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 FIELDWORK IN CHILE FIELDWORK SETTING, SAMPLE SELECTION & ACCESS THE EXPERTS PARTICIPANTS OUTSIDE CM INTERVIEW SETTING WRITTEN & VISUAL DATA REFLEXIVITY EMOTIONS & SUCCESSES	41 42 42 43 43		
		44	
		45	
		46	
		CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY & GENDER	47
		ETHICS	48
	CHAPTER 3	49	
	THE RESULTS	49	
	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		
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		

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.