim that business interests have diluted reform legislation, while maternalism and the male-breadwinner bias have undermined feminist reforms (Staab, 2012, p. 323). CM's failure to secure the maternity-leave benefit for all women could have been the result of business interests in parliament superseding CM's social equity interests. It could also index the state's expectation that citizen-subjects in a neoliberal polity should be autonomous and self-responsible and secure a 'proper, formal job'. Alternatively, the failure might lie in CM lacking the political will, connections and authenticity to push this poor women's agenda through. What it does finally indicate is the political marginalisation of women seasonal workers. For these women, maternity increases their burdens and their lives' precariousness.

Though an emphasis on care seems to detour from CM's focus on "politics and work" (Serrano), CM stressed women's care burdens restricted women's workforce and political participation. Hirmas highlighted this point: "There are two themes that ensure women have difficulties participating in the workforce and in politics. One is

care of children and the other is care of the aged". Cueto asserted Chilean women should not have to care alone: "This is a shared responsibility and the state will also have to look for intelligent, innovative measures, or mechanisms, to also take care of [the] problem". CM's early aims to change gendered care appear in a 2007 conference paper, *Proposals for Work/Life Balance*. Here, CM Director Maria Errázuriz outlined CM's stance on how care influences gender divisions. Errázuriz wanted to "break the dichotomy strongly rooted in our culture of the traditional, conceptual separation of family and work, and the association of women with family and men with work" (Errázuriz, 2007, p. 241). She imagined local 'systems' that would rupture this dichotomy: "Families need state support to care for the most vulnerable such as children, the elderly and disabled members. Such social protection systems should ideally be established near those persons' residences" (Errázuriz, 2007, p. 243). A decade later, although gendered care prevails, the new system of state-funded JUNJI crèches could be said to stand in for 'the local systems' CM imagined.

CM Director Hirmas believed poor children would be better off in state 'care systems'. Being the former CEO of JUNJI, the state ECE entity, which provides this state-subsidised childcare, Hirmas upheld the government's policy stance that the provision of free early childhood education would reduce inequality. Regarding children's development Bachelet had asserted, "as a woman, as a mother, but also as a paediatrician – I am convinced that initial education is fundamental" (Staab and Gerhard, 2011, p. 1097). Hirmas here echoed Bachelet:

[Poor, uneducated women] know less about how to occupy and educate their children. If they attend crèches or kindergartens, they have a guarantee that they are going to teach and stimulate them and to create conditions to eliminate poverty.

Hirmas makes an interesting point, because as I determined in the literature review, education is crucial to women's empowerment. However, as I rode home on the bus after this interview, I observed a mother-daughter vignette that falsified Hirmas's claim. A mother and her child in a pram preserved their peaceful world, despite being on a lurching bus, in a chaotic city. I concluded the mother was poor, as well-to-do mothers or nannies, would avoid buses. Contrary to Hirmas's claim, during their

journey this 'poor mother' stimulated and taught her toddler: "The hat keeps your ears warm. E-a-r-s. Yes, that's a rabbit on your hat. R-a-b-b-i-t." Furthermore, as my observation of Cassandra and the cupcake episode demonstrated earlier, a well-educated and well-off mother does not necessarily 'educate' her children better. This vignette raises the question: who should be educated to confound inequality? Findings from an American longitudinal study of the effects of family background on education show that the most important effect on a child's education outcome is a mother's level of education (Grubb, 2008, p. 225). This would imply that the Chilean state and CM should prioritise *mothers'* education, so that children's education improves and social inequality diminishes. Yet, it seems that CM backs the state's provision of state-funded ECE, just as it backs the state's tacit stance that mothers should labour in the workforce.

Aged Care

In 2014, CM organised a seminar to discuss the effects of an ageing population on the chief Chilean carers, women (Noticias page, El efecto del cuidado en trayectoria de la mujer fue analizado en seminario de ComunidadMujer y el BID, CM website, 2014, para. 7). Sepúlveda evoked the human capital discourse by linking aged care to 'skills' and 'occupational profiles':

It is essential to expand the network of long-stay hospitals and SENAMA day centres; to generate meeting places and psychological support for caretakers; to study formulas for the provisional protection of carers, and seek models incorporating caregivers in the labour market. Finally, we believe it is key to identify and certify the occupational profile of seniors' caregivers, in order to make a formal recognition of skills acquired by men and women dedicated to this work (CM website, 2014, Noticias page, para. 7).

Interestingly, this same human capital discourse never appeared in interviews linked to care of the young, that is, 'mothering'. In that respect, Sepúlveda asserted employed mothers "can develop professionally", whereas women raising children at home "are lagging behind in society". Furthermore, Sepúlveda insisted carers of the aged need moral support. Arguably they need financial support more. What about

the morale of child carers? CM seems to distinguish care by the 'whom' being cared for. For example, Cueto asserted women are *doing the state's job* in caring for the elderly: "We are doing the work of the state, for which we are not paid; today women are carrying the cost here, as elsewhere. It is huge". Cueto described looking after her grandmother as her own 'personal cost' – in spite of her "privileged" means. Cueto's empathy with carers lacking these 'means' grew: "How the devil does a woman look after someone [aged]...the costs, the work involved, the permanent demands...?" Her experience demonstrates that privatised human security and care creates a social reproduction context that burdens all Chilean women, including the elite. CM Directors might have imagined, in the absence of state-funded rest homes, another solution: to pay carers a wage, thereby saving the state the cost of building rest homes. Even Cueto hinted carers should be paid. Paying carers, however, is a paradigm shift from the labour-market-as-place-of-empowerment discourse CM promulgates. Instead, Sepúlveda recommends, "incorporating caregivers in the labour market". Who then cares for the aged, if caregivers enter the labour market?

Empowering Women in the Workforce

Part of CM's contribution to the fight for women's equality is their commission of studies on trenchant issues, like employment. Relatedly, a CM study of 2992 women showed that 44.1 percent of women worked five days, but 75.3 percent of respondents worked less than the standard 45 hours per week (Encuesta Voz de Mujer, 2013, p. 28). Thus, CM saw women's biggest disadvantage in working conditions, not in Chile's prevalent work informality, but in women being "underemployed" (Encuesta Voz de Mujer, 2013, p. 7). Indeed, half the women wanted more work than they had (Encuesta Voz de Mujer, 2013, p. 28). However, an alternative analysis of this data is that women want more work, because they need more money. An extension of this is that more work is not in itself more empowering. Conversely, CM's conclusion is that women's lives will be improved, and women empowered by more work. Yet, with the exception of the students, women informed me they worked too much, had insufficient domestic time, and they felt they did not earn enough to manage (Cassandra; Cara; Marta; Alana). Moreover, when she became a mother Camilla *planned to work part-time*, as then

she would be able to “be in touch with my family”, which denotes her conception of empowerment (Camilla). This is a markedly different conception of empowerment to CM’s work-focused one. Moreover, recall how Cassandra reported her overworked, professional discontent, which was mirrored by other professional mentees. Those professionals’ misery contrasts with the idealised working woman-subject CM implied exists, who through work is increasing her human capital, and thus her empowerment. This ‘ideal type’ Sepúlveda contrasts to those ‘poor mothers at home’ who have “very few opportunities to gain access to training [where they] would not lose their training, their human capital” (Sepúlveda).

CM’s empowerment practices feature various human capital development programmes such as the Mentor Programme, or the School of Social and Political Formation. However CM does not fundamentally challenge the working conditions the labour market produces, the informality, or the casualisation of work, or the current work/life model. When I pointed out to Sepúlveda that part-time work is an employment ghetto for women, which they enter to fit their social reproduction responsibilities, Sepúlveda agreed: “Women are saying: *No, part-time no, I want full-time work with flexibility*”. In my view, the word ‘flexibility’ imports women wanting an overhaul of the contemporary work schedule, which is currently shaped around the male-provider model (Gilbert, 2008). As Social Welfare and Social Services Professor Neil Gilbert argues, today’s prevalent work/life model benefits certain well-educated women and the labour market in general, rather than the average family (Gilbert, 2008, p. 102). This male work-pattern of returning to work while ‘others’ care for children, Gilbert links to feminist equality aspirations (Gilbert, 2008, p. 97):

Although this model is well suited for women aiming toward the pinnacles of professional and corporate life, it may be less attuned to the needs and interests of working- and middle-class mothers in average jobs that are neither high paying nor emotionally all that gratifying (Gilbert, 2008, p. 5).

Summarising the above thesis for Sepúlveda, she noted *the government’s* “+Capaz” programme up-skilled poor women, whom she acknowledged had little labour market reward:

Women of few resources, those most vulnerable, participate much less in the working world; they confront much more unemployment, and finally the cost-benefit of going out to work, is a lot higher because [...] transportation is expensive, and who do they leave their children with, who cares for them? The expectation of getting a good, dignified salary is low (Sepúlveda).

Interestingly, CM does not deliver this +Capaz programme, though it parallels their programmes for professional women.

Regarding informality, Sepúlveda acknowledged poor women turn to “microenterprise” due to the inconveniences she described above. However, with CM noting poor women’s human capital and material disadvantage, why does CM not develop a programme to address them? Developing women’s human capital *is* CM’s focus. CM *could* extend their educational, leadership, and mentoring programmes to non-professional, poorer and older women, who are disadvantaged re/entering the labour market. Such a programme would support those women who had chosen, or had no option but to mother full-time. Women like Alana’s daughter, who had developed her catering microenterprise, would also benefit from business mentoring. Instead of this refocus, like Bachelet, Sepúlveda blames historical institutions like maternalism, which we examined earlier, or the Pinochet-era Labour Code, for perpetuating prejudicial working conditions (Bachelet lanza la reforma del código del trabajo heredado de Pinochet, 2014, para. 2). Sepúlveda said, “the Labour Code is very discriminatory to women [...] and reproduces a sexual division of work that is totally disadvantageous to women”, blaming the previous government for cementing this division. She also critiqued the meagre paternity leave reform, where the father has the ‘right’ to be transferred part of the mother’s maternity leave, with her permission: “We have made a timid step towards co-responsibility, towards the fair sharing of roles, to recognise the father’s rights to care, but it’s still very much in its infancy”. Sepúlveda implies it is the Code and minimal paternity leave that impede women’s equality. If only these were changed so men were compelled to share care, women would be empowered. However, genuine empowerment for women would seem to require more than Sepúlveda’s shared care. It would arguably necessitate disrupting not just the gender, but also the class cleavages reinforced by neoliberalism (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 398). To affect this disruption would require changing the neoliberal human security system, whereby the consumption of private

education, health, and pensions is sustained by debt and overwork, or not sustained at all, by the insecure majority.

My interview with Director Serrano acknowledged that privatised education, work and debt have an unreliable influence on inequality. On the positive side, Serrano reported that 70 percent of tertiary students self-identify as first generation academics. While Serrano acknowledged many universities' dubious standards, she validated the system by indexing burgeoning education numbers with newly acquired work skills and social mobility, allowing people to escape Chile's "primitive class structure" (Serrano). Serrano's point that a tertiary education, regardless of its cost, increases social mobility is upheld by the data, which shows that it is *uneducated* women doing the lowly-paid, flexibilised jobs (Schild, 2002, p. 188; Staab & Gerhard, 2011, p. 1083). However, Serrano also underscored that social mobility comes at a price, and that is the price of family life and well-being: "Observers say we have sacrificed everything. That our one goal is to have more, not to be more. Just to have. To have is to be. That's what they say" (Serrano). Serrano also insisted the Chilean middle class "is hanging by a thread", which explains why Chileans sacrifice so much to 'get ahead'. Serrano's point shows that in exploiting one's human capital for consumption, a sacrifice is made. It also shows that human capital exploitation can be antithetic to empowerment.

Confounding Gender Norms in Education: Las Niñas Pueden

CM has expounded on deleterious gender norms in education and has developed a media programme to confound them. This centred on the colourful YouTube video *Las Niñas Pueden* [Girls Can]. This 2015 campaign aims to breakdown stereotypes shaping women's detachment from the workforce, their scarcity of employment in the sciences, and their subsequent lower remuneration and inequality. As Escobar explains on CM's website, in Chile there is "a poor presence of women in the workforce, the lowest average in Latino America and the OCDE" (Escobar, 2014, para. 2). This excerpt from the 'Girls Can' video establishes what CM is challenging: "Girls and boys are born with equal abilities and talents/But inequality begins early; Boys and girls have equal capacity to learn but we are surrounded by stereotypes;

Until Grade Four, girls and boys are equal in maths/ But only 13.5 % of girls study engineering” (CM website, n.d., LasNiñasPueden, videos section). CM commissioned this video after analysing various studies authored or commissioned by CM (Hirmas). CM Director Sepúlveda shared the opinion that to reduce women’s inequality, it is first necessary to eradicate the “different form of teaching for women and girls”.

CM’s ‘Girls Can’ campaign is vindicated by some women’s testimonies. Gabriella’s schooling discouraged her scientific learning, though her academic father discouraged learning stereotypes. Engineer Cassandra’s scientific schooling was evidently successful, however, this could result from her private education. The engineer S. Möller Sollis confirmed Sepúlveda’s assertion that it is *the sciences* that support Chile’s “productivity” where the work and money are (personal communication, January 10, 2016). Another of CM’s women’s education programmes is a joint Ministry of Social Development and CM response to gendered employment and the workforce marginalization of women. This project, still in development, is called: “Reducing the Gender Gap in Education: Construction of New Narratives of Inclusion in the Antofagasta Region” (CM website, n.d., Proyectos section, para. 1). Already mentioned as one of CM’s educational responses to women’s inequality is the *School of Social and Political Formation*, that domestic workers were prevented from attending by their working hours. This is a type of affirmative action programme to inspire young women’s leadership and introduce them to the skills of networking, and building both human and social capital through connections and circles of influence (Cueto). A cynical analysis of this programme could conclude that CM here offers educated, young, childless women an induction into leadership skills, while leaving older women – society’s carers – aside.

The ComunidadMujer Prize

The “Premio ComunidadMujer” is a financial prize (US\$1500) awarded annually to six groups for projects or business ventures raising women’s status (Cueto). A notable 2015 recipient was a women’s jazz group (Cueto). Though Cueto conceded this prize would not diminish inequality substantively, she alluded to the neoliberal

human capital ethos, extended here to 'social' capital, when she said the prize wanted "to distinguish women's organisations, generating social capital in our country". She noted the "enormous demand" for the prize and wondered "where is the state?" (Cueto). However, her point raises questions about state funding for social development programmes: increasing taxes on the wealthy is the obvious solution. In fact, Cueto's cohort benefits from the laissez faire state, and as such the *Premio* could be understood as her cohort's panacea for the social ills thus produced. When the Premio is compared to Cueto wealth, or to the fortunes of Chile's even more superrich (Manzetti, 2009; Solimano, 2012), it is not beneficent. It does not improve knowledge, nor is it relationally empowering.

ComunidadMujer & Politics

A final reform that CM has worked for is the "Quota Law", which institutes a minimum of 40% women in electoral lists (Serrano). Sepúlveda and Serrano believe this law will help Chile move towards gender equality, by women's greater parliamentary representation leading to law changes to make life "less discriminatory" against women (Sepúlveda). Yet, while interviewing Serrano about politics, she noted the law would not enforce that ratio in parliament. She also conceded that women's greater presence might reinforce class cleavages, meaning substantive representation of poor women's concerns might not result. Canvassing Serrano and Hirmas about Chilean women's democratic consciousness, with the assertion that any apathy therein might be due to Chile's "exhausted [political] structures" (Valdivieso, 2012, p. 348), neither blamed Chile's moribund politics. Rather, Hirmas suggested Chilean machismo manifested in the home, and in the evening timetabling of union meetings, discouraged women's political participation:

Women are disadvantaged, because of course the woman wants to finish her work and go home, because she has a series of other responsibilities: the care of the children, preparing food, etc. Meanwhile, the men hardly participate in the home.

Hirmas, by framing women's political exclusion as a machismo union problem, avoids probing why a third of Chilean women work informally and precariously,

without the security of a union at all (Chandra, 2015; Leiva, 2012, p. 103). Moreover, discerning machismo within families fails to explain why nearly half of families lack a father at home to impose it. Indeed, CM's gender oppression discourse leaves neglected *the causes* and possible solutions to social problems, like informal work and single motherhood, which arguably disempower women more. Finally, CM's gender oppression discourse neglects any forms of empowerment within the home and within care that might, if they were to be acknowledged, lead to a revitalised democratic consciousness. Women's raised consciousness could then exploit the quota law for substantive, rather than merely descriptive political representation.

The Ministry of Women & Gender Equity

A recent SERNAM publicity photo shows Cueto and Sepúlveda 'at the table' with Minister Claudia Pascual (Flickr, 2015, n.p.). In March 2015, the Bachelet government established from a former, non-ministerial entity, the *Ministry Of Women And Gender Equity* (SERNAM), to fight women's vulnerability and inequality in Chile (Sepúlveda-Zelaya, 2016, para. 1). SERNAM has historically proposed "legal reforms"; advised "on gender-sensitive policies"; initiated "education programmes"; and directed "government and foreign aid to gendered social programmes" (Schild, 2002, p. 173). For example, SERNAM united with activists and women's policy agencies to legislate against Chile's domestic violence problem (Franceschet, 2012). Interestingly, CM Director Hirmas served for six years in SERNAM, as head of communications. New-institutionalist theory, which emphasises the "*interaction between institutions and individuals*" (Italics in original; Lowndes, 2010, p. 71), would dissect the relationship between this ministerially-empowered institution and CM. Accordingly, scholars have criticised SERNAM's shifting focus from women's equality to social programmes on the neoliberal state's agenda (Schild 2002, p. 185). The criticism maintained those programmes "helped women cope with the extra burdens of their expanded responsibilities in the private, domestic sphere, while nudging them onto the market as ostensibly self-governed, responsible citizens" (Schild, 2002, p. 185). Arguably, the appointment of Communist Party affiliate Pascual as SERNAM Minister (Claudia Pascual, Spanish Wikipedia, n.d., n.p.), indicates a power shift in parliament, or in women's policy agencies, from the 'self-

governed, responsible citizen' toward the protesting 'woman in the street'. This suggests CM must shift their focus towards that woman, or risk being politically isolated.

Perhaps recent social protest has preempted a new governmentality, one which legitimises reform and protest as 'conductable conduct'. This view offers a way to conceptualise CM's apparently conflicted role as a feminist institution within the neoliberal polity. Whereas CM has previously disseminated neoliberal market-friendly norms and values, the state which wishes to endure, finds at times it is expedient to promulgate alternative norms and values, such as 'women deserve better'. This analysis offers an explanation of why CM may not want to really affect the wholesale political change that will make women equal, but because CM wants political power, it has to be seen to want it. Hence, we may see CM introduce programmes or policies that would make a substantive difference to poor women's lives.

ComunidadMujer & Power

Researcher: "One criticism by the feminist movement is that this elite woman [Sheryl Sandberg, in her book 'Lean In'] claims to be a feminist, but it's actually all about me, me, me; surviving in the neoliberal world; and forget about all those nannies and cleaning ladies [...]"

Serrano: "[...] Why do we have to have the Marxists marching through the world to get things done? It's a combination of everything. So, I believe of course Sheryl Sandberg is in a privileged position. Of course she is neoliberal, off course she is capitalist, of course bla, bla, bla, but I mean, she could be sitting in her house, at the hairdressers and not doing a thing. And that would be legitimate?"

* * *

CM's stated concern is with the disempowerment attending gendered care. Despite this concern with gendered care, CM's policies and practices focus on empowering educated, professional, and entrepreneurial women so that they will not have to care. In thus exalting human capital, CM validates 'exchange' value over the 'use' value intrinsic to the caring activities of the domestic sphere (Gutierrez-Rodriguez,

2010). Furthermore, in CM's enmity towards gender norms, CM seems to paradoxically reify and totalise gender. For example, in devaluing care, CM devalues those left to care, thus reifying carers' gendered/class position. When CM aims to distance some women from care by placing those women beside men, CM does not move beyond gender, rather it entrenches the gender framework. Then again, CM would not want all women beyond gender, for that would deprive CM of that gendered class who serve. Their leadership and mentoring programmes; the School of Political formation; the Girls Can campaign, and the Premio ComunidadMujer, encourage women to be uplifted from care responsibilities. In effect, CM validates privileged irresponsibility. This explains why to Serrano, Sandberg is a role model. She embodies the autonomous human capitalist, with the correct self-responsibility/performance ethos. She pays others to care.

Before disagreeing about Sandberg's (2013) contribution to women's equality, I outlined gender-mainstreaming theory to see if CM agreed with this policy. This policy sees gender being incorporated into every board and institution and considered in every decision, as a way to confound women's systemic inequality. Serrano said: "Absolutely, we totally agree with that. We are into that. That's what we do at CM. Because, in very simple words what we want is power." Serrano had earlier stated that CM's early ambition was to get women into the *power photo* alongside powerful men: "You have to begin by being *visible*, if not you'll never get to the table". The mention of the power 'table' confirmed Cueto's explication of CM's power desire: "women need action spaces, more protected [ones], where you can really aspire to power and provide for power in its broadest sense". Clearly, CM wants certain women to have power. The question is, which women? Would CM wish domestic workers to be empowered? While the research focused on women's socio-economic inequality, Serrano seemed to be saying that CM's focus was on equality between women and men in spheres of power. "We want to be there at the table", Serrano reiterated. Accordingly, an analysis of CM's projects, policies and practices reveals CM's focus on getting women to the power table, rather than empowering the women who sweep the floor under that table. CM's aim is not diminishing class inequality.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Introduction

Can women be empowered within Chile's neoliberal order? Overall, the answer to the research question the data yields is negative. Indeed, the social, spatial, temporal, economic and political *disempowerment* of women in neoliberal Chile was tangible in the data. Suffering beneath either the material burdens caused by privatised health, pensions and education, or due to social-spending stringencies, or for both reasons, women found social reproduction burdensome. Furthermore, according to government policy and CM's empowerment strategies, the empowered state subject is an autonomous human capitalist in the workforce, not a carer. This embeds a disempowering tension between care and ideas of success, which has simultaneously devalued care and skewed empowerment ideals. This results in identity tensions, and in women's uncertainty and unhappiness. Indeed, the data showed that even superrich women like Esperanza Cueto experience disempowerment when her polity devalues women, by devaluing the thing that women do: care. Domestic workers and overburdened mothers endure much worse. Understandably then, women expressly wanted change. Poorer women sought political change to confound their disempowerment, whereas richer women sought internal, cultural and social change.

We learned about women's endurance in the data. We met elite women, striking students, married and single middle class women, some politically active single mothers, childless professionals, a group of domestic workers, and a union leader, who all experienced disempowerment in some form. We discerned the maternal axiom underpinning Chile's polity, and heard from CM Directors and some of these women that axiomatic maternalism has increased women's social reproduction burdens. Yet we also found women refusing to be constrained by this maternalist discourse: "How many unhappy mothers do see screaming at their children?" asked Alana, drawing attention to her role as an *employed* single mother, who bartered room and board in exchange for care. This echoed Cueto's "How in the hell do women care?" In these questions these women demolish the Chilean maternal idol.

Perhaps Chile's neoliberal polity does perpetuate women's disempowerment by not only devaluing care, but also by imposing restrictive maternal stereotypes on women. Before we concur, based on various actors' views and the supporting scholarship (Staab, 2012), we must consider the literature's subjectivity problematic. The problem of subjectivity and identity does not disappear because certain actors see a problem of cultural stereotypes conditioning gender experience. Indeed, poststructuralist and constructivist epistemologies lead to a more complex conclusion. Firstly, poststructuralist theory, as we know, insists that discourse informs subjectivity and identity, and such shaping of subjectivity is a site of contestable power. Indeed, CM appears keenly aware of this and how this is connected to empowerment, as evidenced in the *Las Niñas Pueden* project. Hirmas's discussion of propaganda addressed this explicitly, explaining how women might emulate a gender discourse *they see enacted*, thereby restricting their identities to motherhood and practicing maternal-martyrdom.

However, Butler (1999) makes a further contribution that troubles CM's position the on the women they aim to represent. Butler points to how feminists like CM presuppose an established subject – woman – operating as if women's oppression was universal, yet detached from the vital forces of race, class and colour (Butler, 1999, p. 7). This denial of vitality causes women to reject the lifeless category 'woman' within such identity politics (Butler, 1999, p. 7), for how can women relate to a cardboard cut-out? In the data we saw that in Chile's neoliberal polity there is no

race-less, class-less, or colour-less 'woman'. In fact, the women's testimonies presented such diverse enactments of the subject 'woman', that no singular universal subject 'woman' could be said to exist. Not only are women unmoved by cardboard cut-outs, they also object to being politically identified as victims, with their intricate lives and life choices slanted as blandly universal:

The image of the limited housewife imprisoned in a closed-off cloister forced to 'stoop' all day long to the intellectual level of her infants remains all pervasive, despite strong factual evidence about women's increasing experimentation with a variety of roles and life patterns (Stassinopoulos, 1974, p. 86).

Moreover, while CM, the feminist NGO presents 'woman' as universal, many of the women they 'represent' are alien to CM Directors. Actually, the CM Directorate is a microcosm of the elite, from women with doctorates, to big businesswomen, to those linked to governmental power. CM speaks for women oppressed by the labour code, a gendered education system, and maternal stereotypes, when in reality CM's Directorate exists in a stratosphere beyond quotidian concerns with work, gender, and care. This would seem to validate Butler's assertion "By conforming to a requirement of representational politics that feminism articulate a stable subject, feminism thus opens itself to charges of gross misrepresentation" (Butler, 1999, p. 8). Consequently, if we reject the given term of analysis, that is 'woman' as a universal subject, this suggests we should also reject the analytical framework, in which social reproduction exists as a problem of gender.

Social Reproduction Burdens: Is Gender All to Blame?

In fact, women's disempowerment might derive from this gender emphasis that leaves the powerful unexamined and untouched. As Butler notes, powerful institutions like the law purposefully demarcate gender; power seems to "operate in the production of that very binary frame for thinking about gender" (Butler, 1999, p. xxviii). Butler's argument implies CM's wielding of 'gender' as a fixed and defined category helps to keep power in place. After all, if a binary gender frame is a constant, then gender attributes might be kept so too. If gender attributes are

harnessed to class, then the class status quo persists. This analysis suggests gender could be used as a hegemonic control strategy. To this end, articulating social reproduction burdens via a gender discourse displaces other possible articulations. If 'gender' causes social reproduction burdens, then neoliberal economics or class do not cause them. Is this allocation of social reproduction burdens to gender, governmentality at work in civil society? Is CM's position on social reproduction a manifestation of governmentality?

One way to answer this question is to follow the trail of responses and consequences. If care means martyrdom to women, they will service the labour market rather than mother. If citizens are trapped by a work/debt cycle, they will not revolt against the system. If debt, credit, and work and income precariousness set up a cycle destabilising families, men will remain reproductively irresponsible. If machismo is accepted as culturally, rather than politico-economically determined, women will either fight to change men, or leave them. Yet the political economy will remain intact. Furthermore, if care in the domestic sphere continues to be invisible and devalued, men will not be induced to do their share of it. If the state wishes to neutralise policies that make work and therefore living precarious, then they would do well to make civil society promote martyrdom and machismo as the malignant forces conditioning social reproduction burdens. This leaves unchallenged neoliberal political economics. Such a step is governmentality. If the state can convince students and feminist NGOs alike that their problems inhere in gender, rather than the market-protecting state, the state endures.

In fact, Han's neighbourhood study (1999-2010) detects governmentality at work in many of the civil society social programmes designed to help Chile's urban poor. Han suggests programmes are applied through two governmentality rationales. Initially, programmes were applied to women via a nineteenth century Catholic imaginary of the deserving mother to reach not women per se, but families (Ilanes, 2007, as cited in Han, 2012, p. 65). Han calls the maternalism promulgated by the Catholic Church in their charitable work, "marianism" (Han, 2012, p. 65). Axiomatic maternalism is surely rooted in this 'marianism'. Conversely, recent social programmes apply a self-responsibility and autonomy ethos (Han, 2012, p. 65), framed by the trope of the autonomous individual, a neoliberal construct. For

example, “ChileSolidario” and “Programa Puentes” aimed to build “human capital through microenterprise” (Han, 2012, p. 64). “Fondo Solidario” had the same goal (Schild, 2002, p. 180). In these governmentality programmes, corroborating the thesis of Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon (1994) in the literature, poverty is a character flaw; and the myriad interconnections and interdependencies among people that Han details are disregarded.

We could speculate on other reasons why machismo and maternalism might emanate from the state. After all, setting up maternal martyrdom reduces the state’s financial obligations around care. Recall how Mimi Abramovitz (2010 p. 20) linked social welfare retraction and the self-responsibility ethos to patriarchal neoliberal values *within the state*, which imposed social reproduction costs on women. Machismo would be further entrenched by work being precarious, making a male provider powerful due to his rarity. A neoliberal state would not characteristically improve work conditions to ease social precariousness. Rather, neoliberal reforms made life more precarious when Chileans became *clienteles in a social market*, responsible for their own standard of security and citizenship (Schild, 2002, p. 170). Luis Cárcamo-Huechante (2006, p. 424) explores how neoliberal reforms replaced “the old culture of the welfare state” in the collective consciousness. Dictatorship economists arranged Milton Friedman’s 1975 “market-centred matrix” speech at a university emblematic for state social provisioning in order to divest Chilean’s of their old ways (Cárcamo-Huechante, 2006, p. 424). Even NGOs were then co-opted to promote the new paradigm wherein citizens’ needs are met through the market (Schild 2002, p. 172). Validating the above scholars’ arguments, recall that Cassandra, and Camilla’s peers paid for health, education, and retirement; they also hired *nannies*, to cook, care and clean. Therein, they secured their superior standard of citizenship, partly by passing their reproduction burdens onto poorer women. There is no political protest about Friedman’s matrix from this quarter.

Could A Previously Disempowered Woman Become Empowered?

Cruikshank challenges women to empower themselves through citizenship – even a poor woman has civic power (1999). The citizen-subject must submit to institutional

power, but she can renegotiate her subject-hood/citizenship relationally, through redefining her identity, argues Cruikshank (1999). For example, a domestic worker, through a domestic workers' collective could claim her rightful identity as one of society's most essential workers – one who reproduces society. The data reveals this is exactly what Ruth Olate's members are doing. However, the research also demonstrates that the material; educational; and relational properties of empowerment, are elusive. To be empowered, paid domestic workers and unpaid carers would have to be materially uplifted from their present state, and this would require a paradigm shift in the way care is valued. This would propel a coincidental shift in ideas of empowerment. Yet the women and men who remain irresponsibly privileged by non-caring might not wish to alter the status quo; and the states economising on social spending would also contest the costly revaluation.

ComunidadMujer: An Evaluation

How do we evaluate CM's contribution to women's empowerment? Should we applaud CM for shifting discourse and policy away from Chile's out-dated maternalism, which ignores the reality of women as providers? From the literature, we know some feminists claim women should exploit the empowering opportunities of the free-market (McCloskey, 2000, p. 364). CM certainly upholds a human capital discourse, and overall the data suggests CM would agree with Deidre McCloskey (2000). Should we condemn CM for shaping women's consciousness toward the market-as-liberation, in line with McCloskey? A critic would see CM as a market agent, obedient to its logic and its interests. Then again, today it is not unusual for a feminist NGO to show market loyalty. Indeed, Johana Kantola and Judith Squires (2012) identify an historical-institutional shift from state to "market feminism" in Chile, where feminist priorities and policy practices embrace market logic (2012, pp. 382-3). They also identify a paradigm shift whereby feminist NGOs passively accept state policies, rather than engaging in debate (Kantola & Squires, 2012). Oksala would argue that CM's impartiality and independence has been corrupted by neoliberal logic (Oksala, 2010, p. 34). However, if we accept governmentality exists, and I do, CM is as much a product of biopolitical control as any other neoliberal institution.

CM has indeed acted as the state's arm, by instituting social programmes, as Sepúlveda put it, "tendered by the government". This corroborates Schild's (2002, p. 171) thesis that successive governments after Pinochet used NGOs like CM, and their competencies, to further neoliberal ends. This also validates Foucault's (2008) thesis that states are ultimately concerned with endurance. Such a proof of governmentality exculpates CM to some extent, as it bares CM as a discourse 'creation' shaped in compliance with state ends. Yet, the actors within CM have agency and power. As 'decision-makers' 'at the table' their self-avowed responsibility is to act for women's equality, not to act in compliance. Moreover, we should note that Director Elena Serrano reported that CM Directors are connected to business and that women's work at home and in the marketplace has made Chilean businesses rich (Leiva, 2012, p. 104). Esperanza Cueto is not just connected to big business: she *is* big business. "Yes, well she's one of the big fortunes in Chile. But she is so dedicated and so passionate, that it can't matter and it doesn't matter. But of course, if you don't know her, it matters," observed Serrano. However, it matters. As a prominent NGO, CM takes centre stage, and also takes Inter-American Development Bank and UN Development Programme funding (Paula Poblete, CM Director of Studies). The women trying to control their destinies in Chile's neoliberal context deserve more from these donors' support than CM's inconsistent institutional response; and biopolitics does not discount CM Directors' un/conscious conflicts of interest. Overall, my evaluation of CM tilts towards criticism, because in Chile's disintegrating polity, political voices are valuable only when they propose a real solution to Chile's complex challenges. Such a solution would require real social change, but why would ComunidadMujer want that? CM's Directors' tax returns benefit from minimal state social spending and privatised human security; and a casualised workforce provides compliant labour. By concluding that maternalism/machismo is more problematic than these other factors, women's social reproductive burdens are distanced from the political economy, and so it persists.

There are tensions, inconsistencies and conflicts around care in any polity. Whose job is it? What is care worth in material and sociological terms? What is care's connection to empowerment and disempowerment? How do we address work/life balance? All these questions have been touched on in this research, and the value of this research derives from recognising that these questions have not yet been

answered. Prompted by the scholarship urging study on existing neoliberal effects (Ong, 2006), I have explored neoliberalism's disempowering effect on Chilean women. Neoliberal policies have institutionalised work and family life as precarious, resulting in a 'socially disintegrating' country. The data reveals several causes of women's disempowerment. Neoliberal human capital values and identities devalue social reproduction; and neoliberal economics privilege exchange value over use, and oppose social spending. This makes women who care invisible and vulnerable, while the patriarchal political economy maintains the invisibility and vulnerability of carers. Then, the state, feminist NGOs like CM, and even wary women repudiate rather than uplift care as an ethical and empowering activity, as that vital intelligence recreating society. Further, when entrepreneurial and privatisation logic answers care demands, as it does in Chile's domestic worker phenomenon, the provisional empowerment of a few correlates to the disempowerment of many. These factors coalesce to marginalise and penalise those in carer positions, whether paid domestic workers or the unpaid carers of children and the aged.

CM wants women to sit 'at the table' of power. But what about those women who are by implication and circumstance 'disempowered' by cleaning the floor beneath? CM, in employing neoliberal terms and neoliberal role models to define empowerment, neglects other potential sites of empowerment, like the domestic sphere and the care experience, and so conceives of empowerment in arguably limited terms. Overall women shared their disempowering uncertainty about what they should aim for to be empowered. The data revealed that even wealthy and professional women find the neoliberal human capital terms of empowerment CM upholds limited, even empty. I felt engineer Cassandra's sense of emptiness and uncertainty when she left her spread-sheets to query her colleague's accounting, only to be ignored by him. Will we ever hear Cassandra's empowered voice claim her right to be seen and heard? Not perhaps when the sound of women expressing empowerment in other terms and voices is flattened by CM's human capital discourse. Missed also is the chance of raising democratic consciousness by broadcasting other voices. Women can be empowered as citizens as Cruikshank (1999) observes, but as poststructuralist theory shows us, they need to use alternative discourses and gather other voices to make their citizens' and rights' claims heard.

REFERENCES:

- Abramovitz, M. (2010). Historicizing Social Reproduction, Welfare and Neo-liberalism. In S. Gavigan & D. Chunn (Eds.), (pp. 15-46). *The legal tender of gender: welfare, law and the regulation of women's poverty*. Retrieved from [http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/socwork/faculty/Abramovitz,%20%20Social%20Reprod%20&Neoliberalism\(%20Onati\).pdf](http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/socwork/faculty/Abramovitz,%20%20Social%20Reprod%20&Neoliberalism(%20Onati).pdf)
- Adams, R. (2008). *Empowerment, participation and social work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Anderson, P. (2000) 'Renewals', *New Left Review* 1: 5:24.
- Ashley, R. (1996). The achievements of post-structuralism. In K. Booth, S. Smith & M. Zalewski, (Eds.), *International theory: positivism & beyond* (pp. 240-254). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ayers, A. J., & Saad-Filho, A. (2015). Democracy against Neoliberalism: Paradoxes, Limitations, Transcendence. *Critical Sociology*, 41(4-5), 597-618. Retrieved from <http://crs.sagepub.com.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/content/41/4-5/597>
- Arestis, P. (2004). Washington Consensus and Financial Liberalization. *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 27(2), 251-271 Retrieved from doi:10.1080/01603477.2004.11051432
- Babb, S. (2013). The Washington consensus as transnational policy paradigm: its origins, trajectory and likely successor. *Review of International Political Economy*, 20 (2), 268-297.
- Bakker, I. & Gill, S. (2008). New constitutionalism & social reproduction. In, I. Bakker & R. Silvey, *Beyond states & markets: The challenges of social reproduction*, pp. 19-34. Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Bakker, I. & Silvey, R. (2008). Introduction: Social reproduction & global transformations – from the everyday to the global. In, I. Bakker & R. Silvey, *Beyond states & markets: The challenges of social reproduction*, pp. 1-17. Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Banaszak, L. A. (2011). Feminist Policymaking in Chile. By Liesl Haas. *Perspectives on Politics*, 9, 883-884. Retrieved from doi:10.1017/S1537592711003781.
- Barry, T. F. (2014). *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*. Salem Press Biographical Encyclopedia, Research Starters, EBSCOhost.
- Batliwala, S. (1993). *Empowerment of women in South Asia: concepts & practices*. New Delhi, India: Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education and FAO.

- Bauwens, T., & Lemaitre. (2014). A. Popular Economy in Santiago de Chile: State of Affairs and Challenges. *World Development*. 64. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.05.015>
- Beauvoir de, S. (2010). *The second sex*. Translated by C. Borde & S. Malovany-Chevallier, (pp. x-xxi). New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Beck, U. (2000). *What is Globalisation?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bellei, C., Cabalin, C. & Orellana, V. (2014). The 2011 Chilean student movement against neoliberal education policies. *Studies in Higher Education*. 39(3), Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2014.896179>.
- Benedikter, R., Siepmann, K. & Zlosilo, M. (2014). Chile: Country or change? Background of Chilean politics after the elections. *Harvard International Review*, 35 (3).
- Benedikter, R. & Siepmann, K. (2013). Chile: The Switzerland of the South?. *Challenge* (05775132), 56(5), 5-30. Retrieved from doi:10.2753/0577-5132560501
- Berlin, I. (1969). Two Concepts of Liberty. In, *Four Essays on Liberty*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Berry, C. (2013). Introduction. Adam Smith: An outline of life, times & legacy. In, C. Berry, M. P. Paganelli, & C. Smith (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of Adam Smith*, pp. 1-13. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Beneria, L. & Sen, G. (1981). Accumulation, reproduction & 'Women's Role in Economic Development': Boserup revisited. *Signs*. 7 (2). pp. 279-298.
- Bezanson, K. (2006). *Gender, the state & social reproduction: household insecurity in neoliberal times*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bhatt, A., Murty, M., & Ramamurthy, P. (2010). Hegemonic developments: the new Indian middle class, gendered subalterns, and diasporic returnees in the event of neoliberalism. *Signs* (1), 127.
- Blakar, R. M, Nafstad, H.E., Roen, K. & Türken, S. (2015). Making Sense of Neoliberal Subjectivity: A Discourse Analysis of Media Language on Self-development. *Globalizations* (pp. 1-15) Retrieved from doi: 10.1080/14747731.2015.1033247
- Bold, C. (2012). *Using narrative in research*. London, UK: Sage.
- Bondi, L. (2005). The place of emotions in research: from partitioning emotion and reason to the emotional dynamics of research relationships. In J. Davidson, L. Bondi, M. Smith (Eds.), *Emotional geographies*. Burlington, VT pp. 231–246
- Bowman, J. (1966). *The Universal history of the world: The age of enlightenment*. New York, NY: Golden Press.

- Buckler, S. (2010). Normative theory. In D. Marsh & G. Stoker, (eds) *Theory & methods in political science* (3rd ed., pp. 156-176). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan
- Buker, E. (2006). Care & order: State reformation & the feminization of liberalism. In M. Hammington & D. Miller (Eds.), *Socializing care* (pp. 27-49). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Buscatto, M. (2011). Using ethnography to study gender. In Silverman, D, (Ed) *Qualitative research* (pp.35-53), London, UK: Sage.
- Bustos, M., Jarpa M. J., & Reyes, C. (2015) *Trabajadoras de casas particulares: las claves de la nueva ley*. Nacional. Retrieved from <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/nacional/2015/01/680-612194-9-trabajadoras-de-casas-particulares-las-claves-de-la-nueva-ley.shtml>
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: feminism & the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Brown, W. (2005). *Neoliberalism and the end of liberal democracy*. In Edgework Critical essays on knowledge & politics (pp 38-59). Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. New York, NY: Zone Books.
- Carcamo-Huechante, L. E. (2006). Milton Friedman: Knowledge, public culture, and market economy in the Chile of Pinochet. *Public Culture* 18(2), 413-436.
- Cárcamo, R. A., De la Harpe, C., van der Veer, R., van IJzendoor, M. H., & Vermeer, H. J. (2014). The quality of childcare in Chile: Its stability & international Ranking. *Child & Youth Care Forum*. 43 (6), 747-761. Retrieved from doi 10.1007/s10566-014-9264-2
- Casen 2013 Da Cuenta De Desigualdad De Género (2015). (Website). Retrieved from: http://www.senama.cl/n5848_13-04-2015.html
- Castillo, J. (2012). Is inequality becoming just? Changes in public opinion about economic distribution in Chile. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. 31. (1). Retrieved from doi: 10.1111/j.1470-9856.2011.00605X.
- Centro de Estudios Públicos. (1). 1980. Santiago, Chile. Retrieved from http://www.cepchile.cl/1_977/doc/mas_alla_del_leviatan.html#.VjlPRcuzDzl
- Chandra, S. (2015). *Why gender and income inequality are linked*. Retrieved from <https://agenda.weforum.org/2015/10/why-gender-and-income-inequality-are-linked/>
- Chile's Accession to the OECD. (n.d). (Website). Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/chile/chilesaccessiontotheoecd.htm>.
- Chile's Constitution Of 1980 With Amendments Through 2012. (2012). English Translation. W.Hein & Co. Retrieved from <http://constituteproject.org>

- Chilean Employment Benefits: The Basics (2015). Harris Gomez Group. Retrieved from <http://www.hgomezgroup.com/2013/11/19/chilean-employment-benefits-the-basics/>
- Chile's new constitution: Bachelet launches process. (2015). *BBC World News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-34527165>
- Chile Teachers Union Vows to Continue National Strike (2015). (News Report). TelesurTV. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Chile-Teachers-Union-Vows-to-Continue-National-Strike-20150604-0020.html>
- Chile turns right with billionaire president (2010, 18 January). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/18/chile-pinochet>
- Chodorow, N. (1999). *The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis & the sociology of gender*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Clarke, A. (2014). Designing mothers & the market: Social class & material culture. In S. O'Donohoe, M. Hogg, P. Maclaran, L. Martens & L. Stevens (Eds.) *Motherhood, markets & consumption: The making of mothers in contemporary Western cultures*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Claudia Pascual (n.d.). (Website) Spanish wikipedia. Retrieved from https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Claudia_Pascual
- Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J.L. (2012). *Theory from the south: Or how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa*. Boulder, OH; Paradigm.
- Concise Oxford Dictionary (1976). J. B Sykes, (Ed.), (6th ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ComunidadMujer. (n.d.). (Website). Retrieved 12/09/2015: <http://www.ComunidadMujer.cl/ComunidadMujer/about-us/>
- Craven, C., & Davis, D. (2011) Revisiting feminist ethnography: Methods & activism at the intersection of neoliberal policy. *Feminist Formations* 23(2), 190-208. Retrieved from doi: 10.1353/ff.2011.0018.
- Cristóbal, K. (2002). Chile's neoliberal agrarian transformation & the peasantry. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2(4). Retrieved from doi: 10.1111/1471-0366.00043
- Crouch, C. (2011). *The strange non-death of neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The will to empower*. New York, NY: Cornell University Press
- Dardot, P. & Laval, C. (2013). *The new way of the world: On neoliberal society*. London, UK: Verso.

- DeVault, M., & McCoy, L., (2002). Institutional ethnography. In J Gubrium & J. Holstein (Eds). *Handbook of interview research: Context & method* (pp.751-776), Thousand Oaks, California: Sage
- Devetak, R. (2005). Critical theory. In S. Burchill et al. *Theories of international relations*. Third edition. New York: Palgrave.
- Donohue, S. (2015). “*I cannot and I will not give up my family time*”. World Economic Forum. Retrieved from: <https://agenda.weforum.org/2015/10/i-cannot-and-i-will-not-give-up-my-family-time/>
- Douglas, H. C. (1980). Introducción: Estudios públicos. *Centro de Estudios Públicos*. (1). 1980. Santiago, Chile.
- Duffy, M. (2011). *Making care count: A century of gender race and paid care work*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Engels, F, & Marx, K. (1848). *Manifesto of the communist Party*. In R.C Tucker (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader* (1978). (2nd ed.), New York, USA: W.W Norton and Company.
- Ewig, C. (2008). Reproduction, re-reform & the reconfigured state: Feminists & neoliberal health reforms in Chile. In, I. Bakker & R. Silvey, *Beyond states & markets: The challenges of social reproduction*. (pp. 143-158). Abington, Oxon: Routledge.
- Ensalaco, M. (2000). *Chile under Pinochet: Recovering the truth*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Entrevista a Ruth Olate (2010). Website. FesSintracap.. Retrieved from <http://sintracapchile.cl/entrevista-a-ruth-olate/>
- Errázuriz, M. & Abarca, N. (2007). Propuestas para la conciliación trabajo y familia. Concurso Políticas Públicas / 2007. Retrieved from <http://www.ComunidadMujer.cl>
- Escobar, P. (2014). ComunidadMujer Website Opinión: Columna: Las niñas pueden (y los niños, también). Retrieved from <http://www.ComunidadMujer.cl/2014/10/las-ninas-pueden-y-los-ninos-tambien/>
- Fenna, A., & Tapper, A. (2012). The Australian welfare state and the neoliberalism thesis. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 47(2), 155-172.
- Ferguson, J. (2010). The uses of neoliberalism. *Antipode*, 41(s1), 166–184.
- Flickr Website (n.d). Photo files. Retrieved from: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/123956058@N07/sets/72157648127889486/>
- Floro, M. & Hoppe, H. (2008). Towards globalization with a human face: Engendering policy coherence for development. In I. Bakker & R. Silvey, *Beyond states & markets: The challenges of social reproduction*, (pp. 34-53). Oxon, UK: Routledge.

- Fontaine, A. (1980). Más allá del leviatán: Hacia el resurgimiento de la libertad individual. Santiago, Chile. Centro de Estudios Públicos.
- Former prostitutes call for ban to industry. (April 08, 2016). *New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/world/news/article.cfm?c_id=2&objectid=11618980
- Foucault, M. (2003). (1994). *The essential Foucault. Selections from the works of Foucault 1954-1984*. P. Rabinow & N. Rose (Eds.). New York: The New Press.
- Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics Lectures At The College De France, 1978-79*. A. I. Davidson (Ed.), Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Furlong, P. & Marsh, D. (2010). A skin not a sweater: Ontology & epistemology in political science. In D. Marsh & Stoker, G. (Eds.) *Theory & methods in political science* (3rd ed., pp.80-98). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Franceschet, S. (2010). Explaining domestic violence policy outcomes in Chile & Argentina. *Latin American Politics & Society* 52(3). Retrieved from <http://eds.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz.pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=31ebcf8d-822c-4d74->
- Fraser, N., & Gordon, L. (1994). A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State. *Signs*, 19(2), 309–336. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174801>
- Friedman, M. (2012). Neo-liberalism & its prospects. In, L. Ebenstein (ed.) *The indispensable Milton Friedman: Essays on politics & economics* (pp. 3-9). Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.
- Gabriel, Y. & Lang, T. (2006). The unmanageable consumer: Contemporary consumption & its fragmentation (2 ed.). London: Sage.
- Gideon, J. (2006). Accessing economic & social rights under neoliberalism: gender & rights in Chile. *Third World Quarterly* 27(7), 1279-1283
- Gideon, J. (2012). Engendering the Health Agenda? Reflections on the Chilean Case, 2000–2010. *Social Politics* 19(3), 333-360. Retrieved from doi:10.1093/sp/jxs009
- Gilbert, N. (2008). A mother's work: How feminism, the market, & policy shape family life. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Glass, L., Hamilton, K. & Trebeck, K. (2014). Mothering poverty & consumption. In, S. O'Donohoe, M. Hogg, P. Maclaran, L. Martens & L. Stevens (Eds.) *Motherhood, markets & consumption: The making of mothers in contemporary Western cultures*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Goldstein, D. M. (2012). Decolonialising 'actually existing neoliberalism'. *Social Anthropology*, 20(3), 304-309.

- Guzmán, F. (July 30, 2015). Mineduc: “extender gratuidad a Ues. no Cruch cabe en lo que esta proponiendo el Gobierno”. *La Tercera*, p. 79.
- Gustav, C. (2015). *How is poverty measured in Chile?* I Love Chile News. Retrieved from <http://www.ilovechile.cl/poverty-measured-chile/>
- Global Gender Gap Report. (2014). Chile. Retrieved from <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/economies/#economy=CHL>
- Goethe (1931). Government. *The new Dictionary of thoughts: An encyclopedia of quotations*. London, UK: Classic Publishing Company.
- Gutierrez-Rodriguez, E. (2010). Migration, domestic work and affect. A decolonial approach on value & the feminization of labor. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Grubb, W. (2008). Families & schools raising children: The inequitable effects of family background on schooling outcomes. In J.D. Berrick & N. Gilbert (Eds.) *Raising Children* (pp. 221-250). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ha, L. (2016). *Rising education standards in emerging market economies will support income & economic growth* (Report). Euromonitor International. Retrieved from <http://blog.euromonitor.com/2016/02/rising-education-standards-in-emerging-market-economies-will-support-income-and-economic-growth.html>
- Hamington, M. (2006). An inverted home: socializing care at Hull-House. In M. Hamington & D. Miller (Eds.) *Socializing care* (pp. 3-27). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Han, C. (2012). *Life in debt: Times of care & violence in neoliberal Chile*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hancke, B. (2010). The challenge of research design. in D. Marsh & Stoker, G. (Eds.) *Theory & methods in political science*. (pp. 232-248). 3ed. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haque, M. S. (2014). Rethinking Democratic Governance: Looking Back, Moving Forward. In *Challenges to Democratic Governance in Developing Countries* (pp. 265-273). Springer International Publishing.
- Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harkin, M. (2013). Adam Smith on women. In, C. Berry, M. P. Paganelli, & C. Smith (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of Adam Smith*, (pp. 501-523). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Harvey, D. (2006). *On neoliberalism: An interview with David Harvey*. Mzine. Retrieved from <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2006/lilley190606.html>
- Hobbes, T. (2009). *Leviathan: The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*. [Auckland, N.Z.]: The Floating Press.
- Hochschild, A. R. (2004). Love & gold. In L. Ricciutelli, A. Mies & M. H. McFadden (Eds.), *Feminist politics, activism & vision: Local and global challenges*. London: Zed
- Holmwood, J. (2014). From Social Rights to the Market: Neoliberalism and the Knowledge Economy. *International Journal Of Lifelong Education*, 33(1), 62-76.
- IECSR Website. (2015) Human Rights Resource Center. University Of Minnesota. Retrieved from <http://www1.umn.edu/humantrs/edumat/IHRIP/circle/modules/module3htm>
- Jaggar, A.M. (1989). Love and knowledge: emotion in feminist epistemology. *Inquiry*, 32 (2) 151–176
- James, S. & Dalla Costa, M. (1973). *The power of women & the subversion of community*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press.
- Jarroud, M (2014). Website. *Therapeutic Abortion' Could Soon Be Legal in Chile*. IPS NEWS website. Retrieved from <http://www.ipsnews.net/2014/09/therapeutic-abortion-could-soon-be-legal-in-chile/>
- Jessop, B. (2002), Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State–Theoretical Perspective. *Antipode* 34, 452–472. Retrieved from: doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00250
- Jessop, B. (2013), Putting neoliberalism in its time and place: a response to the debate. *Social Anthropology*, 21 65–74. Retrieved from doi: 10.1111/1469-8676.12003
- Jessop, R.D. (2005) *Challenges of globalization: New trends in international politics & society*. Pfaller, A. & Lerch, M. (Eds.), (pp. 13-26). New York: Transaction Publishers.
- Kantola, J., & Squires, J. (2014). From state feminism to market feminism. *International Political Science Review* 35(2). Retrieved from doi:10.1177/019251211111432513.
- Katz, C. (2001). On the grounds of globalization: Topography for feminist political engagement. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 26(4), 1213-34.
- Kincheloe, J. (2005). *Critical constructivism*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Kotz, D. M. (2002). Globalization and neoliberalism. *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(2), 64-79.
- Kritzer, B. (2008). Chile's next generation pension reform. *Social Security Administration Research, Statistics, & Policy Analysis*. *Social Security Bulletin*. 68 (2). Retrieved from <https://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v68n2/v68n2p69.html>

- Krook, M.L., & Mackay, F. (2011). *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kremerman, M. (2004). Distribución del ingreso en Chile: Una bomba de tiempo. *Análisis de Políticas Públicas*. 29. (Report). Retrieved from http://www.terram.c//nuevo/images/storiesapp29_ingreso.pdf
- Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*. 63.
- Larner, W. (2007). *Neoliberal governmentalities neoliberal environments*. N. Heynan and J. McCarthy, Routledge.
- Laslett B. & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender & social reproduction: Historical perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 15. pp. 381- 404.
- Legrand, C. (2015). Chile's reforms stall as Michelle Bachelet goes on the defensive. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/20/chile-michelle-bachelet-reform-plans-delayed>
- Leiva, F. (2012). Flexible workers, gender & contending strategies for confronting the crisis of labor in Chile. *Latin American Perspectives*. 39 (4). Retrieved from doi: 10.1177/0094582X12441517.
- Levy, A. (1999). *Female chauvinist pigs: Women & the rise of raunch culture*. Collingwood, VIC: Black Inc
- Lowndes, V. (2010). The institutional approach. in D. Marsh & Stoker, G. (eds) *Theory & methods in political science* (3rd ed., pp.60-80). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan
- MacGregor, S. (2004). The welfare state & neoliberalism. In, A. Saad Filho & D. Johnston. (Eds.), pp. 142-159. *Neoliberalism: A critical reader*. London: Pluto Press.
- Maguire, D. (2010). Marxism. in D. Marsh & G. Stoker, (eds) *Theory & methods in political science* (3rd ed., pp,136-155.). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maher, K. (2004). Globalized social reproduction. Women migrants & the citizen gap. In (Eds.). A. Brysk, & G. Shafir, *People out of place globalization, human rights and the citizenship gap* (pp. 131-153). New York, NY: Routledge
- Maher, K. & Staab, S. (2006). The dual discourse about Peruvian domestic workers in Santiago de Chile: class, race, and a nationalist project. *Latin American Politics & Society* 48(1), 87-116. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/lap/summary/v048/48.1staab.html>
- Manzetti, L. (2009). *Neoliberalism, accountability, and reform failures in emerging markets: Eastern Europe, Russia, Argentina & Chile in comparative perspective*. Pennsylvania, US: Pennsylvania State University Press.

- Marquez Garcia, G. (2013). *Why Allende had to die: Sediton in Santiago*. The New Statesman. March-April, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/2013/04/why-allende-had-die>
- Marsh, D. (2010). Meta-Theoretical Issues. In Marsh, D. & Stoker, G. (Eds.) *Theory & methods in political science* (3rd ed). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McCarthy, J. & Prudham S. (2004). Neoliberal nature & the nature of neoliberalism. *Geoforum*. 35, 275-283.
- McCloskey, D. (2000). Other things equal: Freemarket feminism 101. *Eastern Economic Journal*. 26 (3).
- McWhorter, L. (1999). *Bodies & pleasures: Foucault & the politics of sexual normalization*. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.
- Mirowski, P. & Plehwe, D. (2009). *The road from Mont Pelerin: The making of neoliberal thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Molyneux, M. (1979). Beyond the domestic labour debate. *New Left Revue*. 116, 3-27.
- Montecinos, V. (1997). Economic reforms, social policy & the family economy in Chile. *Review of Social Economy*. LV (2) Retrieved from <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=7&sid=88c67a66-85c7-4c2c-a23d-5428f0484091%40sessionmgr4003&hid=4210>
- Morgan, J. (2016). Report. *How to balance public and private contributions to higher education?* Times Higher Education. Retrieved from <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/how-to-balance-public-and-private-contributions-to-higher-education>
- Nevett, L. (2001). *House & society in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Noddings, N. (2012). The language of care ethics. *Knowledge Quest* 40(5), 52-56.
- Nosedá, J (2014). *Mujeres monstruos*. Blog. Website El Dínamo. Retrieved from http://www.eldinamo.cl/blog/mujeres-monstruos/?fb_ref=Default
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2000). *Women & human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- OECD Website. (2014). *Chile's accession to the OECD*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/chile/chilesaccessiontotheoecd.htm>
- Oksala, J. (2013) Feminism and neoliberal governmentality. *Foucault Studies*. (16), 32-53. Retrieved from http://scholar.google.co.nz/scholar_url?url=http://ej.lib.cbs.dk/index.php/foucault-studies/article/download/4116/4533&hl=en&sa=X&scisig=AAGBfm01YMWTW2ugO

p3KBa7ZWdRnTNlebg&nossl=1&oi=scholarr&ved=0ahUKEwj71lyhqPPLAhUJmZQ
KHaljD1MQgAMIGigAMAA

Ong, A. (2006). *Neoliberalism as exception: Mutations in citizenship and sovereignty*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Overview: Data on Informal Employment and Self-Employment (2009). OECD Report.
Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/dev/poverty/42863997.pdf>

Palley, T. (2004). From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics.
In, A. Saad Filho, & D. Johnston. (Eds). *Neoliberalism: A critical reader* (pp. 20-30).
London: Pluto Press.

Parsons, C. (2010). Constructivism & interpretive theory. In, D. Marsh & Stoker, G. (Eds.)
Theory & methods in political science (3rd ed., pp.80-98). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave
Macmillan.

Peck, J. (2010). *Constructions of neoliberal reason*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2012), Reanimating neoliberalism: process geographies of
neoliberalisation. *Social Anthropology* 20, 177–185. Retrieved from:
doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8676.2012.00194.x

Peck, J & Ticknell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode*. 34 (3), 380-404.

Peters, M. (2001). Poststructuralism, Marxism, and neoliberalism: between theory and
politics. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Pianta, M. (2013). Democracy lost: The financial crisis in Europe and the role of civil
society. *Journal of Civil Society*, 9(2), 148-161.

Picchio, A. (1992). *Social reproduction: The political economy of labour markets*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Piven, F. F., & Sampson, T. (2001). Welfare: what is to be done. *Social Policy*, 32(1), 40-
44.

Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. (2014). Website: wikipedia. Retrieved from
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pontifical_Catholic_University_of_Chile

Prior, L (2010). Using documents in research. In Silverman, D, (Ed) *Qualitative research*.
(pp. 93-111), London, UK: Sage.

Punch, K. (2006). *Developing effective research proposals*. 2ed. London, UK: Sage.

Rabinow, P. (1991). Death & power over life. In *The Foucault reader* (pp. 258-273).
London: Penguin.

Randall, V. (2010). Feminism. in D. Marsh & Stoker, G. (eds) *Theory & methods in political
science* (pp.114-136). 3ed. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Reimer, V. (2015). "Because you had me as a teen": Neoliberalism & the problem of teen pregnancy. In, V. Reimer & S. Sahagian, *The mother-blame game* (pp. 105-121). Bradford, ON: Demeter.
- Reus-Smit, C. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill et al. *Theories of international relations*. (3rd ed.) New York: Palgrave.
- Rose, N. (1993). Government, authority and expertise in advanced liberalism. *Economy and Society*, 22(3), 283–299.
- Rose, N. (1996). Governing "Advanced" liberal democracies. In, A. Barry, T. Osborne, & N. Rose, *Foucault and political reason: Liberalism, neoliberalism & rationalities of government*. London: UCL Press. pp. 37-64.
- Rottenburg, C. (2014). The rise of neoliberal feminism. *Cultural Studies* 28(3). 417-437 doi: 10.1080/09502386.2013.857361
- Rowlands, J. (1997). Power & empowerment. In, *Questioning empowerment: Working with women in Honduras* (pp. 9-27). Oxford: Oxfam.
- Saad Filho, A. & Johnston, D. (2004). *Neoliberalism: A critical reader*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean in: Women, work & the will to lead*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Schild, V. (2002). Engendering the new social citizenship in Chile: NGOs & social provisioning under neo-liberalism, In Molyneux, M. & Shahrashoub, R. (Eds). *Gender, Justice, Development & Rights*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (2002). Retrieved from doi: 10:1093/0199256454.001.0001.
- Scholte, J. A. (2005). *The sources of neoliberal globalization*. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Scott, J. (1992). "Experience". In, J. Butler & J. Scott (Eds.), *Feminists theorize the political*. (pp. 22-34). New York: Routledge.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sepúlveda-Zelaya, C. (2016). *Gender Inequality and Women's Rights in Chile: an institutional analysis of the creation of the Ministry for Women and Gender Equality*. IPSA Website. 24th World Congress of Political Science. Retrieved from <https://wc2016.ipsa.org/my-ipsa/events/istanbul2016/paper/gender-inequality-and-women's-rights-chile-institutional-analysis->
- Sharma, S. (2012). It changes space & time! Introducing power chronography. In J Packer & S. Crofts Wiley, (eds.) *Communication matters: Materialist approaches to media, mobility & networks* (pp 66-78). Oxon, Ox: Routledge.
- Sim, D. (2015, June 11). Chile: Riot police deploy tear gas and water cannon as student protest in Santiago turns violent. *International Business Times*. Retrieved from

<http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/chile-riot-police-deploy-tear-gas-water-cannons-student-protest-santiago-turns-violent-photos-1505542>

- Silverman, D. (2011). Introducing qualitative research. In D. Silverman (Ed.) *Qualitative research*. (pp. 1-13), London, UK: Sage.
- Simbürger, E. (2013). Moving through the city: visual discourses of upward social mobility in higher education advertisements on public transport in Santiago de Chile. *Visual Studies*. 28(1), 67-77. Retrieved from doi: 10.1080/1472586X.2013.765219
- Solimano, A. (2012). *Chile & the neoliberal trap: the post-Pinochet era*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, C. (2013). Adam Smith & the new right. In, C. Berry, M. P. Paganelli, & C. Smith (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Adam Smith*, pp. 539-559. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, S. (1996). Positivism & beyond. In, K. Booth, S. Smith & M. Zalewski, *International theory: positivism & beyond*. pp.11-47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Staab, S. & Gerhard, R. (2011). Putting Two and Two Together? Early Childhood Education, Mothers' Employment and Care Service Expansion in Chile and Mexico. *Development And Change*, 1079-1107. Retrieved from doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01720.x
- Staab, S. (2012). Maternalism, Male-Breadwinner Bias, and Market Reform: Historical Legacies and Current Reforms in Chilean Social Policy. *Policy*. 19(3), Retrieved from doi: 10.1093/sp/jxs010
- Stassinopoulos, A. (1974). *The female woman*. Glasgow, UK: Fontana/Collins.
- Stevenson, L. (2012). The Bachelet effect on gender equity policies. *Latin American Perspectives*. 39(4), 129-144. Retrieved from: doi: 10.1177/ 0094582X12441518.
- Stromquist, N. P. (2002). Education as a means for empowering women. In, J. L. Parpart, S. M. Rai & K. Staudt (Eds.) *Rethinking empowerment: Gender & development in a global/local world* (pp. 22-38). London: Routledge
- Talbot, M (2010). *Language & gender*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Tickell, A. & Peck, J. (1995). Social regulation after Fordism: Regulation theory, neo-liberalism and the global-local nexus. *Economy and Society*, 24(3), 357–386.
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. California, USA: Sage.
- Thomson, E. (2014). *Maids look to join Chile's economic miracle with new law*. Bloomberg. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-09-11/maids-look-to-join-chile-s-economic-miracle-with-new-law>

- Thurman, J. (2010). Introduction. In, *The second sex. Simone de Beauvoir*. Translated by C. Borde & S. Malovany-Chevallier, (pp. x-xxi). New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Tronto, J. (1998). An ethic of care. *Generations*, 22(3), 15-20.
- Tronto, J. (2006). Vicious circles of privatised caring. In, M. Hammington & D. Miller (Eds.) *Socializing care*. pp. 3-27. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tucker, J. (2006). Care as a cause: Framing the twenty-first-century mother's movement. In, M. Hammington & D. Miller (Eds.) *Socializing care*. pp. 3-27. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield
- Tyler, I. (2013). *Revolting subjects: social abjection and resistance in neoliberal Britain*. London; UK: Zed Books,
- Valdivieso, P. (2012). Policies for participation, life in association and confidence, implications in the case of Chile. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. 31. (3).
- Vargas, M.V. (2014). *Trabajadores de casa particular: Análisis crítico de su situación laboral y de la regulación aplicable*. (Report) University of Chile. Retrieved from: <http://repositorio.uchile.cl/bitstream/handle/2250/129848/Trabajadores-de-casa-particular.pdf?sequence=1>
- Trabajadores de casa particular: Análisis crítico de su situación laboral y de la regulación aplicable. Retrieved from <http://repositorio.uchile.cl/bitstream/handle/2250/129848/Trabajadores-de-casa-particular.pdf?sequence=1>
- Wacquant, Loïc. (2012). *Três etapas para uma antropologia histórica do neoliberalismo realmente existente*. *Caderno CRH*, 25(66), 505-518. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0103-49792012000300008&lng=en&tlng=.
- Wade, R. (2013). How high inequality plus neoliberal governance weakens democracy. *Challenge* 56(6), 5-37
- Walker, K. (2015). *Weber: Antipositivism & Verstehen*. Research Starters: Sociology (Online Edition).
- Warren, C. (2002). Qualitative interviewing. In J Gubrium & J. Holstein (Eds). *Handbook of interview research: Context & method*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Weiner, L. Y. (1993). Maternalism as a Paradigm: Defining the Issues. *Journal Of Women's History*. (2) 96.
- Who We Are (n.d). Website. *SENAMA/National Service for Older Persons, translated from Spanish*. Retrieved from <http://www.senama.cl/QuienesSomos.html>
- Williamson, J. (1993). Democracy & the "Washington Consensus". *World development*, 21(8), 1329-1336.

Wollstonecraft, M. (2010). (1792). *Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*. Auckland, N.Z.: The Floating Press.

World Family Map 2014: Mapping Family Change and Wellbeing Outcomes (2014). (Report). Retrieved from <http://worldfamilymap.ifstudies.org/2014/articles/world-family-indicators/family-structure>

Wynne-Jones, S. (2010). *Negotiating neoliberalism through stakeholders' engagements with ecosystem service governance in Wales*. Paper Presented at the Challenging Orthodoxies: Critical Governance Studies Conference, Warwick Business School.

Xavia Karner, T. & Warren, C. (2010). *Discovering qualitative methods: Ethnography, interviews, documents & images*. 3ed. New York: Oxford University Press.