

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EXPERIENCES:

Chilean Men and Women from Popular Unity to Exile

Diana Kay

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

1982



A B S T R A C T

This study analyses both the historical and personal drama of a group of Chilean men and women in exile in the West of Scotland. Unlike many studies of exiles or refugees, which take the stance of the host society by focusing on processes of assimilation into the new society, this study adopts an actor's perspective and gives free expression to the viewpoints of the exiles themselves. Furthermore, this study captures not only the public drama of exile through the voice of the political activist but also the private, and often neglected, voice of women in the home.

Based on in-depth interviews, this study is a qualitative and interpretive account of how a group of actors set about reconstructing their lives in exile, after the rupture provoked by the coup d'état in Chile. Rather than a shared and unified experience of exile, this study differentiates experience according to the social location of the actor, along both a class and gender dimension. Gender divisions in location and consciousness are related to men's and women's differing involvements in public and private spheres. In this respect three categories of social actor are distinguished: public men, private women and public-private women.

In this study the public-private distinction is analysed as a shifting terrain whose boundary is the subject of negotiation and struggle by classes and genders. During a period of accelerated social change, both public and private spheres undergo qualitative and quantitative change. From the expanded and politicized public sphere of the Popular Unity period, the politicized men shifted into the miniaturized and divided public sphere of exile politics. Likewise, the privatized women moved from the comparatively more powerful and venerated private domain in Chile to a restricted and impoverished private sphere in

exile. By disequilibrating both the public and private spheres, exile exposed a number of contradictions between the men's egalitarian political ideology and the sexual division of labour in the family. Despite the increased impulse for women to penetrate the public - private distinction and to construct an alternative counterpart model to the men's "public politics", any penetrations made by women remained partial and incoherently expressed. Rather than challenging the men's political agenda by politicizing their grievances in the home and raising the private domain as a public issue, women confined their struggle to a private process of renegotiation within individual households. In this way, they remained a "muted group". Although the public and private spheres have become less rigidly sexually differentiated in exile, this study nonetheless shows the resilience of gender distinctions against pressures to change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis reflects the end-product of an intellectual and personal journey which began in 1971 when I first set foot in Chile. My first debt is to my teachers and friends in the university there, for developing my interest in Latin America and for sharing the "Chilean experiment" so willingly with me. Sadly, this group has disbanded since the coup - some have journeyed into exile themselves - and their project of placing the sociological enterprise at the service of the revolutionary process has been suppressed.

My special thanks go to the Chilean exiles - especially those who appear pseudonymously in the pages herein - and to whom I dedicate this work. They gave generously of their time and hospitality, were open to sharing often intimate details of their personal lives and transformed the fieldwork into an enriching period of my own life. I trust that they will find their voices faithfully interpreted, and that this study will contribute to the writing of a chapter of Chilean history - that of the experience of exile. Many more Chileans in exile - whilst not part of the sample - contributed with practical help, advice and insights and without whose support I might well have faltered.

This thesis could not have taken shape without the support of Rosemary Johnson and Patricia Jeffery, my supervisors at Edinburgh University. Their careful and detailed readings of my work were the source of countless ideas and their comments have improved the text enormously. Their criticisms were always "stretching", yet never demoralizing. By openly enjoying the supervision sessions themselves, they gave me the confidence necessary for this study to flourish. My thanks, in particular, to Rosemary for remaining with the thesis during a difficult time in her own personal life.

I owe a large expression of appreciation and gratitude to Cristóbal Kay - who first introduced me to Chile - for sharing in the private drama which underlies any public piece of work.

Finally, thanks go to Lyn Jamieson for reading part of the script, Michael Anderson, Bert Moorhouse, for springing into action with bibliographic requests, Diane Dixon and Gordon Hutchinson of the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America, Pauline Martin of the World University Service Chile programme, Caroline Bamford and particularly, Margaret Casey, for friendship during the long lonely hours of writing up.

C O N T E N T S

Chapter 1	
<u>HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY</u>	1
Biographical Variation	3
Gender and Class	6
Public and Private Domains	9
Historical Background	19
Chapter 2	
<u>ACCOUNTS AND ACCOUNTING</u>	43
Status of Accounts	43
Fieldwork and Interviewing	47
The Interview Group	57
Ideal Typical Biographies	70
Chapter 3	
<u>RUPTURE OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOMAINS</u>	91
The Coup	91
Internal Exile to Exile Abroad	94
Flight and Arrival	107
Public and Private Deprivation	119
Self-Defences	141
Chapter 4	
<u>RECONSTRUCTING THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN EXILE</u>	144
British Public Life	147
A Miniaturized Public World	156
Politics of the Workplace	164
WUS Scholarship Programme	182
A Divided Public World	193
Chapter 5	
<u>PUBLIC - PRIVATE CONTRADICTIONS I: The 'double shift'</u>	196
Domesticity, Dependence and Discontent	198
Impulse to Penetrate	209
Domestic Labour: A Female Task?	210
Private Trouble or Public Issue?	222
Political Sexual Division of Labour	228
Partial Penetration	234

Chapter 6

<u>PUBLIC - PRIVATE CONTRADICTIONS II: "Family first, politics second"</u>	240
A Restricted Private Domain	240
A Private Offensive	257
Public Radicalism - Private Conservatism	273
Loss of Moral Superiority	289
Queens not Slaves	293

Chapter 7

<u>CRISIS OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOMAINS</u>	298
Female Solidarity	299
Politics of the Family	313
Revolution in the Revolution?	323
Public - Private Crisis	333
A New Public Sphere?	337

Chapter 8

<u>FINAL REFLECTIONS</u>	344
Public - Private Distinction	344
Exile Literature	348
Gender Dimension in the Analysis of Exile	351
Typicality of the Case	359

<u>APPENDIX</u>	363
-----------------	-----

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	372
---------------------	-----

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

"My husband is always saying that the Popular Unity period was the best three years of his life but for me they were the worst."

Silvia, a housewife

This thesis sets out to explore the meanings of a set of historical events for a group of Chilean men and women at present in exile in the West of Scotland. It is an attempt to exercise the sociological imagination by understanding the "larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and external career of a variety of individuals".¹ Broader historical changes at the level of structures transform the context of work, of political participation, of marriage and family life and often carry meanings for quite intimate features of individuals' lives. It is this interplay between the macro and the micro, between history and biography, that forms the focus of this work.

The historical scene under study spans little more than ten years - broadly from 1970 to 1980 - but the social transformations within these years in Chilean economic, political and social life have been far-reaching. Although emphasis is placed on the exile experience, the degree of personal stress, disruption and loss this entailed can only be appreciated by bearing in mind the events which

¹ C.W. Mills, The Sociological Imagination, Oxford University Press, 1968, p.5.

precipitated exile. This looking back not only lends a historical dimension to present experience but also accords with the stance adopted by many exiles who continue to define themselves in terms of Chilean events, both past and present.

The background to most exile experiences is a society in crisis. Where exile involves tens of thousands of people, a crisis of major proportions is indicated. In 1973 Chile stood at just such a critical point in its history, where contradictions had passed the point of accommodation, where compromise and dialogue had been exhausted and where class struggle had escalated into class war.

The outcome had not always looked so bleak. In 1970 Chile had made world headlines with the first democratic election of a Marxist president, Salvador Allende. Through a programme of radical structural reform, the Popular Unity government aimed to transfer power from the foreign and national big bourgeoisie to the working class, peasantry and middle sectors and to lay the foundations of a future socialist system. These reforms and the mass mobilization of large numbers of ordinary people bit sufficiently deep into the political and economic power of the ruling class for it to be perceived as a major challenge. By 1972 Chilean society was polarised into two hostile camps and the threat of civil war hung in the air.

On 11th September, 1973 - halfway through Popular Unity's term of office - the armed forces erupted onto the forefront of the political stage, seized the reins of government and have remained in control to the present day. After suppressing the political challenge, the military junta has set about restructuring Chilean society along authoritarian capitalist lines. Banished from public office, imprisoned and tortured, Popular Unity militants and supporters became outcasts in their own society or exiles to foreign lands.

biographical variation

This accelerated pace of social change transformed everyone's life but often in very different ways. There was no single experience of Popular Unity, the coup and exile but rather a number of contrasting experiences depending upon the social location of the actor.

My own personal experience of these events is also a highly selective one, made from the specific vantage point I occupied in Chilean society as foreigner, student and woman. I first went to Chile as a young, newly-married woman in July 1971, eight months after Popular Unity had assumed office. I was immediately caught up by the excitement of a society in the process of change, by the vitality and commitment which people brought to their politics and by the quickened pace of everyday life. Finding myself in a society in the midst of widespread discussion and debate, I saw the 'present as history' unfolding before my eyes. Whilst remaining outside party structures, the next few years were to prove decisive in developing my own political consciousness.

Continuing my studies in Chile brought me into contact with a radicalized student body for whom intellectual and political work went hand in hand. Moving largely within intellectual circles, I did not experience being a woman as a major handicap. Rather relations between men and women students were marked by an easy-going camaraderie. The first year sociology course I had recently completed at an English provincial university with its tour of the social structure from the comfort of the lecture theatre now appeared dull and dreary compared to the living social and political experiment taking place in Chilean society at large. The new orientation in sociology with its emphasis on 'sociological practice' thrust the students into the field to talk to, learn from and, where possible, work alongside peasants, factory-workers and slum-dwellers, and put me in touch with groups in Chilean society beyond

the range of the casual visitor.

The coup brought a dramatic closure to all the creativity and insights awakened during the Allende years. In the immediate aftermath, the unnerving silence of the curfew hours, the distant sound of gunfire, the rumours and fragments of alarming reports totally transformed everyday life. The propaganda campaign mounted against foreigners and their enforced registration with the police brought a new vulnerability on the streets in a country which had been remarkably open and receptive to non-nationals. The coup cut the political project of a whole movement. At the personal level it brought the disruption of my studies and an earlier return home than I had anticipated.

Arriving back in Britain at the end of 1973, I spent the following year in a state of numbness, for the re-encounter with my own society was not the joyful homecoming I had imagined during occasional pangs of homesickness. Life appeared dull and jaded with people whose worlds had not been turned upside down, jogging along in the same track, their noses close to the ground. The nearest comparable experience in British terms - where public events had massively affected people's lives - is probably the second world war and this had brought a degree of national unity rather than the tearing apart of society in the way I had seen. I felt out of step with those around me, for my new way of looking at the world brought a note of conflict into some old relationships as well as the chance of new friendships.

Shortly after my return the first Chilean exiles began to arrive to this country. Talking informally with friends in the exile community about their experiences, the idea of undertaking a more structured piece of research took shape in my mind. Here was a group to whom I had privileged access and whose personal life-histories could reveal valuable insights into the relationship between the individual

and social change. My initial excursions into the field reaffirmed the extent to which I was dealing with divergence as much as similarity. As will be seen in more detail later, the interview group included both women who had worked solely in the home and women who had jobs, both manual workers and intellectuals. Life in Chile with its stark material contrasts had led me to expect a class patterning to experience. Intellectuals and manual workers amongst the exiles - whilst sharing a common, broad political stance - pitched their accounts at different levels of theoretical sophistication, of generality and abstraction. The careers of these two groups also diverged as they had moved through different milieux and institutions. Manual workers tended to have primary or incomplete secondary education, an early insertion into the labour force, and an involvement with the Marxist political parties through trade union struggles at the workplace. The intellectuals, meanwhile, had several years' university education, an involvement with radical politics as part of a theoretical critique of society and a practical engagement with student politics and, more sporadically, with the labour movement and working class fronts outside the university.

More striking in many ways was the divergence between some men's and some women's accounts. These differences were not just at the level of historical detail but concerned the characterization of whole epochs so that what some men identified as the peak experience in their lives (Popular Unity), some women related as a negative and distressing event in theirs. The contrast between some highly politicized, class conscious men with a strong sense of collective biography and some privatized women whose biographies focus on their roles as wives and mothers in a family setting was particularly striking. These men and women spoke a different language, had different experiences of loss and gain from social change and their reconstruction of the past bore little similarity. Dates which were engraved

in the men's memories as marking decisive battles in the class struggle did not form part of some women's memories at all. Their version of history was marked by key dates in the family calendar. Whilst the men had a socially constructed perspective involving a penetrating critique of class society, a vision of an alternative socialist society and a political project to transform one into the other, the women's project was oriented around the well-being of individual family members and public events were judged by their impact on the family group. Whilst the men defined themselves as "participants" or "agents" in the revolutionary process, some women remained spectators to the social struggles taking place outside the home. They had only a partial and fragmented grasp of structures and any problems they experienced were articulated as private troubles to be solved individually or to be borne with resignation.

The depth of divergence between the men's and women's views is all the more striking when it is borne in mind that the politicized men and privatized women share the same marital bed. At times of ordinary political activity, such a pattern of highly segregated marital roles may co-exist quite comfortably, but at times of mass political involvement and mobilization - as occurred during the Popular Unity period - it is difficult to comprehend how these two, often opposing, worldviews could co-exist within marriage. What did husbands and wives talk about? Did the men say nothing to their wives about what they were up to when they disappeared from the home? Did the women want to know or not? Were 'politics' and 'the family' nothing to do with each other?

gender and class

The differentiation of experience by gender has often been eclipsed by an exclusive focus on class. In this instance, the men's story and the women's story were not regarded by either men or women as having equal weight in

the telling of the past. The men's class model was clearly the 'authoritative' version. Whilst I was often alerted by the men to the class patterning of experience, few drew my attention to the importance of gender. Indeed to the men this focus on gender was all wrong. What mattered to them were the strong ideological rivalries between the different left-wing parties as to how to redress class inequality. Implicit in some of the comments I received from men was the view that the exile experience could be analysed without reference to a group of 'apolitical' women, that they could have little of value to tell me. In many men's eyes, I was just another example of women missing the point. Some women also reflected the men's priorities. "I won't have anything to say, I don't know about politics", they would reply when asked to talk about their experiences of the Popular Unity years.

The fact that women are often absent from or under-represented in public life has meant that their experiences have been seen as marginal to the writing of history. My own surprise at the distinctiveness of the women's views is but one example of the way in which they had been submerged by the men's more publicly aired opinions. The men frequently cut short the women's attempts to intervene on certain topics, as in the blunt "*be quiet, you're ignorant*", which one man threw at his wife when she happened to comment on a political matter in an informal social gathering. Men frequently assumed that they spoke for women and that women's interests coincided with theirs on all matters of importance. This view of women as incompetent and inadequate informants is often reproduced by researchers who assume that men can tell anything and everything of importance which is going on.¹

¹ Reiter identifies a "double male bias" which is potentially present in anthropological accounts; the bias of the researcher whose academic training often incorporates assumptions of male superiority and the bias of the society under study, where this expresses male dominance. R.R.Reiter, "Introduction", in R.R. Reiter, ed., Toward an Anthropology of Women, Monthly Review Press, 1975, p.13.

Furthermore, men are generally more accessible to the outsider. Reiter compares the relative ease she had in contacting men who were clearly visible in public places with the greater effort she had to make in meeting women.¹ Even when interviewing in the home, as in my case, women are often absent from the public room, busying themselves with children or food preparation in the kitchen where visitors are not at first readily admitted.

This bias towards men as informants has been shown to produce a skewed and distorted account of social processes.² In this case, the men's accounts were heavily weighted towards their roles as wage earners and political militants and relatively little breath was spared for their roles of husband and father. Furthermore, compared to their articulateness when talking about public events, many men proved tight-lipped and uneasy when talking about their private lives. The men's socially constructed perspective, which reflected the privileged place of production in Marxist analysis, was clearly biased towards certain sets of experience where most of the key actors were men.³ The men's terms of reference then reproduced women's invisibility by identifying many women as "non-workers" or as "non-political". The world, according to this perspective was largely the construction of men.

¹ ibid., pp. 252-3.

² M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere "Introduction", in M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, eds., Woman, Culture and Society, Stanford University Press, California, 1974, p.2; C. Nelson, "Private and Public Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World", in American Ethnologist, Vol.I, (3), 1974, p.553.

³ Women in Chile make up under a quarter of the total labour force, - (See Appendix, Table 6) - and are grossly under-represented in the trade union movement and political parties. E. Chaney estimates that women made up 20% of the membership of all Chilean political parties in the late 1960's, E. Chaney, "Women in Latin American Politics: The case of Peru and Chile", in A. Pescatello, ed., Female and Male in Latin America, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973, p.114.

public and private domains

Those researchers who have persisted in talking to women have found that women do have goals of their own and do exercise a degree of power and influence in society.¹ However, women's actions and viewpoints are likely to go unrecorded where the focus of attention is restricted to the public domain, for many women are sexually segregated in another sphere, a private domain. When the searchlight is extended to include this private domain, women no longer appear as passive objects - as in the men's accounts - but as actors and strategists. Whilst many women in my sample were at a loss for words when talking about public events, they proved to be extremely vocal when talking about events nearer home.

The distinction between public and private spheres which forms the backbone of this study, is not a universal one. It is not relevant to those small-scale societies where kinship forms the basis of economic and political life. Rather this distinction arose at a specific historical moment with the initial differentiation of political organization. Elshtain traces this distinction in political thought back to the Greeks who divided the social world into a public world of politics and a private world of family and economic relations.² Later, as capitalism developed, the growth of the factory system separated the productive process from the domestic unit.³ Accompanying this 'bifurcation' of activity into public and private spheres is a related process of gender differentiation,

¹ J. Fishburne Collier, "Women in Politics", in M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, op.cit.; C. Nelson, op.cit.

² J.B. Elshtain, Public Man, Private Woman, Women in Social and Political Thought, Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1981, p.12.

³ D.E. Smith, "Women, the family and corporate capitalism", in M. Stephenson, ed., Women in Canada, Toronto New Press, 1974, p.18.

such that men and women are rooted in one sphere as their primary sphere of action. In this way the public sphere of government and social production has become identified as the sphere of male activity and the private sphere of the home as that of female activity.

This distinction between a male public world and a female private world which informs many ethnographic accounts fits the stark divide I had uncovered between the men's and some women's lives. Furthermore, this distinction could be related to a prevalent cultural divide in Latin America between *calle* (street) - the man's sphere - and *casa* (home) - the woman's sphere; a distinction drawn upon by some women in my sample. This distinction then captures part of the reality whereby men and women are locked into different arenas of action. Some women did indeed act out their lives largely within the family sphere. There was an identifiable "public man" and a "private woman".

However, the reality in Latin America is more complex than this crude model allows for. Some women in my sample had worked outside the home and/or engaged in a degree of organized political activity in the public sphere. An examination of their place in the public sphere, however, reveals that women tend to get caught up in the public sphere in a qualitatively different way to men; a difference not accounted for by the "sex-blind" categories of class.¹ Rather than being randomly distributed across the public sphere, certain parts of the economy and polity - often those carrying less prestige - are mapped out as "women's work" or "women's politics", forming a distinct women's public sphere. Even where women work alongside men or participate in the same political organizations as men,

¹ H. Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more progressive union", Capital and Class, No. 8, Summer 1979, p.1.

they do not shake off this secondary public status. Women's continuing responsibility for, and identification with, family and home inhibits them from defining themselves, and being defined by others, solely in terms of their public roles. These women, who straddle both the public and private spheres form a distinct category of social actor, as "public-private women".

The concepts of public and private are drawn upon in a second way in this thesis: to differentiate the content of actors' consciousness. I have already distinguished in passing between some class conscious, politicized men and some privatized women with a conservative and personalized view of the world. Women who worked in the home and who had only an indirect relationship to the wage, mediated through their husbands, were closed off from many of the experiences which had politicized their men. Furthermore, their immediate interest in the material and emotional stability of the home did at times conflict with the men's political activities.¹

Forms of consciousness, however, cannot simply be 'read off' from an actor's location in the public sphere of production or the private sphere of the home. Two housewives had sought out a degree of political involvement in their neighbourhoods and openly supported their husbands' political stance. The complexity of the relationship between consciousness and structural location is clear in the case of the public-private women. Some of these women, whilst participating in wage labour, had remained privatized; yet others had been selectively conscientized into a limited range of community issues. Where women had participated

¹ M. Coulson, B. Magas, H. Wainwright, "The Housewife and her labour under Capitalism - a Critique", New Left Review, 89, 1975, p.64; D.E. Smith, op.cit., p.31 also discuss the restraint which wives may exercise over their husbands' political activities.

alongside men in party organizations at the workplace, they had tended to do so in a context which men defined and which was marked by its masculine ethos. Women workers then acted out their political commitments within a framework which did not wholly fit their experience, for whilst they were exploited as wage workers like the men, they also had to bear responsibility for the home.¹ Being socialized into a political model which did not take their specific structural location into account, these public-private women were "uneasily politicized".

If the men's model allowed little scope for gender related experiences, what about the women themselves? For if the men's model only incompletely fits women's position, might they not develop an alternative model which more nearly explains their situation? However, if the Left in Chile had not raised women's position in the family as a political issue, nor had women themselves. There was no feminist movement and no vocabulary of sexual politics.² Rather women had tended to remain silent on issues which fell outside the men's terms of reference. Moreover, if, as has been argued, much of the problematic of women's position arises from their dual position as both wage workers and domestic workers, then a certain class sector of Chilean

¹ Gardiner argues that women have a dual relationship to the class structure: a direct relationship through their involvement with wage labour and an indirect relationship, mediated by the family, dependence on men and domestic labour. She goes on to say that "because of this dual relationship women's consciousness of class will be distinct from men's and their involvement with the class struggle will take different forms", J. Gardiner, "Women in the Labour Process and Class Structure" in A Hunt, ed., Class and Class Structure, Laurence and Wishart, London, 1977, p.159.

² The women's suffrage movement, which grouped together a number of women's organizations, had disbanded after gaining the vote in 1949. P. Covarrubias, Movimiento Feminista Chileno 1915 - 1949, Instituto de Sociología, Universidad Católica de Chile, Documento de Trabajo No. 22, Santiago, Chile, August 1974.

women - and those who through their educational level were in a position to articulate an alternative - had had access to a solution, the employment of a maid, which had enabled them to skirt around this contradiction.¹

inter-related spheres

This widening of the lens to include the private domain has not solely been done with a view to rounding out the picture by paying equal time and attention to women's lives. It has been done from the position that the public sphere is unintelligible without extending the focus to the private sphere; that what women are doing and saying in the home has implications for the public sphere; that these two 'separate' institutional spheres are in fact closely interlocked.² In addressing this issue, Edholm, Harris and Young have warned of the dangers of adopting the public-private framework uncritically and of seeing the men's public world and the women's private world as two separate and distinct structures:-³

"..... since it reinforces the notion that men and women can best be analysed separately. In other words, it is misleading because it can then be argued that women are only of marginal relevance in the analysis of fundamental social structures and relations."

One of the most widely discussed aspects of the relationship between public and private spheres is the role of domestic labour in the capitalist production process.⁴

¹ M. Coulson et al., op.cit., p.60.

² V. Beechey, "On Patriarchy", Feminist Review, 3, 1979; P. Hunt, Gender and Class Consciousness, Macmillan, London, 1980; M. Stacey "The Division of Labour Revisited, Or Overcoming the Two Adams", in P. Abrams, R. Deem, J. Finch and P. Rock, eds., Development and Diversity: British Sociology, 1950 - 1980, Allen and Unwin, London, 1981.

³ F. Edholm, O. Harris, K. Young, "Conceptualizing Women", Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 3, Nos 9 & 10, 1977, pp. 125 - 6.

⁴ W. Secombe, "The Housewife and her Labour Under Capitalism", New Left Review, 83, 1974; M. Coulson et al., op.cit.; J. Gardiner, "Women's Domestic Labour", New Left Review, 89, 1975; S. Himmelweit and S. Mohun, "Domestic Labour and Capital", Cambridge Journal of Economics, Vol.I, No.1, March 1977.

Given the interconnectedness of public and private spheres, some analysts have argued that the public-private distinction is "untenable" and "ideological" in character; that the private sphere is not so "private" after all but shaped and buttressed by economic and political forces.¹ Others, such as Althusser, have by-passed the distinction by conceptualizing the family as an ideological state apparatus.² Whilst recognizing the force of the argument that the uncritical adoption of this framework legitimizes the use of a distinction which should be penetrated, nevertheless this distinction must be retained as an actor's category. This distinction not only tells us a good deal about the way in which the family actually operates but also structures social action and informs consciousness.

hegemony

The very extent to which this distinction has shaped actors' taken-for-granted views of the world (even revolutionaries') points to the key part it plays in securing a hegemonic cultural order. Indeed the distinction between public and private spheres can be regarded as one of capitalist society's fundamental classifications and frames, whose structure reveals both the underlying distribution of power and the principles of social control at work in society at large.³ This distinction has been found useful by dominant social groups in securing both a gender order and the social control of women, and a class order and the social control of the worker.

¹ M. Barrett, Women's Oppression Today, Verso, 1980, p.78; T.S. Dahl and A. Snare "The Coercion of Privacy: A feminist perspective", in C. Smart and B. Smart, eds., Women, Sexuality and Social Control, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, p.12.

² L. Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, New Left Books, 1971, p.137.

³ B. Bernstein, "On the classification and framing of educational knowledge", Class, Codes and Control, Vol. III, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p.86.

It is the former use which has received most attention in the literature. In particular the public-private distinction has been analysed in terms of the part it plays in reproducing male dominance and female subordination. When a power dimension is brought into the analysis, public and private spheres are seen to be marked by profound inequalities, with the public sphere ranking higher in power and prestige than the private. Women's assignation to the private sphere not only removes them from the 'history-making arena' but also gives men and women differential access to important political and economic resources. As Edholm, Harris and Young point out, this lower public visibility of women should not be regarded unproblematically but treated as a matter of political significance:-¹

"The fact that women are not present in many visible public activities, or do not take part in political, jural and ideological practices, cannot be assumed to indicate that their absence lacks significance. It is particularly in the context of such representations that statements about political and economic power, about gender, and male and female roles are most clearly being made."

Women, then, are kept out of the public and in the private sphere by a set of unequal power arrangements between men and women. The unequal status of men's and women's accounts, noted earlier, is but one example of this power asymmetry.

At the same time as underpinning a gender order, the public-private distinction contributes to the maintenance of a class order. In particular, the differential position of men and women in social production (paid and unpaid labour) structures a major division within the workforce. This division, by giving rise to a split within the political consciousness of the working class, helps to fragment political challenge.² Furthermore, by providing the worker,

¹ F. Edholm, O. Harris, K. Young, op.cit. p.126.

² M. Barrett, op.cit., p.172.

expropriated in the public sphere, with a refuge where he can feel at home "without upsetting any of the important social, economic and political applectarts", this distinction contributes to the political and ideological stability of capitalism.¹

The Chilean case clearly shows the force of this distinction in obscuring connections between public and private areas of experience. In this case, domestic labour appeared to many women (and men) solely in the guise of a personal service to husbands and children rather than also as a service to capital. Furthermore, many women could be expected to resist attempts to redefine their labour in the home in this way. Those privatized women who saw their power as lying within the family jealously guarded their domain from political encroachment or expropriation. Such a split between public and private spheres was also reproduced by many men (and women) whose conceptualization of politics stopped short at the factory gate. The view that the family had nothing to do with politics was not solely a reflection of *machismo*² - though it was also that - but was built into the theory and praxis of the Chilean left. The predominance of a particular version of Marxism, which assigned priority to the contradiction between labour and capital at the point of production, marginalized the family as a political issue by assigning it to the realms of the superstructure. This form of economic determinism reduced the family and women's position within it to the status of an ideological effect, whose transformation depended upon

¹ P.L. Berger and H. Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality", in P.L. Berger, Facing Up to Modernity, Penguin, 1979, p.42.

² *Machismo* is a particularly rigid construction of masculinity, upholding male sexual supremacy. J. Gissi, "Mitología de la Femeneidad", Cuadernos de La Realidad Nacional, Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile, No. 11, 1972, pp. 175-6.

changes in the economic base.¹

public-private dynamics

Whilst this distinction is particularly powerful in fragmenting and containing opposition, it does not go totally uncontested. The boundary between public and private spheres is the focus of struggle by class movements and gender movements attempting to reclassify activities, issues or personnel between spheres. Rather than assuming a static and immutable distinction, public and private spheres can be analysed as a shifting terrain, whose contours are capable of a variety of formulations. As Stacey and Price argue:-²

"Not only is the distinction between public and private domains historically specific, empirically and conceptually, the very nature of the domains themselves changes"

Drawing upon this dynamic analysis, Stacey and Price have examined the significance of shifts in public and private domains from medieval times to the present day for the ability of women to exercise power in society.³ My time span is not so great; it covers only ten years. But this was no ordinary decade in Chilean history for it charts a crisis of hegemony and an historical rupture. Within this relatively short space of time, both public and private spheres have been dramatically reshaped and refashioned through the political manipulation of the boundary. As will be seen, the highly politicized and expanded public sphere of the Popular Unity period was very different from the controlled and contracted public sphere

¹ Yet empirical evidence points to the persistence of gender inequalities long after economic structures have been socialized, E. Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978; M. King, "Cuba's Attack on Women's Second Shift", Latin American Perspectives, Issues 12 & 13, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 & 2, Winter & Spring, 1977.

² M. Stacey and M. Price, Women, Power and Politics, Tavistock, London, 1981, p.5.

³ ibid.

of the military junta and yet again from the miniaturized public sphere which emerged in exile. Likewise the extended private domain which women had known in Chile was very different from its impoverished and restricted counterpart in exile.

These quantitative and qualitative changes in public and private spheres reflect fundamental shifts in the distribution of power in Chilean society. Whilst the balance of power shifted in favour of the popular classes during the Allende government, Popular Unity had still to capture power in society as a whole and the boundary between public and private spheres became the subject of a fierce and bitter class struggle. This 'boundary struggle' was finally suspended by a military coup d'etat and the subsequent introduction of a new coercive model of public and private life whose boundary, as will be seen, is policed by force. At each resetting of the boundary, the range of participants and issues open for debate was redefined. Thus, issues could pass from being defined as "private troubles" (pre-Popular Unity) to "public issues" (Popular Unity) and back again (under the military junta). Similarly actors moved in and out of public and private spheres with each reversal in their fortunes. Each boundary realignment carried implications for relations between social classes (towards more egalitarian or hierarchical relations) and for relations between the sexes (de-emphasizing or re-emphasizing gender differentiation). Each boundary realignment also carried different conscientizing potential by facilitating or discouraging connections between public and private areas of experience.

The originality of this study lies in the opportunity to follow a group of actors through a set of dramatic historical shifts in public and private spheres. Moreover, as these transformations are telescoped within such a brief timespan the same group of actors can be studied, whilst holding such variables as stage of the life-cycle relatively

constant. At each point the same men and women were still engaged in wage-earning and child-rearing. This study, then, provides a rare chance to follow the careers of a group of actors in the process of having to make and remake their lives in a variety of fundamentally different contexts.

The process of reconstructing meaning is particularly problematic in exile, for exile compounds changes in public and private spheres in a violent, sudden and unwelcome way. Exile involves a crisis of meaning, where old meanings have been politically defeated or dislocated and where the alien meanings of the new society are often resisted. One response to this situation has been to retreat into ghettos, in a desperate attempt to cling onto old meanings and prevent redefinition. Yet exile, whilst often a lonely and marginal existence, is not an isolation cell. Processes within and outside the exile group work to effect change. The task of rebuilding meaning has to proceed if the individual is not to experience total anomie even to the point of suicide. This study focuses on the way in which the different categories of social actor set about redefining the public and private spheres in exile. In this process old maps often prove imperfect guides. There is the possibility for new models to arise and for actors themselves to penetrate the false ideological distinction between public and private spheres.

historical background

Before embarking on the exile experience, however, I first want to present a brief chronological outline of events. The account which follows has been constructed from secondary sources but with my specific focus in mind - the construction and reconstruction of public and private spheres. A word is in order about the status of the account which follows and the sources which have been used in its construction. The ontological status of events assumed here differs from that of conventional history. During a period of intense class struggle and contradiction, history becomes manifestly

contentious and any one statement can be subjected to alternative interpretations. To attempt to document the Popular Unity period and the coup is to enter the highly partisan and ideological world of Chilean political history. Not only is there a "right-wing" and "left-wing" version of events but within each ideological camp there are also a number of different tendencies. Whilst recognizing that the status of this account is problematic, nevertheless every statement has a certain reality and can be recognized by actors themselves.

The account which follows has largely drawn upon "left-wing" sources as these formed the parameters of the debate amongst the exiles. Amongst these, some documents, such as the Popular Unity programme, have a special status, forming the common political platform of the five political parties and movements which made up the Popular Unity coalition.¹ The Popular Unity period brought forth an intellectual outpouring of studies of the "national reality", reflected in the pages of a number of important academic journals drawn upon here.² I have also consulted accounts by leading figures in the Popular Unity government - Allende himself and government ministers - and accounts by the grass roots activist.³ The literature after the coup reflects the contraction of Chilean sources through strict censorship, and the growing importance of the Church in

¹ An English version of the Popular Unity programme appears in J.A. Zammit, ed., The Chilean Road to Socialism, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 1973, pp. 255-264.

² In particular I looked at Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, of the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional (CEREN), Catholic University of Chile and Sociedad y Desarrollo, of the Centro de Estudios Socio-económicos (CESO), University of Chile.

³ A selection of Allende's speeches appears in S. Allende, Chile's Road to Socialism, Penguin, 1973. The views of several government ministers are found in J.A. Zammit, op.cit. The grass roots view is found in the pages of a weekly journal, Chile Hoy, and in C. Henfrey and B. Sorj, eds., Chilean Voices: Activists Describe their Experiences of the Popular Unity Period, Harvester Press, Hassocks, Sussex, 1977.

intellectual life. Here I consulted Mensaje and Análisis. I relied upon United Nations documentation for accounts of the violation of human rights and torture and on the exile publication Chile-América for a variety of topics.

Most of the literature is heavily weighted towards an analysis of the public domain. A quick leaf through the pages of academic journals reveals the priority given to such topics as dependency, the state, legal order, economic structure, strategy and tactics to power, with such topics as ideology and culture taking less space. Gender analyses are particularly few and far between, reaffirming the absence of feminist discourse and the neglect of a gender dimension already mentioned.

Popular Unity

Exile arose out of a failure - the failure of an experiment to transform a dependent capitalist society into a socialist one by peaceful and democratic means. The Popular Unity experience left its mark on all categories of social actor and initiated their journey through changing structures. During the early years of exile, Popular Unity was an ever-present ghost, against which present experience was compared and contrasted. For some it had been a golden age, for others an alarming one; for some it had provided a glimpse of what might have been; for others it had provided lessons for the future, was strongly criticized and disavowed.

The Popular Unity coalition triumphed at the polls on 4th September, 1970 after a fiercely fought and closely contested electoral campaign.¹ Popular Unity greatly expanded the public domain and brought about a degree of identity between government and people such as had never occurred before in Chilean history. Whilst still

¹ Allende had won 37% of the total votes cast, Alessandri, a conservative, came a close second with 35% and Tomic, a reformist, third with 28%. Popular Unity's lack of an overall majority meant that they did not control the legislative chamber, Congress. However, the President has substantial powers and this situation was not unprecedented.

encompassing an element of continuity with the past model of public life - in terms of adherence to the constitutional framework and to pluralism - there was also a clear commitment to fundamental economic and political change. The Popular Unity programme incorporated a devastating indictment of the prevailing economic and political structure as dependent on imperialism and dominated by a local bourgeoisie and landed oligarchy who had allied with foreign capital. This system had led to economic stagnation, inflation and generalized poverty. Whilst bringing benefits for the small minority at the top it had meant unemployment and low wages, the neglect of housing, education and health for the vast majority. Popular Unity claimed that:-¹

"The only alternative, which is a truly popular one, and one which therefore constitutes the Popular Government's main task, is to bring to an end the rule of the imperialists, the monopolists, and the landed oligarchy and to initiate the construction of socialism in Chile."

Popular Unity envisaged the construction of a national public domain through the expropriation of foreign capital as well as the creation of a truly popular public sphere by redistributing economic resources and political power. A Popular Unity government, the programme held, would not mean merely changing one president for another, but would usher in a "new philosophy in which ordinary people achieve real and effective participation in the different organisms of the State".² One of the first forty measures promised - the disbanding of the *grupo móvil* (the riot police) - symbolized the new direction to be given to public affairs. Participation, not repression, was to be the key word of the day. Under Popular Unity strong government was to mean something quite different from the traditional bourgeois conception of law and order:-³

¹ J.A. Zammit, op.cit. p. 259.

² ibid. p. 262.

³ ibid., p.262.

"The power and authority of the Popular Government will essentially be based on the support extended to it by the organized population. This is our notion of strong government - the very opposite of that held by the oligarchy and imperialists who identify authority with the use of coercion against the people."

Thus, the Popular Unity government not only envisaged a considerable widening of the issues open for discussion but also of the participants entitled to take part in public debate. Shaping the destiny of the country, a task often reserved for the elite, now came to be defined as the collective responsibility of workers, peasants and middle sectors.

Compared with the penetrating critique of the public sphere, Popular Unity's proposals for the private sphere were ad hoc and partial: references to women in the programme were few and far between. Together they did not add up to a radically new version of private life. Popular Unity hoped to benefit women from the popular classes generally through measures such as higher wages, lower inflation, improved housing and social services, aimed at raising the quality and standard of working class life. More specifically, Popular Unity intended to redraw the boundary between public and private spheres by socializing some aspects of reproduction previously carried out by women in the family. These included the setting up of nurseries and creches, of family welfare clinics in the popular neighbourhoods, the provision of school meals and a daily ration of half a litre of milk for each child. The programme also envisaged improving women's position within the family by granting married women full civil status, by equalizing the legal situation of children born in and out of wedlock, and - in a Catholic country - by introducing "adequate divorce legislation which dissolves legal ties and safeguards the woman's and children's rights".¹ At the same time as modifying the patriarchal structure of the family,

¹ ibid. p.271.

the programme also spoke of creating a Ministry for the Protection of the Family as one of its first forty measures.¹ As far as women's participation in the public sphere is concerned, the programme mentioned the "limited opportunities open to women and young people" and spoke of expanding the nursery school system "to ensure the proper development of pre-school age children, and to facilitate the incorporation of women into productive work".²

Measures which added up to a quantitatively and qualitatively different public sphere were matched in practice in private by some hesitant and piecemeal reforms. This is partly a reflection of the higher priority given to the construction of the new economy but also reflects the Left's defensiveness on the question of women, given the advantages which the Right enjoyed: in the absence of a socialist feminist movement and armed with the knowledge of Chilean woman's conservative voting history, Popular Unity were confronted with the problem of how to quell women's fears of radical social change.³ Proposals, then, were often designed with an eye to winning the women's

¹ As this Ministry was never created, being politically defeated in Congress, there is some disagreement as to what it would have meant for women's position in society. Lechner writes of the importance of a Ministry of the Family which aims to transform the family from a nucleus of capitalist socialization and of the impossibility of transcending bourgeois ideology without a cultural revolution in the working class family. N. Lechner, "Represión sexual y manipulación social", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, No. 12, Santiago, Chile, April 1972, p.251. Others interpret it as making official women's separate place in the public sphere by giving it responsibility for women's community participation. E.M. Chaney, "The Mobilization of Women in Allende's Chile", in J.S. Jaquette, ed., Women in Politics, John Wiley, New York, 1973, pp. 269-270.

² J.A. Zammit, op.cit., p. 255 and p. 273.

³ Male and female votes are counted separately in Chile so that the Left knew exactly how it stood with women voters. For a breakdown of voting patterns by sex, see Appendix, Table 4.

vote rather than to transforming the position of women in society.

The democratization of the economy through the nationalization of all basic resources, large monopoly industries and landed estates transformed the social relations of production. The new social property sector of the economy, which was formed from these expropriated enterprises, was regarded as the embryo of a future socialist economy and the workers in these industries as being in the vanguard of the revolutionary process. The introduction of workers' participation within this social property sector transformed the work experience of all therein. Aspects of the work situation which had been under the exclusive control of the private boss and higher management now became the subject of collective discussion at mass meetings, workers' councils and production teams. Not only did the number of participants engaged in decision-making at enterprise level increase but so did the range of options. These now included what to produce, how much, pace and timing of work, safety measures, care and maintenance of machinery and social facilities. Other groups were similarly affected. Civil servants found that the government bureaucracy acquired a new sense of urgency and direction; students found themselves talking to workers and peasants; intellectuals who had once spurned production were now running the newly nationalized industries; political militants, from working cautiously behind the scenes, now had the weight of the government behind them.

The opening in the power structure brought about a period of political and cultural renaissance in which large numbers of ordinary people became politically aware, articulate and involved. Settled ways of thinking and doing were opened up for re-examination. There was scope for innovation and experimentation. Old patterns of hierarchical and servile relations crumbled as distinctions of rank and status were played down. A new widespread form of address, *compañero/a*, reflected this egalitarian

and fraternal climate. Mass conscientization campaigns aimed at raising class consciousness and spreading new socialist values integrated areas of experience which had once been compartmentalized. Folk-song, poetry, theatre and dance depicted popular themes and struggles and artists took their message into the factories and shanty-towns. The government publishing house printed cheap popular editions and new cartoon strips of national life appeared. Knowledge became increasingly democratized as training courses, evening classes and literacy campaigns extended political and technical education to groups previously excluded.

This general climate of egalitarian social relations also affected relations between men and women. More rigid models of masculinity and femininity gave way to a greater informality of dress and behaviour. The extension of the popular form of address, *compañero*, to embrace women, *compañera*, also reflected a degree of politicization of male-female relations. However, there was no concerted attack on gender roles and ideologies. Those who argued for the need to broaden the struggle to include issues such as sexuality, the family and personal life were a few lonely voices.¹ Rather, left-wing publications often reproduced the same sexual stereotypes as the bourgeoisie. Where critiques of *machismo* were made, they tended to be

¹ N. Lechner and F. Hinkelammert, two influential German social scientists in Chile during Popular Unity, organized a seminar in the Catholic University on Sexuality, Authoritarianism and Class Struggle in which they argued the need for analysing sexual relations as a political issue. Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Santiago, Chile, No. 12, April 1972, pp. 228-231. Similarly Vania Bambirra also argued the case for an ideological struggle against aspects of bourgeois domination which permeate everyday life - family, culture, personal relations - and which are reproduced by the Left, V. Bambirra, (a) "La mujer chilena en la transición al socialismo", Punto Final, No. 133, Santiago, Chile, 22 June 1971, and V. Bambirra, (b), "Liberación de la mujer y lucha de clases", Punto Final, No. 151, 15 Feb. 1972.

shallow as when Allende publicly scolded the men for not talking to their wives or bringing them to the political rallies. Similarly government thinking on how to incorporate women often built upon rather than questioned prevailing definitions of men's and women's work.¹ Although Popular Unity intended bringing women out of the home and into social production through the creation of new jobs, in the short-term women's participation remained social rather than economic.² With the defeat of the proposed Ministry of the Family by the Opposition-dominated Congress, Popular Unity set up in its stead a National Secretariat for Women in June 1972 to co-ordinate proposals and scrutinize projects for women. Pre-existing women's organizations, such as the neighbourhood *Centros de Madres* (Mother Centres), were re-oriented where they came under Popular Unity leadership and their prior domestic focus was broadened to include social action campaigns with a class content around health, housing and education. However these issues were still regarded as less important than production. This meant that whilst men tended to occupy the more highly valued sectors of public life, women tended to occupy the less valued areas, forming a separate and

¹ For example projects such as the *Servicio Femenino*, a form of obligatory social service for young women, who would be assigned to hospitals, social welfare organizations, nurseries and kindergartens.

² The Six Year Plan (1971 - 1976), envisaged the creation of almost half a million new jobs for women - practically doubling the female labour force. J.A. Zammit, *op.cit.*, pp. 290-291. There is a parallel here with the Chinese case, where given the similar difficulty of expanding employment for women so rapidly in the short term, women were encouraged to be active in areas other than production - residents' committees, health work, welfare. Whilst drawing women into public life, they did not bring economic independence and carry the danger of institutionalizing a "separate but equal" path for women. D. Davin, Woman-Work, Women and the Party in Revolutionary China, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976.

subordinate female public world.¹

As new sectors of public life came under popular control, the bourgeoisie, increasingly experienced the public domain to be under "enemy occupation" and placed its supporters on a war-footing.² At first the Opposition used the legal resources at its disposal, notably its control of Congress, to delay, block and obstruct the implementation of the Popular Unity programme, especially with respect to the nationalization of industry. When these tactics failed to have the desired effect, the Opposition - both national and international - passed to an extra-parliamentary line. This new offensive, waged both inside and outside the country, involved a systematic campaign of disruption, sabotage, strikes and blockades aimed at creating economic chaos.

This new militant line of the bourgeoisie politicized all sectors of public life and introduced a high degree of dissensus and conflict within Chilean society at large. Nor did things stop there for in the battle to recover control, the bourgeoisie turned the private domain into an important battleground by playing the gender card.³ The Right which had once been so vocal about women's non-political role and had acted to confine women to the privacy and protection of the home, now brought its women into the public arena by politicizing women's concerns in the family. The Opposition took advantage of the

1 A government publication defined participation at the workplace as the most responsible and important form of participation, as carrying a much greater material and moral obligation than community participation. Cómo Participar?, Quimantú, Santiago, undated, p.36.

2 R. Miliband, "The Coup in Chile", in Socialist Register, 1973, p.456.

3 For this account of the part which women played in the counter-revolution, I have largely drawn upon M. Mattelart, "The Feminine Version of the Coup D'Etat", in J. Nash and H. Safa, eds., Sex and Class in Latin America, Praeger, New York, 1976 and M. de los Angeles Crummett, "El Poder Femenino: The Mobilization of Women Against Socialism in Chile", in Latin American Perspectives, Issue 15, Vol.IV, No.4, Fall 1977, pp. 103-114.

disruption in food supplies, which it had helped exacerbate, to capitalize upon women's grumblings in the *colas* (food queues) by staging a number of huge, anti-government demonstrations by women, the first of which was popularly known as "*la marcha de las cacerolas vacías*" (the march of the empty pots).¹ From then on the sound of banging saucepan lids became the women's battlecry in the wealthier districts. By protesting against food shortages, the women's front, organized predominantly by bourgeois women with close connections with the political Right, could proletarianize their struggle by presenting it as a "struggle for subsistence". At the same time, the Right fuelled women's fears in the home by presenting Popular Unity's hesitant steps into the private sphere as the beginnings of an eventual assault on the institution of the family.² "Marxist totalitarianism" was presented as threatening to deprive women of their children by brainwashing them, and of sowing doctrines of violence and hatred which tore families apart. In this way the Right universalized the position of women as mothers, irrespective of social class. Anti-Popular Unity propaganda was continually scattered through the streets of Santiago, claiming to speak on behalf of "the women of Chile", who made up half the population, and who increasingly clamoured for Allende's resignation.³

¹ This mass demonstration by women opposed to the Popular Unity government coincided with Fidel Castro's visit to Chile. In a mass meeting of female Popular Unity supporters, Fidel warned of the tricks and subterfuge used by the Right to gain women's support and urged the audience to "win over the women of Chile to the cause of Revolution", to "wage an ideological battle, a political battle". Quoted in D.L. Johnson, ed., The Chilean Road to Socialism, Anchor Press, New York, 1973, pp. 290-297.

² This kind of terror campaign around the question of the family had been a common electoral tactic by the Right to frighten women off from voting for the Left. It had been used to full effect in both the 1964 and 1970 presidential election campaigns.

³ "We the women of Chile constitute more than half of the population of this country.... We beg you immediately to abandon the first Magistracy in order to safeguard the future of this country", quoted in M. de los Angeles Crummett, op.cit. p. 107.

If bourgeois women forsook the safety of the home to come onto the public stage, they did so because of the importance of the issues at stake and because the men were vacillating. As one leader of the bourgeois women's front put it:¹

"Women felt their fundamental values of family and motherhood threatened at the onset of Marxism; it touched the insides of the women's being. For this reason, women more than men, understood early the implications of a communist government."

Accordingly, women had to use every inch of their "*poder femenino*" (feminine power) to resist the "Marxist yoke" for their very homes and families depended upon it. If these women had once been able to defend the private sphere by carrying out their duties from the home, circumstances now demanded that they take their cause into the public arena. However, these women relied upon some specifically "feminine weapons" in their struggle. They attempted to shame men into action by questioning their virility, their *machismo*.² They taunted members of the armed forces who were too chicken to act by throwing grain into the barracks, as a symbolic gesture. At the same time, these women exploited the code of gallantry by presenting any attempts by Popular Unity to control or dislodge their resistance efforts as attacks on "defenceless and innocent women".

As the class struggle deepened, the population became increasingly polarised into two warring factions. Demonstration followed counter-demonstration as each side rallied its supporters in public displays of strength and battled for control of key public spaces and symbols. Both sides waved the Chilean flag; an anti-imperialist symbol for the Left, and a symbol of the traditional order

¹. ibid., p.110.

² Mattelart points out that where public institutions came under Popular Unity control, bourgeois women experienced this as "being deserted by the virile element that normally protects her". M. Mattelart, op.cit. p. 295.

for the Right. Words such as *la patria* (the motherland) took on diametrically opposing connotations as each side battled to define the set of ideas through which a country expresses its national identity. The co-existence of (at least) two competing versions of social reality meant that there was no single version of any event as all issues became part of a wider ideological struggle. Which side could make its meanings count depended upon the outcome of the struggle for power.¹

In this struggle a turning point was reached with the bourgeois "bosses' strike" (*el paro de octubre*) in October 1972. This was designed to paralyse the economy by closing down commerce and disrupting transport with the ultimate aim of toppling the government. This right-wing escalation was met with by the mass mobilization of Popular Unity supporters. Workers took over their factories, irrespective of whether they were on the government's list for expropriation, students mobilized vehicles for distributing foodstuffs and other forms of voluntary labour aimed to keep the country running. This extension of popular control threw up new grass-roots organizations with a degree of autonomy from government control. At the factory level, the *cordones industriales* (industrial belts) linked together workers in neighbouring factories so as to coordinate actions; at the local level *comandos comunales* (neighbourhood commands) co-ordinated factory workers' organizations with other mass organizations in the community. Amongst these, one of the most important were the *juntas de abastecimiento y precios - japs* (price and supply committees) set up to combat speculation and hoarding

¹ "What passes for social reality stands in immediate relation to the distribution of power; not only on the most mundane levels of everyday interaction, but also on the level of global cultures and ideologies, whose influence may be felt in every corner of everyday social life itself." A.Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method, Hutchinson, London, 1976, p.113.

and to ensure a fair distribution of scarce commodities.¹ These new initiatives, which extended popular control, accentuated divisions within the Popular Unity coalition, between those who wanted to advance gradually by stages, restrain the mass movement and enter into a dialogue with sectors of the Opposition (the Christian Democrats), and those who wanted to press ahead towards socialism, relying upon the mobilization of the base.² These differences were unresolved when the armed forces intervened to crush the popular movement on 11th September, 1973.

military rule

Since the coup, the military regime has redrawn the frontiers of the public domain and forceably imposed a new authoritarian version of public and private life on the Chilean population. The initial concern of the military was to defuse the political challenge by ridding the public sphere of all organized political expression. A wide range of organizations which had made up the hub of Chilean political life were suspended, declared 'in recess' or banned. Whilst the main target of these repressive measures was the Popular Unity parties and the grass-roots organizations, they also affected a wide range of democratic institutions which had grown up since the turn of the Century. As the military resorted to rule by decree, the wheels of parliamentary democracy ground to a halt and the spaces where political life had once been enacted -

¹ Women played an important role in these price and supply committees. Mattelart writes that "in offering the woman an opportunity to exercise real popular power, the food distribution centers, mark, albeit prematurely, the starting point of a movement for the emancipation and participation of women". M. Mattelart op.cit. p. 293.

² This division between what came to be known as the "reformists" and the "revolutionaries" carried into exile, differentiating and dividing the politicized actors. Broadly speaking, whilst the "reformists" wanted to remain within the constitutional and legal framework as envisaged in *la vía chilena al socialismo* (the Chilean road to socialism), the "revolutionaries" were for breaking through "bourgeois legality" and adopting an insurrectionary line, if need be.

La Moneda (the presidential palace) and Congress - were either bombed, barred, chained or guarded. A 'state of siege' was declared restricting civil liberties and the country regarded as being in a state of internal war.

Given the presence of an organized and mobilized working-class movement, such curtailment of political rights had to be accomplished by military might. Through assassination, torture and imprisonment the military Junta has attempted to terrorize the population into submission.¹ The Junta exercises strict control over the population through a series of measures designed to atomize and isolate the individual. Meetings are prohibited or severely restricted; a nightly curfew enforced. Widespread purges have taken place in the public administration and universities and Popular Unity supporters expelled from public office and relegated to marginal and peripheral areas of the economy. The military regime also maintains strict control over ideas. Books have been burned or withdrawn from circulation; radio, press and television censored; the universities placed under military supervision. In contrast to the free play of competing ideologies under Popular Unity, the Junta has been able to rewrite history in conditions where its opponents have no right to reply.² These new frames to public life have been enforced through the constant and intensive monitoring of the population and the security forces have expanded accordingly. Boundary violations are promptly repressed.

If the immediate concern of the Junta was to eliminate the threat of socialism, by 1975 the military regime began

¹ United Nations Economic and Social Council, Study of Reported Violations of Human Rights in Chile, with particular reference to torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, February 1977.

² The Junta quickly put out its version of the coup and of the Popular Unity period, in the *Libro Blanco* (White Book).

dramatically restructuring public and private life as part of a far-reaching counter-revolution. For the economy, the Junta has turned to a new technocratic elite, known locally as the "*Chicago boys*", who are guided by monetarist doctrines.¹ In a series of shock economic measures, layer after layer of interventionist legislation has been peeled away in order to expose the economy to the free play of market forces. Whilst the repressive function of the State has increased, its once important economic role has dwindled. Not only have those industries nationalized during Popular Unity been handed back to private ownership but other public services, notably health and education, have been increasingly privatized. Tariff barriers which had protected local industry from foreign competition have been lifted and the economy redirected towards those areas, such as mining, agriculture, forestry, where Chile is regarded as enjoying a comparative advantage in the international capitalist division of labour. Within this economic model, State intervention is not only seen as undermining economic efficiency but as politicizing economic relations. By comparison the market is held to result in the efficient and impersonal distribution of resources along strictly technical criteria. The economic model, then, forms part of the Junta's broader attempt to depoliticize public life and to place the economy in the hands of the "experts".

These measures plunged the economy into a severe crisis and brought high costs for workers and their families. Together with their exclusion from political life has come their exclusion from economic benefits, as any material gains which workers achieved under Allende have rapidly been eroded. At the lowest point, purchasing

¹ N. Haworth and J. Roddick, "Labour and Monetarism in Chile 1975 - 1980", Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol.1, No. 1, October 1981.

power dropped by a half and unemployment quintupled.¹ High levels of unemployment and low wages have been introduced in conditions where the trade union movement is contained and controlled. An authoritarian pattern of labour relations has transformed the worker from being regarded as a "producer" or "creator of value" to a mere "commodity" and has stripped the meaning of work for the vast majority to the bare struggle for subsistence.² As a consequence, social problems - such as infant mortality, malnutrition, begging, delinquency, prostitution - which had been on the wane or eliminated during the Popular Unity government, now reappeared.

Alongside this restoration of private property relations a new pattern of social relations based on hierarchy, order and respect has emerged. A revived bourgeois mode, laced with trimmings from an oligarchic era, has imposed itself on speech, language and dress as a new formalism permeates public life. This not only serves to accentuate class distinctions but also to endorse gender roles. *Compañero*, the classless form of address, has given way to the *caballero* (the gentleman). Titles have made a come-back, as has the figure of the expert, already mentioned. The *roto* (the down and out) used by the upper class to denigrate the "lower" class has been re-incorporated into public discourse. Suits and ties have been brought out from the back of the wardrobe; long hair frowned upon; trousers, initially banned for women, continue to be discouraged for women in public offices. Coquetry and gallantry have been re-emphasized.

¹ The workers' and employees' share of national income has fallen from 62.9% to 38.2% in the three years since 1973. Unemployment in Greater Santiago was 4% in 1973 and rose to a high point of 20% in March 1976. United Nations Economic and Social Council, op.cit. p.76.

² The attempt to restructure the trade union movement forms part of the *Plan Laboral* (Labour Plan) introduced in 1977 to curb the power of organized labour. N. Haworth and J. Roddick, op.cit., p.58.

More recently, the Junta has increasingly moved to institutionalize its rule through a number of constitutional reforms which set out the new frames and boundaries to public participation and debate. The Junta's political model incorporates an attack on liberal democracy for allowing the "enemies of democracy" to organize freely for its overthrow and calls for the introduction of a new form of "protected democracy" centred around the doctrine of national security:-¹

"Equipped with mechanisms to defend it from the enemies of freedom who under cover of an ill-conceived pluralism, desire only its destruction" and declares unlawful:-

"any acts aimed at disseminating dotrines which impair the family, advocate violence or a conception of society based on class struggle, or are contrary to the constitutional regime."

The dramatic curtailment of speech and action has forced many left-wing militants underground and has meant that a gulf has grown up between this "official" public sphere and a semi-clandestine public activity which surfaces sporadically to shatter the illusion of "normality". The task of reconstructing political networks and regrouping was both difficult for organizations accustomed to working within an open political framework and dangerous. Socialist militants had to learn new ways of acting and speaking and to adopt a multitude of precautionary measures. The closure of traditional public spaces, or their occupation by the Junta, has forced the Left to seek out new spaces on the fringe of public life.

Paradoxically, within the overall climate of atomization and isolation, prison was one of the few spaces where Popular Unity militants were concentrated together. Strong collective bonds were forged between imprisoned militants and prison came to be an important conscientizing and politicizing experience for many. In some cases, too, especially in the concentration camps, prison proved an important

¹ United Nations Economic and Social Council, op.cit., pp. 18,19.

experiment in collective living.

With the general ban on political activity, the Church has become one of the few public bodies in a position to give voice and protection to those whose rights have been stripped away.¹ The celebration of mass, and particularly the traditional 1st of May mass, has taken on heightened significance as yet another of the few precious spaces where people can congregate. Under the umbrella of the *Comité de Paz* (Peace Committee) and later through the *Vicaría de Solidaridad* (Vicariate of Solidarity), the Church provides spiritual comfort, material support and legal advice for political prisoners and their families. At the same time the Church has given a focus to intellectual life through its radio station, its journals and magazines, and, more recently, through the creation of new educational institutions such as the *Academia de Humanismo Cristiano*.

The dramatic contraction of public life places a greater ideological load on the private sphere in the Junta's model. The Junta has attempted to increasingly privatize experience by shifting the area of freedom from the citizen to the consumer. This new public language of the marketplace is oriented towards diverting people from ideas of political participation to the private pleasures of consumption. Within this new consumer model, gender roles are starkly differentiated. As an editorial in *El Mercurio*, an influential establishment daily, put it:- "Women have responsibility for the regulation of the family's consumption, men are responsible for production".²

¹ In practice, the Catholic Church has led an uneasy co-existence with the Junta. Although there are internal divisions, the majority, including the head of the Church, Cardinal Silva Henríquez, has been critical of the Junta's violation of human rights. The Peace Committee was forced to close down and other church bodies and officials have been the subject of raids and harassment.

² *El Mercurio*, "Mission of Women", 26th June, 1974, quoted in Change International Reports, Military Ideology and the Dissolution of Democracy - Women in Chile, Report No. 4 September, 1981.

However, the family is not only significant as a unit of consumption in the Junta's model. More importantly, "the family", together with "Western civilization" and "Christianity", forms one of the ideological foundation stones through which the Junta has attempted to give a constitutional veneer to its rule. Constitutional Act No. 2 declares:-¹

"the family is considered the basic nucleus of society and it is the duty of the State to protect the family and help to strengthen it."

And it is within the family that women's "special mission" in society is seen to lie. The National Secretariat of Women, set up under Allende, has been redirected under Lucía Hiriart de Pinochet (Pinochet's wife), "to propagate national and family values to form a consciousness and a correct comprehension of the dignity of women and their mission within the family".² Under its aegis, women have reverted to the traditional female public role of unpaid voluntary worker. Amongst other activities, bourgeois women go out to the shanty towns to extend alms to the poor.

Alongside women's economic demotion in the Junta's model has come their spiritual elevation. The military regime has not forgotten those women who mobilized so actively against the Popular Unity government and who provided the moral backing for the coup. Official public discourse on women has increasingly identified their role as guardians of national values and their part in resisting "Marxist totalitarianism" is frequently glorified and sanctified. These women are regarded as having exhibited the true qualities of Chilean womanhood; dignity, valour and essential femininity.

¹ United Nations Economic and Social Council, op.cit., p.18.

² Change International Reports, op.cit. p.16.
Pinochet leads the military Junta and is head of the army.

This renewed identification of women with the private sphere, as consumer rather than producer, has been further facilitated by the Junta's draconian economic measures. Large-scale cutbacks in the public services - such as health and education - where women made up a large percentage of the workforce, have reduced women's employment opportunities. Furthermore, within the general climate of economic contraction, there is evidence of more overt sexual discrimination being exercised or aired against women in the professions and other qualified jobs. This has been further reinforced at the educational level by the airing of views to restrict the intake of female university students in some faculties and, more specifically, by instructions from the Ministry of Education discouraging girls from pursuing secondary or higher education.¹ In addition there is a new "atmosphere", if not an overt policy, against birth control and family planning. A falling birth rate is viewed as a threat to "national security" by a military regime with a powerful and unfriendly neighbour on its doorstep. At the same time, maternity rights have been eroded by the new labour legislation and nursery provision has been cut back.

In practice, however, the military Junta's model has brought some contradictory and unintended consequences for women. Whilst declaring to protect and strengthen the family, widespread political repression hand in glove with monetarist economic policies, have led to the disintegration of family life for many families with members imprisoned, unemployed or in exile. Furthermore, the curtailment of men's public roles, has pulled women into the public sphere and the family role structure has correspondingly modified with many women acting as primary or sole breadwinner and/or as head of the household. Whilst women have been squeezed out of sectors of public life, women at the other end of the

¹ The Dean of the Medical Faculty of the Catholic University is reported to favour the cut back of the female intake on the grounds that women have other goals - marriage and children - and are depriving men of an occupational field. Chile-América, "La mujer degradada", Nos. 28-30, Feb.Mar. Apr., 1977, p.20.

social ladder have been forced to play a role in the struggle to secure a subsistence income for their families. These women, however, have been compelled to find paid work in marginal and peripheral sectors of the economy in highly exploitative conditions. At a period when the Junta claimed to uphold public morality, many women in the popular sectors have been forced into prostitution. In some instances, women have sought collective solutions to their political and economic problems. In particular, the Church has sponsored a network of popular initiatives in the shanty towns, such as the *talleres de arpilleras* (handicraft workshops) and the *comedores infantiles* (children's soup kitchens), where women have been especially active. Yet other women have been drawn into the political arena through the "disappearance" of their men and have taken public action demanding to know their whereabouts from the military authorities.¹ Paradoxically, then, some women's economic and political importance has forceably expanded since the coup.

Exile

Banishment from public life not only took place through political imprisonment and political purges but also through the exile of thousands of Popular Unity militants, supporters and their families. In this instance, the Junta's 'boundary closure' deprived many Chileans of the right to live in their country. Exile began shortly after the coup for some; for others the road into exile was taken several years later. Whatever the precise timing, however, it was this set of events in the Chilean body politic which formed the backdrop to life in exile and whose development was closely monitored and discussed.

¹ With the increasing force of the international denunciation of the violation of human rights in Chile, the security forces adopted new methods. People are arrested, often secretly, and their arrest is then categorically denied by the authorities. The total number of people who have 'disappeared' in this way has been estimated at between 1,000 and 2,000 people. United Nations Economic and Social Council, op.cit., p.39.

Exile added a further dimension of change to the process of public and private restructuring already undergone. In this instance, the exiles not only travelled through social space but also physical space to a different continent in the developed part of the capitalist world. Arriving in a country with another history, another language, other customs, placed new fetters on speech and action. The exiles were marginal and peripheral to British public life not through political repression as in Chile, but through their status in this society as refugees and non-nationals.

The exiles encountered a society with a different set of public-private frames from what they had known in Chile. Political analysts have pointed to the high degree of institutionalization of class conflict in advanced capitalist society, whereby the means and forms of conflict are contained by certain commonly adhered to "rules of the game".¹ One of the important frames underpinning this process of conflict regulation in British society is the division of spheres between the trade union movement and the political parties, such that "industrial issues" and "political issues" are bounded off from each other. This containment of political opposition and the confinement of policy alternatives within the limits of the "realistic" and the "practical" means that the forces for revolution are often dismissed as utopian and that everyday struggles are not often shot through with socialist goals or broadened to include a critique of the total structure of society and economy. Coming from the polarised public sphere of the Popular Unity years, when the class bias of the "rules of the game" had been penetrated, the Chilean exiles experienced these characteristics of British political life in an exaggerated fashion. Moving into the microscopic world of exile politics, the depth and quality of their public

¹ J. Westergaard and H. Resler, Class in a Capitalist Society, Heinemann, London, 1975; R. Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.

involvements were correspondingly transformed.

The private sphere was no less dramatically affected by the uprooting. In particular, the severing of kinship networks through exile transformed the texture and meaning of the private domain. Bereft of the support and company of female kin, many women remained isolated and lonely in the home. This shrinking of both the men's public world and the women's private world brought face to face many husbands and wives who had not shared many activities or much conversation in the past. Men, whose public lives dwindled in exile, found themselves spending more time in the home. Women, who had lost their private networks, looked to their men for reassurance and support. Not only did this overload a relationship unaccustomed to carrying such weight, but it also brought into the open the lack of joint meanings between some husbands and wives. Furthermore, those women whose dual role in Chile had been eased by the services of a maid, faced a new conflict between their public and private roles. Exile, by laying bare aspects of gender relations which had been obscured in Chile, pierced some taken-for-granted notions of men's and women's place and provided the impetus for new models to emerge.

How this story unfolds forms the contents of the chapters which follow. Before taking up the thread, however, I shall first address some methodological issues arising from the study and introduce the men and women whose lives appear in the following pages.

ACCOUNTS AND ACCOUNTING

Cristián:
(a worker)

"I've given interviews before in Chile but I was only ever asked about trade union affairs. Nobody ever dreamt of asking me about my home life."

married to

Mariana:
(a housewife)

"That was the problem. Nobody ever thought of asking me for my opinion."

This chapter examines some of the problems and difficulties encountered in asking actors to give accounts of their life-experiences. An attempt has been made to draw out the specific features of exile as a research situation as these impinged upon the gathering of information and upon the type and status of accounts which I received. Secondly, there is a discussion of the interviewing procedure and the way this diverged from accounts of interviewing in the methodological literature. Thirdly, a broad profile of the social and political composition of the interview sample is drawn. Finally, the remaining half of this chapter is taken up with the presentation of two ideal typical biographies.

status of accounts

In any process of biographical reconstruction, the past is reshaped in accordance with the actor's present ideas of what is or is not important. It is this reshaped and reworked past which appears in the accounts of actors' experiences of the Popular Unity period and the coup d'état. Furthermore, not only does the past change over time for the same actor but it also appears differently between categories of social actor. As has been mentioned, what loomed large and important in some men's accounts of the

past, figured dimly if at all, in some women's and vice versa. This selective and reconstructed past appears in the pages of this text in the form of retrospective insertions. The past, therefore, is not always related chronologically but brought in as actors themselves make use of the historical. On some occasions the past was drawn upon to contrast with the pain and plight of the present in exile; on others for the lessons it provided when formulating current or future political strategy; on others as a yardstick to measure the degree of personal change undergone.

In the case of the politicized actors, the exiles have to account for a failure - the defeat of a political project into which they had invested their hopes and energy. Here, the interview intruded into an ongoing and public process of re-examination by party militants anxious to diagnose what had gone wrong. In the case of the privatized actors, meanwhile, I was intruding into a process of private reflection, normally reserved for the ears of a few intimates. These different contexts in which the politicized men and privatized women related their accounts are reflected in the differing idioms and linguistic styles which they drew upon in the telling.¹ The politicized men spoke a common political language which drew heavily upon Marxist concepts and terminology. At times their accounts bore the hallmark of a political speech. The privatized women, by contrast, related their accounts in a confidential and intimate manner, as if talking to a friend.

In both cases, however, the accounts represent the actors' versions of events as they saw fit to present it within the specific context of an interview and to myself in particular. They controlled what they wanted me to

¹ S.M.Lyman and M.B.Scott, "Accounts", in A Sociology of the Absurd, Meredith Corporation, New York, 1970, p.130.

know and hear. Not all actors were equally free to give an account; nor were they all subject to the same kind of controls. Whilst the politicized men fell under the political control of the party, the privatized women came under the private control of their husbands.

As the politicized actors belonged to political organizations which closely monitored their behaviour, on what were considered to be decisive issues their accounts toed the party line.¹ There was a distinctive partisan version of events. Indeed many politicized men related large parts of their accounts in the collective voice, speaking in terms of "we" rather than "I". At times, this emphasis on the collective actor allowed little room for individual biography to emerge. Indeed some thought it was "personalizing history" or "aggrandizing the role of the individual" to talk of one's personal role rather than that of the true historical actor, the class and its political representative, the party. The degree of collective accounting, however, was not consistent for any one actor nor between actors. It was most prominent when the men were relating their prison experiences and weakest when talking about exile, reflecting a certain loss of group cohesion in exile. Party discipline was generally slacker in exile both because of organizational difficulties and through a process of political fragmentation. However, I was told to mind my own business on more than one occasion when probing was deemed to have jeopardized party interests. The fact that the interview also touched upon areas such

¹ The editors of a study of Brazilian exiles also mention the difficulties they experienced in "opening up" those individuals who belong to political organizations. They regard the accounts which they finally published as constituting a compromise between what the individual would like to have said (and did say in the heat of the moment) and what he or she judged should be said (and which appeared in the printed version which authors had the chance to correct before publication). P.C. Uchôa and J. Ramos, eds., Memórias do Exílio, Brasil 1964/19??, Vol.1, de muihos caminhos, Arcadia, Lisbon, Portugal, 1976, p.15.

as family life and personal problems, where there was often no clear party ruling, meant that there was scope for individual opinions to be expressed. As trust built up in the course of the fieldwork, the interview provided a space for those disaffected with the parties to air their grievances.

Through their involvement in the public domain of work and politics in Chile, the politicized actors were more practised in the art of managing the interview and the interviewer than the privatized. They carefully weighed up the consequences of making their accounts public on their own standing in the exile community and on the image of the exiles as a whole both in this country and, more importantly, on comrades back in Chile.¹ In this way, they censored the reality for me. As Ricardo reportedly said to a Chilean friend when asked to take part in this study, "*claro, pero en todo caso le puedo contar las cosas públicas, no más*" (yes, but, of course, I can only relate the "public things"). If the men were more rehearsed in talking about their public lives, they were on visibly less firm ground when asked about the private sphere. They would deflect or evade my questions concerning their home lives, or suggest a break for tea. "*Me resulta difícil opinar con mucha claridad*" (It's difficult for me to give a very clear answer) Jorge replied, when asked about the relationship between his political work and his family life. Others regarded this type of question as a waste of vital interview space which they could be using to put forward their political message.

Compared to the cautious, guarded stance of the politicized men, many privatized women spoke out what

¹ Fagen also notes the discrepancy between the "official" position of Spanish Republican refugees in Mexico as "well-adjusted" and off-the-cuff remarks which were more critical of both Mexicans and Spaniards. P.W. Fagen, Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1973, p.227.

was on their mind. This is not to say that women were completely free to say what they liked. Silvia related how Pepe always scolded her when she expressed her content at being here. The men, then, sanctioned and censored the women's views where they contradicted or jeopardized their own public accounts.

There was more at stake for the politicized actors in the giving of an account, than for the privatized. Exile communities are known for the high levels of personal insecurity and a degree of paranoia amongst their members. For the politicized men, some of whom had suffered torture and imprisonment in Chile for their beliefs, the interview was hedged around with suspicion and distrust. Who was I? What were my politics? What was the research about? From the start I made it clear that all interviews would be treated confidentially and that no real names would appear in the study. However, I could only rely upon my personal standing with some members of the exile community and on my conduct during the fieldwork to give this statement any force. Women were generally less security-conscious than men, even those women who were party members. Few thought they had anything of importance to divulge. However, one woman, badly frightened by the coup when her husband had been detained, repeatedly insisted upon anonymity. Another woman, who played a prominent social role in the exile community, appeared quite disappointed when I mentioned that no names would appear in the text.

fieldwork and interviewing

The fieldwork extended over a fourteen month period and an average of four lengthy visits was made to each actor.¹ Most interviews took place within the private setting of the exiles' homes and with three exceptions

¹ Many of these interviews lasted for three hours or more and writing up field notes afterwards proved extremely time-consuming. This resulted in a voluminous set of field notes: in total 519 pages of single-spaced, typed A4 paper.

were conducted in Spanish.¹ I also participated in the political and social life of the exile community by attending political rallies, meetings and *fiestas*. This enabled me to know the actors in their political roles and in a more public and social setting than the private one of the home. I was, however, absent from one important setting, that of the party meeting. This meant that I had to rely exclusively on actors' accounts over what went on and what topics were or were not discussed.

I used a tape recorder on only five occasions, mainly to interview those who had been accustomed to a degree of public speaking, were relatively open and easy talkers.² In most cases, I judged the tape recorder to be more of a hindrance than an asset for it served to heighten pre-existing feelings of insecurity and vulnerability. Evidence that controls were stepped up when the recorder was used became apparent in one case. This politicized actor, who later admitted that he had been "lying", deliberately set out to construct a "safe story" for fear that the tape should later fall into the wrong hands. In the case of women respondents, the interviews were marked by frequent interruptions by children or demands of the household routine. Rather than facilitating communication, the tape recorder would have intruded into the easy-going atmosphere, creating distance and unease. In most cases I took notes during the interviews and made a particular effort to jot down key phrases and words. In order to recapture something

¹ In all three cases the interviewees specifically requested to speak in English. However, I did not experience this as a form of distancing but rather as an indication of the level of fluency which these three (one married couple and one man) had attained in the English language, and of their sense of ease in British society. All were working here, all had considerable rapport with British people and were accustomed to speaking English with them.

² The five taped interviews are distinguished in the text by the fact that they appear in the original Spanish with an English translation. With one exception all are men, and with one exception all belong to the middle sectors.

of the vibrancy and flavour of the accounts, I have reconstructed these conversations back into direct speech, remaining as faithful as possible to the original statements.

The interview procedure bore few of the hallmarks of the standard discussion of interview practice as presented in the more orthodox methodological texts.¹ In this case I relied upon in-depth interviewing through a series of open-ended conversations around selected topic areas. Unlike the single, one off interview, which is more discussed, multiple visits build up a relationship between the researcher and interviewee. This makes any detached stance, as advised by some methodologists when interviewing, both humanly and morally questionable as well as ultimately unhelpful for the research itself.² This was particularly true in my case where I already had a pre-existing relationship with the exile community and where, in some cases, I was interviewing friends.³ Rather than minimizing my role in the interview interaction, I saw myself as an active ingredient in the research process. For one thing, how people saw me had a bearing on the type and quality of account they chose to give, on how much and what they decided to reveal about themselves. In the course of the

¹ For example, W.J. Goode and P.K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, McGraw Hill, New York, 1952; J. Galtung, Theory and Methods of Social Research, Allen and Unwin London, 1967; C.A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigation, Heinemann, London 1958.

² A. Oakley "Interviewing Women", in H. Roberts, ed., Doing Feminist Research, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p.44.

³ Prior to the research my relationship to the exile community had been a highly selective one. My closest contacts were with those Chileans studying in the University here. I had a more casual relationship with others through solidarity meetings and political rallies relating to Chile. However, I had had little contact with either manual workers or working class women in the home. The "problems of exile" with which I was more familiar had largely been confined to the "middle class" experience.

fieldwork, I was assigned a number of roles apart from that of student/researcher. To some I was *la compañera*; to others a friend and confidante; to one I was *la gringa*;¹ and to others a 'journalist' or 'social worker'. In one case, I was accidentally mistaken for an official from the local social security office, a confusion which nearly cost me the interview until clarified later.

In most cases the change in openness between the first and final meetings was considerable. The personal nature of the topics under discussion and the intimacy of the home setting meant that the interviews came to be regarded by some as friendship visits.² The privatized women, in particular, looked forward to my visits as a factor breaking down their isolation in the home. Silvia would make an arrangement to leave the key with her Scottish neighbour in case I should call when she had popped out to the local shops. However, this sort of involvement was not confined to women informants. At the end of our meetings, Jaime volunteered that:-

"I feel I have given you something very personal - a part of my life which I haven't related to many and I hope you haven't experienced the interviews as cold or impersonal. I hope you feel like someone special when you come to this house and not like any British person would feel."

Many participants, then, took the initiative in defining the interview beyond a mere question and answer session and in explicitly disavowing the "cold and impersonal" stance called for by the ethic of detachment in standard interview practice. I was invariably invited to stay for a meal and the traditional Chilean offer of hospitality - *la casa es tu casa* (the house is yours) - was often extended.

Nor was I the only one asking the questions. Many

¹ *Gringo/gringa* is slang for foreigner, particularly a North American. It can be used as a term of abuse or as a term of endearment, depending on tone and context. Pepe assured me that he was using it in an affectionate way, but Silvia, his wife, did not like it.

² On the "transition to friendship" through interviewing, see A. Oakley, (a), *op.cit.* pp. 44-46.

people looked to me to help them make sense of British society. They used the interview to find out things which they needed to know or which puzzled them about life here. Many, too, were curious to know my own personal experience of Chilean events. I often accompanied the women to the doctor's, translated Chilean folksongs into English, helped with form filling and securing information. In this way a degree of reciprocity entered the relationship.

Instead of suppressing my role in the research proceedings, I strove to be as aware as possible of the effect my presence had and to document the findings as data. My own actions and responses did, at times, throw light on the very class and gender-related experiences which I was exploring. In some cases, the very formulation of my questions, by cutting through the public-private divide, challenged certain pre-established categories used by actors themselves. Not only did I ask men about their role in the family, but I also asked women for their version of public events. This was both intended and perceived as a challenge to the men's *machismo*, for it was difficult to ask the men what they did in the home without implying that they should be doing something - or more, or to talk about the women's public involvement without laying bare their exclusion or secondary status.

However, it was not just my questions which proved challenging, for my being a woman itself raised the issue of *machismo* in a much more direct and personal way. The going image of British university women amongst the Chilean men is that they are all to a greater or lesser degree involved in or influenced by the women's movement and presumably I did not wholly escape this labelling. I had to tread very carefully not to be seen as a "troublemaker". My role became increasingly delicate as the men's perception of the study shifted in the course of the fieldwork from being a political analysis of exile, to a social work study, to a study of *machismo* itself. As the sample was not



composed of an anonymous group but part of a community, there was ample opportunity for rumours to circulate regarding the project and myself.

Given that I had to maintain harmonious relations with both husbands and wives, I was often walking on a tightrope. Just as I was a potential ally for the women, I was also a potential threat to the men, especially when talking to their wives alone. Some innocent actions on my part could be perceived as threatening. In one instance, the husband had to leave shortly after my arrival. At the woman's request, I remained talking to her. When her husband returned several hours later to find me still there, he looked distinctly annoyed. He may simply have been hungry and irritated that his supper was not on the table, but given that he had previously been talking about his own experiences of fieldwork where he had found women to be much franker than men, it is not implausible to think otherwise. A more direct example of the way in which men perceived my presence as threatening occurred when I was talking to a woman alone in the kitchen. Her husband, who was about the house at the time, came in on two occasions and half joked with his wife, "*I don't hit you, do I?*".

If *machismo* was a source of personal irritation, its code often worked to my advantage in carrying out the research. Pepe repeated to me several times how pleased he was that a woman was doing the study, not a man, adding:-

"I've got more confidence in a woman. They are franker than men. Men are always trying to protect their own prestige and have ulterior motives."

Women, in Pepe's view, acted more straightforwardly than men who had interests to defend. This assumption was particularly helpful when researching in a highly politicized and politically divided community. As a woman, I could take advantage of the dominant perception of women as less politically informed and challenging than men to gain access to all shades of the political spectrum amongst

the exiles. At least two Chilean men had discounted doing a study of exile, deeming it impossible to interview political rivals. Although I was seen as less deeply entangled in party politics, this does not mean to say that I was regarded as totally politically incompetent - indeed, I was often probed about my political loyalties - but that suspicions were less than if a man had been involved.

However, if I could be seen as politically naive, many men were keen to know my husband's views, assuming that my political stance must necessarily reflect his. Many participants, both male and female, thought that there was a man directing the research from behind the scenes. Ricardo apologized twice to my husband - in my presence - for failing to keep an interview appointment. Jaime and Francisca had expected me to turn up for a Saturday lunch appointment with my husband. Some housewives thought I must have male permission to undertake such a study. *"What does your husband think of you doing this?"*, was one of the first things which Silvia asked me.

In the course of the fieldwork, I was wooed by a variety of political contenders who were anxious to use the study as a vehicle for partisan viewpoints. Many politicized men attempted to monitor the research by finding out whom I was seeing, especially from their political rivals. They would draw my attention to published articles which supported their point of view and spend time discrediting the political line of their opponents. In short, some men were trying to conscientize me through the interview.

Being a woman not only enabled me to probe into party matters in a seemingly less threatening way than a man, but also enabled me to raise the question of the private sphere relatively easily, through the perception of this as a "woman's issue". As has been seen, it was where the lines became crossed and I raised the private sphere as an issue for men, as well as women, that the

sparks began to fly. As a woman I had comfortable and easy access to women exiles. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for a male researcher to be left alone in the home with a Chilean woman. Yet it was crucial to speak to women separately from their husbands, for invariably when their men were present the conversation would be weighted in the men's favour and women would have less opportunity and confidence to present their point of view, especially where this diverged from the men's. However, our common sex did not create an automatic bond. If the men wanted to know where I stood politically, the women were more interested in my marital status and family situation. Being childless made me odd in the women's eyes. "*Ah, no eres muy chilena*" (you're not very Chilean) said Silvia when she found out and went on to say, "*una pareja sin niños no es nada*" (a couple is nothing without children). Apart from the fact that there was no shared world of children linking us as mothers, my independent activity and freedom of movement were also outside some women's range of experience. Many were initially uncertain as to where I stood. Was I part of the men's world? Did I subscribe to the men's way of thinking? Just as the men would first check me over politically before deciding what to divulge, so the privatized women would first test my reactions and only then reveal some of their inner thoughts. Once the women were sure I was not going to condemn their way of thinking, I often became a confidante, sharing their intimate thoughts and worries.

Given that women generally have less opportunity to relate their experiences than men, they were often especially pleased when I showed as much interest in their lives as those of the men. Whilst the interview provided a space for the men to present their political viewpoints, this was often one space amongst several. In the case of the privatized women, meanwhile, the interview was potentially more significant in opening up a rare chance for them to reflect about their experiences and present their point of view. In this way, it hopefully plays some part in giving

the privatized women a voice.¹

It was not only my gender which threw light on aspects of the research for my class position also provided insights through the adjustments I had to make when interviewing exiles from different class sectors. When interviewing the intellectuals in the sample, I was interacting with my peers.² With the social scientists, in particular, there was a good deal of shared research competence. Indeed some were more accustomed to assuming the role of researcher than that of interviewee. They would proffer advice on how to manage the research role, ask technical questions about representativeness, sampling and methodology. In the presentation of self I was often advised to depoliticize my role:-

"Play up the human angle, your personal relationship with the Chileans", said one

"Keep it at a personal level otherwise the study will become politicized and the parties will organize answers", said another.

At times it was difficult for me to draw the line between wanting to appear competent and yet not giving so much about the study away as to influence the findings. Many would theorize their own observations of the exile community and their insights proved helpful in checking out my own interpretations. Furthermore, it was from amongst this group that my own circle of friends amongst the exiles was drawn. Interviewing friends produced some sticky situations for claims of friendship could be interpreted as meaning that the person should be more forthcoming than under more usual anonymous interview circumstances. In general I felt more comfortable when interviewing peers who did not form part of my friendship group.

¹ In this way the interview was not seen as a "data collecting instrument for researchers" but as a "data-collecting instrument for those whose lives are being researched"., A. Oakley (a) op.cit., p.49.

² The specific problems which are encountered when interviewing peers are discussed in J. Platt, "On interviewing one's peers", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXXII, No.1, March 1981.

This coincidence of intellectual worldviews did not occur when interviewing working class couples, where there was less overlap of perspective and experience. These interviews were initially characterized by a greater sense of distance and unease on both parts. Amongst the men in this group, there was a general awareness of the importance and relevance of their experiences, so that being asked to talk about their lives did not fall totally outside their range of expectations. Most housewives, however, were unused to falling under the spotlight in this way. Some manual workers looked distinctly embarrassed at revealing such things as their educational level to an assumed "middle class, educated woman". The women, too, were often uncomfortable at having me as a guest in their home. However, these barriers invariably broke down in the course of the interviewing and my friendship group was extended through the research to embrace a wider social group. I did experience greater problems of communication when interviewing working class participants and I often found that I had to rephrase my questions, or that the men did this for me, in the case of their wives. "*Mariana won't understand that*", cried Cristián when I asked a more general question about women's political role. Problems of communication were not all one way, however. Many workers spoke a more popular Spanish, sprinkled with *chilenismos* (Chilean slang), rich in imaginative metaphors, quick to change, and only learnt through immersion in popular culture. I often found myself, with my more formally acquired Spanish, looking puzzled by something Cristián, one of the main protagonists, said. This brought forth fits of laughter from Mariana who would have great fun trying to 'translate' whenever such a popular saying sprang into the conversation.

These issues which arose during the course of the fieldwork - over how to manage my role, the adjustments I had to make when talking to men and women, middle class and working class exiles, the actors' perceptions of

of the study and myself - were all important sources of data. The interaction between myself and the participants, rather than being ignored, proved illuminating and valuable. To have suppressed this source of data by attempting to assume an objective and detached stance, would have impoverished the research. Personally the interviewing process was extremely rewarding as a human and intellectual experience, and the sustained interest which many participants showed in the research indicated that their involvement had not been unsatisfying either.

the interview group

In drawing up the sample my main concern was to explore the variety of public and private experience over time. The interview group is not a random sample of the Chilean exile community, but rather a group which has been selected through a degree of quota sampling with a specific purpose in mind: the differentiation of historical experience according to the social location of the actor.

To contact participants, I relied largely upon Chilean friends within the exile community to introduce me to others. In the initial phase of interviewing I set out to capture a wide range of experience as a form of exploratory investigation. From the emerging patterns, I drew up a check list to ensure that I had covered both class and gender experiences across the varying public-private constructions of Popular Unity, the coup and exile. In the second phase of interviewing, I then actively sought out certain categories of social actor by asking to be directed to specific kinds of people in the exile community. This was with a view not only to adding to emerging patterns but also to pursuing exceptions for the light they could throw on the conditions for departing from more well-trodden paths. I did not always succeed in this latter aim. There is no woman who had been imprisoned in Chile after the coup in the sample so that imprisonment, which left such a mark on those who suffered it, remains a solely

masculine experience in this study.¹ Nor, and perhaps relatedly, did I succeed in including a female political activist. Although there are women who were politically involved in the sample, they had either been active in a subordinate capacity to men or in a subordinate female political sphere. I was anxious to locate a woman who had been active around the same issues and in a similar capacity to the male activists in the group. Such women did exist but could be counted in their ones and twos. Their very atypicality, combined in one case with geographical distance, made them easily identifiable and this could have played a part in their failure to respond to my indirect attempts to involve them.

The range of public and private experience is, of course, restricted to the types of people who came into exile. The exile community is first and foremost a political and ideological community, owing its very origin to the political beliefs and actions of its members. As the Popular Unity project, however, was based on an alliance between the working class and the middle sectors, the potential pool of exiles was drawn from a heterogeneous social group.²

¹ Women were imprisoned for their political activities although in lesser numbers than men and possibly for shorter spells. One account of women's prison experiences, with its emphasis on building a collective identity and organization in prison, closely resembles accounts given by men. In the women's case, however, collective responsibility extended to the care of children born in the concentration camp, M. Vera, Chilean Women No. 2, Political Prisoners, London, Sept. 1976. Ann Chaplin failed to locate a woman who had been imprisoned for over a year, the requirement for inclusion in her sample, A. Chaplin, Chilean Political Prisoners, mimeo, January 1976.

² In Britain middle sector exiles outnumber those from the working class by roughly three to one. The great majority of refugees in Britain are semi-professional white-collar workers, although this was partly modified after Decree 504 of May 1975 enabled some political prisoners to commute sentences into exile, bringing more skilled or semi-skilled workers here, Joint Working Group for Refugees from Chile, Interim Report, Refugees from Chile, Dec. 1975, pp. 194. A breakdown of the social composition of Latin American exiles in France - 70% of whom are Chileans - shows that 36% are workers and employees, 32% students, 32% professionals, engineers and university lecturers. CIMADE, Du Chili a la France, Exile et Accueil des Réfugiés, Paris, February 1975, p. 4.

The Junta's political repression not only affected the politically active but had repercussions for the entire family group, forcing those family members - generally women - with little or no independent political activity into exile with their men. Furthermore, the Junta's draconian economic policies pushed others, who were not so politically active or involved, into leaving the country.

In total I interviewed 35 individuals (18 men and 17 women). At the time of interview, the group was made up of 14 married couples where both partners were interviewed; 1 married couple where the woman only was interviewed; 4 separated people (2 men and 2 women) whose marriages had broken up in exile and 2 bachelors. In presenting a broad profile of the sample, I have chosen a relatively stable phase in their fluctuating careers by presenting a picture of the group as it stood during Popular Unity (1970-1973), i.e. before the upheavals of the coup and exile. During the Popular Unity period most participants were in their twenties or early thirties, most were married or shortly to marry and most had a young child or children. In exile, then, most couples were either adding to the family or intensively involved with child-rearing. All were urban people. Most lived in the capital city, Santiago, with seven families from provincial cities or towns.

With respect to participants' location in the labour force, I have differentiated three social groups amongst the sample - middle sectors, manual workers and housewives. The distinction between middle sectors and manual workers relates to a distinction within the public sphere of wage labour - roughly along a mental/manual divide - whilst the housewives are differentiated by their exclusive involvement in non-waged, domestic labour in the private sphere. The former distinction, between mental and manual labour, between *empleado* and *obrero*, was a distinction used by actors themselves and one which has been firmly inscribed in Chilean law. Manual workers had often struggled to be reclassified as *empleados*, thereby gaining access to

more fringe benefits and higher social status. Popular Unity had attempted to erase this division in the workforce by merging the two groups into the single category of *trabajador* (worker) and equalizing their conditions of employment. However, this division and the status identities which had crystallized around it were difficult to break down in the short term. Some manual workers tried to pass themselves off to me, and others, as *empleados* and some middle sector exiles refused to consider undertaking manual labour here.

Within the middle sectors, I have sometimes found it necessary to differentiate further between professional and white-collar workers. Professional identity, for historical reasons, is particularly pronounced amongst the Chileans, especially amongst those who had completed their university studies before Popular Unity. Some participants referred to themselves as *profesionales* (professionals) and clearly saw their experience as being marked off from that of other social groups. Many professional workers had enjoyed a degree of autonomy and high status in their jobs before the coup and experienced acute personal discomfort at being stripped of rank afterwards. In other words, they had further to fall than many routine white-collar workers in the sample. A second reason for differentiating these two groups relates specifically to women's experiences. The women professional workers in the sample had experienced less rigid sexual stereotyping than women in white collar, or rather white blouse, work. These two groups of women workers were consequently to experience differing degrees of sexual discrimination and hardship in exile.

To briefly examine each of these groups in turn:- The professional workers (6 men and 5 women) all had a university education in Chile and some had formed part of a radical intelligentsia. With the election of Popular Unity, many had moved into new posts as managers of the newly nationalized or expropriated industries (*interventores*),

others had been promoted to directors of public bodies or development agencies, others moved into planning and policy-making. These government appointments carried substantial responsibility and authority, such as most had never exercised before. Only one of the 5 women in this group had been employed in a typically "female" profession. Most, like the men, had been closely involved with economic planning, policy or intellectual work. The white-collar workers in the sample (6 men and 4 women) had either been *empleados públicos* (public employees) in Chile's large public bureaucracy or had been in teaching or the social services. It was at this level that the labour market was highly sexually segmented and the women workers were nearly all involved in "women's work", such as primary school teaching, nursing and clerical work.

The manual workers in the group (6 men) were mainly skilled workers employed by large-scale industries and often with many years of service in the same enterprise. Many of these large monopoly industries had been expropriated in the course of the Popular Unity government, and workers here had experienced at firsthand the changes in property and social relations mentioned in the last chapter. The workers in these industries, including those in the sample, had formed part of the permanent and organized workforce, constituting the backbone of the trade union movement and socialist and communist parties.

The eight housewives in the sample were with one exception all married to manual workers. All had had brief spells in wage labour (as shop assistants, domestic work, factory work, waitressing) before giving up paid work on an early marriage and the prompt arrival of the first of a number of children. The economic opportunities for these women with few skills and little formal education was such^{as} to deter some from see^king work outside the home unless compelled by economic circumstances. Heavy childcare responsibilities - three women had five children or more - and the presence of a stronger and cruder version

of *machismo* amongst working class men who often opposed their wives working outside the home, reinforced this pattern. Female wage labour, then, follows a class-related pattern in this study, being confined to women in professional or white-blouse work.

political participation

Men and women not only had different levels of participation in social production - for whilst all men had been engaged in wage labour, only nine out of the seventeen women in the sample had been so employed - but they also had different levels of political participation. All the men, except one, were affiliated to political parties or movements, whilst only eight women were party members.¹ The sample included members of the Socialist, Communist and Radical parties, MAPU and MIR. Party labels were particularly important to the men. Strong ideological rivalries between the different left-wing political groups kept party identities clearly distinct. Indeed intensive socialization into the party voice often enabled party membership to be identified by others by the way a person spoke or acted. As mentioned earlier, some men related their accounts in the collective voice, where "we" stood for the party group. These traits were less pronounced in the case of women party members, reflecting their generally looser tie to the party organization. A few women were first and foremost *Allendistas*, placing their allegiance to Allende as a leader above that to any particular political grouping.

Not all party members were equally politically active. Five men had been grass roots activists during the Popular Unity period, engaged in political conscientization and mobilization tasks amongst factory workers, peasants and slum-dwellers.² The sample also included a trade union leader (male) and a local government representative (also male).

¹ The one exception had been a member of the armed forces and thereby barred from joining a political party.

² An account of activists' experiences during Popular Unity - similar to those found in my sample - occurs in C. Henfrey and B. Sorj, eds., Chilean Voices, Harvester Press, 1977.

Women generally tended to have lower levels of political activism than the men. The absence of a female activist has already been mentioned. Women's family responsibilities tended to inhibit women from taking on the heavy demands imposed on the political activist and those who assumed this role tended to be single or childless. However one woman in the sample had been particularly active in "women's politics" in the neighbourhood.

The politicized men had come to left-wing politics through a variety of routes. When asked to give an account of their politicizing experiences, many manual workers started off by mentioning their proletarian background, their class extraction, as giving them an initial class identity. They were workers and their parents had been workers before them, without necessarily having been politically active or involved. Some middle-sector men had also acquired their radical politics as part of a family inheritance. In these cases, the men had grown up in left-wing households, had been taken to political rallies as children and had absorbed a radical political culture as part of their socialization in the family. For several participants, the political repression of the late 1940's and 1950's in Chile when the Communist party had been outlawed, had had a profound impact. Three men had fathers who had been imprisoned in Pisagua, the northern concentration camp (re-opened by the Junta), and two families had members who had fled to Argentina through political persecution at the time. Others, meanwhile, had grown up in families where political loyalties pulled the other way. In this case the politicized men's left-wing stance had brought conflict, and sometimes rupture, with the family of origin. One man, whose parents virulently opposed the Left, had been written off by his father as "mentally ill".

For many manual workers, political definition had come through their insertion into the labour force. First-hand experience of exploitation had led them to join the struggle

to improve pay and work conditions. Some workers were keen to make clear that they were not nor never had been *apatronado* (bosses' men). Many had gone on to join the Marxist parties after initial involvement with trade union struggles at the workplace.

In the case of the middle sectors, first-hand contact with poverty and deprivation through work which took them out of their home environment and put them in touch with less privileged social groups, often awakened a social and political conscience. Two men from the middle sectors mentioned specific "eye-opening" experiences (*toma de conciencia*) which had proved decisive in their politicization. Jorge, who had belonged to the Christian youth movement whilst still at school in the 1960's, related how he had undergone a dramatic change of heart. Some local construction workers had occupied a building site and approached the Catholic community for food and clothing. Jorge's group had made a collection and, as the workers had also requested spiritual support, Jorge had asked the local priest to hand over the donation. However, the priest had refused outright, saying that he would have nothing to do with "communists". Jorge had been shocked to hear a group of workers, who had aroused his sympathy, referred to in this way. He began to find out more about communism and to attend left-wing rallies and meetings. He saw himself as having to choose between two incompatible belief systems - Catholicism and Marxism - and opted for the latter. Alejandro, meanwhile, had graduated from the University in the mid-1960's and found work as a technical adviser in a large, private enterprise. He had been disgusted at the class role he had been expected to play in the hierarchy of labour and was eventually dismissed for criticizing the way the workforce was treated. From then on, Alejandro sought work in which he could put his professional expertise at the service of the workers rather than against them.

Apart from specific biographical experiences, the wider political scene had a bearing on the process of acquiring

political consciousness. From the mid-1950's, there was a general upsurge of the Chilean labour movement. At the trade union level, a centralized trade union confederation (CUT) had been established in 1953. At the political level, the Marxist parties had combined in a united front, with Allende narrowly missing victory in the 1958 presidential elections. Internationally, the Cuban revolution had proved an important politicizing event for many, who closely followed Castro's confrontation with US imperialism and the debacle of the Bay of Pigs. The spread of guerilla movements in Latin America, following upon the success of the Cuban 26th July movement, had led in Chile to the formation of MIR to which some participants in the sample belonged. The Cuban revolution also marked a shift in US policy to Latin America, in the form of an *Alliance for Progress*, whereby certain structural reforms, and particularly land reform, were promoted as a way of staving off revolution. In Chile, this policy had been underpinned by the Christian Democrat government (1964-1970), which had preceded Popular Unity. The Christian Democrats had aroused widespread support and enthusiasm for their promise to make a "*revolution in liberty*". When these expectations were only partly met, there had been a general process of political radicalization.

These changes in the international and national political panorama, had resounded in the factories and the universities. Cristián, who had worked for years in the same factory without being politically involved, had been caught up by the revival of union activity at this workplace. Likewise, those who had passed through the university in the late 1960's and early 1970's had had a very different experience of higher education from those who had graduated earlier. In particular, the university reform movement to democratize higher education had mobilized the student body. Participation in this student movement of the late 1960's had been the first experience of collective action for some participants and formed an important event in their politicization.

The eight women who were politically aware tended to be more recently politicized than the men. Whilst most men had affiliated to political parties before the Popular Unity election, most women had become politically involved during, and on account of, the Popular Unity process itself. This difference in timing is only partly explained by the women's younger age, for a few women in the sample had remained aloof from political involvement until in their thirties, long after their men had been so involved. This is but one reflection of the extent to which women had remained on the fringe of political life and even during Popular Unity, their political participation differed both quantitatively and qualitatively from men's, as will be seen in more detail later.

Many women had become politically aware through their insertion into social production during the Popular Unity period. María, who had recently left school to begin her first job during Popular Unity, mentioned the general climate of political discussion, mobilization and organization which she had encountered at her workplace as facilitating her political awakening. It was at the workplace that many women had first made contact with the political parties. Whilst some had incorporated themselves into party cells, others had joined in the Popular Unity marches and rallies without affiliating to a party. However, two women who had entered the paid labourforce at this time and had been equally exposed to politics at the workplace, had remained privatized. Both Isabel and Gloria had kept out of the political struggles at their places of work and described themselves as having been regarded by others as "politically neutral". Such a description underlines the extent to which women could still be regarded as "outside politics", even at the height of a widespread process of political definition.

All eight women who had joined parties were in the same political party as their husband. In some cases, the

husband's prompting and encouragement had played a part in the woman's politicization. In these cases, women had joined parties after their men, and through their men. In other cases, women had become party members whilst still single and had later married within the party. Francisca, who had joined independently of marriage ties, gave as a facilitating factor the existence of a role model, in the person of a politically active mother.

Women who had worked solely in the home had not been exposed to the same politicizing influences as those who had jobs. Nonetheless, two housewives belonged to parties. In both cases, these women - or their families - came from northern mining towns, where there had been a tradition of women taking collective action around problems of food supply and prices or in support of their men's trade union struggles.¹ In one case, political affiliation had extended back to the woman's grandmother.

In other cases, however, the housewives' marriages to left-wingers had sent considerable vibrations down their kinship networks. Some privatized women had mothers who supported the conservative candidates at election times and advised their daughters to follow suit. Furthermore, many privatized women experienced politics not only as an activity which belonged to the men's public world but - by dividing families and taking the men away from home - as a destructive and disruptive force for their own private domain. Their own personal experience of politics had not encouraged them to seek out political involvement, even in those few cases where their husbands had tried to interest them in political matters.

¹ In the 1920's women in the saltpeter mines had formed *comités de dueñas de casas* (housewives' committees) to protest over food supplies and prices in the company stores and to stage strikes (*las huelgas de las cocinas apagadas* - the strikes of the unlit stoves) when supplies did not arrive in time or to back up their men's wage demands. V. Vidal, *La emancipación de la mujer*, *Nosotros, los Chilenos*, No. 30, Quimantú, Santiago, Chile, 1972, pp. 25-29.

In some cases, the women's closer ties with the Catholic Church meant that husbands and wives had been socialized into different world views. For some privatized women, their Catholic faith militated against any association with Marxist parties which were seen to uphold an atheistic stance. To some, joining the communists was the equivalent to "marrying the devil". However Catholicism had not been uniformly interpreted in Chile. Whilst some politicized men had explicitly rejected the Catholic faith and regarded any past religious leanings as evidence of "false consciousness", there had also been a section of the Catholic community in Chile which had supported the Popular Unity process. Two male workers in the sample identified themselves as both Catholics and communists and a Christian sense of mission had been the catalyst behind two women's political involvement.

the marriage relationship

When these different involvements in public and private spheres and different forms of consciousness are analysed at the level of the married pair, two main patterns can be identified. The nineteen couples¹ in the sample can be differentiated by the extent to which the marriage partners had shared location or forms of consciousness.

segregated couples:

Eight couples had been characterized by a pronounced sexual division of labour during the Popular Unity period. This pattern of male wage worker and female domestic worker reflected a specific class experience in my sample as, with one exception, these segregated couples formed part of the working class. This gender division with respect to production had been further accentuated in six out of these eight couples, where husbands and wives had different levels of consciousness. Whilst the men had been 'politicized',

¹ I am including here the couple where one partner only was interviewed as well as the four separated persons, reconstituted as four couples, as they had been during Popular Unity before their marriages broke up in exile.

their wives had remained 'privatized'. In these cases, husbands and wives most nearly inhabited separate worlds for they shared neither a physical nor a symbolic universe. In the remaining two couples, however, the women openly supported their husbands' political stance and had participated themselves in women's organizations in the neighbourhood.

integrated couples:

In eleven couples, both husband and wife had worked outside the home. These integrated couples were all drawn from the middle sectors. In five out of these eleven couples, both husband and wife had been engaged in professional work and had had a degree of equality in the job world. In the remaining six couples, however, the woman's job had been less highly regarded or valued than the man's, either because the woman had been employed in typically female occupations or, in one case, because the woman had worked part time. Seven out of these eleven integrated couples had a degree of shared politics and, with one exception, this had involved shared party membership. In all eleven couples, however, one area of the marriage had remained clearly segregated. Childcare and domestic labour had remained the woman's exclusive responsibility, although all had delegated part of the running of the household to a maid.

A summary chart of the actors' location in public and private spheres during the Popular Unity period appears at the beginning of the Appendix. Given the difficulty of keeping track of thirty-five individual life-histories, the reader may like to keep a marker here in order to facilitate the rapid placing of an actor's social location, political involvement, or marriage partner. With reference to married pairs, the segregated marriages on this chart are formed by the public men and private women and the integrated marriages by the public men and public-private women.

IDEAL TYPICAL BIOGRAPHIES

In order to overcome the problem of fragmenting what is essentially biographical experience, I have chosen to construct two ideal typical biographies. These fictionalized accounts enable a degree of continuity and wholeness of individual lives to be retained, whilst still safeguarding the anonymity of individual actors. Whilst selecting the most typical in each category of social actor's experience, the accounts have had to remain within the bounds of credibility. Attention has been paid both to the psychological coherence of the characters portrayed and to the historical coherence of external events.

These ideal typical biographies are presented below in the form of two joint biographies of husbands and wives. Marcelo and Mónica typify the working class pattern of segregated marital roles discussed above. This couple, then, exemplify the public-private distinction in its more stark form. Pedro and Paula, meanwhile, typify the middle class, integrated marriage, where both husband and wife have jobs and some shared political sympathies. Here the public-private distinction appears in a less extreme form.

Marcelo and Mónica

At the time of Popular Unity's victory at the polls, Marcelo and Mónica had been married ten years and had four children. They had met and married within the same neighbourhood where they had both grown up. It was a "respectable", working class suburb of the capital city, Santiago. The houses were small but solid and built close together so that few barriers separated the life of the home from that of the street. There was a strong community spirit amongst the inhabitants, but keeping one's business to oneself could sometimes be a problem.

Upon marriage, Mónica had given up her job, serving in a local shop, to devote herself to home and children. She had looked forward to marriage and was determined to

be a good housewife and mother. Marcelo worked as a skilled worker in a local factory. At the time he regarded his work as little more than earning the bread and he would put in his hours and then hurry home. He was so punctual that Mónica could tell the time by his arrival. The marriage soon settled into an easy-going routine of work, family life and visiting. Mónica considered Marcelo a good husband as he did not drink or have affairs. He was on good terms with the neighbours and was the first to lend a hand where need be. On Sundays, they would occasionally go to mass, and Mónica sometimes helped to decorate the Church for festivities or confirmations.

It was not until shortly before the Popular Unity election that Marcelo's life took on a different meaning. At this time there had been a movement afoot in his factory to replace the existing puppet trade union with an effective and independent organization. Marcelo played an active role in the struggle for union recognition and eventually decided to join a Marxist party. Marcelo kept his new commitment to himself. He knew Mónica would not understand or approve of his new way of looking at the world. She might even regard it as a betrayal of the home life they had built up and shared. His doubts were soon confirmed. One day Mónica discovered Marcelo's party card by chance in one of his jacket pockets. She sat down and wept. She knew the communists were bad. She had heard her own parents talking about them. She felt afraid. People who meddled in politics never came to any good. Hadn't an uncle been imprisoned years ago for his communist beliefs and since only been referred to in whispers? She felt powerless to change Marcelo's mind. She could only wait and hope that he would soon come to his senses.

With the election of Popular Unity, Marcelo felt a new and exhilarating sense of power. The workers were no longer to be disregarded, repressed and controlled but consulted, listened to and respected. Unlike previous governments Marcelo and his *compañeros* felt this to be

nuestro gobierno (our government), *el gobierno de los trabajadores* (the workers' government) and Allende to be *el compañero presidente* (the comradely president). Popular Unity's intentions were set out in a programme which Marcelo had carefully read, studied and discussed. Mónica, however, was less optimistic about the course of events. She had heard some alarming stories on the radio of Popular Unity's intention to take children away from the family, and even send them to the Soviet Union, for their education. She didn't see what Marcelo had to rejoice about.

At the factory, the majority of workers had waited expectantly for the expropriation order to be signed and for the new scheme of workers' participation to be enforced. Marcelo's trade union activities expanded to take in new issues of production, now that the factory was producing for all Chileans, instead of the privileged few as before. Marcelo found himself frequently reflecting about the pace of change. Only five years earlier the workers had trembled in their shoes before the *patrón* who had been sole and absolute arbiter of their fate. Now life was a never-ending round of meetings and discussions as workers came to have a voice in the running of the factory. At times Marcelo felt exhausted by the demands and responsibilities placed on him. The workers' lives were no longer programmed in the way they had been in the past. This revolutionary process was something novel and workers were forced to find solutions to problems which gave scope to their inventiveness and imagination. Marcelo became totally absorbed in his work and his waking life began to centre around the factory. He would even spend Sundays walking amongst the silent machines. He also felt differently as a worker. It was not just a matter of higher wages. Something more fundamental was involved, touching up his sense of dignity and worth.

With such an increase in his trade union activities, Marcelo's private life shrank to the point where he was only going home to sleep. Mónica was not at all happy with this situation. Marcelo seemed to be totally preoccupied

with other people's problems and to have forgotten his family obligations. She never knew when to expect him home and he hardly spoke to the children. They didn't seem to agree about anything any more. It was as if everything which she held most dear, and thought he did too, he now dismissed and devalued. She blamed the trade union for this sorry situation. Her attitude alternated between silent resignation and violent outbursts against what she considered the injustice of it all. Marcelo tried to explain his trade union activity to Mónica but without success. He envied those few men he knew with a sympathetic *compañera* behind them. He tried to cut down some of his commitments to appease Mónica. His own party had also instructed militants to spend Sundays at home with their families, but this was often easier said than done.

Mónica's own experience of life under Popular Unity did little to assuage her initial fears. Many essential foodstuffs were scarce and she had to spend long hours queuing which upset her household routine. The neighbours sometimes left her a ticket for the local food committee and this eased the problem a little but she still couldn't remember anything like this happening before. It was true that Marcelo brought home more money, but what was the good of that if there was nothing in the shops to spend it on. She had even seen women banging empty pots and pans in protest but nobody in her neighbourhood was involved as the protestors were not their sort of women. Even so, the shortages were a nuisance. She had heard so many different stories as to their cause that she didn't know whom or what to believe. She was also alarmed at the threat of violence which hung in the air. Once she had been unexpectedly caught up in a clash of rival groups in the city centre when tear gas had been thrown by the police. After that she made a point of staying in whenever a march was announced. She still saw some ugly scenes on television and she worried continually for Marcelo's safety. As talk of confrontation and civil war increased, Mónica's

fears approached panic proportions. In her opinion, there was only one certainty - it was all going to end in something terrible.

Marcelo was also increasingly pessimistic about the future as the Popular Unity process advanced. Vital spare parts for the factory were in short supply through the international blockade imposed by the United States; there had been some attempts at sabotage by reactionary elements in the factory, and some workers with low political consciousness were making irresponsible demands or diverting part of the production onto the black market. What grieved Marcelo most of all were the divisions which had opened up in the Popular Unity coalition, weakening and confusing supporters. When the coup d'état came, Marcelo saw no point in resisting but remained in the factory as an act of loyalty to Popular Unity.

The coup marked an abrupt and dramatic end to Marcelo's hopes for the future and shattered his belief in the irreversibility of the changes introduced by Popular Unity. Shortly after the coup, Marcelo was dismissed from the factory and taken in for questioning. The rights which workers had won through many years of struggle were stripped away. Although he had spent a large part of his working life in the factory, Marcelo felt few regrets at his expulsion. The factory was no longer the place he loved and lingered in but had been handed back to its former owners and a new repressive work regime imposed. All Marcelo's hard work in the factory during Popular Unity was publicly devalued as he was regarded as a "delinquent" and "public danger" by the military Junta.

Marcelo spent the following two years in prison. He assumed the trials of prison life as a test of his political commitment and tried to maintain the example which other comrades were setting. In prison, Marcelo found that he was learning through the constant interchange of experience and ideas between the political prisoners. He came into close contact with intellectuals and with workers from

many different industries. There was no way he could shut himself off from the harshness or brutality of prison life, but the close bonds forged between imprisoned militants were fortifying. The ferocity of the class hatred which he experienced at the hands of the Junta staggered him. Marcelo had read something about fascism but thought it was quite another thing to experience it in practice. Whilst Marcelo had never abandoned his Catholic beliefs, he noticed that the Church enjoyed a respect even amongst those who did not subscribe to a religious point of view.

Given the proximity of death in prison, Marcelo reflected about the direction his life had taken since he had become politically involved. He knew that if he died, his family would be left in a very difficult economic situation as their house had been one of the poorest in the neighbourhood and in any case, he hadn't joined the struggle in order to secure a comfortable lifestyle. The only thing he could leave behind for Mónica and the children was his example. However, it wasn't at all certain that Mónica would see things like this. Mónica frequently thought that if only Marcelo hadn't got involved in the first place, he wouldn't have landed himself in prison. She didn't like the Junta either, but if Marcelo had kept out they might have been left in peace.

Mónica, who had not worked for over ten years, now found herself responsible for feeding a family of four. She began by selling what little they had of value. A television set, acquired under Popular Unity, was the first item to go. Later she took in washing and sewing but the money she received was small and erratic. She accepted this work in a resigned fashion for the need was great and she had even heard of women prostituting themselves to feed their children. Although Mónica's parents frowned upon Marcelo's politics, they had never broken off relations, as in some families. However, there was little they could contribute as they were also in financial difficulties. From time to time, Mónica received anonymous contributions

from neighbours or Marcelo's old workmates. She was pleased by the affection in which her husband was held but then she had always known he wasn't like any other communist.

Apart from the long hours spent scraping a living, Mónica had periodically to leave the children with a relative to set off on the tiring and humiliating round of prison visits. The prison guards would frequently take advantage of the women waiting in the queues to see their husbands, taunting them sexually, feeling them over, or calling them "extremists' wives". However, the collective spirit which developed amongst women in the queues strengthened Mónica. She felt some of the reserve between women breaking down. It was in one of the queues that Mónica first heard of the possibility of exile and she began to turn this over in her mind as a solution to their problems. At the Church's Peace Committee, Mónica was able to receive advice and support. She surprised herself at the way she had been able to manage on her own. She had never had to make so many decisions by herself before. She knew that Marcelo and all the men valued what their wives were doing for them and confidence in her own capacities increased.

Mónica still felt vulnerable alone at night and she would go to bed early and bolt the door at night. She also frequently avoided contact with her neighbours to prevent gossip or drawing attention to her plight. In any case, she had little time for socializing as earning money for food and visiting Marcelo in prison filled her hours. She put her trust in God that the situation would soon end and that Marcelo would come out alive.

It was with great joy that she learnt the news that Marcelo had been adopted by a British trade union. When the Junta issued a decree enabling some political prisoners to commute sentences into exile, Marcelo's release became a real possibility. Mónica knew she would miss her mother if she left but the possibility of having Marcelo with her again was foremost in her mind. Marcelo felt more uneasy about leaving the country. Of course, he wanted to get

out of prison but the thought of banishment from Chile made him apprehensive. However, he knew that a solidarity campaign existed abroad and the fact that a British trade union had secured his release showed that he would not be without comrades in exile. Mónica wished that everyone had the chance to leave but **Marcelo** disagreed. He thought that people should stay in Chile where possible. Nonetheless Marcelo reluctantly went.

On arrival *in* Scotland Marcelo and Mónica were greeted by members of the trade union which had adopted Marcelo. He felt extremely emotional talking to these comrades who had practically saved his life. They immediately enrolled him in the union and promised to make every effort to find him a job. Marcelo was saddened to find that not as much was going on politically as he had expected. He also felt anxious at the guarded way in which some of the earlier Chilean exiles responded to his questions. Everything was so different from the close-knit life he had left behind in prison where party differences had been submerged. Marcelo would lie awake at night wondering what was going on back home and what had happened to his comrades. Everything seemed so far away. He would worry that he wasn't devoting more time and energy to agitating on their behalf.

Whilst Marcelo's thoughts were directed towards Chile, Mónica was observing her new environment. She was pleased with the council house they had been allocated. It was better built and larger than the house they had left behind. Nor could she see such obvious signs of poverty as existed in Chile. People were generally better dressed and many workers had cars. Some neighbours had knocked at her door bringing curtains, bedding or simply to shake hands. Mónica felt awkward at not being able to respond to what they said but appreciated the gestures. At the beginning, they had worried how they were going to survive economically. However they had been advised to learn the language first and meanwhile they would be living on social security. Mónica began to feel that the bulk of her problems were over and

for the first time in seven years she heaved a sigh of relief. The children were being educated, clothed and fed. They had a secure and steady income. Marcelo was alive and free.

Just as Marcelo missed his *compañeros*, so Mónica too missed her family and neighbours in Chile. It was the first time that she and Marcelo had spent so much time alone together. Sometimes Mónica felt they were almost like strangers, they had so little conversation and shared experience. Tensions began to arise. Marcelo was deeply discontent at being unemployed. After all he had worked since little more than a boy in Chile. The fact of receiving money from social security also ate into his self-respect. He felt vulnerable in front of his neighbours and without rights in this society. Marcelo also didn't think it right for the children to see him hanging around the house. He felt that he had lost the position in the family which he had once held. Since his imprisonment, the children looked to Mónica for permission and advice. He felt miserable and depressed. Mónica could busy herself with the household chores. Sometimes Marcelo helped out but he usually wandered off after a short while. After all this was woman's work. Twice a week he attended language classes but he despaired of ever speaking English. He felt illiterate here. Mónica didn't go to the classes. She had the children to look after and she preferred to learn what she could in her own time.

When Marcelo was offered a job in a factory, his life took on a more organized turn. He wished his English were better so that he could explain Chilean events to his Scots work-mates in a clearer way. He soon noticed that some became uninterested when he introduced politics into the conversation and he realized that he would have to learn to explain Chilean events in a way which British workers could relate to. Some workers also seemed to hold some paternalistic ideas about the Chileans, as coming from a poor and backward country, and be motivated to help for this

reason. Marcelo wanted to point out that the struggle of workers the world over was one and the same but he couldn't express this clearly. It was true that the trade union leaders had a clearer idea about Chile and were generally well-informed but the shop-floor worker was not so well prepared politically. Marcelo reflected that the Chilean working class had a very high level of political consciousness by comparison and he felt proud to be a member of it.

When the Chilean political parties began reorganizing in exile, Marcelo promptly rejoined. Party life was very different, however, from what he had known in Chile. For a start there were many more intellectuals in his group. Marcelo sometimes felt impatient at the hours spent talking in an academic language which he didn't always follow. Marcelo could not understand why ideological differences loomed so large in exile. He would like to have seen all the political parties working together. After all, they had combined in the Popular Unity coalition. At times he felt demoralized. All their energy was being consumed in quarrels and recriminations.

Although party activity was greatly reduced compared to the Popular Unity years, Mónica still felt hurt when Marcelo dashed out to meetings as soon as the telephone rang and occasionally stayed overnight if the meeting ended late. She felt he owed it to her to be more considerate after all she had been through. Marcelo realized that Mónica was much more alone here than in Chile. Sometimes he encouraged Mónica to accompany him on the political marches to mark the anniversary of the coup. Mónica remembered the hardships she and many other women had endured and were still enduring in Chile and wanted to help in whatever way she could. Mónica felt a new sense of importance going on the rallies. She empathized with the Chilean woman speaker whose husband had disappeared in Chile, after having been arrested by the military. She began to see how their lives were bound up with wider

events. After all, they themselves were not able to return to Chile of their own free will.

Mónica also took part in a handicraft group formed by women with a view to raising money for the under-nourished children back in Chile. Mónica learnt that some husbands had tried to prevent their wives from attending the meetings. This had never happened in her case but Marcelo still didn't like it when his dinner wasn't ready when he came in because Mónica had been out. However, rather than being cut off from a lot of activities as some women complained, Mónica felt that her life had opened out a little more in exile.

Marcelo did not share Mónica's feelings of a widened horizon. His overwhelming sensation was one of deprivation. What he missed most of all was his trade union involvement. He doubted whether he would ever have such a rich experience as that during Popular Unity in his life again. Sometimes it seemed as if his world had shrunk to that of the home. It was true that he enjoyed a higher standard of living here than in Chile but this in no way compensated for the world he had lost. It seemed to him, though, that many other Chileans in exile had lost interest in politics and were simply pursuing their own private goals. Marcelo spent hours fretting over this demobilized and privatized existence. There was no way he could be a militant by himself. Why couldn't they unite and work together?

Marcelo frequently dwelt on the return to Chile. Here someone else's history was taking place. He wondered how comrades back in Chile saw the exiles. It pained him to think they may have a bad image. One thing was certain. They couldn't go back and expect to take up their old leadership roles again. New leaders would have stepped into their shoes in Chile and the exiles would have no authority to reclaim them. Mónica thought about the return with mixed emotions. She would dearly love to see her mother again but she had such bad memories of Chile that sometimes she thought the family were better off here. She would try to make

Marcelo promise that if they did return he wouldn't get so actively involved in politics again.

Pedro and Paula

Pedro and Paula had met as students at the university in Santiago. They had married a year later, after Pedro became part of the university staff, and by 1970 they had two small children. With the help of their parents and a new loan scheme, they had bought one of the many small bungalows and gardens springing up in the *barrio alto*, the fashionable middle class district of Santiago.

Pedro's and Paula's student years in the 1960's had coincided with the heady days of the university reform movement and the aftermath of the Cuban revolution. Students had periodically occupied the university buildings, demanding greater student participation, and had sat around discussing whilst listening to the committed lyrics of the new Chilean folk-song. Pedro, who had initially been attracted to the reformist Christian Democrat government of the day, was soon won over by the arguments put across by the left wing parties which actively canvassed amongst the students. Shortly after joining their ranks, his new-found political ideals received a further emotional charge when he began political work in the outlying shanty towns. He began to search out Marxist literature, to discuss Marxist ideas with his fellow students and to move almost exclusively within left-wing circles. Although Paula had also taken part in the student movement and come to sympathize with the left, she didn't join a party. Her withdrawal from the school to have a child meant that she had also missed out on part of the action.

As the 1970 Presidential election approached, both Pedro and Paula fervently hoped for Allende's victory. Pedro and his *compañeros* had set up one of the thousands of Popular Unity committees in their university department as a focus for mobilizing support and co-ordinating actions. His political group also spent their spare time canvassing and consciousness-raising amongst the shanty town dwellers.

Both Pedro and Paula attended the huge electoral rallies. When the results were finally known a tidal wave of emotion erupted onto the streets of Santiago as the popular movement celebrated its triumph in a spontaneous, all-night celebration. It was a joy not much in evidence in Pedro's and Paula's neighbourhood, however, as their right-wing neighbours closed their shutters and barred their doors. Pedro and his *compañeros* knew that whilst victory was theirs for the moment, a long hard struggle lay ahead. If the bourgeoisie was temporarily stunned into silence by defeat at the polls, they would not give up so easily. The left would need to be constantly on the alert.

Like many other Popular Unity intellectuals, Pedro abandoned his post in the university to take on the more practical tasks required by the implementation of Popular Unity's programme. The new economy created an urgent need for committed planners, policy-makers, technicians and Pedro felt he could make his contribution to the revolutionary process more felt by becoming directly involved with the planning of production in the newly expropriated industries. Never had Pedro worked so hard, so intensively or with so much sense of purpose. He gave himself physically and mentally to the demands of the moment. Having to address mass meetings of workers, Pedro strove to rid himself of the feeling that he had a right to command which his professional training had engrained and his class background implied. He had to learn to listen to workers as well as how to address them. This close contact with politicized industrial workers convinced Pedro that the government should rely much more upon the mass mobilization of its supporters to push ahead quickly with its programme. "*Avanzar sin transar*" (advance without compromise), cried Pedro and his *compañeros* in the many huge, political rallies of Popular Unity supporters. In Pedro's view the government was moving too slowly and making too many concessions. The bourgeoisie would not allow itself to be slowly carved up, slice by slice, like a roll of salami. It was already

fighting back. Strikes, disruptions and sabotage by the right-wing opposition made Pedro's work increasingly difficult and dangerous. Something more militant was required if Popular Unity were not to lose the initiative altogether.

When Paula finally completed her studies, she was determined to find a job. After all, as Allende had said, it was the duty of every man and woman to play their part in the revolutionary process. After finding work in a government office, Paula joined one of the Popular Unity parties. Most of her workmates were party members and a party cell was active in her office. However, whilst Pedro could centre his time around his political commitments, Paula found that she was rushing between home and office. It was true that child care facilities had improved during Popular Unity. The nursery at her workplace, which had previously accepted children over two years of age, now lifted this age restriction, enabling Paula to place her younger child in care. She could also count on the services of a maid to help with housework and childcare. Nevertheless Paula still felt that she couldn't put in the same amount of hours at the office as her predominantly male colleagues, and she felt bad in front of her *compañeros*, as if she wasn't pulling her weight. However, it never occurred to Paula to raise her problem at a party meeting. She thought that family arrangements were something she had to settle by herself. The only other female member of her political group was single and didn't share Paula's dilemma for the time being at least.

Although Paula's party membership brought an increased degree of comradeship to the marriage, it did not occur to Paula to ask Pedro for help in the home. Since marrying, Pedro - like most Chilean men - had hardly been involved in the practical running of the home. Now Pedro's public commitments meant that he arrived home exhausted and fell into bed. Their social life as a couple dwindled. On the few occasions when they did visit friends, Pedro invariably

fell asleep. Customary visits to their parents for Sunday lunch also became less frequent as they increasingly ended in political arguments and disagreement.

Although Pedro and his *compañeros* agreed that a military coup was on the agenda from the start, by the third year of Popular Unity's office, the political and economic situation had deteriorated dramatically. The political opposition was effectively disrupting the economy with transport strikes, an economic boycott was biting, and the armed forces were acting increasingly independently. Pedro thought a coup was imminent. "*Soldado, amigo, el pueblo está contigo*" (soldier, friend, the people are with you), cried sections of Popular Unity in an appeal to the ordinary soldier to support the popular movement in any armed confrontation. Paula also heard much talk of a coup, but she could never really bring herself to believe it could happen, not here in Chile with its long tradition of democratic rule.

On the morning of the coup, 11th September 1973, Pedro went to his office in the centre of Santiago to find a situation of total confusion. Nobody knew what to do. Outside they could hear bullets ricocheting off the buildings and rounds of machine gun fire. Pedro and his *compañeros* waited impotently. Why hadn't such a confrontation been foreseen and actively prepared for? Several hours later, the group decided to disband and Pedro arrived home just before the announcement of an early curfew, with transgressors shot on sight.

At home, Paula wept as she listened to Allende's final speech on the radio. Gradually only military music, punctuated by the sharp announcement of military bulletins ordering the population to stay indoors and keep calm, could be heard as left-wing radio stations were systematically bombed. Paula heard the jubilation of her right-wing neighbours, gloating at the sudden reversal in their fortunes. Several days later, she opened the front door to a detachment of heavily armed soldiers, who pushed Paula

aside and ordered everyone to lie on the floor at gun point whilst a thorough search was made of the house. After a brief interrogation, Pedro was frog-marched away leaving Paula and the children in a state of shock.

Pedro spent the following eighteen months in a number of torture centres and concentration camps, often in remote and inhospitable parts of the country. He was surprised at the rapidity with which he, and others, adapted to life in this arbitrary regime. Apart from the constant uncertainty as to one's fate, there was the isolation from loved ones and from news as to what was going on in the country as a whole. Pedro felt fortified and inspired by the example set by others: their courage and inner strength in the face of adversity had an important effect on others who were demoralized or depressed. Pedro, along with many others in the camp, found that his political preparation steeled him to confront the present situation they found themselves in and the treatment received from prison guards kept their anger on the boil. The political prisoners drew upon their collective expertise to set up their own organizations in the prison camps - a school, theatre, and handicraft workshops. When electing their own representatives, Pedro reflected ironically that these were probably the first democratic elections to take place in Chile since the coup.

Back in Santiago, Paula tried to pick up the threads of her life after the devastation wrecked by Pedro's arrest. She did not experience severe financial hardship for she retained her job. Instead the cost was of another kind, for she had to carry out orders from her new superiors, whose social consequences in terms of unemployment and hardship for others, repelled her. The nursery at her workplace was closed and Paula now relied mainly on the maid and, more sporadically, on her mother for help with childcare. Paula tried to keep up an outward appearance of normality, was fastidious about her dress and personal appearance. She kept the fact of Pedro's detention from all but a few trusted friends in the office for fear that

this might jeopardize her employment. Even within the neighbourhood, Paula went around with her head held high. She wasn't going to give the neighbours the satisfaction of seeing her downtrodden. In private, however, Paula periodically broke down. Nothing so terrible had ever happened to her before. She had never imagined herself in such a situation. Her main source of consolation was the small group of wives who shared her dilemma. Only they could understand what she was going through.

As dramatically as he had been arrested, Pedro was suddenly released. Being politically marked, however, he found it virtually impossible to get work and there was very little that he could do politically. His political group had dispersed: some, like himself, had been imprisoned, other had gone underground or were lying low, and yet others had left the country. Pedro and Paula talked about exile themselves. Paula saw this as an escape from the daily terror of life in Chile, where Pedro could be re-detained at any moment and then "disappear" as many others had. Paula and her family put pressure on Pedro to leave. Pedro himself thought he might possibly be more useful outside Chile than inside where his movements were severely circumscribed. Reluctantly he made an application, through the World University Service scholarship programme for persecuted intellectuals, to leave the country.

Shortly after arrival to this country, Pedro began a course of study at a British university. Both he and Paula spoke some English and hoped to be reasonably fluent within a relatively short time. More difficult for Pedro to adjust to was the British university system. He felt strange having so much time on his own to devote to his studies after having been part of a collective group in Chile where decisions had been made jointly and political and intellectual discussion intense. Pedro tried to orient his studies towards his perception of what would be useful to the future of Chile but he often doubted himself the relevance of much of what he was learning. However, it was preferable to being unemployed, as many other Chilean

exiles were.

Whilst Pedro withdrew into his books, Paula took over the running of the home. She felt that she owed it to her children to be at home whilst they were adjusting to a new language and schools. She also felt she needed time to unwind after the stress and strain of the preceding years. Paula was initially struck by the drabness of her new surroundings. The council flat which they rented was modest compared to their bungalow in Santiago. Both Pedro and Paula agreed, however, that they would buy only the strictly necessary and rely, where possible, on second-hand goods. Neither wanted to put down too many roots. Paula felt she had little in common with her Scottish neighbours who had initially been curious about the new tenants. When they found out, however, that Pedro was studying at university, they fell silent and visits dropped off.

Shortly after arrival, Pedro had made contact with his party comrades in exile and together they tried to make sense of their situation. Pedro felt he could never get enough news about what was going on in Chile. He would eagerly scan the British press only to be invariably disappointed. Some comrades bought short-wave radio sets and stayed up into the early hours tuning in to foreign bulletins, preferably in Spanish, about Chile and Latin America. The radio served as a bridge with events back home and captured something of the immediacy of the Chilean situation which seemed so distant from this country. Pedro was stunned by the low level of political interest shown by students here and at the low key ideological discussion and debate between the major political parties. British politics was so different from what he had known. Pedro felt his political experience in Chile to be totally irrelevant to the situation here. Cut off from events in Chile and with no contact with the British working class, Pedro and his comrades were confined to small-scale tasks and activities. They had set up a solidarity committee in the university, shown films about Chile, and organized fund-raising socials but these

activities didn't fill a militant's time.

Paula found it difficult to attend party meetings as she now had the children to look after. However, she went on all the political marches and rallies and made a point of taking the children with her. Accustomed to working outside the home, Paula began to feel increasingly discontent in the house. She was amazed at what she considered to be the backward position of British women and at the low level of collective child care provision. Paula had heard of the existence of a women's liberation movement but as far as she could make out this took up such "trivial" issues as sexual freedom and abortion. Paula thought this movement had little to offer Chilean women like her, who had participated in a political movement to transform society. In her view, women's energies should be directed towards working with the men and not against them.

However, Paula began to feel that Chilean women had a "raw deal" in exile. After all many women, like herself, had had careers or studies interrupted by the coup and she didn't think it fair that the men should have exclusive access to jobs and grants, whilst the women stayed at home. When she considered the children to be relatively settled, she applied for a grant to study herself. However, after gaining admission to a demanding university course, she now found that she was having to do two jobs at once, course work and domestic work. Paula recalled how Pedro had been able to cut himself off from the domestic routine and immerse himself in his books on arrival. She first tried to cut down the housework to a minimum and to get the children to lend a hand with some chores. She found it difficult to ask Pedro for help in the home. However, as the exams approached she gradually gave Pedro some tasks, such as the weekly shopping and responsibility for meeting the children from school several days a week. Pedro, unlike some Chilean men in exile, proved willing but he did sometimes joke that men would need

liberating next. On a few occasions, Pedro had to decline invitations as he had agreed to stay in and look after the children. Pedro reflected that this would never have happened in Chile and felt that he had voluntarily renounced a little of the freedom he had once enjoyed to come and go as he pleased.

Pedro and Paula frequently talked about the future. Pedro felt his situation to be hopeless here. Whilst the grants had provided them both with a degree of personal realization, they were shortly to expire. The possibility of finding work with some political relevance for Chile was low. Political activity had also dwindled. As they saw their world shrinking back to that of the home, they were both frequently depressed. Their lives were wasting away. They couldn't go on living this impoverished existence much longer. Having known real participation, could they ever be content with anything less? Pedro's eyes turned towards Latin America. The newly liberated Nicaragua raised his hopes for the continent once again.

summary shifts

During the Popular Unity period, both Pedro - the intellectual - and Marcelo - the manual worker - experienced the positive expansion and transformation of their political and economic roles. Both men enjoyed an increased sense of power and control over their working lives and dedicated their waking hours to political tasks in the public sphere. Paula, meanwhile, whilst sharing the men's political concerns, could not expand her political life to the same extent as her family commitments pulled the other way. She experienced increasing tension between her dual role, being unable to fully satisfy her commitments to either comrades or children. From Mónica's vantage point in the private sphere of the home, the Popular Unity process was viewed with considerable trepidation and a growing sense of alarm. She felt betrayed and abandoned by Marcelo's trade union activities and conflict within their marriage increased.

After the coup, both men were publicly marginalized and devalued; both were stripped of power and position in the public sphere. Both men, however, were able to construct strong collective bonds with comrades in prison and maintain their political stance. Whilst the men were forced out of the public sphere by the coup, the women were forced in. Paula's public role expanded and Mónica's private world was pierced as she had to provide for the family and liaise with public authorities over Marcelo's imprisonment.

The two couples came into exile through different routes: Pedro and Paula through the World University scholarship programme, and Marcelo and Mónica through Marcelo's adoption by a British trade union. In exile, both men experienced severe political deprivation and demobilization. However, this was more marked in Marcelo's case as he spent a long period unemployed whilst Pedro entered the university here shortly after arrival. Both women, meanwhile, shifted back into the private sphere after their expanded or new-found public role since the coup in Chile. Although initially accepted or welcomed, both women later sought to break out of the restricted private sphere of exile in ways which modified the marriage relationship. Paula's resumption of public activity broke down Pedro's non-involvement in domestic affairs. Mónica's participation in some solidarity activities in exile, led to the beginnings of a political conversation with Marcelo. In both instances, the marriage relationship became less asymmetrical.

Having set the scene, introduced the actors, I shall now take up the story proper at a critical moment in the actors' lives - a point of rupture with the coup d'état.

C H A P T E R 3

RUPTURE OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOMAINS

"You are carrying out a task for the country until late at night on the 10th September and on the 11th you end up in prison."

Julio, a politicized man

"You can't imagine the panic I felt when I was suddenly plonked down in a strange country with no family or friends nearby."

Catalina, a privatized woman

This chapter takes up the story at a critical point in the lives of both the politicized and privatized actors for it charts the breakdown of two socially constructed worlds. Given the different relationship which actors had to public events, the timing of this breakdown differed. For the politicized men, who were intensively involved in public affairs, the rupture in their biographies coincides with the rupture in Chilean history marked by the military coup d'état. The collapse of the privatized women's world often came later when departure from Chile severed kinship ties and opened up a schism in their private lives. This chapter then bridges a major shift in Chilean history as well as a geographical shift from one society to another through exile. The first part of this chapter focuses on the coup and the emotionally charged process of leaving the country. The second part examines the initial experiences of politicized and privatized actors in exile and their differing feelings of deprivation and loss.

the coup

The coup shattered the politicized actors' belief in the irreversibility of the revolutionary process initiated

by Popular Unity. It shattered, too, their hopes that Popular Unity would mark a turning point in Chilean history: the beginnings of a future transition to socialism. Now military intervention, rather than socialist intervention, ordered historical time, dividing events into "before" and "after" the coup.

Although none of the politicized actors uses the term "internal exile" in their accounts, it fits their descriptions of living in an alien world well and does appear in the exile literature.¹ From the moment of the coup, the politicized men had felt themselves to be living in a foreign country, to be banished, persecuted, marginalized and devalued. Almost overnight their world had been turned upside down. Enrique described how:-

"It took me a long time to realize that what was happening was for real and not a nightmare. It was like being really drunk and waking up the next morning not knowing where you are. It was two months of unreality."

Although the coup had not been totally unexpected by most politicized men, the speed of the turnaround, the thoroughness and ease with which it was accomplished had caught many by surprise. As has been seen, the military Junta rapidly dismantled the public sphere constructed by Popular Unity, banning political activities and proscribing political organizations in an attempt to erase Popular Unity from popular consciousness. At the same time the Junta could put forward its version of life under Popular Unity in a speedy rewriting of history.²

¹ The term "internal exile" is used metaphorically here to describe the process of distancing between the politicized actors and public institutions since the coup. Internal exile, however, also took place in a more literal way. Popular Unity leaders were physically relegated by the Junta to distant and inhospitable parts of Chilean territory, such as Isla Dawson.

² The *Libro Blanco* (White Book), printed shortly after the coup by the military, set out to justify military intervention by portraying Popular Unity as "violent, corrupt and unfit to govern."

With respect to the impact of the repression on my sample, all men had been dismissed from work and ten men had spent varying lengths of time in detention, ranging from a few weeks in the National Stadium to over three years in prisons and concentration camps. Women had not been so harshly affected. None had been imprisoned and only four of the nine women who had worked outside the home had been dismissed outright from their jobs for political reasons. One woman had initially been demoted and later dismissed and four had maintained their employment.

Although the coup brought an unprecedented degree of personal suffering to the privatized women, their world had not been transformed to the same extent or in the same way as the men's. The privatized women's descriptions of the coup reveal the extent to which they had remained on the fringe of public affairs. Isabel had seen the tanks rolling past her strategically placed living room window on the morning of the coup but had not thought much of it at the time. Laura had heard the news that troops had taken over the presidential palace whilst out shopping but had no idea what it meant. However many of these women had suffered the private consequences of political events, for there were few families which did not have a member of the kin group in some kind of trouble. Furthermore, three privatized women had been thrust into the public arena through their men's imprisonment.

With the disruption of the men's political and economic networks, the private domain became increasingly important as a refuge. Several couples had returned to live with their parents for both protection and financial support. It had been taken-for-granted by many that the family could be called upon to help out in such emergencies. However, this support had not always been forthcoming for kinship ties had also been affected by the wider process of political polarisation which occurred during the Popular Unity period. Whilst Claudia's mother, who disagreed with Raúl's politics, had come to her aid when Raúl was

imprisoned, Silvia - in similar difficulties - had neither asked for nor received any help from her family, "*not even a piece of bread*". The extent to which politics had eroded blood ties came as a revelation to some who had been personally disowned in their hour of need. Enrique related how his father had refused to aid three sons in prison, arguing that "*a communist has to pay for his sins*".

passage from internal exile to exile abroad

Although the rupture in the politicized actors' biographies dates from the coup, the final extrusion was still a painful and agonizing process. To leave the country was to add a geographical distance to the political, economic and social distancing which had already taken place in Chile. It erected yet another barrier between the men's political goals and the national arena with which they were bound up. It was also emotionally charged with feelings of guilt, betrayal and cowardice. The passage from internal exile to exile was therefore a potentially threatening topic. To probe into the circumstances behind departure was to ask for reasons and motives which bore upon the men's political commitments.

Given the vital issue of leaving to the politicized actors, the sections of their accounts which deal with this question present one of the instances where the social monitoring of accounts was at its clearest. By this I mean that the politicized men related their accounts of the leaving process in terms of publicly acceptable vocabularies of motive which controlled conduct in their group.¹ That this was going on not only emerged from the repeated warnings I received to this effect from members of the exile community, but also from contradictions or discrepancies between husbands' and wives' accounts of the leaving process.

¹ C.W. Mills analyses the socially situated character of motives and the way in which these control individual conduct, in C.W. Mills "Situating Actions and Vocabularies of Motive", in S.G. Manis and B.N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction: a reader in social psychology, Allyn and Bacon Inc., Boston, 1972, pp. 393-404.

Which reasons were publicly aired not only had a bearing on an individual's standing in the exile community, where exiles were differentiated into *políticos* and *económicos*, by the extent to which political or economic factors had played a part in their departure, but also on the relationship of the exile community as a whole to those comrades who had remained in Chile and whose judgement was feared and respected.

For the politicized men, *la lucha* (the struggle) distinguished valid from non-valid reasons for leaving. Underlying the men's political vocabulary was the view that where possible militants should stay in Chile, the arena of the struggle. Leaving the country was therefore involuntary, and only undertaken as a last resort. As Cristián put it:-

"Leaving is the product of a political problem. It's not the result of a carefully thought out decision."

Whilst leaving the country to escape physical persecution was considered legitimate, leaving to escape harsh economic conditions was not. A good deal of strong and condemnatory language was reserved for those who left *"without really needing to do so"*. Many men voiced how they had wanted to stay and participate in the resistance but had been forced to leave by threats to their physical well-being. Some men contrasted their view with the counterposition taken by their wives so that their political stance came across more forcefully. Rafael had turned down a prior opportunity to leave - although Cristina had been eager to go - because *"nuestra lucha está en Chile"* (our struggle is in Chile).

This form of accounting was least problematic for the political prisoners who had clear and verifiable reasons for their exit. It was more problematic where the politicized had maintained a degree of personal control over their departure. However, Carlos amidst the trials of prison life had still procrastinated over whether to accept the commutation of his prison sentence into exile:-

"Estuve tres años en prisión cuando surgió la posibilidad de permutar las penas de la cárcel por el exilio. Entonces al principio habían algunas vacilaciones porque uno siempre prefiere quedarse por allá si la situación en el país podría desembocar en algún proceso de cambio. Pero en la medida que el régimen de Pinochet se fué asegurando, entonces la gran mayoría de nosotros decidimos tomar la decisión de salir al exilio."

(I had been in prison three years when the possibility of commuting the trials of prison life into exile arose. At first I hesitated because you always prefer to stay in the country if there is any prospect of change. But as Pinochet's regime became more entrenched with time and there was little hope that things were going to change in the near future, the majority of us opted for exile.)

Leaving was eased where it was the result of a group decision, as in Carlos's case, or where militants left under party instructions. Leaving with party permission did not raise the same crisis of political commitment as where this was lacking or disregarded. Some parties had deemed it advisable for endangered militants to leave the country with a view to maintaining the long-term survival of party members and networks. Others, however, had ordered all militants to remain. Where party approval had been given, this information was generally volunteered. A fairly typical accounts runs as follows:-

"A contact was caught and tortured and I was told that the police were out looking for me. I went into hiding again. The party eventually ordered me to leave."

Leaving was also eased by the idea that one was going to continue the political struggle abroad by participating in the solidarity campaign. In this way, leaving was not regarded as the renunciation of political commitments but their continuation under new conditions. Some militants, particularly those already politically marked inside the country, thought they might even be more useful to the cause outside.

Although the dominant mode of accounting was cast in political terms, there were several instances where this political code was broken or marginally adhered to. There

could be powerful reasons for playing down the political urgency behind departure and the degree of personal danger confronted. Some politicized men may well have deemed it expedient to depoliticize their situation and give a more non-committal version of their departure. One man's taped account of leaving was related in much more neutral terms than his later, untaped version, speaking of "*preferring to*" rather than "*having to*" leave. The political code was also violated by a male worker interviewed shortly after arrival *in* this country. He was very explicit about the economic hardship he and his family had endured in Chile and the part this had played in his leaving. It may be that he had yet to become sensitized to the dominant public vocabulary in exile or adherence to its terms may have been eclipsed by his overwhelming sense of relief at escaping four, long, hard years dominated by the struggle to subsist.

Few of the politically involved women had independent reasons for leaving. As mentioned earlier, none had been imprisoned. Some had retained their jobs after the coup, and others had found alternative, if often unsatisfactory, employment. However, these women were also sensitive to the men's political vocabulary. They were often just as harsh, and sometimes harsher, in their condemnation of those who had left "unnecessarily". However, others mentioned non-political reasons for their departure. "*Being in love*", "*in an unbearable work situation*" or "*going abroad to study*" were also mentioned. These women were also more open in their accounts over issues about which the men preferred to keep silent. One woman spoke at length about her husband's inability to adjust to being stripped of status and public position after the coup and the important part this had played in their departure.

The first wave of exiles to leave the country had fled to Argentina and Peru, border countries with Chile and, at the time, receptive to Chilean refugees. Six men in the sample had crossed the border between the end of

1973 and the first half of 1974, leaving wives and children behind in Chile under the protection of the extended family. Although these early departures had taken place in extremely tense and dramatic circumstances, they had not been seen as such an irrevocable step as the subsequent departure from the continent. The exiles had still been in Latin America, sufficiently close to be in daily touch with Chilean events and for a speedy return should this become possible.

The initial period after the coup had been characterized by generalized uncertainty, confusion and fear. Sergio, who had crossed the border into Argentina a month after the coup, related how:-

"No teníamos en ese momento ni mucho menos la idea de que íbamos a estar tanto tiempo afuera. Hasta quizás un año después del golpe había una confusión bastante grande en prácticamente el conjunto de la sociedad chilena. Entonces no era posible visualizar claramente lo que le esperaba el futuro a prácticamente nadie."

(We hadn't the slightest idea at that time that we were going to be such a long time outside the country. Until about a year after the coup, there was widespread confusion throughout the whole of Chilean society so it was almost impossible for anybody to visualize their future clearly.)

In point of fact exiles in both Peru and, particularly, Argentina had soon found themselves facing yet another repressive situation when what had been friendly harbours turned hostile and threatening.¹ Some Chileans, after having escaped persecution at the hands of the Chilean military, were to experience firsthand repression in Argentinian gaols. In Peru, the Chilean exiles were eventually expelled from the country, as long-held antagonisms between Peru and Chile erupted and war-mongering became more vocal.

¹ When viewed in continental terms, the Chilean coup appeared part of a right-wing, counter-revolutionary drive against the hopes for a popular, revolutionary bloc in the southern cone of Latin America. It was as if the tide of history turned as Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina all came under military rule. This new right wing military axis enabled some repressive actions to be coordinated across frontiers. General Prat, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces under Allende, and an opponent of the coup, was assassinated in Buenos Aires. Some Chileans had arrived in Argentina, only to be returned to Chile.

For many, this second upheaval had exacerbated what they described as a pre-existing state of "*endemic insecurity*".

As time passed in Chile, the threat of physical persecution on the scale of the early months after the coup, receded. Nevertheless a combination of cultural, family and psychological factors could add up to what was experienced as an unbearable personal situation, driving others in the sample into leaving. The kind of society to emerge out of the military coup did violence to all their values. That Chile, which had been looked upon as a model of enlightenment and tolerance on the continent, was in the process of being transformed into a cultural backwater, its universities staffed by mediocrity, its economy ruthlessly subordinated to the profit mechanism, its people cowed and repressed, was a matter of national shame and disgrace. Many felt that they had not only lost their own particular niche in society, they had also lost *la patria*, their homeland. Despite all the risks and uncertainties attached to exile, nothing could be worse than this burnt-out existence in Chile. Cristina spoke for many when she said:-

"Nada podía ser peor. No te ibas para tener algo mejor. Te ibas porque pensabas que nada podía ser peor."

(Nothing could be worse. You weren't going in the hope of something better, but simply because you felt that nothing could be worse).

The middle sectors, in particular, physically and socially isolated from the working class by the class segregationist policies of the Junta and alienated from the free market model and consumerist values propagated by the military regime turned in on themselves. After years of living in this controlled and suffocating environment, people came to internalize the repression. The high degree of self-control over actions and words, the₁ checking of any spontaneity, had a psychological toll.

¹ One account of daily life under the military Junta appears in Colectivo, La vida diaria en Chile bajo la Junta, Salamanca, Spain, 1978.

It was largely exiles from the middle sectors who had left under these circumstances. Workers suffered a good deal more from the Junta's repressive measures and although "*nothing could be worse*" for them too, leaving the country represented a much larger leap into the unknown than for the middle sectors. The latter not only had wider horizons, more information and contacts abroad, but they also had access to channels, such as the World University Service scholarship programme, which workers did not have. Workers had generally come into exile either through having had prison sentences commuted into exile, or after initial flights to Peru or Argentina.¹

privatized women and exile

Although the political circumstances behind exile had appertained to the men, the privatized women cannot be viewed as passive appendages to a decision which so directly affected their lives. Through their base within the family, these women had attempted to exert some influence over the shape and direction of events. In particular, kinship networks had been mobilized to bring pressure to bear on the men. However, they could equally well work to the woman's disadvantage, where kin disapproved of her course of action.

When talking about their departure from the country, the privatized women employed a different vocabulary from the men, and one which was based on considerations of family welfare, security and tranquillity. The privatized women had also drawn up a different map of the world from the men. The men's priorities, if they had to leave, had been to stay in Latin America or go to a socialist country because of ideological affinities. The privatized women, meanwhile, had differentiated countries by level of economic development (rich and poor) and degree of political stability,

¹ Chileans can enter Argentina using their national identity card and do not, therefore, need a passport. Mendoza - the nearest Argentine city to the Chilean capital - can be reached relatively easily and cheaply by train or bus.

with the family being "better off" in the rich and stable parts of the world. The fact that these women had different priorities from the men meant that the potential for marital disagreement was high. It was another reason making probing into this question delicate. Only where couples shared political sympathies had there been a basis for making difficult and unpleasant decisions.

Rather than responding to male pronouncements, four women had initiated or pressed for exile. Three of these women had experienced the imprisonment of their husbands and this had been a major factor in their desire to leave. Gloria had begun exile proceedings as a way of having Juan's prison sentence commuted, and Mariana and Claudia, whose husbands had been released from detention in Chile, as a way of ensuring that their men did not 'fall detained' again. These women's lives had been affected far more dramatically than those who had not been through such an ordeal. Although many privatized women had felt a growing sense of alarm during Popular Unity, the coup had generally come as a total shock and the repression which had followed as inconceivable. Claudia thought that this had made a critical difference to the way in which men and women had been able to confront events:-

"The men's political background to some extent prepared them for such an eventuality and steeled them to confront it. But I was totally unprepared for such an experience."

These women described themselves as having been bundles of nerves, losing weight and eating themselves out with anxiety. They had lived under the continual threat of widowhood, and of joining the growing numbers of wives of the "disappeared". Although many of the women had put these experiences behind them, Claudia had still to wipe the tears from her eyes as she recalled the time when Raúl had been detained in a distant concentration camp. The private consequences of the coup had shattered these women's psychological security.

Although leaving the country had meant severing kinship ties - the foundation stones of the women's private domain -

this loss had been eclipsed by the desire to secure their husbands' safety and their own peace of mind. Gloria had a very close-knit extended family in Chile but this had never for one moment held her back:-

"I never thought twice about leaving. I just wanted to get Juan out of prison and be reunited with him and the children. Although I had a job and my family in Chile, I never saw these for one moment as keeping me there."

By mixing with other women in the queues whilst waiting to visit their men in prison and through their contacts with the Church's Peace Committee, these women had had access to information about exile procedures and possibilities which other privatized women lacked. Both Mariana and Gloria had found out about the possibility of exile in this way. Mariana's mind had been quite made up as soon as she knew the option existed and she had begged to Cristián to leave after he had been detained for a second time. *"I haven't done anything wrong"*, Cristián had replied to her frequent pleading. Mariana was quite clear why she had wanted to leave:-

"My sole aim was to get Cristián out of danger, to make sure that he was safe. For me nowhere could be as bad as living in Chile. I wanted tranquillity. I wanted to live somewhere where I would not be in constant fear that Cristián would disappear."

The strength of these women's desires to leave were confirmed to me by their men. Two husbands acknowledged that they had bowed to family pressure in agreeing to leave. Claudia had had her mother firmly behind her and she too had urged Raúl to go. Having stood by their men during their time in captivity, having done what they could to secure their release, having sacrificed themselves for what some regarded as their husbands' foolhardiness in getting involved in the first place, the women's bargaining power had increased. Claudia was adamant that she simply did not have the strength to see Raúl through another detention. Likewise Mariana, who had seen Cristián detained on three separate occasions, could not take any more.

Cristián related how he had given way to family pressure in deciding to leave, even though this had violated his own

political code that a militant should stay in Chile where possible. However, he recognized that:-

"The family see things from a different point of view. They don't see the political arguments or reasons for staying. What they see is the need for security."

In these cases of conflict between the women's and men's priorities, it was the women's wishes which had prevailed. Without these family pressures, some men may well have decided to remain in Chile. However, the men acknowledged the hard times that their wives had been through and felt the need to repay the family in some way. Leaving Chile out of consideration for family wishes was accepted as a valid, though non-political reason for leaving. Unlike economic motives, family motives could be publicly aired by the men.

However, in a number of other cases, the privatized women had been unwilling followers of their men into exile. Five privatized women had ceded to political circumstances which had dictated their husbands' departure from the country. The decision which was to have such far-reaching consequences for these women's lives had often been made in a flurry and under pressure. Those women who had been left behind in Chile when their men fled to Argentina or Peru, had suddenly received ultimata from their men as visas for third countries came through. Ana had received a cable from her husband to say that she and the child should join him immediately as he was leaving within a week. Ana had tussled with the decision and turned to her mother for advice:-

"I couldn't stay yet I didn't want to go. To stay would have meant breaking up my marriage, whilst to go meant leaving my family behind. My mother said I must do what I thought best for myself and the child. I must go where we could earn a living."

The decision which the women had confronted had opened a split in their privatized world between their commitments to husbands and their membership of an extended family group which had often formed the boundaries of their private world. Ana, who had worried about moving down the road

from her mother on marriage, now had to consider parting from her for an unknown length of time. Although Ana had decided to go, she had not been totally powerless to influence the location of her exile. When she found out that the visa was for a country "*even poorer than Chile*", she had left the child with her mother in Chile and gone to Argentina alone. In this way she had been able to delay the decision until a more favourable alternative arose. Silvia, meanwhile, regarded exile as just one more time that she had had to follow Pepe around since she married him:-

"I've always followed him around in our marriage. He always said each change would be for the better but it was usually for the worse."

Silvia, then, viewed exile as just another instance where she had to up and off at Pepe's behest. "*What else could I do?*" she said somewhat resignedly. With no independent income and four small children she did not see herself as having any alternative.

Apart from economic pressures on women to accompany their men, there had also been moral pressures. Catalina had been practically ordered by her father to accompany Mario into exile:-

"My father said I had no choice but to go as a separated woman had no place in his house. Everyone was in tears as my parents didn't really want me to go, yet kept saying that I had to as I couldn't stay here alone."

Despite these moral pressures on women to remain by their husbands' side, not all women did accompany their husbands into exile. I knew of two cases in the exile community where men had come into exile leaving wives and children behind in Chile. Although, in this case, Catalina had obeyed her father and left, she gave two reasons of her own which had pushed her into going:-

"Part of me wanted to escape the family. My father controlled my every movement when Mario wasn't there. Besides which I was young, only recently married and still in love."

The same kinship bonds which could be a major factor in the privatized women's desire to remain in Chile could

also be a factor pushing them to leave. Those women whose husbands had been absent since the coup had often fallen under paternal authority again. In Catalina's case, parental control had never been completely broken as she had continued to live with her parents after marriage. However, control had been stepped up in Mario's absence and had come to be experienced by Catalina as stifling and imprisoning.

Laura and Silvia who had also followed their men into exile did not have close family networks in Chile and so had not experienced the same schism in their private networks through exile. Laura had lived at both a physical and an emotional distance from her family. She had been indifferent about leaving Chile and over where she went:-

"I didn't put up any opposition to leaving and didn't really mind where we went."

Laura had not liked the small-town life she led in Chile and may well have harboured a desire to break out. She was adventurous, had some personal ambitions and had already taken some steps towards continuing her education before the coup occurred. She may well have regarded exile as an escape. At least she had seen little to lose. Silvia, meanwhile, had a history of personal conflict with her mother but this had increased considerably since her marriage to a communist. After the coup, Silvia had been ostracized by her family so that parting had been traumatic in a different way from many privatized women's experiences. Whilst others recounted the tearful farewells at airports and railway stations, Silvia recalled how:-

"My mother only said goodbye to me very casually and then hurried off to mass. I was shocked by this. It's something I have engraved on my memory."

In summary, the extent to which the privatized women participated in the decision or favoured exile varied considerably. Where the coup had shattered family life by imprisoning the man, exile provided both a means of reuniting the family through the commutation of the man's prison sentence and of escaping the repression. Given these women's overwhelming desire to secure their men's

physical safety, any perceived costs of exile had receded into the background. Other privatized women, meanwhile, had succumbed to economic and moral pressures to accompany their men into exile. Some had seen themselves as having little choice in the matter. Whilst the costs of going into exile had not been uniformly experienced by women, in all cases they would be re-evaluated at a later date.

scale of the exodus

The exact number of Chileans who have left Chile since the coup is difficult to gauge with accuracy for it includes not only those who left under United Nations auspices or through other official programmes but also those who left independently. Whatever the exact figure, there is no doubt that the Chilean exile represents a mass exodus from the country. The highest estimate, made by a Chilean Catholic migration organization (*INCAMI*), is that one million people, or a tenth of the total population, have left for political or economic reasons since the coup.¹ The scale of the Chilean exile is both a reflection of the popular and potentially revolutionary challenge presented by Popular Unity and of the depth and severity of the repression unleashed by the Junta to contain it.

From June 1974 until the end of 1977, some 2,400 Chilean exiles made their way to Britain, having come either directly from Chile or via Argentina or Peru. Britain became a possible refuge for Chilean exiles when the recently elected Labour government reversed Conservative policy and announced in March 1974 its intention of viewing applications from Chilean refugees sympathetically.² This decision to take

¹ Latin American Political Report, 17.6.1977. For an overall picture of the geographical dispersal of Chilean exiles, see Table 2 in the Appendix.

² Initially applicants had to have "authentic reasons" for wanting to come to Britain, such as ties with Britain or knowledge of English, as well as being "personally acceptable", i.e. screened for security clearance. Later, these "authentic reasons" were modified to include those whose release from prison could be obtained on condition of exile and those in immediate danger of political arrest. A. Browne, "Latin American Refugees: British Government Policy and Practice", in Britain and Latin America, An Annual Review of British - Latin American Relations, 1979, Latin American Bureau, London 1979, pp. 29-31.

in refugees from a country without recent close links with Britain was a response to a body of mobilized public opinion in this country condemning the coup and urging measures to be taken. Popular Unity's democratic road to socialism had aroused widespread sympathy and support from the labour and trade union movement. The military Junta's overthrow of a democratically elected regime and its widespread violation of human rights also outraged humanitarian and liberal opinion. A Chile Solidarity Campaign (CSC) was formed shortly after the coup and a more broadly based Chile Committee for Human Rights (CCHR) several months later.¹ At the same time a group of British academics came together to form a pressure group, Academics for Chile, which later co-ordinated with the World University Service in the setting up of a scholarship programme for persecuted intellectuals and students.

flight and arrival

Once the British government had decided to accept Chilean refugees, there was a need to organize for their arrival. With this purpose in mind, the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Chile (JWG) was formed in July 1974, bringing together a variety of bodies, some with a traditional concern for refugees and others, like the CSC, of a more political character.² During 1974, 483 Chilean exiles arrived to Britain under the JWG programme, 811 in 1975,

¹ The CSC was formed to publicize the situation under Popular Unity and the current situation in Chile under the Junta; to contribute to the international isolation of the Junta in the economic, political, military, diplomatic and cultural fields through putting pressure on the British government; to support morally and materially the resistance of the Chilean people to overthrow the Junta and construct socialism in Chile. The CCHR was formed in January 1974 to work for the restoration of human rights in Chile and to help political prisoners and their families.

² Member organizations of the JWG include Christian Aid, the British Council for Aid to Refugees, the Ockenden Venture, the Standing Conference of British Organizations for Aid to Refugees, the World University Service, the Chile Solidarity Campaign and the Chile Committee for Human Rights.

523 in 1976 and 232 in 1977, making a total of 2,049 individuals.¹ The arrivals of my sample were spread over a four year period, with the first family arriving in early 1974 and the last in 1978. By far the largest group, however, arrived in the second half of 1974 and throughout 1975.

Given the politicized men's expressed preference to remain in Latin America or to go to a country of the socialist bloc, their eventual exile to Britain came about through a number of different circumstances. Firstly, the range of options within Latin America had been curtailed by the spread of right-wing military regimes as occurred in Argentina. Furthermore, as time passed Venezuela and Mexico, the other two main centres of Chilean exiles on the continent became increasingly saturated and difficult to enter. Secondly, some had applied to socialist countries and been turned down; others had eliminated themselves with the thinking that such countries as Cuba and the Soviet Union only took in the political heavyweights; yet others had been awaiting word from a socialist country when Britain replied affirmatively and it was deemed prudent to accept. Whilst some exiles had specific reasons for coming to Britain, others had arrived through chance factors and some with considerable misgivings. The degree of positive or negative feelings towards coming here thus varied substantially. Alejandro, who had exercised little control over the location of his exile, related how:-

"Nosotros no escogimos Gran Bretaña, es la verdad, y además no sabíamos que había una campaña de solidaridad acá. Solamente teníamos a todos los países por delante. No sabíamos cuales eran los mejores. La caída aquí fue más que todo la primera oportunidad que se presentó pero de toda manera en ese tiempo uno venía pensando que eso iba a ser muy coyuntural. Ahora yo no tenía muchas ganas de venirme a Gran Bretaña. Yo habría preferido algún país latinoamericano, estar más cerca."

¹ Joint Working Group Interim Report, Refugees from Chile, London, December 1975, p.78; A. Browne, op.cit., p.33.

(The truth is that we didn't choose Britain. We didn't even know that there was a solidarity campaign here. We only had all the countries in front of us. We didn't know which were the best. My coming here occurred largely because it was the first opportunity to present itself. But in any case I didn't think it was going to be for very long at the time. Still I didn't have much desire to come to Britain. I would have preferred some other Latin American country, to be nearer.)

Four men and one woman had come to Britain under the World University Service (WUS) grant scheme and had been accepted for postgraduate studies by British universities. Five couples had some connection - personal, family or political - with Britain. The Chilean Radical party, like its sister party the British Labour party, belongs to the social democratic international and the Radicals in the sample gave this link as one reason for coming here.¹ A few men mentioned a preference for an English speaking country as a facilitating factor for themselves and for their children's education, and one which outweighed the more favourable political climate expected in a socialist country. Two workers had had prison sentences commuted into exile and came to Britain through having been adopted by British trade unions.

Given the differing background circumstances behind departure, leaving Chile had been accompanied by varying degrees of drama and under different frames of mind. The most dramatic departures had often been the early exits to the border countries of Argentina and Peru, where the men had been fleeing probable imprisonment and torture in Chile. For those who had prison sentences commuted into exile, the day of release had often come as an unexpected surprise, something they had dreamt about but never thought would happen. In some cases, release was tinged with sorrow at the break up of close-knit groups built up in prison. Others had become so institutionalized by prison life that any deviation caused disturbance. Julio

¹ The Radical party had been one of the more moderate parties in the Popular Unity coalition. Most of the remaining parties were more firmly grounded in Marxist theory and, thereby, dismissive of social democracy.

recalled how:-

"I was taken straight from the prison one afternoon and put on a plane. I almost didn't realize what was happening to me it was all so sudden. I continued to think I was in prison. I was constantly on edge. I had grown so accustomed to prison routines."

Crossing the threshold from prison to exile had been highly precarious. Something could go wrong at any moment. Carlos gave a vivid description of all the last minute pitfalls which could arise:-

"Uno nunca se siente libre aunque te digan, mañana Ud. a las dos se va en el avión. Pero uno nunca se siente libre. Ahora se siente preso todo el vuelo por último que puede hacer volver el avión y qué cosa. Uno siempre está dudando de esta gente porque es conocido el trato que a uno mismo le dieron. Pero de tal manera que uno no sabe que problemas se puede encontrar. Por ejemplo, a la llegada al país puede haber un error de documentación que te hace problemas para entrar."

(You never feel free even though they tell you that tomorrow at 2 p.m. you're going to take the plane. You still never feel free. You feel imprisoned the whole flight because, who knows, they might call the plane back or something. You don't believe anything you are told because you already know what kind of treatment to expect from these people. So you never know what problems could arise. For example, when you arrive there might be a mistake in your papers which makes it difficult for you to enter.)

Many of those coming direct from prison arrived distraught and confused. On the plane married men had met up with their wives and children, last seen on fleeting and tension-ridden prison visits. Learning to live again, let alone in another country, was going to take some time.

For the remainder, departure had also been a nerve-wracking process, for to leave the country one had to pass through security clearance which could provide a chance for the military authorities to detain or investigate suspects. Departure had often been shrouded in secrecy and kept from neighbours to prevent gossip or drawing attention to one's situation. Departure had also brought emotional farewells with family and friends and last minute

embraces with elderly parents. Some too had suffered the final round of abuse from the airport police, "*More who are running away. Are you going to squeal abroad?*", they had taunted.

The exiles had arrived with confused and conflicting images in their minds as to what they would find here. One image of Britain amongst the politicized actors was that of a country politically lukewarm to their cause, a capitalist country and a former imperialist power. However, an equally powerful image of Britain or the European continent was one which held a certain amount of glamour and attraction. At the same time as being regarded as the "*capitalist monster*", Europe was also seen as the centre of culture and learning. This part of the world, which had previously been restricted to members of the wealthy Chilean bourgeoisie, exercised a certain pull as well as repulsion. Juan, who had arrived here directly from prison, related how:-

"Coming to Europe seemed like embarking on a fantastic voyage, something which only happens in dreams, not in reality. You know how Europe is seen in Latin America. For me, coming from the hole in the ground, the abyss into which I had lived for two years, it was unbelievable."

Accompanying this idealized image of Europe had gone a sense of inferiority in front of the European, a feeling which was particularly aired by some housewives as well as by workers. Silvia mentioned that:-

"I cried when I knew we were coming here. I thought the English would see us as indians (indios) and would send us to the outback."

The majority had arrived knowing very little of what they could personally expect from exile in such a country. Cristina, a professional woman, mentioned the competing imagery in her mind as to what their lot would be:-

"Al mismo tiempo que pensar que nos íbamos a encontrar trabajando en una oficina alfombrada, al mismo tiempo teníamos vivo al cuadro con la la misma fuerza de la película, que tú veías los refugiados en las estaciones sentados llenos de kultos. Era posible que allá tendríamos que dormir bajo los puentes. Pero nada te importaba. Soñaba, claro, como cualquiera pueda soñar de una oficina alfombrada pero temías en el futuro."

(At the same time as thinking we might find ourselves working in carpeted offices, equally vivid was the image of refugees waiting on station platforms surrounded by trunks. It might be that we would have to sleep rough under the bridges. But nothing mattered. You dreamt as anyone might dream of a carpeted office but you also feared for the future.)

And Margarita had stuffed a suitcase full of blankets "just in case".

Those who had arrived with WUS grants had a specific project and activity in view and often had a different outlook from those who had arrived not knowing what to expect. Isabel, the wife of an award-holder, related how:-

"We arrived with great anticipation, almost enthusiasm at getting to know another country, another culture, another language. We were very much looking forward to what we would find here. We saw it as an opportunity to enrich ourselves. This was possible because we hadn't personally suffered a great deal after the coup. Pedro had not been detained."

The Joint Working Group's work began with meeting the exiles at the airport, guiding them through immigration and settling them into temporary accommodation at reception centres in London and, later, Birmingham. For exiles fleeing Chile in dramatic and unfortunate circumstances, the JWG acted to cushion the shock of arrival. The majority of its workers were young, female, Spanish speaking and politically concerned. A few had had personal experience of the Popular Unity years themselves. They were to provide a vital bridge between the exiles' past and present in this country. Margarita's comment is typical of many:-

"The JWG or comité (as it is called by the Chileans) was tremendous. You didn't initially feel the shock of coming to a completely different country with another language and culture. Members of the comité spoke to you in Spanish, accompanied you everywhere. They were even concerned about such questions as family planning and organized a meeting for the women."

The JWG, then, acted as a buffer between the newly arrived and the world at large; so much so that Enrique remarked:-

"I was one of the few who realized at the beginning that they speak a different language here. In the reception centre you are living in a different world."

The key role of the JWG is highlighted not only by the recurring expressions of gratitude and appreciation of its work by the exiles themselves but also by one instance where, through an unfortunate misunderstanding, the JWG had failed to be informed of an arrival. Alejandro painted a desolate picture of his first few hours in this country:-

"La verdad es que no había nadie esperándome. Nadie. O sea venía con todo el problema de tipo anímico en el sentido de que no tenía ninguna experiencia para desenvolverme en una sociedad como esta, con un idioma diferente, con gente tan diferente. Resulta que primera vez en mi vida que viajo al exterior ... venía muy preocupado ... con los nervios en tensión. La primera impresión que me dió fué muy mala por el trato que se me quiso imponer ... el trato desconsiderado de la persona... La verdad es que yo no traía documentos de Chile y se aprovecharon de que no traía documentos para justificar su acción de tipo represivo."

(The truth is that there was no-one waiting to meet me. Nobody. Here I was with all kinds of psychological problems, in the sense that I had absolutely no experience of acting in a society like this one, with a different language and such different people. This was the first time I had travelled abroad. I was already very worried. My nerves were all on edge. My first impression here was very bad because of the treatment I received (from immigration officials), totally without consideration for the person. The fact was that I didn't have any documents from Chile with me and they took advantage of this to justify their repressive behaviour.)

After spending an agonizing night in a nearby hotel, Alejandro had found out about the existence of the JWG by telephoning Amnesty International for help. He heaved a sigh of relief:-

"... cosa que fué una noticia inmensa porque yo ya veía; qué papel iba a desempeñar allí solo? Yo sabía que era uno de los pocos en la embajada que venía a Inglaterra. Entonces me imaginaba que de todas maneras yo voy a estar solo acá. Así que fué un descanso."

(This was a tremendous piece of news because I was already beginning to wonder what role I could play here by myself. I knew I was one of the few in the embassy coming to England so I had begun to imagine that I would be on my own here. To learn otherwise was a great relief.)

For many the JWG represented a guarantee of security, that here was an organization sympathetic to their point of view, active in securing their release and of bringing them to this country. After the tense departure from prison to airport in Chile, Carlos related how:-

"Ahora la primera vez que yo realmente me sentí libre fué cuando en Londres el comité de derechos humanos fué a recibirme. Allí me sentí con alguien que me daba una sensación de seguridad."

(The first time I really felt free was in London when the Chile Committee for Human Rights met me. Only then did I feel I was with someone who gave me a sense of security.)

The initial time in the reception centre had often been spent in a daze. Mario described the feeling of numbness he had experienced at the time:-

"I felt half paralyzed. I couldn't sleep. I couldn't get rid of the picture of Chile from my head."

Elena was amazed that without ever having known the Chilean capital, Santiago, she now found herself in a much bigger and more prestigious metropolis, London. Another privatized woman, Catalina, recalled her sense of panic and fear of the unknown. Yet others spoke of the joy they had felt on arrival, the relief and sense of freedom at being able to walk around the streets at any hour after the loss of liberty in Chile. The most common feeling, however, related to the large question mark which was hanging over everyone's head. How long was exile going to last? Cristina related how:-

"Era una situación muy confusa. Tú estabas en una situación que te impedía pensar. Es decir nada se podía planificar. Existía una duda grande en relación con todo. No teníamos noción de distancia, no teníamos noción de dinero, nada. Y nos daba exactamente como lo mismo. ni el tiempo tenía valor, ni tenía sentido."

(It was a very confused situation, the kind of situation in which you couldn't think straight about anything. Everything was thrown into doubt. We had no notion of distance, money, nothing. We felt totally indifferent about things. Even time had lost all value, had lost all meaning.)

It was with the aim of sorting out this initial confusion and easing some of the anxiety that the JWG reception

centre had been set up. During their time in the centre, JWG members gave talks aimed at explaining something of the "realities of life in Britain, dispelling illusions and clarifying misunderstandings."¹ Time spent in the centre also gave the exiles a chance to talk over their problems, hand over information to the human rights committee, receive immediate medical attention and for a degree of trust to be established between JWG members and the exiles.

Perhaps understandably life in the reception centres was often full of tension and suspicion. The latest arrivals had often felt sized up by their compatriots and a cloud of unformulated questioning had seemed to cross the others' eyes. "*¿Quiénes son?*" (Who are they?), everyone had seemed to be thinking. After years of living with the repression in Chile, defensive posture had become second nature. Enrique related how:-

"At the beginning you don't want to talk too much. You continue censoring yourself as you had done in Chile with strangers. You are still in a defensive mood and some maintain this throughout the years."

Uprooted not only from their country but also from the particular membership groups by whom they were known and trusted, personal relations between exiles drawn together by the lot of the visa draw, were often reserved and difficult.

assignment to Scotland

Although the reception centre played an important role during the exiles' first weeks in this country, the JWG deemed too long a stay counterproductive, as its transit atmosphere could hamper later resettlement. Four weeks were held to be about right.

In resettling the exiles in this country, the JWG relied upon an informal and voluntary network of local Chile Defence Committees which had sprung up around the

¹ A detailed account of the work of the Joint Working Group appears in the Joint Working Group Interim Report, op.cit.

country as part of the Chile Solidarity Campaign.¹ The fact that the solidarity campaign had been able to mobilize a large section of the labour movement and could draw on this support in resettling the exiles, greatly facilitated the JWG's work. In the latter's view, the local committees had played a vital role:-²

"The most important and significant contribution to resettlement has been the major effort made by the Refugee Reception Committees formed by local committees of the Chile Solidarity Campaign and the Chile Committee for Human Rights. With the arrival of refugees the local committees undertook the task of organising reception facilities, housing, providing language courses, and assisting the refugees in finding employment. This arrangement offers great advantages in that the local committees have in most cases direct contact with local councils and the trade union movement, which helps considerably in finding housing and employment."

After a short stay in the reception centre, the exiles were then dispersed to towns and cities throughout Britain. In settling the exiles, prime consideration was given by the JWG to the availability of local authority housing. The best openings lay in cities where the labour movement was strong and could bring some pressure to bear upon local authorities to earmark a certain number of council houses for Chilean families. Outside London, Scotland is one of the main population centres of Chilean exiles in this country. The JWG reported in December 1975 that:-

"Proportionally, Scotland has resettled the largest number of refugees. 63 families have been settled in Scotland, 29 of these in the Strathclyde region Local authorities throughout Scotland have been particularly

¹ This local and voluntary effort had characterized the Chile refugee programme from the start. Although the JWG had been formed in July 1974, it was not until September 1974 that the government had stepped in with an initial grant to the JWG of £10,000. Early financial backing for its work had come from the trade union movement and many other voluntary organizations. The JWG lists over 350 organizations up and down the country which helped in one way or another with the resettlement of the Chilean exiles. JWG Interim Report, op.cit., pp. 68 -77.

² ibid., p.8.

understanding and helpful in the resettling of the refugee families. Of the 63 families in Scotland, 45 have been found local authority housing. Support has been forthcoming from all sectors of Scottish society - trade unions, trades and town councils, political parties, education authorities, universities (staff and students), churches and scores of individuals.¹

Although the JWG encouraged exiles to move out of London because of the difficulties of securing family-type accommodation there, London in fact turned out to be one of the largest settlement zones. Resistance to moving out of the metropolis was not solely due to the opportunities it was perceived as offering. There could also be a political case for remaining in London. Not only did the main solidarity and political activities take place there, but the Chilean political parties initially restricted the area of their operations to London and some put pressure on their members to remain there in order to centralize party activity.

Some exiles had deliberately suppressed their own personal preferences with respect to location in order to cooperate with the JWG. Enrique spoke of facilitating the work of the JWG as forming part of a politically responsible attitude:-

"The truly political didn't make any problems over where they were assigned. The JWG were already doing a lot and an effort should be made to facilitate, not hinder, their work."

It was the *económicos*, those seen to be of dubious political quality, who complained and sought to maximise personal advantage. Some privatized women also shared in the public criticism of those who obstructed the work of the JWG. Catalina felt that they owed a measure of support to people who had shown them a great deal of goodwill:-

¹ *ibid.*, p.10. For an overall picture of the situation of Chilean exiles in the West of Scotland, see Appendix, Table 3.

"Some people expect everything to be ready for them on arrival and to be able to choose where they are going to live. We didn't complain but let them send us where they wanted."

The unplanned nature of arrivals meant that much of the resettling had to be improvised. Temporary accommodation had sometimes to be found in the settlement area until council housing became available. This often meant doubling up with previously settled Chilean families or living in with Scottish families. It was a situation requiring comprehension and tolerance on both sides.

Some of the exiles had special reasons for coming to Scotland such as acceptance by a Scottish university or adoption by a Scottish trade union in the case of political prisoners. The latter brought emotional encounters with Scottish comrades who had been responsible for securing the political prisoners' release. Carlos recalled his experience of meeting up with the Scottish trade union which had adopted him in the following way:-

"La libertad mia se debió al sindicato de los trabajadores escoceses. Cuando yo llegué fui recibido por ellos y allí di mi agradecimiento, dije todo lo que había que decir. O sea no todo porque no se puede decir todo el agradecimiento que uno siente cuando uno viene de la cárcel, sobre todo de la cárcel de Chile y que debía la libertad prácticamente a ellos. Entonces fue muy difícil. Entonces yo en forma simbólica entregué esos trabajos artesanales y les expresé mis agradecimientos. Y en esa misma noche me hicieron miembro del sindicato."

(My freedom was due to the Scottish workers trade union. When I arrived I was welcomed by them and I gave them my thanks. I said everything that had to be said. Or rather not everything, because you can never express all the gratitude which you feel coming directly from prison, and especially from prison in Chile, and to people to whom I practically owed my freedom. It was very difficult. So, as a symbolic gesture, I handed over some handicrafts which we used to make in prison. And that same evening they enrolled me as a member of the trade union.)

Apart from these meetings which were particularly emotionally charged, all the exiles had been met on arrival in Scotland by members of the local Chile committee. When

a particular trade union heard that a Chilean comrade was to arrive, they would often send a special welcoming delegation. These initial gestures of solidarity were always recalled with particular appreciation in the men's and women's accounts.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEPRIVATION

Arrival in Scotland marked the end of the journey into exile and marked the beginning of a new stage where the very fact of being in exile, which was initially resisted by many, had slowly to be confronted.¹

citizen to refugee

For the politicized actors, exile brought a further experience of powerlessness to that already suffered in Chile since the coup. Initially, the exiles were often forced to assume a number of dependency roles as refugees and claimants. Whilst in Chile their claims to citizenship had been taken away by force, the exiles experienced their position here as vulnerable too, for they were not full members of this society, but refugees who had been taken in, given shelter and protection.²

Indeed the question of where the exiles were to be housed had been the first example of an issue which would

¹ Some authors have used the Janus metaphore to describe the initial experiences of the exiles. This Roman god has two faces enabling him to look in both directions simultaneously. Likewise, the exiles had one face looking backwards towards the past, reflecting their loss at what had been left behind, and one looking forwards towards the future, reflecting their uncertainty as to their new situation in exile. COLAT, (Colectivo Latinoamericano de Trabajo Psico-Social), El Mundo del Exilado Político, Reflexiones Preliminares, Escritos No. 1, Louvain, Belgium 1977, p.2.

² Some Chilean political leaders had literally been stripped of Chilean nationality by the military Junta for their political activities in exile. For example, Orlando Letelier, shortly before his assassination in Washington D.C. More generally the suppression of political activity in Chile deprived the population of the rights of citizenship.

normally have fallen within their jurisdiction and which now lay partly outside their control. Although the JWG aimed to make the exiles' destination a matter of "mutual agreement" rather than unilateral imposition, many exiles related their accounts of their assignment to Scotland in terms of "we were told" or "we were informed" and saw themselves as having had little say in the matter. To Rafael this was all part and parcel of becoming a refugee:-

"I played no part in the decision to transfer to Scotland. I felt I had no right to complain. I didn't come here of my own free will. I considered myself an object which could be put down wherever was decided."

This change in status from subject to object and the shift from the active to the passive tense when talking about certain exile experiences, reflects the loss of power involved. Yet another woman, looking back over her time in exile, remarked:-

"Over the past few years I've felt like an object, that every decision has been made for me. I felt that there was no way I could begin to break through the refugee label so that people would see me as an individual, a human being."

Whilst in Chile after the coup, the exiles had been silenced by a change in the power structure which had transformed them overnight into the "outs", in Britain the Chileans were outsiders in another way. It was not their history which was unfolding here, but another people's. On assuming the status of refugees in this society, the Chileans did not enjoy the same rights of citizenship as the local population. Francisca remarked on this loss:-

"It's the feeling of being a citizen which we lack here. You live in a closed world. We knew what it meant to be an active part of public debate. When the local elections were held here, we were approached by political canvassers but when they realized we weren't British, they left without further ado. We lack the feeling of being useful here."

This loss of power which was involved on becoming a refugee was reinforced by the dominant image of refugees - as poor helpless creatures, in a desperate plight and without the resources or capacity to fend for themselves -

held by the British public at large. The paternalistic attitudes which this image brought forth from a wide variety of organizations and individuals struck the wrong note for it made the Chileans feel personally as well as socially powerless. The assumption that the exiles were helpless and had to have everything done for them was experienced as humiliating and depersonalizing.

Both the politicized and privatized actors acknowledged the generous material support they had received from their Scots neighbours. People had attended to their minutest needs and had shown warmth and kindness through their gestures and offerings. However, some had shown little comprehension of the origin of their exile. Some had never even asked where they were from. Others had thought they were fleeing communist regimes. Many presumed that they had wanted to come to Britain. Pepe felt that the Chileans had initially held out a certain exotic appeal to the local population, curious to see what "a Chilean" looked like. However, the inner wound which anguished the politicized actors could never be shared or fully understood by a people without such a drama in their recent historical past. As Pepe remarked on the gulf:-

"Nunca van a entender el dolor que sentimos nosotros."

(They'll never be able to understand our grief.)

This shift in status was not confined to the politicized men. The privatized women had also experienced some well-meaning offers of help as wounding dignity. When a sympathetic language volunteer brought in a bag of second-hand clothing, all the women present refused to accept anything. Silvia thought that they were mistaken, that they were simply too proud:-¹

"... but we are refugees. That doesn't mean to say that they can treat us like animals but neither can we ask a lot. We've got to accept some things which we don't like."

¹ The question of women's dress was much talked about amongst the privatized women. In Chile it was felt women dressed up to a much greater extent for social occasions than here. Second-hand clothing would never be admitted to.

Paternalistic attitudes were not so starkly expressed amongst the politically aware British, such as those involved in the solidarity campaign. On the contrary, many were interested in learning from the Chileans' experiences and in offering political sympathy and support. The JWG also consciously struggled with the paternalistic assumptions underlying the work of many refugee bodies and actively encouraged the Chileans to participate in the settlement programme.

Attempts by the Chileans to break through the refugee label were not always successful. When Ricardo tried to correct the image in broken English, he noticed a veil of suspicion clouding his Scots neighbour's face. For by emphasizing the political nature of his exile, Ricardo passed from being a "refugee" to a "communist", which if closer to his own self-conception, made him even more strange - if not a little dangerous - in his neighbour's eyes.¹ Ricardo related how:-

"When I tried to explain that I was a political exile, my neighbour immediately thought I must be a communist. As a political refugee you are an object of suspicion."

The reverse situation - where the political fame of the Chileans was known - presented a different problem to some privatized women in the sample. Many felt insecure with the political label by which they were identified as exiles. Ana evaded any problems she anticipated by saying she was from Argentina when asked. Unlike the politicized men, some privatized women attempted to play down the political origin of their arrival here.

producer to claimant

The exiles were not only demobilized on arrival by a

¹ I have generally used the term "exile" in preference to "refugee". Whereas exile points to the political origin of uprooting, the term "refugee" can refer to those caught up in a war situation, a famine or natural disaster without prior active political participation. The politicized actors in the sample referred to themselves as *refugiados políticos* (political refugees), or, more commonly, as *exiliados* (exiles).

misguided paternalism which deprived them of acting and speaking for themselves. All men and all public-private women - with the exception of those few who arrived with WUS grants - experienced spells of unemployment. The general lack of activity which hit the exiles on arrival meant hours in the home with nothing to do but sit and brood. Comparisons were often drawn between the hyper-activity of the Popular Unity years and the all-time low reached in exile. Jorge recalled how:-

"At the beginning when I was unemployed there was such a contrast between my level of activity in Chile and my situation herewith nothing to do. During Popular Unity, I used to work from 8 to 5 at my job, from 5 to 10 for the party, and occasionally I would put in another couple of hours making programmes for a local radio station."

The politicized men were cut off from a life-project, condemned to a day by day, hand to mouth existence. The sudden closure of their political goals and collective projects brought a feeling of closure to their own personal lives. Pepe frequently described himself as "*feeling dead*", as "*stagnating*" and "*without a future*". He went on to say:-

"It's no fun living outside Chile, having no project, not being able to plan your life. In Chile I had a project for twenty years or so. Here I have no such project. When I see all the new schools here and the educational facilities, I feel really frustrated. These are what I dreamt of but they aren't in my country and I don't have any link with them."

A long empty space seemed to stretch indefinitely ahead and weigh heavily on their shoulders. When I chanced to remark optimistically about the approaching long, summer evenings, Pepe retorted gloomily:-

"I don't like the light evenings. My life feels emptier than ever then. There seem to be so many more hours in the day and nothing to fill them with."

Some filled the time with sleep, preferring the unconscious to the conscious state. At least asleep you were not always thinking of your problems. Jorge would sometimes lie in bed twelve hours, compared to the six hours' sleep he had made do with during Popular Unity. However, even sleep was

often denied to the politicized actors as they tossed and turned, fretted and worried about those back home and their inactivity here.

For most men unemployment accentuated the feeling of not being a legitimate actor in this society, of not having the right to complain or speak up. For Carlos, a manual worker, not having work deprived man of his essence:-

"En términos de persona, como ser humano, yo me siento mal, porque tú sabes lo que el trabajo significa. El otro día estuve ayudando y me sentí bien. me sentí totalmente recreado. Es decir para mí trabajar es una recreación. Eso es el efecto. Eso me molesta. Esto me enferma inclusive. A veces no me siento bien por la falta de hacer algo productivo, practicar algo, hacer algo."

(As a person, as a human being, I feel bad because you know what work means. The other day I helped out and I felt good, totally renewed. For me work is like a recreation. So it bothers me a lot not working. It makes me ill in fact. Sometimes I feel ill through not having a productive activity, not practising anything, not doing anything.)

The men felt silently condemned by those in work, not by anything which had been explicitly said or done, but simply by the social standards upon which bourgeois society is based. The men were equally sensitive to the labelling of social security claimants as "scroungers", "dodgers" or "shirkers". *"Twenty-eight years in one industry"*, was almost the first thing Pablo, a skilled manual worker, told me. It was his way of saying that he had produced, he had a work record. Cristián thought that:-

"The British notice more than you think. They know who is living off social security, who is taking advantage of things."

Others felt the need to explain to social security officials, whom they believed to be implicitly judging them, the reasons for their claim and unemployed status.

The existence of social security and other welfare benefits were often initially regarded as a "godsend" and a "relief", particularly by the privatized women. Some manual workers, for whom this level of welfare provision was unheard of and which had formed a goal of their struggle

in Chile, initially confused the system with socialism. Antonio, pulled out a pair of spectacles he had acquired on the National Health Service "in a week and for nothing", whilst in Chile he would have had to save up for months. Similarly he pointed to the new shoes his son was wearing, whilst in Chile since the coup he had gone around with shoes full of holes. Likewise Mario mentioned that:-

"For the worker who has endured hardship in Chile, the existence of social security, the daily pint of milk, make exile more bearable."

However, initial relief soon gave way to despair as unemployment stretched into months and in some cases years.

Although aware of their rights as refugees to draw social security, most felt extremely uncomfortable doing so. Many, like Juan, felt awkward receiving money as a foreigner:-

"I don't like living on social security, receiving money as a foreigner in this country. It makes me feel bad. I know it's part of my rights as a political refugee but I feel uncomfortable in front of other British people."

It was the lack of reparation which bothered the men.

Cristián, a worker, talked about his reservations at "taking money away from the Scottish workers' fund" and Rafael, from the middle sectors, said:-

"I don't like taking money out of a fund to which I've never contributed. In Chile I would have no qualms. But it's not right, not proper to receive money without having contributed and I'll have to find a way of repaying it. One way is by being a good Anglo-Chilean citizen."

Although many politicized men were only too well aware of the particular handicaps they faced (language, inappropriate skills, racism) in obtaining employment and of the depressed economic climate in general, the degree of personal discomfort at living off social security was acute and affected all class sectors. Carlos, a worker, commented how:-

"para mí no es muy digno tener que ir todas las semanas y sobre todo cuando estoy en condiciones de hacer cualquier tipo de trabajo."

(To me it's not very dignified to have to sign on each week, especially when I'm willing to do any kind of work.)

I was also told of some middle sector exiles who fretted at having to queue up alongside the *rotos* (the down and outs) to collect their benefit. One former, higher civil servant attempted to manage the tension which his weekly visits to the local social security office provoked by assuming a breezy, polite and confident manner. His account shows his attempt to distance himself from the claimant role by signalling through his bearing who he really was and by engaging officials in conversation as equals.

public to private sphere

The politicized men spoke of feeling small in exile, of living in a closed world far removed from the corridors of power. Rafael, from the middle sectors, mentioned his feelings of isolation in this society and his removal from such groups as parliamentarians and public officials to whom he had had easy access in Chile. Cristián, from the working class, spoke of the world that had been taken away and his acute feelings of public deprivation are echoed in many other politicized men's accounts:-

"In exile you lose the right to communicate. You lose your political work. You lose your social life. You lose being in the society of men. The only world left to the exile is the world of the home."

This shift into the private sphere was also experienced by the public-private women who had worked outside the home in Chile. Unlike the men, however, who experienced this shift into the home as undermining their masculinity, the public-private women had a place in the home. However, as will be seen later, this was not experienced unproblematically by these women either.

Stripped of public position, the men were also stripped of the structural basis for their position as family head. The men, then, felt superfluous not only to what was going on in the public sphere but also to wives and children in the family. Jorge described the time when he was unemployed, before finding work, in the following way:-

"I felt I'd lost all respect in front of the children. It's not right for them to see their

father still in bed when they are setting off for school or to see him at home when they return in the afternoon."

The private repercussions of the loss of the men's wage-earning role often cut so deep that it remained unspoken between husbands and wives. It was experienced as profoundly threatening by many men. Not only had they lost control in the public domain but their authority in the private sphere was also being chipped away. Their discomfort surfaced in quarrels and arguments at home. Jorge went on to say that it was during this period of unemployment that tensions had arisen between Carmen and himself, although they had been very united as a couple in Chile.

private deprivation

Whilst the men's deprivation focused on their exclusion from public life, the privatized women's sense of deprivation centred around their removal from an extended family group.¹ In one fell swoop, the privatized women had lost a large part of the membership of their private world. Just as the stripping of the men's public world had repercussions for their identities in exile, so the stripping of the women's private world deprived them of those who had sustained their identity and place in society. When talking about the family, many privatized women brought out treasured photo albums for me to see. Invariably there would be scenes of large family gatherings celebrating Christmas, New Year, birthdays and weddings, which stood in marked contrast to the poverty and poignancy of such events in exile.

¹ "In its simplest form an extended family involves the presence of any relative in the house besides a husband, wife and their children." However, where there are "extensive family contacts day to day between related groups of parents and children" and where the "circle of relatives often defines the circle of friends available to individuals", the extended family can also be said to exist. It is in this latter sense that the term extended family is used here. R. Sennett and J. Cobb, The Hidden Injuries of Class, Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 105-6.

Within the kinship group, the strongest bonds had often been between mothers and daughters. Gloria's account which she saw as typifying many Chilean women's experiences highlights the extreme dependence of the daughter on the mother as well as the control exercised by the mother over the daughter's life:-

"My mother wanted to be the whole of my world to the exclusion of any other friendships I might make. She was like my best friend. She would advise me on everything. She was the only one who really knew what suited me or not. She would tell me which colours to wear, how to comb my hair. I always followed her advice. I had very few girlfriends. Somehow my mother made me wary of entering into friendships. I never went to parties or dances. If I went to the cinema, it was with my mother. When she fell ill, I gave up my studies to stay at home and look after her. When I started going out with boys, if my mother didn't like them it was impossible to continue the relationship. Luckily my mother took to Juan or I might never have married at all."

Nor did dependence end on marriage. When Gloria married, she continued visiting her mother every day. On the birth of their first child, Juan and Gloria moved in to the house next door so that Gloria could continue visiting. It is not surprising that Gloria was devastated on coming into exile. Her world had collapsed.

Ana also spoke of the overwhelming influence her mother had exercised in her life. She described herself as "*la regalona de la familia*" (the spoilt one of the family) and her account reflects the way in which the private domain could be experienced as a sphere of protection and privilege for women as compared to its negative connotation for men:-

"I felt myself to be protected and cushioned. My family were sufficiently comfortable for me to pick up and drop jobs as I pleased. When my first child was born, it was my mother who brought him up, as we were living at home at the time. When we moved to our own home, this was the first time that I'd ever lived away from my mother. I worried if I didn't see her every single day."

Not all the privatized women missed their family networks to this extent. Where relations had been poor

before exile, the women's sense of deprivation was not so acute. As mentioned earlier, neither Laura nor Silvia had had very much family life in Chile. Never having felt the support of an extended family, they felt they had little to lose in this respect.

These different expressions of loss between politicized and privatized actors were not regarded as equally important by the politicized men. When Mariana began to describe at length the moment of parting from her family in Chile, Cristián interrupted impatiently to talk about the "real loss", the defeat of the men's political project and the loss of their political roles. It was taken-for-granted by men that the family, and particularly women, would sob at parting and it was not seen as a topic of any public importance.

Many privatized women initially spent hours weeping in the home. Letters from family in Chile would trigger off floods of tears. In contrast to the men's political loss which was publicly lamented and recognized, the women's private loss remained hidden from public view and, sometimes, even from husbands. Isabel remarked how:-

"Both men and women suffer but in different ways. The woman's suffering is often hidden and reflected in outbursts against her children or husband. The man's suffering is more open. He has to confront the problems presented by the new situation and find solutions."

The deprivation of the privatized women's lives in exile was no less keenly felt than the men's public deprivation.

material deprivation?

Given the diminution of public life in exile, the home and its surroundings loomed much larger in many actors' lives than it had done in Chile. Geographically the exiles were scattered over a wide area of the West of Scotland, including not only the city of Glasgow but many smaller towns up to an hour's bus ride away. As will be seen, this scattering - imposed by the overall scarcity of council accommodation - was to have implications for the organization of the exile community. The wide area covered meant that

the quality of council housing varied considerably, reflecting the shifting trends in public housing policy since the inter-war period. Some were allocated attractive houses and gardens in the outlying new towns, generally judged successes of modern town planning; others were assigned apartments or houses on well-established and "respectable" council estates; a few were in tower blocks and some ended up in areas of multiple deprivation, or "problem estates", which concentrated what the council considered to be "undesirable tenants".

The material conditions of the home not only varied between the exiles themselves but also from what the exiles had known in Chile. The significance of these material differences, whether for better - as in the case of many working class exiles - or for worse - as in the case of many middle sector exiles - was generally denied by the politicized men. Such questions of relative personal comfort were regarded as irrelevant compared with the political defeat sustained. Women, however, for whom the home retained a greater emotional and physical significance, were more vocal about their feelings, even those who were party members.

Material deprivation was particularly striking for the professional couples, especially those who had lived in the *barrio alto* in Santiago.¹ As we huddled around the coal fire, Claudia looked around her sparsely furnished council flat and sighed:-

"It's not that I'm materialist, but we live such a drab existence here. We had to leave everything in Chile to come here where we have nothing at all."

To Raúl's obvious embarrassment, she brought out a photo of a comfortable, detached house and garden in Chile for me to see.

¹ The *barrio alto* is the upper and middle class residential area of Santiago. Extending eastwards to the foothills of the Andes, it is characterized by large houses and gardens, modern apartment blocks, green spaces, and well-maintained infrastructure.

Material differences in housing were less striking for the white-collar couples, especially those assigned the higher quality council accommodation. Some workers, meanwhile, experienced a notable improvement in living standards. This was often regarded problematically by politicized workers, who defensively denied the importance of any such material improvements. *"This house would be no use in Chile"*, said Xavier, *"this type of construction would be too hot for our climate."* Elena, however, looked unconvinced. She was more ready to recognize that they had never had so many rooms or such high quality fittings in their lives before.

More commented on than the physical structure of the home, was the social space within which it was located. For some middle sector exiles, the council estate was their first sustained contact with working class life. Cristina, a professional woman, observed that:-

"Vivimos en un barrio que no es equivalente a lo que vivíamos en Chile. Entonces no podemos hacer comparaciones. Resulta que no sabemos. Tengo la impresión que el estandard de vida es superior pero yo te diría que es malo de toda manera."

(We are living in a neighbourhood which is not equivalent to our neighbourhood in Chile, so we can't make comparisons. My impression is that the standard of living is higher here (than in a working class neighbourhood in Chile) but I would say that it's still bad all the same.)

The middle sector exiles did not easily fit into the pattern of working class life on the council estates. The fact that some Chilean men, and later some women, went to the university made them highly atypical of the local population. Doris related her experiences with her neighbours:-

"At the beginning we were all treated as a lump - as all falling into the general category of refugee. When you try to break through this image by telling more about yourself, you only make the other person feel uncomfortable and the conversation lapses into silence. It becomes apparent to them that you belong to another class of person whom they wouldn't normally be sharing a pint with or having as neighbours. For example, I met someone who worked in the same industry as I had done in Chile and I mentioned this to show

that we had something in common. But then it turned out that whilst he worked on the shop floor, I had been part of the administration, and he immediately became aware of our social difference and began to feel uncomfortable. I've come to the conclusion that it's better to keep quiet about our experiences here."

For the professional workers in particular, their education and social status often created barriers to rapprochement with neighbours. Social differences were not so marked amongst the white-collar workers. In particular, the women's work in Chile, as nurses, secretaries, teachers, did not jar to quite the same extent as the professional women's jobs. Some enjoyed a new-found respect amongst their Scottish neighbours who could look up to a school teacher without the feeling of awe or social inferiority which a university lecturer in their midst provoked. Manual workers were able to establish relations with neighbours on a more equal footing. Some later worked in the neighbouring factories alongside the local population.

Middle sector exiles chose to insulate themselves from the neighbourhood not only through social differences but also because of the dangers which the working class neighbourhood was perceived as holding, especially for their children. Cristina, who came up against a case of child rape, which involved people she had had some contact with, arrived home one day to say to her husband, "We've got to get out of here". To drive home her point, she added:-

"Ese tipo de cosas pasa donde vivimos nosotros y estamos viviendo. A mí me da temor pero por un rato no más porque después digo yo, yo no tengo nada que ver con eso."

(These kind of things go on where we live and are still living. It made me really frightened but only for a moment as later I told myself ... this has nothing to do with me.)

The neighbourhood was also experienced as distressing by some workers and housewives, particularly by those living on the "tough" estates which had little community spirit and where the Chileans as a group had been the subject of some hostility. Many residents were said to be annoyed that they, as foreigners, should be assigned houses before their

own kind. Laura, a housewife, described her surroundings in the following way:-

"What bothers me is the way people live here - the unemployment, the dirty kids, the language, the tone in which people speak, as if they are constantly annoyed. To get to my flat I have to walk up two flights of filth. In Chile I lived in neither good nor bad areas. I know you also find dirty kids, poorly dressed, unwashed in Chile, but this is justified because there is no social security. Here there is no acute financial problem so people should be able to keep their children clean. But many of these people lack education from generations back."

Moving out to privately rented accommodation, as the WUS award holders had the financial means of doing, did not always solve the problem of social interaction. Sergio, who rented a bungalow in a middle class area of the city, found that:-

"La gente en el barrio a pesar de que hay varias parejas de la edad nuestra, son ideológicamente tan diferentes a nosotros que es imposible Yo me refiero ideológicamente no a posiciones políticas, pero el estilo de vida, en el estilo de cultura, de su "politeness", de su forma de exteriorizarse, de lo que ellos quieren, de lo que ellos piensan, de lo que ellos te preguntan, de su nuevo auto, de cual es tú sueño en la vida, es totalmente diferente al nuestro. Entonces no tenemos prácticamente nada en común. Tenemos que hacer un esfuerzo muy grande para estar conversando con ellos."

(Although there are several couples our own age in the neighbourhood, they are ideologically so different from us that it's almost impossible By ideological, I'm not referring to political positions, but to their style of life, their culture, their way of being, their politeness, their way of expressing themselves, what they want, what they think, what they ask you.. about their new car, their dream in life, it's all so totally different from ours. It turns out that we have practically nothing in common so we have to make a big effort to talk to them.)

Life in general was experienced as much more privatized than in Chile. People here seemed to live behind closed doors and keep to themselves. Of course, climatic differences mean that more social life takes place indoors here than in Chile. Many of the middle sector exiles had been accustomed to spending weekends at the beach, an

hour's drive from Santiago, or in the *cordillera*, the Andean foothills. Cristina described how her feelings of privatization were echoed by the general enclosure of life she observed around her. The very architecture of the council estate seemed to militate against any opening and to close in upon the inhabitants:-

"No me gusta el encierro de las mujeres ... yo sufro pensando en esas señoras que lavan todo el día y que tienden todos los días y que están todo el día haciendo la misma cosa y viendo, a mi modo de ver, programas de televisión que son malos. O sea la vida así yo no encuentro ninguna gracia. Lo que es lindo para mí en la vida es disfrutar de un paisaje, de un libro, de música, de una conversación con otra gente. Pero si la vida se trata de estar todo el día en la casa, a pesar de que tu tengas todos los instrumentos habidos y por haber y después ir al pub el día viernes, no tiene ninguna gracia. Tampoco para mí no tiene ninguna gracia estas enormes cantidades de casas todas iguales. Yo imagino que las miran de arriba y se me ocurre que son como cajitas de papel, donde la gente vive aislada del resto de sus semejantes, encerradas en casas estrechas que me da ganas de abrir todas las paredes, que se abren las ventanas y que la gente mira para afuera. O sea una vida muy apagada, que el auto no la completa, que no la completa el televisor a color, y no la completa el pub nada."

(I don't like the enclosure of the women. I suffer just thinking of those women washing and hanging out clothes every day and watching, in my opinion, poor programmes on television. I don't find any charm in such a life. What I enjoy is a landscape, a book, music or a conversation with other people. But if life is reduced to the four walls of the home, even if you've got every gadget going, and the pub on Fridays, where's the charm in that? Nor do I like the row upon row of identical houses. Sometimes I imagine that I'm looking down from on high and they seem just like little cardboard boxes, where people live isolated from one another, cooped up in confined spaces. I feel like knocking down all the walls, opening up the windows so that people can look outside. It's a deadening life, which neither a car, nor a colour tv and, least of all, the pub can compensate for.)

In the search for company and ^{con}versation, some men fell into the pattern of pub life predominant here. Carlos was aware of the dangers this could lead to. Another worker began to drink heavily when he found a Scottish

drinking partner. Carlos had tried to resolve his need for social life by knocking at neighbours' doors but had found that they tended to keep him on the doorstep, unlike in Chile where:-

"Tu golpeabas y te recibían, te hacían pasar. Pero aquí no. No tienen esa costumbre."

(You knocked on someone's door and they invited you in. But here not. They don't do that here.)

Mariana, a housewife, also commented on the quietness of her neighbourhood in exile, a respectable, working class council estate:-

"There's only been one fight all the time I've been here. As for the neighbours, I've only seen them two or three times in a year."

Mariana compared this with her neighbourhood in Chile where outbursts of aggression as well as expressions of support had been part of the texture of daily life, where you would see and talk to your neighbours two or three times a day, where privacy, in fact, had been something of a luxury.

speech deprivation

The exiles' experience of privatization in their neighbourhoods was accentuated by their difficulties in speaking and understanding English. Although the quickest route^{out} of this situation was by learning the language, this was not regarded as unproblematic by either politicized or privatized actors for it touched upon the thorny question of integration into British society. The JWG experienced great problems in providing language classes for the Chileans and describe their efforts to battle against overwhelming odds as "nightmarish":-¹

"Not only have we struggled financially but also we have had to battle against under-provision of English language classes by local authorities, long waiting lists, sporadic arrivals of the refugees in relation to course schedules and the difficult, if understandable, attitudes of the Chileans themselves."

¹ Joint Working Group Interim Report, op.cit., p.26.

For many the announcement of language classes came as a death knell for it challenged the fiercely held idea that exile would be a short, transitory affair. Some experienced the language classes as a form of coercion. Alejandro, a political activist, explained his resistance to learning English in the following way:-

"La verdad es que ha sido una barrera grande, es más que todo cuando uno está en una parte que uno no desea estar. O sea yo nunca deseaba estar aquí. Lamentablemente tuve que venirme por acá. Yo creo que eso fué el error más grande. Nunca me pasó por la mente que tenía que aprender el inglés. Porque si bien es cierto que es muy útil para mucha gente yo tengo metido en la cabeza que no tengo que aprender el inglés, que el inglés no me sirve. El inglés para el trabajo que yo voy a desarrollar no sirve para nada. Pero más que todo es la cuestión de estar insatisfecho. O sea, me quiero ir, uno está aquí obligadamente."

(The truth is that it (the language) has been an enormous barrier, especially when you are in a place you don't want to be in. I never wanted to come here. Unfortunately I had to come and I think it was a big mistake. It never entered my head that I had to learn English. I know it's useful for a lot of people, but I've got it fixed in my mind that I don't need to learn English, that English is no use to me, not for the kind of work I want to do. But above all, it's the fact of being dissatisfied. I want to leave here.. one is here against one's wishes.)

Alejandro saw his life's work as being bound up as an activist amongst working class fronts in Latin America, a role for which English was no use whatsoever. However, further probing revealed another dimension to Alejandro's resistance. Alejandro could not disassociate the English language from certain ideological connotations. To him the English language symbolized a particular system of domination in Latin America, which he was struggling to overthrow:-

"A lo mejor es una reacción en contra. Siempre le he tenido muy mala - y perdona no es general - al sistema inglés, sobre todo el papel que jugaron los ingleses en Chile. Me parece muy grave y yo le tengo mucha distancia, increíble al sistema. Yo hago una diferencia entre el sistema y la clase obrera o las clases aliadas al proletariado en general."

(It's probably a reaction against - and forgive me I don't mean this in general - but I've always disliked the English system, especially the role which the English played in Chile.¹ This appears really serious to me and I feel a tremendous distance from the system. I do make a distinction between the system and the working class and its allies.)

Alejandro's distancing from the English language points to the way he sees it as underpinning a certain institutional order. In Chile, as in much of Latin America, English is the language of imperialism and of those sectors of the local bourgeoisie who have thrown in their lot with foreign imperialist powers. English was first spoken in Chile in the 19th Century when Chile's independence from the Spaniards in 1819, opened up the economy to new imperialist powers. The British were active in both the commercial sectors, centred around the port of Valparaíso, and in the northern saltpeter mines. English has been more widely diffused this century by the economic and cultural imperialism of the United States. North American youth culture, pop music, styles of dress, have penetrated sectors of bourgeois youth in Santiago's *barrio alto*. The *lolos* and *lolas*, as these young men and women are called, could be seen haunting the fashionable boutiques of *Providencia*, a trendy, middle class shopping district, hanging outside *Coppelia's* ice cream parlour in their blue jeans and clogs. The Chilean Left had criticized this scene on both ideological and moral grounds, as reflecting the total withdrawal from political and social commitments and as a decadent and amoral way of life.

Few of the politicized men expressed such clear cut and prolonged resistance to learning the language as Alejandro. Others were more pragmatic or instrumental in their attitude to learning the language, regarding it as an essential pre-requisite to gaining a degree of public involvement. Mario, a manual worker, commented straight-

¹ Here Alejandro is referring to the British economic involvement in the saltpeter mines at the end of the 19th Century.

forwardly, "I just had to learn English if I was to find a job". Yet others viewed language learning as a challenge as well as a source of enrichment. At the very least, it was an activity which kept the brain ticking over.

Different predispositions to learn the language notwithstanding, many experienced considerable difficulties once the task began. Some of these difficulties were class-related. Some middle sector exiles had a head start, as a few had attended private schools where a large part of the teaching had been in English. Likewise, those with a university education could often read in English, as bibliographies had often included English texts.¹ Although English was also taught in the State *liceos*, those who had left school early or long ago did not recall much, if anything, of the rudimentary knowledge acquired then.

Middle sector exiles also had a better grasp of the structure of language in general than the workers. Raúl, from the middle sectors, thought the workers' lack of familiarity with grammatical rules and their lower levels of literacy, created additional problems for them in learning a foreign language.² Cristián, a worker, confirmed this point of view:-

"The classes are only held once a week, for a couple of hours and this isn't enough. Besides which there aren't any courses suitable for my needs. I scarcely know Spanish grammar, let alone English."

Many workers had little idea of what learning a foreign language entailed. Some thought they would be speaking fluent English at the end of a six week course. The unreflective nature of language learning in infancy had been taken-for-granted. The magnitude of the task in adulthood was only slowly appreciated and experienced as profoundly demoralizing.

¹ Three people from amongst this group asked to speak in English during the interviews.

² Although illiteracy had been greatly reduced in Chile during the Popular Unity period, pockets of illiteracy remained, especially amongst the rural population.

The impression that learning a foreign language posed more problems for working class than middle class exiles is borne out by a study of Chilean exile children in Denmark.¹ Hernández-Walker explains the class differences in language attainment which he found by the fact that amongst working class children "*el idioma natal también se encuentra poco desarrollado y/o responde a otra realidad cultural*", (their native tongue is also poorly developed and/or responds to another cultural reality) and attributes the better educational performance of middle class children in exile "*a formas 'europeisantes' que se han introyectado en el país de origen y a la calidad burguesa de su lenguaje español y su cultura*" (to the more 'Europeanized' environment in which they had moved in Chile and to the bourgeois quality of their Spanish language and culture).² Working class exiles, then, not only have a poorer grammatical base on which to build, but their vocabulary and terms of reference are less transferable to the conditions found in an advanced capitalist society than those of the middle sectors, whose environment in Chile more closely resembled what they find here.

The two workers who spoke good English in the sample were both unusual in ways which bear upon these general points. One was living in a similar mining community in exile to what he had left behind in Chile and had remarked on the similarity himself. The other, Carlos, exhibited a self-consciousness about language which many workers lacked. Of peasant background, he had also had industrial experience and a degree of self-education. Talking of his work in Chile as a grass roots activist amongst the peasantry, Carlos defined himself as a "translator", rephrasing Marxist ideas into a language which the peasants themselves could relate to.

¹ A. Hernández-Walker, Educación de transición en los hijos de los refugiados políticos, (Algunas ideas para desarrollar la educación en el exilio), Institute of Clinical Psychology, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, mimeo, n.d.

² *ibid.* p.11.

Many privatized women felt ill at ease in a formal learning situation and many of the difficulties relating to workers with less formal education, apply to them too. Silvia had cried when language classes were first mentioned and Catalina recalled how she simply did not want to hear English spoken when she had first arrived. Some privatized women had simply wanted to shut out the different and alien world outside the home. Those who were more open to attending language classes faced problems in attending classes on a regular basis because of family commitments. Furthermore, language classes were the first opportunity for many privatized women to engage in an extra-domestic activity in exile. In some segregated marriages the woman's attendance broke down the traditional division of labour between the couple, whereby the man monopolized public activities. As will be seen in more detail later, some men obstructed their wives' attendance.

Given the importance which the politicized actors attached to the communication of ideas, the foreign language was yet another dimension of their public deprivation. Pepe commented that the problems encountered in speaking English highlighted "*the impotence which one feels in this society*". It inhibited the expression of complex ideas and kept any communication at a superficial level. Speaking poor English was experienced as another aspect of being stripped of status by some. Rafael preferred to keep quiet rather than risk making a mistake. He thought that people here would not take him seriously if he could not speak correctly. Likewise, Cristián, an articulate trade union leader, compared himself with "*un analfabeto*" (an illiterate) in exile.

The privatized women did not experience the same degree of speech deprivation as the men, as the world which mattered most to them - that of family and home - was still articulated

in Spanish.¹ Many privatized women initially learnt only what was necessary for their brief and fleeting forays into the public sphere, generally for shopping expeditions. They did not share the men's feelings of losing a public voice in exile. Ana remarked that she did not mind being unable to speak the language but disliked not being able to understand what was said to her. Her attitude reflects a more passive stance than the active one desired by the politicized men.

self defences

In summary both the politicized and privatized actors experienced the breakdown of their respective worlds since the coup and on coming into exile. Forms of consciousness are rooted in particular social circumstances and diffused through specific institutions.² The collapse of the men's political project and the disruption of their political networks disturbed the social base of their politicized worldview. Likewise, the cutting of the privatized women's family networks uprooted the women from the carriers of their privatized worldview. Both sets of actor experienced a shrinking of their respective domains and a related process of "stripping" of their public and private networks. The loss of their respective support groups, which had sustained and validated their place in the world, plunged

¹ As time went by, however, English did penetrate the home as children increasingly spoke English between themselves and/or to their parents. Children picked up the language with greater facility and speed than many of their parents and an important part of their socialization was now taking place in English at school. Some children exhibited feelings of shame when Spanish was spoken in front of Scottish friends. Carmen's children suddenly started answering back in English, to her great frustration and despair. Parents, then experienced a certain loss of control over their children who could often manage more ably in the British public sphere than the adults could. A. Vásquez and G. Richard, Problemas de adaptación de los hijos de refugiados del cono sur de América Latina en Francia, CIMADE, 1978, discuss some of these issues.

² P.L. Berger, B. Berger, H. Kellner, The Homeless Mind, Penguin, 1973, p.21.

both men and women into despair.¹

Discontent and dissatisfaction surfaced in a number of psycho-somatic ailments and disorders. After speaking at length about the loss of his life-project in exile, Pepe went on to talk about an illness which was tormenting him, "*la ansiedad de volver*" (the anxiety to return). This sense of aimlessness in exile was reflected in loss of concentration and memory. Insomnia, ulcers and depression were also frequent. Was the rest of their life to be spent in this washed-out existence, this only being half alive, the men would hardly dare ask themselves. Having been stripped of everything they had valued and fought for, life seemed hardly worth living. In one case, depression led to an attempted suicide. For the person concerned, even the hustle and bustle of hospital life came as a welcome break from the monotony and silence of the home. For the privatized women, isolated and alone in the home, the reality was not much different.

Some politicized men attempted to counter the negative labels with which they were strung in exile by dwelling in the past and looking back to a time when they had once been publicly valued and recognized. Indeed, both politicized and privatized actors tried to hold onto their past by fixing public and private images of Chile in their minds.² Yet others tried to minimize those situations where they felt uncomfortable or ill at ease. Some lashed out at a society by which they felt

¹ "Every individual requires the ongoing validation of his world, including crucially the validation of his identity and place in the world by those few who are his truly significant others. Just as the individual's deprivation of relationship with his significant others will plunge him into anomie, so their continued presence will sustain for him that nomos by which he can feel at home in the world." P.L. Berger and H. Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality", in P.L. Berger, Facing Up to Modernity, Penguin, 1979, p.29.

² L. Muñoz depicts the exiles as living in a "ghost reality" by preserving images of the past world which has been left behind. L. Muñoz, "Exile as bereavement: socio-psychological manifestations of Chilean exiles in Great Britain", in WUS, a Seminar on Mental Health and Exile, July 1979, p.14.

marginalized and misunderstood. The "rosy picture" with which some had arrived was soon revised. Chauvinism of a nationalistic kind was one response to the ethnocentric and paternalist attitudes encountered here.¹

The most effective defence, however, was seen to lie in rebuilding and reconstructing the public and private spheres in exile. The next three chapters examine the way in which the three categories of social actor set about redefining their worlds in exile. For the politicized men, this largely centred around the revival of party networks and activity. The public-private women and the privatized women, meanwhile, faced a more daunting task. Whilst the former had to reconstruct their foothold in both the public and private spheres under transformed conditions, the privatized women's kinship networks could not be reconstructed in exile.

¹ COLAT, in their analysis of the world of the political exile, identify a stage of despair and depression where the exile experiences the external world as incomprehensible, hostile, racist and marginalizing and tends to react aggressively, COLAT, (a), op.cit. p.10.

C H A P T E R 4

RECONSTRUCTING THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN EXILE

"We are accustomed to mass meetings, demonstrations, slogans, shouts. Political activity in Chile absorbed you completely. There was constant discussion of the government's actions and policies as well as about football. Here there is only football."

Cristián, a manual worker

After an initial period of demobilization, confusion and loss, the politicized actors were anxious to cast off their dependency and to carve out a new political space in exile. They did not intend to remain victims of history for long but to turn the tide of history once more in their favour by transforming defeat into a new offensive. This chapter focuses on the way in which the politicized actors set about reconstructing their world in exile. It looks at their attempts to regain a level of collective identity by regrouping politically. As the most prominent participants in this endeavour are men, it is their experiences which are largely examined here. Women's experiences of the public domain often differed from men's and will be considered apart in the next chapter. Where, however, there is a degree of overlap or women contribute to the discussion at hand, their experiences have been included here.

The politicized men's attempts to recover a history-making role in exile had to be undertaken in novel and unfamiliar political circumstances. Although the Chilean working-class movement has experienced reversals in the past, the repression unleashed by the Junta and the exodus which this provoked from the country are unprecedented. However, whilst many may never have expected to find themselves politically banished, exile exists as a hypothetical poss-

ibility for any militant actively engaged in a revolutionary struggle. Within the politicized men's worldview there was a place for exile. Many began casting around for historical cases of exile within which to insert their own situation.¹ At the same time, the politicized men were able to draw upon their political socialization to make sense of their experience and to formulate codes of conduct for living in exile.

An important part of this code involved the clear and sharp distinction which the exiles drew between their own situation as exiles and that of the migrant - both incomers to British society. Unlike the migrant, for whom economic motivations were held to be paramount, the politicized men had not arrived with the intention of inserting themselves into economic circulation. Most had no desire to be here at all. As Mario put it:-

"We are not like the migrant who can decide when he wants to return. We are forced to be here knowing that people in Chile are suffering and that the country is being sold to foreign imperialism."

For the politicized men, the economic was of little concern apart from the satisfaction of basic subsistence. Instead the men placed political criteria for engaging in any activity in Britain at the top of their list. As political goals continued to be bound up with events in Chile, the exiles regarded their time here as transient. Actions which involved putting down too many roots were discouraged. Alejandro, an activist, made it clear that:-

"Unas de las cosas que a mí no me preocupaba fué lo económico ... en la medida en que la intención mía en ese tiempo era estar por un corto tiempo acá en Europa. Lógicamente que yo no quería por ningún motivo estabilizar mi situación aquí."

¹ An older exile personally recalled the arrival of the Spanish Republican exiles to Chile. The Spanish exile was often quoted by the men as bearing parallels with the Chilean, although one difference was sometimes noted with regret - *"They fought and we didn't"*. The length of the Spanish exile was also noted with trepidation. Apart from the Brazilian exile following the 1964 coup, Latin American exile on the present scale is a relatively recent phenomenon and the literature is sparse, a gap felt by the politicized men with a hunger for relevant reading matter.

(One of the things I wasn't bothered about was my economic situation... as my intention, at the time, was to be for a short time in Europe. Naturally, I didn't want to stabilize my situation here in any way at all.)

The attempt to reconstruct a political space in exile had to be undertaken under an enormous handicap, for exile opened up a gulf between the political front in Chile (the interior), working in conditions of semi-clandestinity, and the political front outside (the exterior) which was scattered across the globe. Many exiles wondered what role they could play from such a distance. Initially, however, the panorama looked promising. Chilean events, immediately after the coup, had made world headlines and international solidarity movements had sprung up in scores of countries. Left-wing analyses of the time were characterized by their apocalyptic tone. Riddled with internal weaknesses and contradictions, the Junta was seen to be on the verge of collapse. The solidarity campaign could speed up its demise by helping to isolate the regime internationally. The Junta's strident denunciation of the "international communist conspiracy" - as it dubbed the solidarity campaign - only revealed its vulnerability. Thus, many of the politicized men arrived with the idea of swelling the ranks of this movement, giving impetus and direction to the campaign. At this point it seemed only a matter of time before the exiles could return. Many kept their suitcases at the ready.

The local Chile Defence Committees provided an immediate platform from which the exiles could inform, denounce and publicize their plight. Relying on interpreters, or their own broken English, many seized every public arena - party conferences, student unions, trade unions, Church bodies - as an opportunity to mobilize support for their cause. Apart from these more structured public platforms, others used each and every informal encounter - such as the pub or chatting to neighbours - as a potential consciousness raising situation. Taking part in this study was regarded by many as another way in which they could make their voice heard. Alejandro held that the exiles had a duty to speak

out. The Junta could not be allowed to silence them:-

"Ahora la obligación de cada uno acá en el exterior, por ser una persona que ha llegado aquí porque estaba luchando por un ideal, es poner en claro su papel en el proceso ... con el objeto de que sirva como experiencia y todo este tipo de experiencia los compañeros que han salido a los diferentes países los están dando a conocer."

(The obligation of everyone here in the exterior, as a person who came here because he was fighting for an ideal, is to re-examine his role in the process, so that it serves as an experience. And all these experiences are being made known by comrades who left for different countries of exile.)

Given the initial buoyancy of the campaign and the spotlight on Chile, some politicized men - and particularly the early arrivals - faced a situation of intense public activity. Alejandro, who described himself as one of the lucky ones, went from meeting to meeting to give a vision of what was happening in Chile. The exiles, through their personal testimonies of torture and imprisonment, as well as their wider experience of Popular Unity and the coup, brought a concreteness to the issues and made an impact which further boosted the campaign. Many more, however, arrived like Jaime *"con un afán enfermizo de hacer algo por Chile"* (with a maddening desire to do something for Chile) only to feel disoriented and demobilized shortly after. For the campaign notwithstanding, political life was experienced as being very different from what the politicized actors had known in Chile, especially during the heyday of the Popular Unity period.

British public life

Although the politicized actors subscribed to an internationalist doctrine, and although the existence of the Chile solidarity campaign bears witness to the existence and reality of an international public sphere, the diffusion of international socialist ideas is uneven. Most politicized men found little overlap between the Chilean political map and the British political scene. Sergio, when asked, responded categorically:-

"Ninguna. El partido comunista chileno tiene 25% del electorado mientras aquí tiene muy poco. Y esto no es una mera casualidad. La izquierda en Chile elige presidentes, la izquierda aquí es una tribuna. Estas diferencias cuantitativas son nada más que expresiones de un sistema político diferente, del carácter del proletariado que ha tenido un desarrollo político distinto y del desarrollo del capitalismo que también ha presentado condiciones objetivas diferentes. Entonces no hay prácticamente ninguna semejanza entre la izquierda chilena y la británica. Hay más semejanza entre la izquierda chilena y la italiana o la francesa pero mucho menos con la británica.

(None at all. The Chilean communist party commands 25% of the electorate, whilst here it's very small. And that's not just by mere chance. These quantitative differences are nothing more than the expression of a different political system, of a proletariat which has had a different political development and of the development of capitalism which has also presented different objective conditions. So there is practically no similarity between the Chilean and British left. The Chilean left has much more in common with the Italian or French but much less with the British.)

The absence of mass-based Marxist political parties in Britain meant that the Chilean political tendencies fell outside the mainstream of political life here, where revolutionary politics makes barely more than a ripple across the surface. This confined political discourse to much narrower frames than had been the case in Chile. Not only were radical politics quantitatively smaller but they were also qualitatively different here. The anarcho-libertarian strand in left politics, which has arisen since the late 1960's in Britain and other European countries, found little echo amongst the Chilean left with its emphasis on disciplined ranks of militants organized at the workplace around an overall strategy of combatting dependency and underdevelopment. The revolutionary left in Britain not only appeared miniscule to the Chileans but its effectiveness further eroded through fragmentation into sectional interests. Iván found that:-

"The left here is all divided up. Each group does its own thing. You've got gay liberation, women's liberation, the trade unions, and the political groups, but there doesn't seem to be any overall direction."

To the politicized Chileans, who had lived through a "political age" in Chile, British public life appeared dull and lifeless.¹ Compared to the expanded political arena of the Popular Unity years, when politics had spilled over into every corner of public life, political space here seemed both invisible and inaudible. Politics did not seem to grip or fire people's inner being and rarely captured the imagination of the ordinary person in the street. *"It's difficult enough to interest the British in their own political affairs, let alone in Chilean"*, was an oft-repeated lament. This low level of political interest was frequently insisted upon and for some constituted the main difference between life in Britain and life in Chile. Jaime thought that:-

"The difference between Chile and Britain is not just one of nationality. It's a way of looking at politics, of expressing political views. There was nobody neutral in Chile. The walls of the streets were plastered with slogans. It's the contrast between the situation there, highly politicized, where all had an opinion, where everyone was politically defined, and the situation here, which strikes us most."

Given the passion which the Chileans brought to their politics, this sea of indifference was a major part of the "culture shock" encountered here. The mass expenditure of energy reserved for politics in Chile was seen to be consumed by football here. Whilst football had been a popular sport in Chile too, in buses, cafes, bars the conversation had been as likely to turn to the political issues of the day. During Popular Unity this vibrant political culture had practically taken over the politicized men's waking hours.

Jorge, who had had a degree of success at putting his message across to a group in his local pub still felt that it did not receive the serious attention it deserved.

¹ C.W. Mills defines the 1930's in the U.S. as a "political age", reflecting the way in which public life can become politicized as historical circumstances change. C.W. Mills, (a), op.cit., p.12.

It was often mentioned in the same breath as who was to pay for the next round:-

"Te preguntan de qué país vienes tú. Algunos de ellos se acuerdan de Allende. Te preguntan, que pasó?, si es cierto lo de las torturas, si es cierto que mataron al presidente y a muchos simpatizantes de él? Pero después de eso viene cualquier otro tema, viene fútbol, o quien tiene que pagar la cuestión de cerveza. Pero de toda manera dos amigos se han interesado en la cosa, quizás no en el grado que yo quisiera, es decir estar siempre con ellos conversando respecto a esto."

(They ask you where you come from. Some remember Allende. They ask you what happened, if it's true that torture took place, that they killed the president and many of his supporters. But after that they switch to any topic, football, or who's to pay for the next round. Two friends have become interested although not to the extent that I would like, to be always talking about Chile with them.)

Equally remarked upon was the degree of apathy which ordinary people displayed towards their environment. Margarita, accustomed to the high levels of mobilization and self-help in the popular *barrios* (neighbourhoods) in Chile, was struck by the non-involvement of her neighbours here:-

"Nothing is done in groups here. There was a clean up campaign and a lorry came around from the council picking up litter but nobody came out to lend a hand."

Unlike the Chileans' experiences during Popular Unity, when there had been a strong sense of identification with public spaces and institutions, people here seemed neither to identify with public bodies nor construct their own autonomous organizations. They had simply given up. The degree of alienation between people and their environment was experienced most strongly by those Chileans living on the "tough" council estates. Sergio, an intellectual, remarked:-

"La disasociación que tiene el joven con el medio-ambiente es extraordinario. Ellos destruyen sus propios departamentos, ... el vandalismo. No hay una identificación con el medio que contrasta, por ejemplo, con las poblaciones callampas más miserables en Chile donde la señora limpia con una escoba un piso de tierra, y te pone un mantelito de plástico"

sobre los cajones que hacían de mesa con unos flores de plástico arriba. O sea había una identificación entre la persona y las pocas cosas que tenía y las cuidaba."

(The disassociation between the youth and their environment is extraordinary. They vandalize and destroy their own apartments. There's no sense of identity with the environment, which contrasts with the situation found in even the most miserable shanty towns in Chile, where the woman sweeps the earth floor, puts a plastic cloth over some boxes which serve as a table and some plastic flowers on top. There's an identification between the person and the few things they have and they look after them.)

Apart from the low level of political interest, the British body politic was seen to move in a different way and at a different pace from what the politicized actors had known in Chile before the coup. Then, a good deal of political activity had been expressed through grass roots actions outside formal political institutions. Factory occupations and seizures of land by the homeless had been frequently resorted to as methods of struggle. Furthermore, Chilean political leaders on the left had continually educated the masses, raising political consciousness and people's confidence in their own abilities. The politicized Chileans, then, did not easily fit into the pattern of political life here. What political activity they witnessed was experienced as a routinized and bureaucratic affair. Mass mobilization as a form of struggle was seen to be regarded with distrust and the political activist to be a figure of suspicion. Jaime related how:-

"In Chile everything was done en masse to exert maximum pressure for change, as compared to the methodicalness of the British, who set up committees, delegate responsibilities, report back."

Not only were the politically active sectors of the population small, and forms of struggle more restricted, but the range of options open for discussion was also much narrower than the politicized actors had been accustomed to.

Although political space had shrunk dramatically in Chile since the coup, the attempt to restrict political

expression had had to be underpinned by force of arms. The politicized men held that it would only take a lifting of the repression for this political culture to surface once again. The British political sphere, by contrast, appeared weak and under-populated without the need to resort to such drastic methods. Rather than being forced back into small-scale orbits, people here seemed to choose to inhabit them of their own free will.

Many amongst the politicized actors, explained this low level of political interest by the fact that whilst they had a model of an alternative and a glimpse of its workings in practice, people here had no such vision. Many, thought, like Jorge, that the tight frames to issues and actions here meant that the working class had no access to alternative ways of thinking and acting. The British public domain was experienced as a fundamentally bourgeois reproductive sphere:-

"The working class is born dead here. It doesn't think. It's manipulated. It's due to the dominance of one point of view in the mass media."

This widespread acceptance of working within bourgeois frames was regarded by many of the politicized Chileans to be facilitated by the higher standards of living and greater welfare provision which workers enjoyed here. The absence of extreme material deprivation was regarded by the manual workers in particular as taking the edge off the workers' struggle. *"Here people have everything easy, they don't need to fight"*, I was constantly told.

This "flight from politics" which the politicized Chileans experienced in a particularly acute way has, of course, formed the theme of much theoretical work on advanced capitalist society. C.W. Mills writes of the majority of the population as moving in private orbits, unaware of the larger structural forces which shape and restrict their lives; Sennett of the erosion of public life and a shift towards introspection and personalization of public issues; O'Neill of the subordination of public to private space and the growth of individualist, familiarist

ideologies; Arendt, more philosophically, of the loss of a polis and the growth of a non-political, social realm; Berger of the privatization of identity and the rise of a psychological model of society.¹ These authors are all talking about a retreat from politics as a meaningful part of the life experience in advanced capitalist society. Many people are seen to assume their public roles with a degree of detachment and to shift the focus of their lives to family and leisure pursuits outside the public sphere. In this way, they have responded to alienating and opaque power structures by locating their "real selves" in the private sphere where they feel comfortable and "at home".²

This private option, however, clashed with the stance adopted by the politicized Chileans who located a key part of their identities in their public and, particularly, their political roles. To the politicized men, the private sphere, whilst bringing a welcome respite from the demands of public life, was by itself a deprived and impoverished existence. The politicized men had not assumed their public roles with detachment but had imbued them with every ounce of breath in their bodies. Many had suffered torture and imprisonment for their beliefs and many knew comrades who had given their lives to the political cause. For many politicized actors, the political formed their "anchor role", the one which they merged with their person and which informed and coloured all the other roles in their

¹ C.W. Mills, op.cit., pp. 1-13; R. Sennett, The Fall Of Public Man, Cambridge University Press, 1977, Part Four; J. O'Neill, Sociology as a Skin Trade, Heinemann, London, 1972, pp. 20-37; H. Arendt, The Human Condition, Anchor Books, New York, 1959, pp. 23-69; P.L. Berger, "Towards a Sociological Understanding of Psychoanalysis", in P.L. Berger, Facing Up to Modernity, Penguin, 1979, pp. 48-61.

² Berger analyses the institutional differentiation of public and private spheres as leading to a dichotomization of identity into a public and private self, with the typical option being to assign priority to the private self, P.L. Berger, op.cit., p.57.

repertoire.¹ Many politicized men, particularly the activists in the sample, were "political animals" par excellence.

This shift in the balance of public and private life in exile pressurized the men's political stance and was accompanied by a considerable degree of distress. It came as a tremendous blow to realize that what the politicized Chileans regarded as the major motivating factor in their lives was given such low priority by the British. Jaime who had arrived with a "maddening desire" to do something, went on to describe the torment he had gone through in trying to come to terms with this different perspective:-

"I must have been an awful nuisance to the British. I just couldn't understand why they weren't devoting all their energy to the Chilean cause. I used to go to meetings at which only a handful of people turned up and couldn't believe that there wasn't more interest. It took me a long time to realize that Chile is not very important to the British and in the process I became a nervous wreck."

Those exiles, who arrived expecting to find political life as they had known it before the coup and to transfer patterns of political behaviour to this new setting, soon felt bewildered and out of place. Many recalled how they had initially made embarrassing blunders. Accustomed to the mass mobilization politics of Chile, some had attempted to stress this form of political activity here. Jaime found that it had taken him a couple of years to "enfriar el ánimo" (cool off) and be able to work politically here:-

"It takes from one to two years to learn how to operate effectively here and to learn that this society is different, that ways of acting politically are different here. You have first to look, listen and only then act."

¹ "Person and role are said to be merged when there is a systematic pattern involving failure of role compartmentalization, resistance to abandoning a role in the face of advantageous alternatives and the acquisition of role-appropriate attitudes." R.H. Turner, "The Role and the Person", in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 84, No.1, 1978, pp. 1-23.

Few, however, were in the frame of mind to accept this degree of self-restraint.

Part of the political adjustment involved the trimming of political rhetoric and the toning down of political content in order to make their message more compatible with British political language. Many found that too overt a political line alienated the audience. The men's political vocabulary, which drew heavily upon Marxist categories, was very much a minority political code here. By drawing upon its terms of reference, the politicized men could too easily be labelled and dismissed as "extremists". Mario, a worker, had found that:-

"I can't blame capitalism, the multinationals. I can't talk about the bourgeoisie without immediately being labelled and the dialogue cut. There's an enormous ideological problem here - the strength of anti-communism."

Similarly Juan, who had helped organize the showing of a Chilean film on the life of Victor Jara - a politically committed folk-singer, assassinated by the Junta - found that its content proved "*too strong*" for the local audience. After making a few polite remarks about the landscape, his neighbours withdrew and never broached the topic again. Juan concluded that "*you have to go by stages here*".

Aligning political behaviour more closely with British political norms was not without problems, however, for it could be experienced as a dilution of political ideals. Depoliticizing language brought particular problems for those political sectors amongst the exiles who emphasized the need for a break with reformist politics. Pitching their message within British frames could seem like capitulation; like a tacit nod to the "reformists" within the Chilean camp and thereby, as compromising their own distinctive political stance. To these sectors, one's ideological weapons had to be constantly sharpened and, rather than adjusting to British political norms, one had to set about changing them. Others, however, made some form of tactical adjustment on the grounds of political efficacy.

The staggered nature of arrivals meant that the politicized actors did not adjust collectively to this new political context. Those who had gone through a "cooling off" period in exile and who attempted to pass on their accumulated wisdom to the newly-arrived, often found themselves rebuffed. Jaime recalled how this was an even more painful experience than the initial dis-orientation he had gone through:-

"If the first stage is made up of understanding the difference between Chilean and British cultures, the second stage consists of trying to teach the Chileans who arrive how to act, ... that we are a minority here, that it is we who are strange in this society, and we should adjust our behaviour as closely as possible to the British way of acting. The most painful experience was when we felt rejected by our own compatriots who accused us of having become 'bourgeois'."

Each and every one of the politicized men who arrived had to test the political climate for himself. It was something too serious to be taken on trust. To many of the newly-arrived, it may have seemed that the "established" had gently succumbed to the privatizing pressures of a consumer society and that their "adjustment" was no more than the rationalization of a comfortable lifestyle.

a miniaturized public world

Having been involved in the transformation of a society, political practice in exile dwindled to small-scale tasks - such as fund-raising socials, lotteries and jumble sales to support political militants and their families in Chile - with little or no overt political content. This micro political practice in exile did little to stem the politicized actors' feelings of demobilization and political deprivation. Jorge felt able to summarise his political activity in exile in a few words, compared to the pages he had to say about his time in Chile during Popular Unity:-

"En Chile era un frente donde tu llegabas. Tu estabas realizando el activismo político prácticamente en cada segundo de tú existencia y acá no es así. Dentro del partido no va más allá de una reunión cada dos semanas donde tratamos de evaluar algunas cosas que son realmente invaluables para nuestra situación acá, donde programamos algunas actividades

más sociales que políticas, como la fiesta, o sea la recolección de dinero como tarea política. Ahora estamos empeñados a enviar ropa a Chile, a los comedores infantiles, eso son todas las actividades. Si tu comparas eso con las innumerables cosas que se puede decir cuando tú estabas en Chile, es realmente una diferencia catastrófica. Yo me atrevo a decir que mi actividad política es cero, lo que no significa que no estoy haciendo nada. Es comparado con lo que antes se hacía."

(In Chile you worked with an organized front. You carried out political activity practically every second of your existence. Here it's not like that. Within the party there's not more than a fortnightly meeting where we try to evaluate things which it's practically impossible to evaluate from this distance. Where we plan a few activities, which are more social than political, such as fund-raising socials, or rather the collection of money as a political task. Now we're trying to send second-hand clothing to the children's dining rooms in Chile, and that's about it. When compared to the innumerable things which you could say about your political work in Chile, it's really a catastrophic difference. I would dare to say that my political activity here is zero, which doesn't mean to say that I'm not doing anything, only in comparison with what I did before.)

Whilst most politicized men were able to give a blow by blow account of the key events in the political struggle in Chile during Popular Unity and the immediate aftermath of the coup, in exile there were few such decisive dates and political life often passed by in a blurry haze. The difficulty of keeping up to date with political events in Chile and, often more importantly, of knowing how to interpret such information as came one's way, exacerbated this sense of limbo. The single most important date in the Chilean exile calendar continued to be the 11th September, the anniversary of the coup. During the initial years of exile this had been marked by a march organized by the Scottish labour movement through the city centre to a central meeting place by the Clyde or other popular rallying points. Although lacking the vibrancy of the huge political rallies which had been so much a part of Chilean political life during Popular Unity, the march generated something of the same collective spirit and excitement.

Sitting alone at home, one's sense of collective identity and resolve could weaken. Going out onto the streets, the politicized actors felt themselves to be on the political stage once again. They were able to recapture, if only momentarily, something of the exhilaration of mass participation. Jaime and Francisca both spoke of the importance of the march for them:-

"We need the march. Going on the march rejuvenates us. We feel young and fresh again."

The march, then, was like an injection; it got the adrenalin flowing once again. However, it was a single and isolated event and the momentum was soon lost.

On several occasions the march had been bolstered by the personal presence of Madame Allende. The region had seen a number of local campaigns and some important local victories for the Chile solidarity campaign. The handing over of two naval frigates, which were in the process of being refitted in the local shipyards at the time of the coup was delayed. More significantly, the trade union movement successfully blocked any attempt to remove a number of aircraft engines, ordered by the Chilean airforce before the coup, from the local Rolls Royce factory. After a lengthy delay and reportedly in non-operational state, the machines were eventually removed by blackleg labour under cover of night. A campaign to prevent the Scottish football team from playing in the national stadium in Chile - the locale of political detentions, torture and assassination after the coup - met with less success but provided the chance to inform public opinion in Scotland, especially when the BBC transmitted a programme on the plight of the exiles in connection with the impending visit.

Initially much solidarity work took place across party labels by locally based groups. The geographical scattering of the exiles throughout Britain and the initially small numbers in each locality made party activity impractical. This lull in partisan life fit in with what many had experienced in Chile since the coup. In particular, the organizations of political prisoners had often transcended

party labels. This inter-party activity facilitated the participation of women who had a looser or no tie to the political parties, as well as those men - such as ex members of the armed forces - without party affiliation. As Sergio remarked, the tasks in exile were so basic as to make party membership irrelevant:-

"Las tareas son realmente tan amplias, tan generales, tan evidentes, tan pequeñas, o tan mínimas, que tú no necesitas ser miembro de un partido cualquiera."

(The tasks are so broad, so general, so evident, so minimal that you don't need to belong to any political party at all to carry them out.)

However, political life in Chile had been highly structured through party organizations so that in any attempt to reconstruct a political sphere in exile the parties sooner or later had a central role to play. As numbers swelled through new arrivals and population clusters grew, the parties slowly began the task of recalling militants to the fold. The passage from general solidarity to party work was both welcomed and regretted, for, with hindsight, party divisions came to exercise a controlling influence over social relations and ideological labels to separate and divide the politicized actors. Initially, however, the parties were seen as providing a vital link with Chile and many rejoined. The parties were like an umbilical cord linking the exile to the motherland. As Ricardo said:-

"The party is the only link a militant has with Chile, so he tends to stand by it even more than ever."

The parties provided information about what was going on back home, satisfying the exiles' hunger for news and to be connected up. Given the pressures on political commitment in exile, rejoining the party also served as a guarantee of one's intentions. Much of the parties' work was directed at keeping up morale and rekindling the collective spirit. The parties, then, promised a collective defense against the consumer society, which was perceived as threatening the Chileans' political goals.

Apart from expectations that party life would put

political activity on a new footing, many hoped that its revival in exile would also bring with it something of the strength and cohesiveness of party life as they had known it in Chile. Whilst in Chile the party had been the politicized actors' key reference and membership group, in exile the party took on an additional load as an identity-maintainer and support organization. It promised shelter from the alien and often incomprehensible British public domain. Given the cold climate outside in which the politicized actors were often misunderstood and ill at ease, the party promised familiarity, shared understandings, comradeship and the Spanish language. Many privatized women remarked how their menfolk, in their opinion, exaggerated the role of the party, looking to it for the solution of each and every problem that arose. "*El partido*" (the party) would see to all.

However, many of these expectations were only partly met, for party life was experienced very differently from what many had known. The travails of exile parties with their problems of factionalism, ideological cleavages, and personal pettiness have been studied before, and the Chilean exile did not differ substantially from this general picture.¹ The collective actor, the party, was vulnerable and fragile in exile. Firstly, there was the question of leadership. In Chile leaders had emerged tested and proven by their deeds to be worthy of their position and removable if found lacking. They had a public record which could be referred to and checked. In exile, by contrast, everyone's past was unknown and there was widespread distrust. Not only did leaders have difficulty in gaining confidence and respect but they enjoyed no fund of goodwill to carry them through

¹ P.H. Lewis, The Politics of Exile: Paraguay's Febrerista Party, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1968; P.W. Fagen, op.cit.; J.D. Martz, "Latin America's Exile Politics", Latin American Research Review, Vol.X, No.1, Spring 1975; C.D. Ameringer, The Democratic Left in Exile, The Anti-Dictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959, University of Miami Press, 1974.

difficult spells. Furthermore, there was a good deal of jockeying for position amongst the politicized men. Stripped of public status, the party represented one of the few, and the most significant, structures for the exercise of power. Enrique spoke for many when he said:-

"The main problem is that everyone wants to be leader in exile. The competition is extremely high. Everyone tries to maximise his role."

Likewise, Antonio noted on arrival that:-

"Here there are only generals, no soldiers. Everyone wants to command."

With one exception, local political leaders were all men and, with another exception, all belonged to the middle sectors. Given the vulnerability of political leaders, however, there was initially a fair amount of circulation at the top. To limit the destabilizing effect this had on party discipline, some political parties overrode local wishes and imposed leaders from above through a national party structure in consultation with the party in Chile. However, this could also be a source of discontent for it removed the accountability of leaders to the base, and the person selected in this way was not necessarily the best placed locally to lead the party.

Given the problems of leadership in exile, some militants fell back to thinking what would have happened if Allende had still been alive. Allende had held a special charismatic appeal for women Popular Unity supporters as well as for workers of both sexes. Margarita mentioned how Allende's death "*le dolía de corazón*" (grieved her to the heart) and that women had been weeping in her neighbourhood when they heard the news of his death. Antonio compared the popular affection in which "*el chico*" (Allende's familiar nickname) had been held to that reserved for the Queen here. Several workers mentioned Allende's extraordinary ability to communicate with "ordinary people". Juan and Cristián, amongst many others, missed Allende's political presence and stature and both asked themselves the same question:-

"What would have happened if Allende hadn't died but had gone into exile? We might have had a government in exile, the campaign would have been much stronger and the Junta wouldn't have lasted so long."

However, Allende's belief in the possibility of peaceful change, which he upheld to the end, was seen by some as having facilitated the counter-revolution. Although all recognized Allende's personal qualities and his appeal to the masses, some political sectors thought he was profoundly ideologically mistaken.

Apart from the question of unfamiliar leadership, the nature and composition of party cells also differed from what political militants had known in Chile. There one's comrades had often formed part of one's friendship group, people one had worked alongside, studied together with or visited at home. They were experienced as binding and intimate compared to the forced and ad hoc nature of political groupings here. Jaime related that:-

"In Chile I first became friends with those who were later to become my comrades. I joined the party through knowing people on a friendship basis. Here you meet a lot of strangers with different backgrounds and you feel obliged to make friends."

In exile, party cells brought together the theoretical sophistication of the intellectuals with the more rudimentary Marxism of the workers. Some intellectuals were bothered by this social mixing. Jaime felt uncomfortable at airing views which smacked of elitism but recognized it as a problem:-

"In Chile you were interacting among equals. I feel embarrassed saying this but here there are no common problems and widely differing levels of thought."

The more heterogeneous social composition of party cadres did at times bring problems of communication. Cristián, a worker, mentioned how he sometimes had to ask the intellectuals to "come down a little" and to rephrase things in a way which he could understand. However, he was by no means taken in by the intellectuals' language for he

thought the workers' way of expressing themselves was superior:-

"Our language is richer because it stems from practice. Theirs' (the intellectuals') is full of verbiage. We say things straight. I don't talk theoretically about Marxism. I just talk as if I were explaining things to another worker."

At the same time, there was a recognition amongst the politicized actors that drawing attention to class differences amongst the exile community was not very "political".¹

Jorge denied that class had any bearing on the configuration of the exile community:-

"Se me ocurre a mí que no existen mayores problemas con respecto a eso. Creo que el problema fundamental es la cuestión ideológica de manera que eso no influye. No, no, no, eso no podría ser. Sería lo último que nos podría pasar. Quizás la actitud de algunos compañeros pero actitudes no del punto de vista de su capa social, sino que digamos problemas humanos, problemas que puede surgir entre dos familias chilenas."

(I don't think there are any problems relating to that (class). The main problem is an ideological one, so class doesn't have any influence. No, no, no, that couldn't be. It would be the last straw. Perhaps the attitude of individual comrades but not relating to their class position, rather to general human problems which may arise between any two Chilean families.)

However, I was told of one political group which had fragmented partly through the disequilibrium caused by different levels of thought. Furthermore, there was a tendency for groups to stick to their own class sector when socializing, though not exclusively so.

The gap between differing levels of thought might not have presented such a problem if exile politics had not altered the balance between theory and practice. For

¹ Vázquez, writing about Latin American exiles in France, also notes the "general will among the exile community not to 'see' class contradictions" and to deny that there are class differences between them. When these become apparent, they are explained away as political problems or personal frictions. A. Vázquez, "Adolescents from the Southern cone of Latin America in exile: some psychological problems (1980)", in WUS (UK), (b), op.cit. p.30.

theoretical discussion grew as political practice shrank. This was experienced by many militants as an increase in talking as opposed to doing. Party meetings were experienced by some as hours spent talking with few concrete results. Jaime thought that:-

"Many party members delude themselves into thinking that they have done a lot politically because they have spent hours talking. In fact this rarely leads to any concrete action and just fulfils the need for company and conversation in Spanish. I'd like the parties to operate as in Chile with a meeting in which one left with a precise task to carry out. Here you can be hours talking round and round what to do."

And Francisca added by way of explanation: _

"There's not really that much to do, so it's difficult to assign precise tasks."

politics of the workplace

In Chile a large part of the men's political world had centred around production. Party cells had been organized at the workplace and problems arising out of the productive process had given a common focus and coherence to political activity, as well as rooting it in a materialist base. At no time had this integration of political and work roles been more complete than during the Popular Unity period. During these years, work had taken on an unprecedented degree of political significance for both middle sector and working class exiles. Work had become for some a "ruling passion", in which "even one's innermost private life is directly expressed by the giving of labour power".¹ The high degree of personal conviction and self-direction in work is evident in all the politicized actors' accounts of their jobs during Popular Unity. Enrique, a government official, recalled that it was:-

¹ P.E. Willis distinguishes three possible ways of applying manual labour to production - through mass ideological conviction (as occurred during Popular Unity); through coercion (as occurred under the Junta) and through an intermediate way where there is no obvious coercion and a degree of self-direction (pre-Popular Unity and, for some, in exile). Many exiles had thereby had personal experience of all three modes. P.E. Willis, Learning to Labour, Saxon House, 1978, p.1.

".. the first time that I felt real job satisfaction, that I didn't complain about working overtime. It was the first time that I had been given the chance to develop and make a contribution, the first time that I was responding to popular demands rather than to bosses or managers."

Nobody had forced them to work overtime or to undertake voluntary labour. They had done it because they identified with the Popular Unity process, because they believed in the possibility of change and had, thereby, felt and cared about what was happening in their workplace. Cristián, a manual worker, referred to his work in a factory expropriated during Popular Unity, as "*una tarea linda*" (a beautiful task) and went on to say:-

"Everything we did was because we felt like it. We worked day and night. We felt and cared about the factory as if it was our own flesh and blood."

Although none expected to recapture this experience of total involvement in work, seeing it as specific to a revolutionary process, the politicized actors did hope to find work which would provide the axis of political activity as it had done in Chile. At the same time the politicized Chileans hoped to recover a role in the class struggle. Alejandro, who had initially resisted the idea of working here as contradicting his short-term outlook, later came to regard work as the best way of activating the solidarity campaign by putting the Chileans in direct contact with the British working class:-

"Se puede formar un comité allí, incorporarse en una campaña y en esa campaña quién mejor que los mismos sindicatos para transformarlo en algo activo; y de allí se puede implementar experiencias nuestras, a la vez que uno mismo sigue dando una lucha de clases, se incorpora directamente en el país."

(You can form a committee there, incorporate yourself into a campaign and who better than the trade unions to activate that campaign? From there you can draw upon our experiences in Chile at the same time as continuing to participate in the class struggle by incorporating ourselves directly into the country.)

The desire for work notwithstanding, work was not easy to find for the same reason which had brought many exiles to the area - the availability of council housing - was to work against them as far as finding employment was concerned. The exiles were located in an economically depressed region at a time of growing economic gloom. If work was difficult to find, "politically useful" work was even more so and the kind of work which many had been accustomed to doing in Chile, often non-existent.

In the search for employment, both gender and class differentiated the experience of the exiles. Men, seen to be unencumbered by domestic or childcare responsibilities, had more freedom to take up jobs and generally regarded themselves as having first option on public activities. As will be seen in the next chapter, many women openly or tacitly accepted this order of priorities. Working class and middle class exiles also confronted a different panorama. The professional workers, in particular, whose jobs in Chile had often involved the exercise of a degree of personal influence and autonomy, were unable to find the equivalent here. Together with living on working class council estates, many middle sector exiles experienced downward social mobility, undertaking low status jobs and, in some cases, manual labour in exile. Workers, meanwhile, had a more uniform experience. They had been manual workers in Chile and, where they found work here, were manual workers in exile. Their loss of status was expressed in terms of the loss of collective power which had arisen from the political and organizational context of their labour in Chile.

middle sectors and employment

The search for work which satisfied both political criteria and former skills and expertise was particularly problematic for the middle sectors, especially the professional workers. With one exception, all middle sector exiles in the sample had worked in the public sector of the economy in Chile, whether in government bodies, social services or more autonomous organizations, such as

the universities. Many had specifically opted to work in the public sector for ideological reasons, foregoing the higher salaries of private enterprise. Cristina recounted how:-

"I never liked the idea of working for private enterprise, of adopting the profit motive as the basis for decision-making. I always saw myself as tied up with the State sector."

Enrique, likewise, commented:-

"I can't work for the private sector because of ideological differences, lack of job satisfaction, lack of power, inability to solve things according to my ideals."

Before the coup, most middle sector exiles had been able to find work outside more immediate capitalist productive relations. They had only become more closely involved with industry during Popular Unity when there had been a chance of reorganizing production along more socialist lines. If Popular Unity had given their work a more practical slant, it had not required the middle sectors to "de-professionalize" but rather to place their expertise, which was in short supply, at the service of the revolutionary process.¹ Some middle sector exiles, and especially the professional workers had become "important people" during Popular Unity, acting as policy makers, advisers, factory administrators and public spokesmen and women. Popular Unity had created a space where the radicalized middle classes could stretch out a hand to the working class, whilst maintaining a differentiated role in the class struggle.

In exile, the likelihood of finding similar work in government agencies and other public bodies was remote. Those three exiles (two men and a woman) to find work vaguely comparable to their previous experience, all did so

¹ Revolutionary movements are frequently depleted of politically committed "experts", many of whom desert to the forces of reaction. The need for people who were both "red" and "expert" was common to both the Cuban revolutionary process and to the Popular Unity experience.

after completion of postgraduate studies here. For the majority, the prospect of work in the private sector of the economy loomed larger. Rafael, casting around for employment, mentioned how nobody was going to employ him as a civil servant here, and added:-

"I've thought of trying to establish a small business but to do that I'd not only have to find a Scottish partner with capital but become what I've always resisted becoming - a capitalist."

With the closure of the revolutionary process, middle sector exiles were faced with the dilemma of becoming more closely involved with the capitalist economy. They were confronted with the option of becoming, if not capitalists, agents for capitalism or, alternatively, of joining the ranks of manual labour. Whilst the former strained their political identity, the latter strained their professional standing. Middle sector exiles, then, were forced to reintegrate into an hierarchy of labour which strained their political "anchor role" and exposed contradictions which had previously been obscured.¹

Jaime's and Jorge's biographies which follow illustrate different aspects of the conflict experienced by middle sector exiles on assuming a managerial or intellectual function for capital. Jaime, who was unusual in that his particular skills were at a premium, worked in a clean, white-collar environment, selling his expertise to a multinational company. His colleagues were young, ambitious and status conscious. They frowned upon trade unionism. Jaime felt a keen sense of isolation at his workplace:-

"I can't feel British, being an employee in a company without knowing who can fight my struggles for me. I feel just like an observer, a spectator. I'd like to belong to a trade union as I did in Chile."

Jaime's work offered little opportunity for class solidarity.

¹ The way in which, once the revolutionary process is halted, each person reintegrates into his class, "the petit bourgeois into the petit bourgeoisie, the worker into the working class and the intellectual into the intellectual class" forms an important theme of the Chilean director Raúl Ruiz's film of Chilean exiles in France, R. Ruiz, Diálogo de Exilados, France, 1974.

It was hardly an inviting environment in which to elicit support for the solidarity campaign and Jaime mostly kept quiet. The initiative, he thought, should come from his colleagues. They would ask if they wanted to know. They rarely did. Jaime had considerable political qualms about working for a multinational company which exploited the cheaper labour of the Third World as part of its international operations, at seeing imperialism at work "*from the other side.*"

Apart from these political misgivings, Jaime was also having to adjust from having been part of the intelligentsia with a degree of autonomy in Chile, to becoming part of a mass educated labour force in exile. Here work was reduced to the simple selling of labour power, highly qualified mental labour no doubt, but still entailing submitting to orders from above. It could also be experienced as a form of proletarianization. Jaime frequently revealed his personal discomfort at becoming, in his words, "*a number in a company*" :-

"The work is sometimes very boring. My boss is constantly breathing down my neck, reminding me of deadlines."

Although Jaime continued to justify his work in terms of usefulness to Chile - inas much as the skills he was developing could be drawn upon in a different political context - he was also eaten up with anxiety by his position. He began to feel increasingly trapped. The job paid well and was likely to pay even better in the future. This new-found affluence seemed at times to be at the cost of his ideals. Jaime managed the contradiction by clinging onto an alternative work possibility more in keeping with his past. He was going to get out soon before it was too late.

Jorge, by contrast, who had been involved in education in Chile, had started work in exile as a manual worker in a small, local industry. By rotating jobs he was able to pick up a wide range of skills and his flexibility and quickness to learn soon earned him a reputation as a

diligent and capable worker. He was shortly promoted to a supervisory position. This new post paid well and Jorge participated in some management meetings . However, he increasingly found his loyalties divided. He dithered over whether to report instances of misconduct or abuse he witnessed. If, at times, he implicitly sided with management, he also placed clear limits on how far he would go. When a worker rebelled against an arbitrary and authoritarian managerial decision, Jorge spoke up in the worker's defence. He was demoted and later dismissed. By maintaining an open class identification with the work-force, Jorge proved an unreliable and untrustworthy ally for management.

Working for private enterprise at a level which drew upon the middle sectors' technical or organizational skills, if more in keeping with past status, strained political identities at times to breaking point. Such jobs, stripped of political commitments, appeared like the naked endorsement of capitalist goals.

middle sectors and manual labour

By comparison with Jaime's and Jorge's experiences, it might be presumed that joining the ranks of manual labour would be less problematic for the exiles' political stance. However, manual work was often found in marginal and unorganized sectors of the labour force, where the possibility of carrying out any political work or gaining any political experience was minimal. Alejandro's ideal of reclaiming a political activity through work had been totally frustrated in practice:-

"A mí me ha tocado la experiencia de trabajar como 'cleaner'. Ese es el tipo de trabajo que uno puede encontrar acá, el trabajo que los ingleses no hacen. Pero buscar un trabajo como desarrollaba uno en latinoamérica o como la profesión que uno tiene, aquí es imposible porque aquí también hay mucha demanda. Por lo tanto es muy difícil llegar a obtener un puesto que le puede entregar algunas experiencias a uno para latinoamérica. Ahora la experiencia que le puede entregar un trabajo como 'cleaner' o de un trabajo parecido, después de 8, 9 meses no es ninguna experiencia. Al contrario

uno se desilusiona cada vez más con la gente que tiene que trabajar allí."

(I had the chance to work as a cleaner. That's the sort of work you can find here, the sort that the English don't want to do. It's impossible to find work of the sort we used to do in Latin America or to exercise one's profession here because there's already so much demand. So it's really difficult to find work that provides you some experience of value for Latin America. The type of experience you get working as a cleaner or such like, for 8 or 9 months, is absolutely minimal. On the contrary, you just end up more and more disillusioned with the people who have to work there.)

Alejandro, a political activist, was the only person to talk of a conflict between his job and his politics in terms of a conflict of time as well as ideals. He eventually gave the job up, preferring to dedicate his time to more valuable political work elsewhere. Alejandro had come to ask himself what on earth he was working for:-

"Ese trabajo me afectó bastante en el sentido de que uno se veía siempre inquieto. Yo siempre era una persona que se inquietaba mucho por el trabajo político y allí gastaba 8,9 horas diarias y no podía dedicarme de lleno o normalmente al trabajo político. Además la perspectiva de estar allí todos los días barriendo me tenía bien choreado porque no tenía ningún incentivo. El incentivo era recibir unas 50 libras a la semana."

(That job really affected me. I was continually anxious. I've always been a person who worried about political work, about learning politically, and there I was spending up to 8 or 9 hours a day not being able to devote myself fully to political activity. Besides which the prospect of spending every day sweeping made me really fed up. There was absolutely no incentive. The only incentive was to receive some £50 at the end of the month.)

In the end Alejandro came to the conclusion that the hours he spent at work were simply "dead hours". Against his will he was objectively assuming the role assigned to migrants from the Third World. He was simply acting to reproduce capitalist structures without any political practice to challenge them or defend himself from exploitation.

If insertion into the manual labour force did not always lead to political practice, it was at least more in

keeping with the men's political stance. Indeed a certain status could be gained within the exile community by showing readiness to work manually. It reflected distance from status preoccupations and "arribista" attitudes. Enrique felt a sense of pride at having been willing to undertake manual labour for the first time in his life. It had not been without its difficulties however:-

"At the beginning it was really hard but I desperately wanted to work and this made me overcome any problems. I felt that I gained a certain amount of respect from other Chileans for having done this."

Enrique was engaged in hard physical labour on a construction site, totally unlike the administrative work he had been accustomed to in Chile. He stuck it out for six months, during which time he learnt the ropes and moved up the hierarchy of labour amongst the construction workers:-

"At the beginning I was given the easy tasks. The first day I had to load and unload cement. The next day I worked with the compressor drill. It's terrible. It shakes up all your insides, but I stuck at it for two weeks. Then I was sent to make holes with a pick and shovel. After a while I passed from being exploited to one of the exploiters of those just arrived and who had yet to learn the ropes."

The job had not been without its rewards however. Enrique spoke of the satisfaction he felt at seeing a physical product of his labour, compared with the more ephemeral products of mental labour. A trace remained of where he had worked:-

"It was a very satisfying experience because at the beginning there was nothing and at the end there was a group of houses which I had helped to build. Whenever I pass by there, I feel this sense of satisfaction."

Although manual labour was more in keeping with the men's political stance, it nevertheless strained former status and skills. Some attempted to distance themselves from the role by regarding manual work as a temporary work situation. Indeed Enrique eventually left to take up a grant to study, whilst his working class Chilean mate - with no such escape - continued working on the site. Some regarded manual work as providing welcome insights

into and experience of British working class life; others saw it as an initial stepping stone whilst learning the language. In all cases the person retained another identity. The manual worker was not the "real me".

Cristina thought that the exile situation itself facilitated this process of role-distancing. In Chile right-wing neighbours would gloat at your misfortune; parents would suffer at seeing their children come down in the world. Becoming peripheral in a situation where one had once been central was easier to bear when defeat was not rubbed in as part of daily life. In Cristina's view:-

"En tú país es difícil que tú puedas trabajar si no has sido camarero en un hotel o chófer de camiones. Es muy difícil que de la noche a la mañana tú puedas hacer el trabajo aunque te obligaras. O sea es muy difícil. En cambio cuando tú estás fuera como que a tí nada te importa. Tu no temes herir a tus padres o a los amigos o sea ni siquiera tí mismo."

(In your own country it's difficult to work as a chambermaid or a lorry driver if you've never done so before. It's very difficult to change overnight and accept this kind of work even if you force yourself. It's very difficult. Meanwhile when you're outside it's as if nothing matters so much. You don't worry about hurting your parents, your friends, or even yourself.)

The wound, then, was easier to bear in exile where nobody knew you. Outside you did not have to confront family, friends, neighbours who knew of your changed circumstances and who served as constant reminders of the transformation. Cristina went on to talk about the part which language played in facilitating this acceptance of a lower status:-

"Además al mismo tiempo que el idioma te produce un problema que te dificulta la vida, por otro lado te la facilita en el sentido que te crea una especie de membrana donde tú estás metido adentro. Entonces el mundo no te toca. Eso te hace trabajar en cualquier parte, y siquiera vivir en cualquier parte, porque todo pierde importancia afuera, lo que te podría amargar mucho en tú casa."

(At the same time as the language makes things difficult for you, it also makes life easier, in the sense that it creates a kind of web around you. So the world doesn't touch you. This enables you to work at anything, even live

anywhere, because everything loses importance in exile, things which would bother you a lot back home.)

In exile, in other words, it was possible to shut society out more easily than in Chile. Things did not penetrate so deeply here. In this alien context, roles and activities acquired only a partial reality, a fact which brought some benefits, as well as costs. By not locating oneself fully in terms of the British social structure, downward mobility was easier to accept than a corresponding fall in status in Chilean society. In this respect, I frequently perceived that people felt more comfortable talking to me about their present plight and fall in status, after I had appreciated what they had once been or done in Chile. Accompanying this, however, was the temptation to elevate past status in Chile not only to myself but also to other members of the Chilean exile community.

Given that work rarely led to any political practice, or was rarely found in a supportive political context, the same political code which legitimized the search for work in exile could also be used to legitimize not working. Some concluded, as Alejandro had done, that by working in a capitalist society one was merely reproducing bourgeois society and capitalist relations of production, with the added danger that one might become ensnared in the process. Some politicized exiles thought it was better to have no truck with the capitalist machine. Enrique disagreed with this position:-

"It's easy to say, as some do, that they're not going to work here because this is a bloody capitalist society but I think they're wrong. You can learn a lot from this sort of experience. I see myself as a Marxist-Leninist and for me work is important not just to eat but in terms of satisfaction at producing something, even in an unequal society."

Enrique thought that this "keep out" position was sometimes a cover-up for not accepting manual work, the most likely jobs to be found.

The manual workers in the sample often made their own

diagnosis as to who amongst the middle sectors would or would not be willing to undertake manual labour in exile. Their perceptions were based on age, rank and knowledge of position occupied in Chile. Cristián thought that:-

"It must be difficult for a person accustomed to another kind of work to adjust. They may know the theory behind the practice, they may know it all from books, but they don't know how a machine works on the factory floor. Some may suffer from a feeling of pride.

Cristián's views are partly based from his experiences during Popular Unity where left-wing administrators had taken over the running of the factory, sometimes with very little prior experience of factory management. In Cristián's view, the book-type knowledge of the middle sectors simply did not equip them for living in the real world.

Mario was less tolerant of middle class status pre-occupations in exile. In his view, the middle sectors should not expect to maintain the privileges and comfortable lifestyle many had enjoyed in Chile:-

"The middle sectors are more politically educated than we are and they should be more aware. They should try to bridge the gap between theory and practice. I'm not saying this because I'm a worker. The middle sectors should hand over the knowledge they have but the experience of hardship which they hadn't known before in Chile should make them reflect about the nature of their commitment."

Mario's attitude, which wavered between respect and distrust, reflects the workers' feeling of ambivalence towards the middle class radical, for while he thinks that they have more political education than most workers, he also thinks that their political commitment is more volatile.

Only three people amongst the middle sectors found work which bore some resemblance to their jobs in Chile and which more nearly fit both political and professional goals. This was either found in research or in public employment. Whilst the work often focused on British public issues, these issues were those of public sector policy or social service which squared more readily with their former public sector ethos. Unlike Jaime's sensation

of being a spectator at his workplace in private industry, these three felt themselves to be active participants in a public debate. One of them reflected:-

"My work brings me into contact with different institutions, bodies, councils. I've begun to feel as if I were back in Chile, attending meetings, participating in decisions, having my own office, access to other staff."

Whilst the few felt useful and valued in their employment, the dominant sensation amongst the middle sector exiles was that their expertise and background was irrelevant here. Not only was any work found generally stripped of political expression but it was often way below former skill levels. Where expertise was drawn upon, it was often for purposes which conflicted with the politicized actors' goals. As will be seen, this dilemma was postponed for most middle sector exiles through the existence of the World University Service (WUS) scholarship programme. Before discussing this, however, I shall first turn to the experiences of the manual workers in the sample.

manual workers and employment

Manual workers in exile did not experience the same fall in status as the middle sectors. As mentioned, they had been manual workers in Chile and, where they found work in exile, continued to be manual workers here. Furthermore, many experienced a notable improvement in their material standard of living. Manual labour, however, is subject to the same shifting connotations as other kinds of work. The association of manual work with toughness and masculinity was implicit in the way some Chilean workers smiled at the mere suggestion of some named middle sector exiles engaging in manual labour.¹ In the workers' eyes, they simply were not up to the rough and tumble of the physical world, they lacked the stamina needed to work in the mines

¹ Willis also notes how manual workers in capitalist society come to accept their low status by inverting the relative value of mental and manual labour. This inversion is achieved by cross-valuing two sets of structures (mental/manual labour and patriarchy) so that mental labour is associated with the social inferiority of femininity and manual labour with the social superiority of masculinity. P.E. Willis, op.cit., pp.147-152.

or handle the pneumatic drill. This "machismo of manual labour" was evident too in the metaphors which workers used in everyday conversation. One worker, talking to another in my presence, cast an apologetic glance in my direction before comparing picking up a sack of cement to taking a woman by the waist.

However, manual labour had acquired another connotation for many Chilean workers during the Popular Unity government. At this time the incipient public diffusion of a socialist value system had elevated the status of manual work. According to its terms of reference, manual workers were the ones who produced the goods, moved the machines, created value. In this new Chile, being a manual worker had been a matter of pride rather than shame. Workers had turned out for the huge political rallies wearing their overalls, safety helmets and driving their heavy goods vehicles along the principle avenue of Santiago.¹ Nowhere had this new-found sense of dignity been stronger than amongst workers in the newly expropriated industries where most of the workers in the sample had been employed. Unlike some of the more personally influential middle sector exiles, few manual workers had been in a position to exercise power individually. Their strength had stemmed from their collective organizations: their trade unions and their affiliation to the Popular Unity parties.

By taking up work in exile, many workers were hoping to recreate this collective, fraternal world they had lost. However, only three out of the six workers interviewed, found jobs during the period of fieldwork. Carlos and Mario found work through the trade unions in highly organized sectors of the labourforce, whilst Cristián found work through a personal, political contact in a small

¹ One middle sector exile, a government official during Popular Unity, had kept an old pair of trousers and a *casco* (safety helmet) in his desk drawer, to change into for the political rallies.

private industry with an unorganized and predominantly female workforce.

Carlos and Mario, in the organized work situation, displayed the same degree of interest in their work as they had done in Chile. They involved themselves with union affairs, familiarised themselves with wage structures, methods of collective bargaining, union strategy and policy. Both began analysing the problems of their respective industries, their location in the British and international economy, their structural problems and history. Both, too, found a similar basis of working class solidarity to what they had known and enjoyed in Chile. Carlos had owed his release from prison in Chile to his Scottish comrades and Mario had received a warm reception from his trade union comrades on arrival. It was through this early contact with the trade union movement that they had later found employment. This form of solidarity, not often enjoyed, by middle sector exiles, made them feel valued as workers and was highly treasured. It was particularly strongly felt by the miner amongst the group:-

"I'm extremely grateful to have had this experience here, especially with the miners. The miners' lifestyle is very much the same as in Chile. We are the same type - hardworking, long-suffering, hard drinking, cheerful, without our own language, jokes and superstitions, the same easy-going confidence amongst the workers."

Mario, then, refound the same sense of fraternity amongst the Scottish miners that he had known with his Chilean comrades. He recognized himself in them and, likewise, the Scots miners that he was "one of us". His arrival in the local mining town had been publicized by the local press. People had come around with food, gifts or simply to shake hands. Although outwardly assuming a tough stance, Mario is a sensitive and emotional man. He was overwhelmed by these gestures from a people he did not know and whose language he did not speak. In his words, they made exile "so hard and yet so agreeable at one and the same time".

Mario found himself in a close-knit community which embraced his wife and children. His working life, his

political activity and his social life all revolved around the mine. There was a lot of discussion and Mario welcomed the chance of feeling involved. His workmates showed him the ropes, helped him with the language, invited him to the club. He was constantly in conversation with everybody and people would stop him in the street, calling him by name. His English improved with dramatic speed.

Carlos also found his work highly satisfying. He was learning new skills and techniques but above all he was happy to be working again after the years spent in prison and being unemployed here. Carlos's work situation, however, did not spill over into his neighbourhood as in Mario's case. This was an important gap in Carlos's life as he had always made a point of sharing in the life of those around him:-

"Yo siempre he tenido la costumbre de que para conocer una gente hay que indentificarse con ella. Identificación para mí es convivir, hacerse uno más de ellos, vivir, sufrir, comer igual, tener la misma experiencia que tienen ellos. Esto ha tenido dos excepciones, la cárcel y acá en este barrio. Acá yo no podría hacer esto porque el barrio no es muy bueno. No es como la situación en Chile de conocer todo el barrio y si quieres invitar a cualquiera o hacerte amigo de cualquier persona. Tú nunca sabes con qué gente estás tratando, viene de todo. Pero el ambiente no es para convivir con la gente y invitar a cualquiera a la casa."

(I've always held that to know a people you've got to live alongside them, become one of them, live, suffer, eat the same, share their experiences. There have been two exceptions to this, prison in Chile and here in this neighbourhood. I can't here because this area isn't very good. It's not like in Chile where you know the whole neighbourhood and you can invite anyone to your house, be friendly with anybody. Here you never know exactly to whom you're talking. There are all sorts here. It's not the kind of environment where you can live alongside the people and invite anyone in.)

In Chile the physical concentration of class-conscious workers in certain neighbourhoods had facilitated the continuity between factory and "barrio" (neighbourhood). Some districts, such as San Miguel, had been popularly

known as "*la comuna roja*" (the red municipality). Clyde-side also had its reputation for militancy but the Chilean workers had yet to experience this firsthand.

Although both Mario and Carlos found a degree of fraternity at work, it was a fraternity which did not have a strong political content. Mario was dismayed when he first attended a branch meeting to find that only a handful of people turned up. In Chile union meetings had often been mass affairs. He admitted that small meetings enabled union business to be dealt with more quickly and efficiently but he also saw some drawbacks:-

"The danger is that when the class struggle deepens, they won't have a base to mobilize."

In Chile trade union struggles had been encapsulated within a wider political struggle to overthrow a power structure which underpinned inequality. The Chilean workers felt that workers here were largely disconnected from a political practice. "*Here you see the decadence of the system, the economism of the workers*", said Mario. Mario often felt frustrated at not being able to talk to the Scottish worker on equal terms, at not being able to point out that both the Chilean and British worker were exploited under capitalism, at not being able to combine in a revolutionary struggle. Instead Mario was forced to make it clear that:-

"What we want for our society may not be the same as for here. Whereas social democracy may work and provide a solution here, it doesn't in Chile."

If the Chileans were forced into differentiating their struggle from the workers' struggle here, some felt that the Scottish workers also wanted to differentiate themselves from the Chileans. Mario felt that solidarity was sometimes expressed paternalistically, in terms of helping "*el pobre chileno*" (the poor Chilean). This implied differences, inequalities, a certain looking down upon somebody who was weaker. Although well-intentioned, Mario felt that this was not true solidarity expressed from one class brother to another. It negated the political goals which should orient their actions.

If fraternity had its limits and union meetings were

experienced as ritualized, bureaucratic affairs, at least they took place. Cristián, working in a small, private industry amongst mainly women workers, faced a much more unfavourable situation. Before being hired, the boss had asked if he was a communist and Cristián had immediately felt vulnerable and insecure. To Cristián, the situation he encountered in the factory resembled the bad, old days in Chile, before Popular Unity, when the factory had been in private hands and the workers had trembled at the sound of the boss's voice:-

"There's no trade union in this factory, no workers' participation, only orders. The workers have very few rights, no protection and poor safety standards."

Cristián was amazed at the lack of organization amongst the workforce and reflected with pride on the strength of the Chilean labour movement before the coup. Here there was no outlet for the experience he had acquired over the years of trade union struggle. Although Cristián had initially looked forward to communicating his ideas to the women workers, whom he regarded as "political virgins", he soon found that there was little point of contact:-

"The workers are anti-everything. It's difficult for me to talk to them. I might go beyond what they want. I don't believe in relating my experience just for the sake of it."

Cristián looked longingly at the large, nationalized industry near his home where he was sure there would be "asambleas" (mass meetings). There had been an attempt to form a trade union in the factory and the younger workers, in particular, were keen but they lacked signatures. Given his vulnerability in the factory, Cristián decided not to sign. It was with great difficulty that he tried to explain in his broken English that he was with them in spirit and supported them, but could not add his name to the list.

Compared to the hours which Cristián had put in during Popular Unity, his work shift here was relatively light. Mariana was delighted but Cristián would remember the after work meetings in Chile and the constant buzz of activity and discussion. He was never to experience the warmth and

solidarity which Mario enjoyed. Although friendly approaches had been made, Cristián could never understand what was said, felt embarrassed and uncomfortable. He would fret over his lack of progress in speaking and understanding English and sit poring over grammar books during tea breaks. He began to avoid and dread contact and withdraw more and more into himself. He cut down the time he spent in the factory by opting for the weekend shift so that he could spend the rest of the week at home. Cristián felt increasingly dehumanized. His work was stripped of all meaning, of comradeship, of political and trade union activity. He felt stupid, ignorant and powerless. The situation finally became more than he could bear and he handed in his resignation.

Cristián, whose stomach ulcers had started up when he was unemployed, now found his body rebelling once again through the tensions he experienced at work. Although unemployment, which three workers in the sample had continued to experience, was a source of profound discontent, work in itself did not bring an end to the men's problems. Only two workers were able to reconstruct something of their class identity as workers and this, as seen, had limits.

World University Service (WUS) scholarship programme

In the search for public roles, the WUS programme for Chilean refugees was an important factor in the differentiation of experience. It opened up a separate path for middle sector exiles and one which all men in this group, bar one, and many women followed. Workers were largely excluded from the terms of reference for WUS grants, particularly those relating to academic standards.¹

¹ The terms of reference set by the Ministry of Overseas Development at the time were a) applicants had to be Chilean and in social need, e.g. expelled from University or imprisoned in Chile b) of sufficient merit to be acceptable for education in the U.K. c) the subject of study had to be development-oriented. Joint Working Group Interim Report, op.cit., p.22. WUS pressurised the government unsuccessfully to provide funds for training schemes so that workers would have a better chance of employment here.

Applications for WUS awards could either be made from Chile or another Latin American country of refuge or after arrival in the U.K. In overall terms the existence of the WUS scheme brought a high percentage of educated exiles to Britain. An estimated 50 per cent of all exiles are students and Glasgow one of the main study centres.¹ Those in the sample who arrived with grants (5 men and 1 woman) tended to be the more academically inclined. Several had been considering or had already embarked upon an academic career in Chile. A few had left the University behind to take up government posts during Popular Unity and now contemplated a shift back to academic work with the political closure. They were pursuing postgraduate studies, at doctoral or master's level, in British universities. A larger group took up WUS awards after arrival in Britain, often after initial searches for employment had proved fruitless. They were not all so highly qualified as the former group and many followed short, one-year diploma courses at colleges of technology.

Studying abroad was an option which some could have considered under less dramatic circumstances. A precedent existed for top Chilean academics to pursue doctoral work abroad, particularly in the States and, to a lesser extent, Europe. During Popular Unity, less importance had been attached to studies abroad and some regarded those who had absented themselves from the country for this reason to have had the wrong priorities. There had also been a slight increase in the flow of students to countries of the socialist bloc.

In exile, studying seemed to fit the politicized actors' code of conduct better than most of the available employment opportunities. It could be more readily encapsulated within a political commitment and, in some

¹ Of the 1,279 refugees in UK in December 1975, 233 were brought over by WUS and a further 324 received scholarships after arrival. Joint Working Group Interim Report, op.cit. p.20.

cases, received party backing. By orienting studies around political goals and studying "what the country needed", the politicized Chileans hoped to return equipped with skills to put at the service of the revolutionary process.¹ Furthermore, studying avoided the prickly question of integration into this society raised by work, for the student role is by definition a transitional one. The two or three year study period corresponded to what many thought would be the length of their exile. By the time their studies ended, many expected to be in a position to return to Chile.

Students were located in Latin American Institutes, in development studies, on Third World courses and in mainstream departments. A large proportion of the total number of Chileans studying here were in social science and arts faculties - the most politicized faculties in Chile and the target of intense repression by the Junta.² Although the University brought a degree of institutional continuity for some, the British University was experienced as being very different from its Chilean counterpart. Sergio found that:-

"La universidad acá es un centro muy académico, marginado. El aprendizaje es sumamente divorciado del medio ambiente en la cual se encuentra. Mientras en Chile las universidades fueron convulsionadas y sacudidas por cada unas de las cosas que pasaban en el país. Yo creo que acá es terriblemente marginado o aislado el intelectual británico como ser, en términos de su investigación muy individual."

¹ There had been a vocabulary of orienting studies towards political and economic development goals before exile. During Popular Unity, Allende had thrown out a challenge to university students to make their contribution to the country's development. However, the Chileans' definition of what constituted development-related work was often broader than the ODM's terms of reference, for the Chileans related development not only to material change but also to cultural and ideological changes. Consciousness raising through song, theatre, the arts, was thereby regarded as a development-related issue .

² WUS (UK), Education for Refugees, March 1977, p.74.

(The University here is a very academic centre, completely marginal. Teaching is highly divorced from the environment in which it is located, whilst in Chile the Universities were shaken and convulsed by each and every event which happened in the country. I think the British intellectual is terribly marginal and isolated, carrying out his own, very individual research.)

Just as the Chileans had shifted through different political and economic contexts, so many had also moved through different educational settings. In analysing these shifts in educational experience, Bernstein's typology of educational knowledge codes - the underlying principles through which a society selects, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers valid - is helpful.¹ Bernstein distinguishes between an integrated code and a collection code by the strength of classification and framing involved.² As these codes underpin the distribution of power in society, a change in code reflects a change in the wider power structure. Those exiles who had been through the Chilean universities during Popular Unity had experienced a shift towards an integrated code, a shift back towards a strong version of the collection code under the Junta and a shift to a weaker version of the collection code in exile.

¹ B. Bernstein, op.cit., Ch.5. The analysis which follows concentrates on shifts in educational experience at the level of higher education. However these shifts also apply to the school system. For an analysis of the latter and the problems experienced by Chilean children in exile, see A. Vásquez, op.cit., pp. 24-27.

² Classification relates to the strength of the boundary between different contents of the curriculum. An integrated code is characterized by weak classification; contents being integrated around a relational idea and an emphasis placed on interdisciplinary work. A collection code is defined by strong classification, with an emphasis on specialization and separation of subject matters. Framing refers to the nature of the pedagogical relationship and the distribution of power between teacher and student. Where framing is strong, the teaching relationship is hierarchical and students have little say; where weak, power is more widely dispersed and students consequently have more control over the teaching situation.

The integrated code which Popular Unity had initiated in the educational system had had implications for what was taught, how it was taught and how it was evaluated. In terms of the curriculum, there had been a move towards declassifying by integrating different subject matters around a Marxist synthesis. The boundary between the university and society had also been loosened and links with experiential, community-based knowledge encouraged, drawing upon the school of life;¹ hence the emphasis on students going out of the classroom and into the field to sensitize them to social issues. Teaching practice had been characterized by a more egalitarian relationship between students and staff and there had been a shift towards group learning. Whilst formal evaluation had continued, more emphasis had been placed on students finding things out and becoming aware. This attempt to declassify and move towards an integrated code had therefore had substantial conscientizing potential.²

Under the military Junta there has been a dramatic reimposition of a strong collection code. The different subject matters of the curriculum have been closed off from each other and specialization reintroduced with the associated idea of knowledge as being the private property of specific disciplines. What counts as valid knowledge has been redefined, with some subjects suppressed from the curriculum, particularly those encouraging connections with everyday life. Hierarchical relations have been introduced into the classroom, with students

¹ The work of Paulo Freire, who was in Chile during Popular Unity, had some influence here. P. Freire, Education for a Critical Consciousness, Sheed & Ward, London, 1973.

² The shift towards an integrated code was neither uniform nor complete. The battle over educational knowledge codes had been part of the wider power struggle taking place in Chilean society during Popular Unity. Within the university, this struggle can be exemplified by the School of Economics which split into two Faculties each with its own distinct view of the discipline. The ideological right formed the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, which emphasised economics as a specialized science (collection code). The left, meanwhile, created the Faculty of Political Economy, which placed the study of economics within a socio-political context and integrated economics with the social sciences (integrated code).

having little control over the content or pace of their work. Students unions have lost their autonomy and had their functions heavily curtailed. Rather the emphasis is being placed on students receiving knowledge from experts, on discipline and formal evaluation.

None of the interview group had had personal experience of any length of time of the situation in the Chilean university after the coup, for they had either been dismissed for their "sectarian and proselytising attitudes" or had absented themselves for security reasons. In exile, however, many commented on the different experience of higher education here. Sergio's account illustrates his experience of the shift in educational codes:-

"Acá hay probablemente un mejor horario en las clases pero yo veo que todo el entusiasmo de los estudiantes en la materia o en la discusión, ... son mucho mas receptivos que críticos, la universidad much más se impone que lo que estimula y mas bien pasar el curso es aprender, de conocer la materia y tener algún manejo con ella. Mientras en Chile había mucho más un estímulo hacia buscar las cosas y entonces hay un proceso constante de revisión y cambios de programa. Por esto mismo fué mucho mas desordenado pero creo también mucho más rica. Acá es un aparato que funciona pero lo encuentro muy poco rico."

(Here there's probably better time-keeping but as for the students' enthusiasm for what they are learning or for discussing,... I think they are much more receptive than critical, the university imposes much more than it stimulates and to pass a course is to swot up and be familiar with the material. In Chile there was much more stimulus to find things out so that the curriculum was continually revised. That's why it was more disorderly, but I also think much richer. Here the university functions well but I don't find it very stimulating.)

The University here was experienced as a disciplined, orderly and well-oiled machine but one which did not arouse creativity or critical thought. Students were seen to be largely passive receivers and studying to be oriented towards swotting up blocks of material to pass examinations and obtain degrees. It was an individualized, competitive way of learning.

Many exiles initially felt lost in the British higher educational system, for they entered a very different intellectual climate from the one they had left behind in Chile during Popular Unity. Although the intellectual scene in Britain is differentiated, some students entered departments dominated by the British empiricist tradition. Most exiles, by contrast, worked with varying levels of sophistication within a Marxist framework. Coming from the highly politicized Chilean university where what was said had been judged by its implications for class alliances and power structures rather than how it was substantiated, British academic life came as something of a shock. Here the Chilean students were confronted with requests for formal academic papers, footnotes, bibliographies and when these came from politically unsympathetic members of staff, they often fell on deaf ears.

Although the avowed aim was to follow courses which would improve the technical capacity or ideological preparation of militants in exile, in practice this objective was difficult to achieve, for British courses were largely geared to British students and British reality. Jorge remarked that:-

"No creo que vamos a llegar más calificados a Chile. Quizás vamos a llegar con diplomas, títulos y cosas así pero que en ningún caso van a ser utilizados allá porque la forma de estudiar, la forma de enseñanza es para el británico, y no para el latinoamericano o ciudadano del tercer mundo."

(I don't think we're going to return more qualified to Chile. We might go back with diplomas, degrees and so forth, but they're not going to be used there because the form of studying, the form of teaching here is for the British and not the for the Latin American or Third World citizen.)

Those who argued that they would return better qualified were held by others to be deluding themselves for the bias of knowledge here meant that courses were geared to solving the problems of an advanced capitalist society, and then

only certain of these problems.¹ Even courses specifically oriented towards students from the Third World, which many followed, were not regard^{ed} as of great value. This was partly because the high level of generality at which they were taught did violence to historical specificities about which the Chileans were particularly sensitive. Julio winced every times these differences were glossed over:-

"It annoys me when lecturers mention such tyrannies as Uganda under Amin and Chile under Pinochet in the same breath. They don't distinguish Latin America sufficiently from Asia and Africa, partly through lack of knowledge about the level of development of our people."

Furthermore, many found that the discussion of development options stopped short of serious consideration of socialism as an alternative. Strong framing was seen to underpin a structure of power which largely ruled out the airing of socialist issues in class. Even politically sympathetic lecturers were seen to prefer not to stick their necks out in public. Jorge observed that;-

"It's extremely difficult for any lecturer to press for a socialist development option for the developing countries. If they do, they risk losing their jobs. One lecturer adopted a capitalist position in class and only privately revealed he was a socialist outside the class room."

Many too were dismayed to find that many of their fellow Third World students came from wealthy families, sent over by often conservative governments in whose ministries they were slated for posts.

Given that the structure of higher education here neither supported the material requirements of a developing country, nor the exiles' political aims, the Chilean students had to make the most of what was offered. They had to sort out for themselves the bits and pieces which could be

¹ P. Rojas discusses some of these issues in P. Rojas "Making British courses relevant", WUS News, March 1978, pp.6,7. A regional seminar held by WUS on "Overseas Students as an Educative Force in the First World" also discusses some of the problems involved in Third World students training in the advanced capitalist world, WUS News, May 1978.

salvaged for their own political and developmental goals.¹ Some stressed the importance of acquiring technical skills, generally regarded as more "value-free". Enrique, whose course had been described to me by another as a "*waste of time unless staying in Britain for the rest of your life*", countered with:-

"It's true that parts of the course are not transferable, but I'm also learning a series of techniques, econometrics, computing and statistics which are useful independently of the philosophy they are embedded in."

Jorge thought that those doing research degrees were the only ones in a position to place their studies "*al servicio del país*" (at the country's service) for they had a degree of control over the topic of study. Most social scientists in the sample opted to examine aspects of Chilean economic and political development, and often the Popular Unity process itself. In this way their academic work developed alongside an ongoing process of personal and political reflection.

Those working in a more supportive intellectual climate found their experience of Marxism here to be different from what they had knownⁿ. Whilst in Chile Marxist theory had developed alongside a political praxis, here it was seen to be subject to the same depoliticizing frames as other bodies of knowledge. "*Learn Marx, study Marx but don't discuss politics*", quipped one intellectual. Marxism had been made safe here because its theoretical core had been severed from a revolutionary political practice. Marxism did not spill out of the university and find echo in working class struggles. This separation, which deprived Marxism of its revolutionary charge, meant that it could be experienced as just as abstract as other bodies of theory. Here the Chilean students encountered a personage,

¹ Initial assignment to courses was often made on an ad hoc basis rather than as the result of informed decision. However, there were later attempts to pool information about courses through WUS.

the Marxist scholar, who is little known in Chile. The gulf between a more highly theoretically developed Marxism in Europe and the more vibrant Marxist praxis in Chile, was most acutely felt by the political activists in the sample who studied here. Alejandro felt like a fish out of water in the British academic world and never adjusted to the 'ivory tower' character of university life here:-

"La universidad acá es un medio en lo cual nuestra experiencia no podría servir. porque es un medio muy académico, universitario. Es un medio en que la experiencia nuestra quizás sirva un poco pero no es lo mismo que si tuviéramos contacto con la misma clase obrera."

(The university here is an environment in which our experience in Chile is not of much use, because it's a very academic environment. Our experience might serve a little but it's not the same as if we had contact with the working class itself.)

Meanwhile, Sergio, who was more academically inclined, became immersed in theory and withdrew into an island of his own, an option facilitated - if not enforced - by the nature of postgraduate study in Britain. Sergio felt that whilst political activity was limited in exile, there was the possibility of grappling with theoretical questions, pushed aside in the heat of the Popular Unity process. In Sergio's experience of exile, studying figured as an important and worthwhile pursuit:-

"Tu puedes realizar una actividad académica acá. En el caso mío es una actividad altamente interesante y en realidad me satisface muchísimo. Quizás ha sido la beca, una biblioteca y un par de amigos lo que más me ha servido."

(You can pursue an academic activity here. In my case, it's a highly interesting activity and it satisfies me enormously. Perhaps it's been the grant, the library and a couple of friends which have kept me going here.)

Many more, however, expressed concern at the effect which studying could have on political commitments. Studying was regarded by some as encouraging certain "deviations". In Chile the acquisition of knowledge had been politically approved if it was placed at the service of the working class, if it was oriented towards changing structures, or

raising consciousness. In exile it was by no means clear that the acquisition of knowledge would further any of these aims. On the contrary, acquiring knowledge here seemed to many of the politicized men to be regarded as a stepping stone to more lucrative positions. Rather than an instrument of social change, knowledge could become a vehicle of social mobility. Aspirations of this kind were seen to be especially common amongst those who had had only marginal access to higher education in Chile. In Pepe's view:-

"It transforms them. They begin to think in terms of getting a car or a colour television. And for those in the University, the other Chileans come to be regarded as second-class Chileans. The university, for all its advantages, can create a superiority complex."

Those who were held to wear their political commitments more lightly, the *económicos*, were seen to be the first to succumb to the privatizing pressures of studying. However, even the more firmly politically committed could lose their way, given the lack of structural support for their views. Alejandro felt that:-

"Cada vez son menos los activistas que están quedando para la cuestión de cambio social y cada vez son más los que van a servir como técnicos, tecnócratas. Cada vez son más las personas que se defienden bien en los sistemas capitalistas pero son incapaces de dirigir cambios. Entonces eso es la preocupación, me parece que no es mía sólo, sino que de mucha gente de izquierda."

(There are fewer and fewer activists as time goes by who are for social change and more and more who are going to find work as technicians or technocrats. There are more and more people who know how to defend themselves in a capitalist system but who are incapable of directing change. That's the worry, not just mine, but of many on the left.)

Many of these points were echoed by manual workers when talking about the middle sector exiles' studies. They were only too well aware of the way in which knowledge could be used to dominate and oppress as well as liberate. "Those Chileans in the University forget about the struggle in Chile", charged Pablo. Underlying this may have been

a desire to defend themselves from feelings of inadequacy which expressions of middle class educational superiority aroused. Workers were conscious of forming a minority in the exile community and of being regarded by some middle sector exiles as "second class Chileans". Cristián estimated that "ninety per cent of exiles are studying; there are very few workers."

Workers also felt ambivalent about the middle sectors' studies because they failed to see the relevance or utility of much that was being studied. Cristián, in particular, criticized the theoretical bent of many of the courses:-

"It's better to be studying than living on social security, but they should study useful things that will help Chile. But nobody does. They should take practical courses - training for a turner or an electrician. What do they want to study more and more economics, more and more social sciences, for? The theories are already written. We know them. What we need to see is how to apply them. Those studying theoretical topics are never going to find work here either."

To Cristián, this accumulation of more and more theoretical knowledge which was already known and unlikely to be ever practically applied was pointless, idiotic. The only rationale could be to maintain a status position.

The privatized women rarely shared in these critiques. Most valued higher education extremely positively as a form of social advancement, if not for themselves, for their husbands and, more particularly, their children. Studying, for the privatized women, formed part and parcel of their goals of "getting on" in the world.

a divided public world

The men's insertion into production here seldom led to any sustained political practice. The model of transforming the workplace into the arena of political action, as in Chile, was rarely found to be repeatable here. Nor was the men's desire to take the Chilean message to the British workforce in order to activate the solidarity campaign often fulfilled. The politicized men were located

on the wrong side of the class divide, where they had to suppress political opinions which jarred with those around them or risk dismissal; or they were located in an academic environment, such as the university, where radical ideas were tolerated only so long as they remained divorced from working class struggles; or they were located in unorganized sectors of the labourforce amongst temporary, casual and immigrant workers. In those few instances where the politicized men formed part of the mainstream of the British labour movement, they came up against a new boundary to political life - that between wage-based, trade union struggles and wider political issues. Unlike the Popular Unity period, where work and politics had gone hand in hand, work roles in exile - with few exceptions - were hived off from a political practice.

Exile, then, opened up a split in the men's public lives between the largely non-political sphere of work in the British public sphere and the highly politicized Chilean miniaturized public sphere. This divided public world forced a division in the men's public identities and was accompanied by varying degrees of personal tension and unease. Some, like Alejandro and Cristián, withdrew from work which was stripped of political expression. Others, like Jaime, continued working in a depoliticized context, with a considerable degree of inner anxiety. Yet others consciously divided their person into acting one way in the British public sphere and another way in the Chilean. Thus Enrique, in his work, behaved "*as if convinced by the system*", whilst engaging in a socialist critique of capitalist society in the Chilean setting. Likewise Mario confined his politics to social democratic frames when with his British comrades but pressed for revolutionary solutions with his fellow Chileans.

This ^psuppression of personal meaning and political involvement in work had already been experienced in an extreme form by those who had continued working in Chile after the coup. Under the military regime, the process

of democratization of decision-making and the schemes of workers' participation begun under Popular Unity, had been abolished and a new repressive work regime enforced. In some vital economic sectors, such as the copper mines, this had initially meant an armed presence at the site of production. Mario, a manual worker, recalled how the workers in his factory who had exerted themselves to the utmost during Popular Unity, had no longer cared what happened to production and did the minimum to get through the working day without being dismissed. Cristina and Doris, two professional workers, had had to implement orders whose social consequences they found immoral and unjust. Cristina had worn a wig, painted her nails and applied heavy make-up, in contrast to her informal appearance under Popular Unity, as a way of distancing her person from her role.

Whilst the depoliticization of work in Chile had been enforced through coercion, the depoliticizing pressures at work within British society were perceived to be more subtle. The advanced consumer society encountered here was seen as threatening the men's political stance and of supplanting the social and political connotation of their public roles with the dominant privatized meanings which prevailed here. For many politicized men, the answer lay in strengthening their ideological weapons and of looking to the party to collectively enforce their political vows.

If the politicized men faced a new boundary between areas of public life which had been integrated in Chile, one area of experience which had largely been bracketed out of the men's worldview - the private sphere - increasingly intruded into their line of vision in exile. To understand how this came about, it is necessary to look beyond the public sphere to see what was happening to women in the home.

C H A P T E R 5

PUBLIC-PRIVATE CONTRADICTIONS I:

The 'double shift'

"In Chile women's work is not so heavy as in Europe. For us professional women it was relatively easy to employ a maid so you didn't work a double shift. The reality for many here has been all the running of the home plus study or work outside. Those who remain at home just feel more and more frustrated at seeing their compañero going out to study, whilst what do they do here?"

Cristina, a professional woman

This chapter and the following set out to document the experiences of women in exile. Here the experience of those women who worked outside the home in Chile (the public-private women) is examined, whilst Chapter 6 takes up the story from the point of view of the private women in the home. It is important to clarify that this difference in social location corresponds to a class difference. All women who had worked outside the home in Chile had been employed in white-blouse or professional work, whilst all women in the home, except one, were married to manual workers. In each case, the significance of being female diverged considerably.¹ Whilst the public-private women had enjoyed a degree of economic independence, the private women had been wholly dependent upon a male breadwinner.

¹ "... the significance of being female varies with technology, setting, class, context, task, rank, age, profession, kinship, wealth and economics with any or all of the dimensions of a situation of which it can only form a part." S. Wallman, "Difference, differentiation, discrimination", New Community, 5, (1) and (2), 1976, p.12.

Whilst some professional women had been directing teams of men at the workplace, some housewives had been expressly forbidden from working outside the home by their husbands. As Bujra points out, gender may be a universal category but its meaning and imperatives differ widely between groups of women.¹ In particular the ability of the public-private women to employ a maid in Chile had sharply differentiated their life-experiences from those who could not. Should the private women have found work outside the home in Chile, they would still have had to take full responsibility for the home, as did most women in manual or casual employment.²

The paths of these two groups of women would have been unlikely to cross before exile. Whilst men from different class sectors met up in party gatherings or at the workplace, these two groups of women did not share a public arena. The only context in which they might have met up was one marked by inequality for one group was a potential source of domestic labour for the other. Indeed two housewives had had personal experience working as maids in middle class households in Chile - one after the coup and one before marriage.

Coming from such divergent backgrounds in Chile, these two groups of women faced very different situations in exile. For the public-private women, the main problem was that of accommodating their dual role as both wage workers and domestic workers in a situation where they were bereft of domestic help. The private women's problems centred around the loss of their kinship networks. Given that both groups of women lost important support structures in the home in

¹ J.M. Bujra, "Introductory: Female solidarity and the sexual division of labour", in P.Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., Women United, Women Divided, Tavistock Publications, London, 1978, p.19.

² Ribeiro and de Barbieri examine the conflict between wage work and home for a group of women factory workers in Chile - a conflict which persisted during the Popular Unity period. L. Ribeiro and T.M. de Barbieri, "La mujer obrera chilena", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, No. 16, 1973.

exile, the extent to which they could ally and construct a basis of female solidarity will be examined in Chapter 7.

domesticity, dependence and discontent

Exile brought a high cost for the public-private women for they initially had to renounce many public activities through the demands of childcare. In the beginning, however, many public-private women accepted this re-ordering of their lives for the chance it gave of re-establishing family life. In this process of home-building it was taken for granted by both men and women that it was the woman - the wife and mother - who had the key role to play. This way of seeing things eased the loss of their public roles as their private ones were seen - temporarily in most cases - as having priority. These women's public commitments in Chile, especially those who had been actively engaged in the Popular Unity process, had meant that a certain distance had grown up between parents and children. Cristina remarked on the difference in exile:-

"Hay una diferencia que es muy positiva. Nosotras, la mujeres, podemos estar mucho más con los hijos. Esto es increíble. Yo nunca he estado más con mis hijos que ahora. Nunca los había tenido más cerca. Nunca he estado más cerca a sus problemas. Yo reconozco que esto ha sido tremendamente positivo."

(There is one very positive difference. We women can be much more with our children. It's incredible. I've never been so close to my children as now. I've never been so involved with their problems. I do recognize that this has been tremendously positive.)

Many public-private women felt that mothering took on an added importance in the exile situation and that they owed it to their children to provide a focal point of stability at a time of maximum disruption in their children's lives. There was a desire by some to compensate for the hard times the family had been through, especially where the man had been imprisoned.

At the same time, these women realized that this renewed commitment to family life had a price - the renunciation of public activity into which many had invested an important part of their self-image. A clear expression

of this sacrifice appears in a letter a professional woman wrote explaining why she had decided not to pursue an opportunity to study shortly after arrival:-

"Si bien es cierto que lo hago a la luz del cariño, implica asimismo la renuncia de una parte importante para mí. Existen momentos en que ciertas cosas adquieren mayor importancia que en situaciones normales, y unas de éstas es la familia. Es por esto que he decidido posponer mis ambiciones profesionales y emprender una tarea pienso que aún más ambiciosa - la de ser el soporte de los que quiero. No pienses que le temo al esfuerzo del estudio. Al contrario, creo que lo que me propongo requiere de mi un esfuerzo mayor, ya que siempre he estado ligada al trabajo y al estudio."

(Although I'm doing this out of love, it still means giving up an important part of myself. There are times, however, when certain things take on greater importance than under normal circumstances and one of these is the family. This is why I've decided to postpone my professional ambitions and undertake a task which I think is even more ambitious - that of supporting those I love. Don't think I'm shying away from the effort involved in studying. On the contrary, what I propose will require an even greater effort on my part, as I've always been linked to the world of work and study.)

Unlike the private women whose very lives were conceived of as one, long sacrifice to husbands and children, the professional women had been called upon to make very little sacrifice until exile.¹ Reconciling motherhood with work outside the home had not presented insurmountable obstacles to the public-private women in Chile. Cultural barriers to women working outside the home were notably lower amongst the urban middle sectors than amongst the working class or bourgeoisie, where more traditional notions of "women's place" held sway, especially amongst

¹ In the case of the private women from the working class this sacrifice began the moment a girl was born. Silvia had bemoaned the arrival of another daughter, "Oh no, not another girl, not another one who's got to suffer. I don't want more daughters."

men.¹ Models of women in Latin American women's magazines were more likely to portray the middle class heroine as working outside the home - and often in "meaningful" work - than her working class counterpart.² Chilean women had made relatively early entry into, and significant progress within, the professions.³ More recently, this greater receptivity to middle class women working outside the home can be related to changes in the pattern of demand for female wage labour.⁴ The expansion of the service sector of the economy and the growth of the state bureaucracy have created jobs for women with a degree of education in clerical work, public administration and the social services. Women from the middle sectors, then, had had jobs to go to unlike many working class women as the sluggish performance of industry and the capital intensive industrialization have reduced the size of the female proletariat. Whilst some

¹ 35 per cent of the Chilean female labourforce is made up of married women. E.M. Chaney in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit. p.106. A survey carried out in 1968 found that amongst the urban population, 80% of "lower class" men disapproved of women working outside the home, as compared to 76% of "lower middle class" men, 48% of "upper middle class" men and 70% of "upper class" men. Women were less disapproving. 48% of "lower class" women disapproved, 26% of "lower middle class" women, 30% of "upper middle class" women and 20% of "upper class" women. A. and M. Mattelart, La Mujer Chilena en Una Nueva Sociedad, Editorial del Pacífico, Santiago, 1968, p.114.

² C. Butler Flora, "The Passive Female and Social Change: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Women's Magazine Fiction", in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.74

³ Chilean women medical doctors received their first degrees in 1887. E.M. Chaney, "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile", Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol.35, May 1973, p.332. By 1968, women accounted for 46.1% of university students in the University of Chile. E.M. Chaney in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.107

⁴ H.I. Safa, "The changing class composition of the female labour force in Latin America", Latin American Perspectives, Issue 15, Vol IV, No.4, Fall 1977. See Tables 7 and 8 in Appendix for a breakdown of the female labour force by economic sector and by occupational category.

public-private women had mothers who had also worked outside the home, others had experienced women's involvement in the labourforce to be a more recent change. Gloria, in her early 30's, thought that it was only since her generation that women had started working outside the home and she had experienced some opposition from her father, not her husband, when she had taken up a job after marriage.

If women in this class sector had experienced no significant opposition to, nor difficulty in finding work outside the home, nor had they experienced great practical problems in combining jobs with domestic responsibilities. Given their material situation, they had been able to continue working after childbirth by engaging a maid. In the case of the professional women, the maid had generally lived under the same roof (*puertas adentro*) and had taken charge of most household chores as well as being available for childcare. In other cases, domestic help had been hired on a daily or part-time basis to help out with specific tasks, such as washing and ironing. During the Popular Unity government, this private solution had been supplemented by the increased level of collective childcare provision at the workplace. Some women, then, not only had recourse to a permanent childminder in the home but also to socialized, and often 'quality', childcare at their place of work.¹ As a last resort many of these women had been able to count on female kin living in the vicinity.

The loss of ²public role in exile had a more marked effect on those women who had held down professional jobs in Chile. Indeed some of these women became full-time housewives for the first time in their married lives. Even

¹ The standard of collective childcare varied. Some professional women had had access to 'quality' childcare, in terms of the availability of qualified staff and the high level of attention the children received, such as that provided for United Nations personnel.

after the coup in Chile, many had maintained their jobs or found alternative employment. This shift from wage labour to domestic labour in exile then marked a breaking point in some women's biographies. Doris remarked that:-

"At least after the coup I continued working, despite all the frustrations of the job. The change was not so drastic as compared to the situation here."

Assuming a housewife role can be problematic for highly educated women accustomed to holding down demanding jobs in the public sphere.¹ The professional women in Chile had occupied a relatively favourable niche in the occupational structure in high status, well paid and often satisfying work. Furthermore, they had been less subject to sexual stereotyping than those women in white blouse work, for the demand for professional expertise had often outweighed gender considerations in recruitment.² As has been seen, only one out of the five professional women was in a distinctly "feminine" profession. Thus, these women had constituted a privileged group of women in Chile, whose class position and educational level had blunted the disadvantages of gender to the extent that many denied the relevance of gender discrimination to their lives. Francisca, who had undergone five years' university training, qualified and found a professional post, remarked about her life in Chile:-

"I never felt that my future had to be cut because I was a woman. I never felt any discrimination or was made to feel less able than a man."

Most of these women resisted differentiating their experiences from men's in any way. They saw themselves as

¹ Indeed the passage from paid labour to unpaid labour in the home has been analysed as a life -crisis. A. Oakley, Housewife, Penguin, 1974, p.114.

² This is not to deny that Chilean women were not disproportionately concentrated in certain professions. However, Chilean women compare well with their North American counterparts in some "masculine" or more "neutral" professions. E.M. Chaney, in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.109.

being like men, competing equally with men, and working alongside men.

Many of the Chilean professional women perceived gender differentiation to be more marked in Britain than in Chile. They contradicted the popular view of less developed countries as being more sexually stereotyped than the developed world. Two were to be the only women students on postgraduate courses in natural sciences, and a third was to be one of a small minority of women on a management course, when they later entered university here. One of them reflected:-

"A pesar del subdesarrollo nuestro, me da la impresión como que la mujer destacaba más en Chile. Es posible que aquí tengan la señora Thatcher pero en términos medios digamos. Yo soy la única mujer que tiene un Masters en Ingeniería aquí, entonces para ellos soy muy extraña. Y a mí me han preguntado muchas veces y con mucha extrañeza por qué soy ingeniera. En Chile eso ya pasó de moda."

(Despite our underdevelopment, I get the impression that women stood out more in Chile. I know you have Mrs. Thatcher here but I mean on average. I'm the only women with a Master's degree in engineering here so I appear very unusual. And I'm always being asked with great surprise why I chose to study engineering. In Chile that sort of question went out long ago.)

Many professional women felt that they had more of a role to play in Chile compared to their British counterparts. The fact that they were perceived as unusual by British people came as a surprise for it shattered prior expectations. Many had arrived with high hopes about the level of child^acare provision they would find in a developed country only to discover that British women were, in turn, amazed that they had left their children in nurseries and creches at the workplace from an early age in Chile. Some were also struck by the apparent domestic outlook of British women. In Francisca's words:-

"The situation of women in Scotland is very surprising for the Chilean woman. We are hit by the reality here and this is something common to all Chilean professional women. Whenever a group of Chilean women get together they talk

about their work. It's true that this may have been something new during Popular Unity. Most British women seem to forget their degrees as soon as they have them. They think I'm so anxious to work because I need the money and they pity me that my husband can't support me. Worst of all, British women don't seem to mind staying at home to look after the children. It doesn't hurt them, whereas it would a Chilean."

This work-centred outlook of the Chilean woman was regarded by some as having been further bolstered by the Popular Unity government. Cristina, who had previously been overlooked for promotion, had been given the chance under Popular Unity to direct a team of twenty people, mainly men. Generalizing from her own experience, Cristina related how during Popular Unity:-

"Todo nuestro grupo de mujeres que no se había desarrollado completamente tuvo la posibilidad de hacerlo porque se hizo efectivo el principio - porque hubo un vuelco en la filosofía - de que no por el hecho de ser mujer tu tenías una limitación. El gobierno le dió facilidades para participar por su mayor preocupación por los hijos. Y como el sistema llevaba una cierta mística de igualdad de derechos de hombres y mujeres, las mujeres fueron elegidas como representantes con mayor facilidad que antes. Porque eso estaba dentro del esquema, el derecho de la mujer a trabajo, a participar. Se habló mucho del Ministerio de la Mujer. Entonces la mujer ya pensaba que tenía más puño."

(All our group of women who hadn't been able to develop fully had the chance to do so because there was a change in philosophy which made effective the principle that the fact of being a woman did not imply a limitation. The government enabled women to participate by the increased provision of childcare. And as there was a certain mystique of equal rights for men and women, women were elected as representatives more easily than before, because part of the scheme was the right of women to work, to participation. There was also a lot of talk about a Ministry of the Woman, so women felt that they carried more weight.)

Those women who had experienced the Popular Unity period as marking a lowering of sexual barriers and of expanding women's job opportunities and political role, faced a situation of sudden closure and contraction in exile.

Not all public-private women, however, had experienced

Popular Unity as having expanded their vistas or horizons. Nor did all concur with some professional women's views about gender equality in Chile. "*Women in Chile have always been secondary*", remarked Isabel with a degree of resignation. Those women in white blouse work had experienced more restricted job opportunities and they had not generally projected themselves through their jobs to the same extent. Some consistently downgraded and devalued their work in Chile, reflecting the low esteem in which such typically female occupations are held. Having less prestigious public roles, many of these women continued to locate an important part of their identity in the private sphere and some had already had spells in the home in Chile. One had worked part-time.

Irrespective of remuneration and status of occupations, however, work had acquired a political connotation for some women during Popular Unity, which had further bolstered their public identities. Some women regarded the fact that they had continued working outside the home in Chile, when they had had the option of dropping into domesticity, as part and parcel of their political contribution. Like the men, then, the loss of a job could also mean the loss of a political dimension to the women's lives. Where work had carried this expanded meaning, housework carried the negative connotation of being privatized labour, associated with narrow and conservative views of the world. Two women, however, had worked outside the home whilst remaining aloof from political participation. Both Isabel and Gloria had resisted the politicization of their work roles and had kept out of politics at the workplace, regarding this as an unwelcome interference to "*getting on with the job*".

Irrespective of whether work outside the home carried a political dimension or not, many public-private women soon felt bored and restless in the home in exile. They described themselves as "*cooped up*", "*imprisoned*" and housework as "*monotonous*", "*unsatisfying*", "*living from day to day with no development*". Even those who had initially looked forward to spending more time with their children came to

despair at being in the house all day. Many found it difficult to hold onto the conception of themselves as having a non-domestic identity, given the lack of positive affirmation in exile. Doris spoke at length about the denting of her self-image:-

"I feel more and more confused about who I am. I fear I'm becoming neurotic. I'm rarely able to express what I feel. It's partly the language, partly the lack of activity. The only outlet I have is a few friends."

Likewise, Claudia felt that her own children had even begun to see her differently, as *"little better than a maid, there to fetch and carry and tidy up after them"*, for the maid had not only taken the drudgery out of domestic labour but had also obscured its servile character.

egalitarian marriages?

In many cases, these women's loss of a public role was initially shared with their men. As the men, however, gradually regained a foothold in the public sphere, the marriage took on the pattern of the highly segregated marriages, typified by Marcelo and Mónica in Chapter 2. Apart from the loss of their economic independence, these women came to assume their husbands' surname in exile - at least for official British purposes - as is customary here.¹ The loss of their own family name was just one indicator of a much wider loss but one which seemed to rub their dependent status in. Although the public-private women were glad to see their men getting on, the contrast between the men's activity and their own stagnation was hard to take, especially where the women considered themselves to be professional equals. The fact that women took over the running of the household enabled the men to cut themselves off from domestic affairs and immerse themselves in their studies.

¹ Upon marriage a Chilean woman maintains her family name, her husband's surname being added to her own with the prefix *de* (of). In practice, however, this is often omitted and for all general purposes, the woman is known and referred to by her family name.

Many men sympathized with their wives' complaints of boredom and isolation in the home and tried to ease the situation by not lingering too long away from home or returning early for the evening meal. Where men showed this sort of personal consideration, the women's sacrifice was easier to bear. With or without this display of sympathy, however, relations between husbands and wives in the integrated marriages were sorely tested. Two marriages foundered at this point and one woman made her way separately back to Chile with the children. Exile, then, exposed gaps in what had often been regarded as egalitarian relationships. Until exile, these women had been able to compete, if not equally with men, much more equally than they could here, stripped of all support in the home. As time passed, more public-private women expressed a growing awareness and resentment that the costs of exile were not being equally shouldered by men and women. For had not the women also had careers cut and studies interrupted by the coup? And, if this was so, why should men have the monopoly of public activity?

Given the difficult employment situation, the public-private women's desires for a public activity could easily have been frustrated but for the existence of the WUS programme. Initially, however, the WUS scheme underpinned gender roles by restricting grants to one per household and these largely went to men.¹ As the women became increasingly vocal about the "*raw deal*" which they had in exile, their grievances surfaced in public circles with favourable results: WUS later eased up on this restriction in response to what one WUS worker referred to as "*the*

¹ This policy did not reflect deliberate sexual discrimination but was a way of spreading resources as widely as possible so that the maximum number of families could leave the country who needed to do so. More grants went to men than women in Chile, as men were more frequently in physical danger, one of the criteria for awarding grants. However, even after easing up on this restriction, 75% of WUS awardholders are men, increasing to 88% at doctoral level. WUS (UK), (a), op.cit., p.15.

revolt of the wives". All but one professional woman and one white-blouse woman, took up WUS grants and these two exceptions found part-time or full-time work outside the home. All women, who had worked outside the home in Chile, then, succeeded sooner or later in recuperating a public activity in exile.

The public-private women's motives for reclaiming a public role were not always articulated in terms of the men's political vocabulary. Few spoke of studying "*lo que el país necesita*" (what the country needs) which was so common amongst the men. Ideology could clash with more practical considerations - the need to find employment on return to a Chile dominated by the aggressive revival of the market economy - and some women were more openly pragmatic about their choice of study. Others spoke of continuing professional careers by regarding their studies as *perfeccionamiento* (training) or of furthering *ambiciones profesionales* (professional ambitions). This kind of language was not used by the white-blouse women whose skills were not at such a premium. They tended to phrase their desire for a job or studies in terms of escaping boredom in the home or finding an independent and non-domestic identity.

One professional woman, however, openly talked of studying as "*the best way of solving our economic situation*". That studying could encapsulate an economic motive was recognized by the men but generally disowned as a personal motive. The fact that studying could be a way of propping up a material standard of living for the middle sectors became clear in a few cases where the woman's entrance into the public sphere was largely motivated by economic considerations. As the men's studies came to an end and the likelihood of their finding a job seemed low, the couple faced the choice of living on social security or for the woman to apply for a grant herself. In most cases, this no more than coincided with the woman's desire for an extra-domestic activity. However, a few public-private women, whose public identities were weaker or whose private

commitments higher, were not over-anxious to leave the home. Carmen, who had recently given birth and declared herself content to be at home, suddenly found herself propelled into the public sphere by an economic logic which enabled her to draw more income than her husband could. In a number of cases, then, WUS policy had the unintended consequences of modifying male-female relations by presenting women with a non-market, remunerated activity. impulse to penetrate¹

Regaining a public activity, however, did not put an end to the public-private women's problems for it forced them to find ways of accommodating their public and private commitments. As has been seen, in Chile the escape outlet of the maid had enabled these women to take up wage work without experiencing the full force of the 'double shift'.² Furthermore, the availability of maids had also underpinned the pattern of male non-involvement in domestic life. By enabling women to work outside the home without challenging the sexual division of labour within the family, the maid had also kept the potential conflict between men and women in the family at bay. Rather both men and women had drawn upon an egalitarian or complementary model of male-female relations. In exile, meanwhile, the public-private women faced head on that very dual and contradictory position which has been identified as imparting a specific dynamic to their situation and without which their position, "however oppressive, would be essentially unproblematic".³ Being female in this society was therefore experienced as much more oppressive by this group of women than what they had known in Chile, where gender subordination had been cushioned

¹ To penetrate is to uncover the structure determining one's situation in society, and to demystify. P.E. Willis, op.cit. p.119.

² One professional couple had toyed with the idea of bringing the maid with them into exile but had discarded this for fear of the unhappiness this might entail.

³ M. Coulson et al., op.cit., p.60.

by class privilege.

In exile, then, the public-private women experienced the contradiction between their family and public roles in heightened form. By bringing men's and women's different commitments and responsibilities in the home clearly into view, these women were in a position to penetrate the connections between public and private spheres and to uncover the way in which the sexual division of labour in the family prevented them from participating on equal terms with men in the public sphere. Not only were these women in a position to challenge the female definition of domestic labour but also to penetrate its private status by raising it as a public issue. They were in a position to challenge the men's boundaries of the political by putting gender onto the political agenda. How the public-private women set about containing or confronting this contradiction forms the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

domestic labour: a female task?

The immediate impact of this contradiction was felt at the level of each individual household. Regaining a public role often ushered in a period of tension and conflict in the home as women battled to cope with the competing demands of studies, childcare and housework. Of course, family commitments are not of the same magnitude for all women. Those with small, pre-school age children faced the greatest potential conflict. In all cases, however, women's entry into the public sphere entailed some reorganization of the household. Amongst the strategies adopted by women to manage the contradiction were the rationalization of household tasks, the redistribution of chores amongst family members, the use of local authority and private day nurseries, and childminders. These strategies presented varying degrees of challenge to the sexual division of labour in the family.

As has been seen, asking men for help in the home had not formed part of these women's expectations before exile.

They had not always needed to, nor had it occurred to them to do so when it could have been requested.¹ The active involvement of men in the home had generally been regarded by both men and women as deviant and unmasculine. For women to challenge men's freedom from domestic duties was not only to go against established gender norms but - in the case of longer marriages in particular - to challenge a well-entrenched pattern of accommodation between husbands and wives. Changing this pattern meant renegotiating the marriage relationship.

A few public-private women opted not to confront men and to shoulder the domestic load alone. When I asked Cristina about men's role in the home in exile, she began by saying:-

"Es bien cierto que hay más participación donde la esposa tenía una empleada doméstica. El hombre ve que está prácticamente en la misma situación de su mujer. Entonces trata de hacer lo que ella tampoco hacía en su casa."

(It's true that there is more male participation where the woman used to have a maid. The man sees that he is in practically the same situation as his wife and so he tries to do what she was not used to doing either in the home.)

However, whilst recognizing the theoretical equality of the situation faced by men and women in the home, when it came down to the nitty gritty of who did what in her own home, it turned out that Cristina did everything and did not expect Rafael to help:-

"Yo hago todo esto pero de una manera muy simple. Hemos llegado increíblemente al mínimo de trabajo por un sistema, llamaríamos racional, que hemos creado hasta llegar ahora."

(I take charge of all that but in a very simple way. We have arrived at the minimum of work through a so-called rational system, which we've gradually built up over time.)

¹ Doris had had to interrupt her studies in Chile on the birth of her first child as Iván's income (from part-time work whilst still a student himself) had not stretched to a maid. However, it had never occurred to Doris to ask Iván for help in the home. It was not until their financial situation improved that Doris could continue her studies by engaging a maid. Cristina had postponed marriage, so she said, until she had been in a position to engage a maid.

Cristina was extremely vocal in spelling out this rational system of housekeeping she had devised to me. The main components were bulk buying and careful budgeting. First of all, she transferred her allegiance from the supermarkets to the local shops, developing a personal relationship on first-name terms with the local grocer. She made monthly purchases of staple products - drums of oil, sacks of potatoes, chests of tea. Milk and eggs were delivered to the home, a weekly order placed with the butcher and uplifted by the children. Meals were simplified and transferred from a table in the living room to the kitchen, where in Chile the maid would normally have eaten alone. Cristina's com^mand of English was sufficiently good to enable her to make extensive use of the telephone for securing repairs, placing orders, making dental and medical appointments. She proved so efficient that even her Scottish neighbours would resort to her for advice and help. Her economic situation also permitted a number of shortcuts. One of the first items purchased was an automatic washing machine; the drying cupboard, later discarded as too expensive, was used to speed the drying of clothes; taxis occasionally taken to cut down travelling time.

All this expenditure was carefully budgeted to ensure that expenses did not get out of hand and to allow a margin of saving. Cristina, who had had considerable experience through her job in Chile with accounting, now applied this knowledge to the private sphere, giving domestic labour the character of an executive function. She periodically referred to her situation as "*muy especial*" (very special) not only for the expertise entailed but also because her children were relatively adult so she did not experience severe problems of childcare.

When I probed Cristina for the rationale behind this system of housekeeping, she replied:-

"Ahorras tiempo y energía. Sobre todo no preocupas a nadie excesivamente y sobre todo a los maridos."

(You save time and energy. Above all you don't bother anyone excessively and especially not your husband.)

Cristina, then, had specifically designed this system to avoid conflict which challenging men's freedom from domestic labour potentially entailed. Indeed, this solution had only been arrived at after an initial period of tension in her family had arisen over who did what in the home. To put an end to this, Cristina had set her organizing ability to devising a way of rationalizing and simplifying household tasks so as to take on the house-keeping single-handedly.

A second way in which women could reduce the demands they made on men in the home was by deflecting requests for help onto older children. Whilst challenging men's absence from domestic labour was to challenge the power structure within the family, children could be given orders comparatively easily. Both Cristina and Doris had teenage daughters whom they called upon to help out. Women, however did not exclusively call on daughters. If many public-private women, implicitly made allowances for men, socialized into more rigid definitions of "men's" and "women's" work, some women were conscious of the need to break down this pattern in the next generation. Boys were often expected, verbally at least, to lend a hand even though this was generally an uphill struggle. Claudia, who had only boys, felt that the reorganization of domestic labour in her household had been retarded by this fact. None of the boys' Scottish friends helped in the home and they resisted Claudia's attempts to assign them domestic chores, eventually agreeing to make their own beds and tidy their rooms.

Those public-private women with young children could not exclude their husbands so readily from the domestic scene. The help that these women requested from men varied from a minimal to a more important share in the running of the home. Women generally regarded their husbands as doing them a favour rather than carrying out their rightful share of tasks which had been redefined as a joint responsibility. Favours, of course, are conditional and can be withdrawn at any moment. Most public-private

women tested the psychological atmosphere in the home first, before deciding when and where to draw the line. In most cases, women negotiated the reallocation of a number of specific tasks to their husbands with further responsibilities being subject to goodwill and the men's public engagements. The assignation of household chores to men maintained some sexual patterning. Men commonly took responsibility for fuel supplies, shopping and some childcare; ironing, sewing and, to a lesser extent, cooking proved more resistant to redefinition. All women however - and including here the private women - had to call on their menfolk at special times, such as childbirth. The man had sometimes to take full charge of home and children whilst his wife was in hospital and was frequently more involved with the birth than had been the case in Chile. Some men witnessed the birth of their child for the first time in exile.¹

In two cases, however, male participation was of a more sustained character. Like Cristina, Francisca had set her mind and energy into devising a household system which would enable her to take on a public activity. Unlike Cristina, however, she incorporated Jaime into the scheme in an important, if subordinate, capacity. As the children were still small, this demanded careful planning. When both were studying their timetables had been flexible enough to fit ⁱⁿ with school hours and they also had access to the university creche. Later, when both found full-time jobs, they resorted to the services of a childminder. A system of flexi-time at work allowed them to stagger hours and continue sharing some responsibilities in the home. Francisca, on the early shift, would wake first at 6 a.m., get ready for work and rouse Jaime before she left. Jaime would then wake the children, dress them,

¹ Jaime thought that this was specifically forbidden by law in Chile. It was only in exile that Jaime could fulfil his desire to witness the birth of his child. Such male interest, however, was rather unusual.

fix breakfast and drop them off to school and the child-minder on his way to work. Francisca returned mid-afternoon, picked up the children, did some shopping and prepared tea. When Jaime returned there would be an hour for play before bed-time. At this point Francisca and Jaime would sit back and exchange news of their working day.

Whilst Jaime and Francisca both held down jobs as well as sharing some household chores and childcare, Jorge and Carmen reversed roles, with Carmen going out to study whilst Jorge remained at home. This situation had only come about reluctantly on Carmen's part as she was hesitant to give up full-time care of a recently born baby. However, she had been encouraged by Jorge, who saw the chance for Carmen to study after his own grant expired. Initially, they had planned to leave the baby with a childminder but Carmen would be so worried about the baby's welfare that she could hardly concentrate on her studies. She would ring up the childminder several times a day from college to check that he was alright. She fretted that the baby was not receiving the loving care and attention she had provided. After a month, Jorge and Carmen both decided that the baby would be better off in Jorge's hands. Carmen showed him how to change a nappy and left the baby's food ready prepared. Jorge then took on "*todas las tareas de la madre*" (all the mother's tasks) as well as cooking the evening meal. Cleaning, ironing and shopping, however, remained Carmen's responsibility.

men and domestic labour

The new demands which the public-private women made on men in the home, however hesitantly and however minimal, forced men to redefine their behaviour at a time when many were already feeling vulnerable through the devaluation of their public status. Whilst many men in these integrated marriages proved understanding and sympathetic to their wives' increased workload in exile, some resisted or bluntly refused any domestic involvement. It was where the gap between the women's requests and the help

received from men was experienced as too wide by the woman that marital conflict erupted.

As has been seen, before exile the private sphere had largely been defined as a female and non-political domain by men. The women's demands on men's labour in the home thereby detracted from both their masculine and political identities. Economic factors played a part in facilitating some men's receptiveness to gender role change. As seen, when the men's studies came to an end, some couples faced the unusual position of the woman being able to draw more income than the man by applying for a grant herself. In return for the woman taking on the breadwinner role, some men - temporarily in most cases - agreed to play a part in the running of the home and looking after the children. However, this economic undermining of gender roles was not uniformly welcomed. Some men fiercely resented the loss of their privileges, for in these cases women were the ones who controlled the purse strings. One man fumed when his wife received a WUS award and he the dependant's allowance. Those men who resented being placed in this position proved more inflexible when it came to helping in the home and in these cases, the woman was forced to work a 'double shift'. Even those men who proved more accommodating regretted the passage of some of their privileges. Jaime looked back longingly to the time when Francisca had been full-time in the home and he had been able to immerse himself in his books and return to find the house spick and span.

Men who were more open to helping their wives in the home reacted to their new role with a mixture of pride and embarrassment. Joking between men about domestic work was one way of signalling role distance and managing the tension. One man carried out his share of the housework wearing an apron with "men's lib" scrawled across the front. Whilst he regarded this as no more than a bit of a laugh, the underlying message read "don't push me too far". There were also light-hearted attempts by men to parody female behaviour by asking other men for recipes

or household advice. Many men had also to contend with expressions of surprise from Scottish neighbours, college staff or friends, reinforcing the tendency to regard their behaviour as deviant.

In a few cases the view that male participation in the home was deviant and unmasculine came to be supplanted by a more radical reinterpretation of male involvement in domestic life as "*right and proper*" behaviour for a socialist militant. Jorge who had to restrict his social life to weekends, admitted to no such loss of freedom. In his desire to be consistent in his public and private life, he felt that he was merely doing "*what corresponded to him as a socialist*". The tension between these two standards of male behaviour is evident not only by the verbal enlargement of a minor role in the home but also, in one case, by the public playing down of a more active role in the home. Although in this latter instance, the man assumed an important share of domestic work, the couple insisted on keeping this confidential and generally reverted back to the traditional division of labour when visitors appeared on the scene. The fact that the man clearly wanted me to know and yet not others in the Chilean exile community, also illustrates the way in which different vocabularies of motive are brought into play for different audiences. However, the man was also aware of different shades of opinion amongst the exiles, for he added:-

"They probably think I'm a real male chauvinist making my wife do everything around the home. We have our own private laugh about this."

Of course, my questioning the men about their role in the home only served to accentuate the men's defensiveness, for it was difficult to probe without levelling the implicit criticism that they should be doing something, or more. I always broached the topic extremely hesitantly, and, such is the force of male hegemony, I felt unable to tackle it at all in the case of an older man.

The two men who played the most active role in the home came to redefine not only what housework and childcare

entailed but also what constituted masculine and feminine behaviour. Jorge, who was in charge of looking after a baby and two small children whilst Carmen was at college, was surprised at the work and responsibility involved. He himself remarked that "*the constant preoccupation which a mother feels for her children was unknown to me until I came to assume the responsibility for myself*". Jorge's close relationship with the baby also revealed an emotional side which he had not expressed before:-

"I've discovered things about myself which I hadn't known before. The father often sees the mother making gestures to the baby which are typical of the female sex. But when I took over the mother role, I found myself responding to the baby in the same way. I think men are basically the same in terms of emotions but that men are prevented from showing emotions because of the different situation they are in. I feel that my love for my children has been enriched by this experience."

Up to this point I had largely assumed that men's freedom from domestic life and child-rearing largely worked to their benefit and that women were the ones uniquely disadvantaged by a sexual division of labour which prevents them from participating in the public sphere on equal terms with men. Jorge and Jaime, however, both spoke of certain costs of a masculine role, which prevents men from expressing emotions and excludes them from sustained contact with young children.¹

Jaime, who had taken an unusually active interest in his children in Chile, related how his own childhood experience had followed the typical pattern of the mother being exclusively involved in the early child-rearing years and the father stepping in at a later stage when he became a "pal" to his son. He self-consciously wanted

¹ Barrett also points to some "undesirable consequences" of the male breadwinner role in depriving men of significant access to children. M. Barrett, *op.cit.* pp. 216-7. Tolson, likewise, analyses the limitations of the masculine role in A. Tolson, The Limits of Masculinity, Tavistock Publications, 1977.

to break down this pattern with his own children. However, his attempts to become more closely involved in child-rearing had often been frustrated in Chile. Jaime recalled the first time that he and Francisca had presented the baby to his parents. His mother had virtually taken over the child and waved Jaime away whenever he approached. Although Francisca had been willing to take a back seat for the duration of the visit, Jaime had only contained himself with great difficulty and had come away relieved that his parents did not live nearer. Jaime also related the "discriminatory treatment" to which he had been subject^{ed} in this country. When he and Francisca had first gone to the university to discuss their respective study plans, Jaime noted indignantly how all academic-type remarks were addressed to him whilst the question of childcare was directed solely at Francisca. In Jaime's opinion, it was men who had the "raw deal" in the way society was presently arranged:-

"I think the way that society is arranged at present is very unfair to the father. It doesn't give him an equal role to play. The father should have the same rights as the mother with respect to the children."

Jaime thought that the female monopoly of child-rearing discriminated against men, constituting what he termed an inverse form of *machismo* or "*machismo/femenino*" (feminine *machismo*). Just as men could act to keep women out of the public domain, so in Jaime's view women could act to keep men out of the private domain. The public-private split and the related process of gender differentiation, could be perceived by men as involving certain costs as well as benefits for themselves. Rather than being an unwilling or reluctant recruit into the private sphere as many men were in exile, Jaime - for one - saw himself as having been deliberately excluded in the past and being able to give free rein in exile to his desire for a greater involvement in child-rearing. In most cases, however, reinterpretation of the masculine role did not

go so far, for few men played, or desired to play, so active a role in the home.

female guilt

Although the degree of male involvement varied substantially, in all cases domestic labour and childcare remained the woman's overall responsibility. Instances of role reversal were seen by both partners as temporary arrangements and those cases of more sustained male participation were still clearly under female directives.

The public-private women, then, largely acted to maintain domestic labour and childcare as a female responsibility and to blame themselves for shortfalls in their domestic arrangements in exile. Although often coming back from college with books to read and essays to write, Doris still felt compelled to keep the house tidy. Iván would do what was asked of him, but he would do that and no more. Doris's trained eye would see the dust on the mantelpiece, the pile of ironing mounting by the day, the dirt on the kitchen floor. Iván would tell her not to worry, accepting a lowering of domestic standards rather than a greater share of domestic chores. Middle class homes in Chile are rarely untidy and it would be extremely unusual to see stacks of dirty dishes in the kitchen. By employing a maid, these women had been able to comply with the high standards of housekeeping expected and hold down full-time jobs. As Doris battled in exile to maintain the home and fulfil the requirements of a demanding postgraduate course, she sometimes wondered if it was worth all the effort.

As well as the fall in household standards, many public-private women fretted over the less than satisfactory arrangements which they had to make for childcare in exile. Particularly controversial and sensitive in the exile context was the use of childminders for the implications of socializing young children into different cultural and linguistic patterns. As the arrangements made were often second-best, some women worried that they were depriving their children of love and attention, even though in Chile they may not have spent more time with their children and

often less. Francisca who had had some contact with a group of Scottish university lecturers' wives who had opted to remain at home felt that:-

"Women here feel guilty or are made to feel guilty about leaving their children and going out to work. I've begun to feel guilty about this myself because all the other kids have their mothers at home and I think mine will notice this."

If regaining a public role put an end to a period of sacrifice in the home, it marked the beginning of another subjective state - that of female guilt. The public-private women felt guilty when they saw the house looking run down or untidy. They felt guilty about bothering husbands and children for help in the home. They felt guilty at depriving children of love and affection.

These guilt feelings reflect the way in which gender roles were often so firmly engraved in these women's subjectivity as to cause distress and anxiety when violated. In some cases, as has been seen, the public-private women continued to openly endorse a gender order which assigned different priorities for men and women in the public and private spheres. Some women openly accepted their secondary and conditional public status. Cristina failed to challenge the men's freedom from domestic commitments because she upheld an ideology of gender roles which identified man's primary role as that of provider in the public sphere and woman's as that of homemaker in the private sphere. As she herself commented:-

"You can say that I'm anti-feminist if you want, but I think that where a society doesn't provide full employment or where the creation of equal opportunities for women means taking jobs away from men and from their role as head of the family, women should stay at home. I'd be the first to stay at home and look after the children where there were inadequate childcare facilities."

Other public-private women, who were more open to change, related the difficulties they had encountered in trying to resocialize themselves. Doris was well aware of the extent to which she had internalized the "good

housewife" role but felt unable to resocialize herself:-

"It's incredible the extent to which I've had the good housewife role drilled into me. Even though I'm deadbeat when I arrive home, I still feel that I have to keep the house neat and tidy. Iván will tell me just to leave it, but I simply cannot leave certain chores."

Where the public-private women delegated chores to men, they not only had to redefine what was "right and proper" behaviour for women but also what was "right and proper" for men. Francisca mentioned the anxiety which Jaime's enlarged domestic role had caused her:-

"It was very difficult for me to adjust to this change round. I had to learn to ask Jaime to participate and to feel comfortable leaving him alone doing tasks without constantly worrying or thinking I should be doing them."

The public-private women, then, not only had to battle with male opposition to domestic involvement in some cases, but also against years of gender socialization. Given these difficulties, the process of redefining the female character of domestic labour and of reallocating household tasks between men and women remained partial and incomplete.

private trouble or public issue?

These women's 'guilt' feelings would also seem to indicate that they acted to confine their difficulties in the home to the status of a 'private trouble'. However, many public-private women had access to public arenas where they could have raised the question of the sexual division of labour in the family as a 'public issue'. Six out of the nine public-private women belonged to political parties, where they could have formulated their grievances as policy demands. To do so, however, involved challenging the men's control of the political agenda and dominance of the party machine.

Before taking up the thread in exile, I shall first flash back to these women's experiences in the political sphere in Chile. Several political analysts, writing about women's political participation in Latin America, have commented on the slower progress which Latin American women

have made in political as compared to economic life.¹ Chaney, writing before the Popular Unity period, noted a tendency for Chilean women to act in a separate political world to the man, to adopt a distinct female political style and to pursue a "micro-social" approach to change.² Whilst traces of these characteristics are present amongst my sample, some public-private women had left this older model behind during the Popular Unity period to become militants in political cadres alongside men. However, with few exceptions, women had been subordinate members of this male political world. Bambirra, writing in the middle of the Popular Unity government, noted that women were visibly absent from high political office, whether in party organizations, government posts, trade unions or student movements and that in many political settings, women's presence was little more than that of an "ornament".³ The few important national female figures were often daughters, nieces or relatives of an important political man.⁴

The public-private women's involvement in this predominantly male political framework had not been without its difficulties in Chile. As has been seen, the men had a particularly powerful model of social reality and one which had been potentially dominant at societal level during

¹ J. Jaquette, "Female Political Participation in Latin America", in J. Nash and H. Safa, eds., op.cit.

² E. Chaney coins the term "supermadre", whereby women occupy positions in the public sphere which they look upon as differing only in magnitude from the nurturant and affectional tasks which they carry out in the family in the private sphere. E. Chaney in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.104.

³ V. Bambirra (a), op.cit., p.5.

⁴ ibid. p.5. The tendency for women to use their relationships with men in the private sphere as a foothold into public sphere also forms part of the early history of women's entry into parliament in this country. M. Stacey and M. Price, op.cit., pp.92-95.

the Popular Unity government. This model, however, largely bracketed the private sphere from serious political consideration. Those public-private women who were politically involved had not been able to invest as much of themselves in their political roles as the men, for their family roles pulled the other way. The process of role-person merger around a political anchor role - described for the men in the last chapter - had been more problematic for women. The kind of total commitment expected of the exemplary political militant, without a private life, on call 24 hours a day, ready to leave at the drop of a hat, had been unattainable for women with children. Few women, usually those without family, had enjoyed what the men referred to as an "*organic tie*" to the party, whereby a militant surrenders himself to party work and discipline.¹ This lack of fit between the men's political model which stopped short at the private sphere, and women's situation, straddling the public and private spheres, had the effect of maintaining the political, especially the higher echelons of party life, as a predominantly masculine preserve.

This mismatch had already been experienced as a problem by the "uneasily politicized" women in Chile. Although these women, especially those in well paid professional jobs, had been able to count on considerable support in the home - maids, cars, telephones - none had enjoyed the same kind of freedom to absent themselves from the home as the men. During the 'hyped-up' pace of political life during the Popular Unity years, these women's finely tuned

¹Rowbotham et al. depict a similar view of the revolutionary as a "lonely character without ties, bereft of domestic emotions, who is hard, erect, self-contained, controlled, without the time or ability to express loving passion, who cannot pause to nurture and for whom friendship is a diversion." Whilst writing about the situation in Britain, part of this picture of the full time, dedicated, professional revolutionary also fits the Chilean Left. They add, "if this is our version of what it means to be a socialist, it implies that we see socialism as limited to a professional elect who can muster these eccentric qualities. Membership of this elect will for a start be predominantly male, for if it attracts a minority among men, it fits even fewer women." S. Rowbotham, L. Segal, H. Wainwright, Beyond the Fragments, Feminism and the Making of Socialism, Islington Community Press, 1979, p.35.

arrangements for balancing their public and private commitments ^{had been stretched} to breaking point. Doris spoke of some of the problems she had experienced:-

"Meetings were held after office hours. On these days I would telephone the maid at home to make sure that everything was alright, that there was food, an evening meal. A friend picked up the children from school, so I didn't need to worry about that."

Similarly Cristina had made mad dashes home to check that everything was in order before returning to an evening stint in the office. If weekly party meetings after office hours could just about be arranged, when the group had gone on to meetings at party headquarters where wider policy issues had been discussed, Doris had had to make her apologies and hurry home. Weekend work, which all the men had done, had also been out of the question:-

"It was the same with Saturday and Sunday work. I could rarely attend. I felt really frustrated, uncomfortable in front of the other compañeros. They were exerting themselves to the utmost whilst my participation was limited. I felt I wasn't pulling my weight."

Doris, of course, had also exerted herself to the utmost but part of her activity, that relating to her work in the home, had not counted in the same way as the men's public activities. It had been regarded as a private matter. The boundary of the political sphere had been so taken-for-granted that it had never occurred to the women to raise the question of women's position in the family at a party meeting. Experience had taught them that this was not the kind of issue that got discussed there. As Doris put it:-

"The party never discussed the particular problems faced by women members. We only talked about things relating to the workplace and general political problems. I never felt able to discuss the role of women's liberation with the men. Not that I thought they wouldn't be sympathetic. I just felt that it was my responsibility to sort out my family commitments. It wasn't something I felt able to bother the men about."

For women to raise the question of the family within the party setting had been perceived by Doris to be "bothering"

men; another way in which women were a "nuisance" in a man's world. Rather than challenging the men's definitions of 'the political' and challenging their control of the agenda, women party members had stifled their interests in order to fit in with the men's way of seeing things.

Although the verbal ideal, repeated to me by many men, had been for women to work *hombro a hombro* (shoulder to shoulder) alongside men, as equal partners in the class struggle, the way in which women's position in the family had prevented this from being achieved in practice, had been glossed over. The political parties built upon certain unstated assumptions about the sexual division of labour in the family by making allowances for women party members. It had been implicitly understood that women's domestic responsibilities would affect their level of political participation. Such high levels of political activism as befitted a man, had not been expected from women. In effect, the men redefined what "being political" meant for women members, so that women could be described as "politically active" having done a good deal less than men. Similar allowances for family commitments had not extended to men. Not only would men absenting themselves from party work for family duties have reflected the persistence of "*petit bourgeois traits*" but it would also have brought into question their masculinity. Jaime, who had cut down his political involvement on the birth of his first child during Popular Unity, had had to suffer taunts of "*la madre*" (the mother) from his fellow (male) comrades as a result. Gender assumptions about men's and women's role in the family, then, gave rise to a political sexual division of labour, whereby men had been the full-time activists and women, the supporters, who dropped in and out of politics as their family commitments permitted.

Few women party members in the sample had been as politically active as the men, few had been as well-versed in party history, few had drawn upon the political rhetoric as freely as the men. Doris, whilst recognizing the pervasiveness of such political vocabularies during Popular

Unity, had not used them herself:-

"I didn't change my way of speaking. What changed for me were the topics of conversation. These became more political rather than my language itself. I never used such phrases as "defender la clase" (to defend the class) or "la lucha de clases" (class struggle) which some people used as if they were making a political speech in ordinary, everyday conversation."

In many men's eyes, most women had remained only semi-politicized, occupying the position of raw or incompletely socialized recruits. However, women party members may have been ill at ease and less articulate in this political language not only through being less well rehearsed into its vocabulary, but also because its terms of reference - being confined to an analysis of classes in the public sphere - did not completely fit their dual situation.¹ For this reason I have preferred to speak of the women as being "uneasily politicized", as this points to the tension between the dominant political model and women's structural location rather than taking the men's model as the norm to which women should aspire.

Whilst women party members experienced this lack of fit as problematic, they had maintained this as a personal tension. Such was the force of male hegemony that women party members had effectively silenced themselves and reproduced the men's political agenda.² In this way

¹ Ardener has analysed the way in which subordinate groups tend to structure their world through the model of the dominant group. The fact that the men's model ill-fits women's structural location clouds their perception, for women have to engage in "perceptual juggling" in order to accommodate their situation to the men's way of thinking. Subordinate groups are, consequently, generally less articulate than members of the dominant group for whom the model is tailor made. E. Ardener in S. Ardener, ed., Perceiving Women, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1977, p.xxii.

² The ability of power groups to set the agenda so that certain issues are not deemed appropriate for public discussion by both dominant and subordinate groups forms what has been called "the second face of power". P. Bachrach and M.S. Baratz, Poverty and Power, New York, Oxford University Press, 1970.

they formed what has been conceptualized as a "muted group".¹ Rather than subjecting the men's political definitions to critical scrutiny, the women had blamed themselves for not fitting in and for not pulling their weight. If these women had remained mute in Chile on issues which inhibited them from participating in public on equal terms with men, the pressures on them to break their silence increased in exile where they experienced the full force of the public-private contradiction and where the costs of remaining within the men's political framework correspondingly rose.

political sexual division of labour in exile

An examination of women's role in the political sphere in exile, however, reveals that the uneasily politicized women largely maintained their secondary role and continued to publicly endorse the men's definitions of what counted as "political issues".

Few women, who had had belonged to political parties in Chile, resumed the life of a party militant in exile. Most, however, continued to participate more generally in the work of the solidarity campaign. Only María, without children, attended party meetings on a more or less regular basis. Although party meetings were less frequent in exile, they could be extremely lengthy affairs, sometimes involving overnight stays away from home. Attendance was difficult where both husband and wife were party members and it was usually the man who went. Women could absent themselves more easily than men, for the principle of making allowances for female militants was repeated in exile. Indeed a woman's withdrawal from party life could pass without comment - unlike the drama surrounding a man's - for it was taken for granted that family commitments made a bid for her time. Furthermore, as long as her husband continued to be politically active, he was seen as standing in for her. Unlike the loss of a job, I rarely heard the public-private women lamenting the loss of a distinct political role. Political

¹ C. Hardman, quoted in S. Ardener, ed., op.cit., p.xii.

deprivation, which was so acute amongst the men, was not so frequently verbalized by the uneasily politicized women. Only two women consistently mentioned the loss of citizenship and political work as a major gap in their lives.

However family commitments alone do not explain women's absence from the party political arena in exile. The growth of theory, documented in the last chapter, transformed much party activity into ideological debating sessions with which many women were unfamiliar or ill at ease. As has been seen, few of the uneasily politicized women had been actively involved in the higher echelons of party life in Chile; a position which they shared with some male workers. Few of these women felt either competent or confident enough to discuss publicly with the men. Cristina related how in exile:-

"I often have to remind myself that I am just as much a party member as my husband. Sometimes he receives an invitation to go down to London and when he can't go, it occurs to me that I could go in his place. But I quickly put this idea out of my mind."

When I probed Cristina for the reasons behind her hesitancy, she continued:-

"It's the fear of being one person too many. I don't know why I feel like this. There are many things which I'm fearful of doing just because I'm a woman. Often there are no obvious barriers but I still don't do everything I could."

In other words, some women continued to perceive a certain type of political activity in exile to be the "men's business". The men were the ones who received the invitations in the first place, who travelled to and fro to political meetings across Britain, who issued the political statements and declarations. The uneasily politicized women felt out of place in these settings which were dominated by men and characterized by their masculine ethos. The men did not always have to actively exclude the women for they excluded themselves. By way of explanation, Cristina went on to speak of the way in which she had grown up with a restricted notion of what women

could do from her own family:-

"My father placed a very clear ceiling on what my mother could do. She was a very active and intelligent woman, who had participated in the movement for the women's vote, had been professionally trained and a party member. However, when my father withdrew from the party, he withdrew my mother's membership as well. My father would never have permitted my mother to excel him in any way. I don't know what would have happened if she had written a book."

Some public-private women internalized their own limitations and inferiority in the political sphere. Rather than challenging the men's dominance of the party machine, they acted to reproduce a political sexual division of labour.

However, not all the uneasily politicized women withdrew from the party arena through their perception of the ideological as a male sphere. Francisca found the debates "sterile" and a "waste of time", a criticism which was shared by some men. Furthermore, she thought that spending time with her children was a more valuable political task in the exile context:-

"In exile, in a foreign country, children need more interaction than ever from their parents, otherwise they will forget everything to do with their cultural background. They are already forgetting a lot. They are being educated here, have friends here, watch television here. The parents' attention is therefore extremely important. I know political activity is also important but I can always return to it later."

In this instance, Francisca withdrew from party work through a disagreement over political priorities in exile. However, whilst redefining the boundary of the political - to include child-rearing in exile - her redefinition remained without public challenge. However, as will be seen later, this was a view which came to be shared by some men.

If certain spheres of the political became almost exclusively masculine, mass acts such as the September rally were decidedly mixed gatherings. Many women and children went on the march and proceeded to the public meeting of Chileans held afterwards, making a sizeable

female presence. However whilst sharing the same political arena, men and women did not take an equal part in the proceedings. Public life continued to be sexually differentiated, with men maintaining control of the meeting and women giving support and backing. Women's political support role emerged clearly in the reply which one of two women to speak from the floor gave to a speech about the importance of keeping the campaign alive:-

"We promise we will impel our husbands on and not let them forget the commitment they have to the struggle in Chile."

Some women openly perceived their role to be that of encouraging their men forward rather than acting independently or assuming joint responsibility for political tasks.

Women were not solely to be found in the backseats of public meetings, however, for many of the guest Chilean speakers were women. These women speakers had been thrust into the political limelight through the tragic circumstances of the death or disappearance of their men, key political or trade union activists in Chile. Whilst some of these women had had a degree of independent activity before the coup - generally in spheres other than politics - others had had little. Their entry into the political arena had come about through their personal relationship with a male *político* and as such they were given a hearing.¹ One woman speaker, well aware of the problem of establishing an independent political identity, related privately how she had constantly to struggle against the all-encompassing label *viuda de* (widow of).

Some of these women speakers limited themselves to talking about their own personal situation and the issue of the *desaparecidos* (the disappeared) in Chile. These women brought an emotional charge to public meetings which

¹ The way in which women act in politics as a surrogate for a man, rather than standing in their own right, follows the pattern of "male equivalence" identified by M.C. Currell in Political Woman, Croom Helm, London, 1974, p.58.

also touched some men. However, these women's plain speaking and the fact that their personal tragedy overshadowed their message could also be dismissed by the men. One woman speaker related how she had heard men remark that the *compañeras* were always "harping on" about the disappeared. Other women speakers became increasingly politicized themselves through their involvement in the campaign and broadened their message to include wider issues of imperialism and class. However, their contribution in this area could also be downplayed by the politicized men. One male intellectual, after listening to a capable woman speaker who had addressed herself to such wider questions but without the political rhetoric of the men, shrugged his shoulders and said to another in my presence:-

"Well, what more can you expect from someone with so little political formation?"

Women, when addressing topics of particular concern to them, could be seen as "harping on", whilst when addressing topics which figured more prominently in the men's political repertoire could too easily be dismissed as naive or incompetent. In both instances women had difficulty in gaining a proper hearing.

Given the shake up in political life in exile, men and women political actors did not merely fall back into the pre-existing sexual division of labour for in many cases the tasks and spaces had changed. Although some areas remained clearly marked off as a male preserve, there was also a perception amongst both men and women that political practice was not so sexually differentiated as it had been in Chile. Jaime commented that:-

"Here there is no party activity that can't be carried out by either a man or a woman. Here we are not struggling to change British society or to change the ideas of British people. All we are trying to do is win their support."

If such macro tasks as "changing society" and "consciousness raising" were implicitly seen as men's work, the micro political practice in exile did not justify a sexual division of labour so readily. This meant that the

boundaries to male and female political space had to be renegotiated. Demarcation disputes, where women were perceived by men to be poaching on their territory, bring into focus the existence of such sexually segregated spheres. In these instances, men exerted energy in keeping women out of certain sectors of the public sphere.¹

There were several occasions in which the lower overall level of political activity in exile created boundary disputes. As has been seen, liaising with non-Chilean political organizations and sending delegations to political activities elsewhere, were generally considered by men to be their preserve. When a group of women arranged to attend a solidarity concert in a nearby town, some men simply could not accept that women should go off to a political event whilst they remained at home. On the day when the bus came to pick the women up, there were more men than women present. Some men regarded it as their prerogative to have first option on all political activity, arguing that the women "*wouldn't get as much out of it*" as the men would. In some men's eyes, it was simply a wasteful use of what precious little political space there was in exile.

Another such boundary incident occurred at a public meeting which was particularly well attended by men, women and children for the hopes it had raised of setting up an all party umbrella organization. As the discussion got under way, a male trade union leader stood up to say that, although he realized that it was important for children to witness this act, they were now becoming rather fidgety and suggested that "*I don't think we need to keep the compañeras any longer*". The setting up of the

¹ As Edholm et al. note, "Keeping women out of public roles is in fact a positive and time-consuming aspect of social organization." F. Edholm, O. Harris, K. Young, op.cit. p.126.

new structure was clearly men's business, even though the initial circular had defined the proposed committees as "*amplios, democráticos, representativos, constituídos con la participación de todos los chilenos*" (broad, democratic, representative, formed by the participation of all Chileans). The assumption that women did not have any opinions to express on the matter and that it was the *compañeras* who should leave to look after the children passed without comment. Although there was by no means a mass exit of women, a trickle withdrew to play games with the children in a neighbouring room. The women themselves remained mute in this public setting. The only woman on the platform, together with all the other women present, let this anomaly - if they perceived it as such - pass without challenge. Normally this boundary problem would not have arisen quite so publicly for this kind of issue would have been discussed in arenas where women were largely absent. The fact that women were physically present on this occasion only to be withdrawn when the important business came up, brought men's and women's different political place clearly into view.

partial penetration¹

The heightened contradiction which the public-private women experienced in exile with their dual role made explicit the conditional and subordinate status of their public participation. However, these women failed to publicly and systematically challenge those practices which reproduced their subordination in the family and in the public sphere. Any grievances which they felt were not admitted to the public domain. The public-private women either withdrew from the party arena or remained silent in those mixed public gatherings where they could have put forward an

¹ Penetrations are partial when any insights or understandings reached are distorted, repressed or disorganized so that they are prevented from reaching their full potential and from being given a political articulation. P.E. Willis, op.cit., p.45.

alternative viewpoint. Instead these women made a number of individual bargains and arrangements with their men in the private sphere. Their skills and energies went into devising ways of minimizing the impact of the contradiction through behind the scenes negotiations with their men.

This is not to deny that some public-private women struggled in the home, in some cases to the cost of their marriage; nor that there were flickerings of a gender consciousness. As has been seen, these women were conscious of having had a "raw deal" in exile and took action to reclaim a public role. However, any penetrations made were not developed into a coherent, counterpart model which was admitted to the public sphere.¹ Rather these women often remained conceptually entangled in the men's political definitions and largely respected the men's political boundaries and hierarchization of political concerns. By continuing to publicly adhere to the men's political framework, these women were inhibited from expressing their concerns. Unless these were expressed in the dominant male idiom, women, as has been seen, had difficulty in gaining a proper hearing. Rather than breaking out of the men's conceptual prism and differentiating their experience, the uneasily politicized amongst the public-private women joined with men in downgrading and demoting a set of issues which were of particular concern to themselves. For many, "fighting over who did the dishes" was trivial and degrading. Likewise Francisca commented: _

"I know there is a group of women fighting for equality here but there are aspects of this movement which I don't like. For example, the emphasis on sexual liberation if a man can have an affair, why can't a woman? Why can't men have children?"

¹ Muted groups may and do developed counterpart models to the dominant one but these models are generally subordinate and rarely transformed into a new dominant model. One of the features of a dominant model is the way in which it impedes the free expression of alternatives or even inhibits their generation by crowding out the perceptual space. S. Ardener, ed., op.cit. p. xxiii.

Some public-private women joined with men in ridiculing and trivializing feminism. In this case, the men had already defined organizing around gender as "divisive", "bourgeois", "individualist", as will be seen in more detail later. These political controls were increasingly stepped up by the men as women struggled in the home. The public-private women, then, continued to dismiss sexual politics and feminist vocabularies. In this respect, they continued to form a "muted group" in exile.

Whilst some women openly endorsed the men's political meanings, others for whom these definitions had begun to wear thin, suppressed or deflected insights. Private conversations with the public-private women often revealed a tension and dissatisfaction with their situation which was not followed through in their public speech and behaviour. It appeared to me as if there was a female "conspiracy of silence", of which I was made to feel conscious of breaking whenever I probed too deeply into the question of male power. Rather than talking openly and confidently about their problems, the public-private women made furtive asides about *machismo* outside their husbands' earshot, and in one case a remark made to me alone was later withdrawn when I tried to pursue it a second time in the husband's presence.

Yet other public-private women distorted any insights they had made into gender subordination by arguing that the "*Chilean woman is much more liberated than the British woman*" and by contrasting the "*raw deal*" which women have in this society with the "*better deal*" which women have in Chile. The extent to which their "freedom" in Chile had depended upon the exploitation of another woman, in the form of a maid, remained a blind spot in many women's accounts.¹ Indeed the maid was treated ambivalently in

¹ Vania Bambirra was one of the few women writing in Chile during Popular Unity, to raise the issue of maids and to point to the way in which the "relative freedom" of the middle class woman depended upon the exploitation of a servant class. V. Bambirra, (a), op.cit., p.5.

many accounts and there was a tendency to mystify, for as Doris put it, "*We feel slightly guilty about this*". In some cases, the public-private women downgraded the role of the maid in their domestic arrangements in Chile and upgraded their reliance on collective childcare. In other cases, the ability of middle class women to employ maids was equated with the working class strategy of relying on female kin for childcare. As Cristina held:-

"For the working class woman, without a maid, it wasn't very different. She always had an aunt, a grandmother, a mother, or in the last resort, the older children to help out."

In this case the class privilege involved in employing a maid was minimized.

The tension between ideology and practical interests had been managed on a personal level by redefining the typical mistress-servant (*señora-empleada*) relationship which had prevailed in bourgeois households. The maid had been "*one of the family*", had been addressed by the informal "*tú*", had sometimes eaten at the same table.¹ Furthermore, her workload had not been too onerous, her free time had been scrupulously respected, her salary had been comparatively generous.² Men, who had an equal interest in maintaining a system which deflected women's demands from themselves, sometimes widened the justification in terms of the employment which domestic service provided for women with few skills and limited alternative employment possibilities. The private women, however, were universal in their condemnation of domestic service as degrading and humiliating work.

Given the definition of exile as a transitory situation, some public-private women may well have hoped to take up

¹ Not all maids welcomed this more informal and egalitarian regime. Doris recalled how one maid she had employed expected to be given orders and treated subserviently, as in bourgeois households.

² There had been some attempts to organize maids into unions and to regulate their conditions of employment during Popular Unity. Indeed some bourgeois women feared that they had a "spy" from Popular Unity under their very roof.

this solution again on return. Indeed some women specifically talked about returning to Latin America as solving the problem of childcare. Yet others welcomed the more participatory family lifestyle which emerged from the greater pooling of domestic tasks in exile. Assuming a share in the running of the home was part of the democratization of family life which had occurred since the coup, when children were increasingly incorporated into family discussions and had public events explained and clarified to them. Two women specifically mentioned rethinking the issue of maids on their return. Doris, who reconsidered the question from an ideological point of view, still thought that the pressures on her to resort to this solution again would be too great. Cristina felt that her system of rationalized housekeeping worked so well here that she would continue with it in Chile, even though she recognized that conditions were not identical. Her reasons for disposing of a maid were more pragmatic than ideological. Entrusting one's household to another had its drawbacks and in this case "the problem of the maid" referred to carelessness, irresponsibility, theft.

The decision not to press their grievances in public and to confine their struggle to a process of private renegotiation with men had not been without its benefits for many women. Some had been able to reach a new accommodation with their men in the private sphere which dispensed with the search for collective strategies. Although gender grievances mounted in exile, many public-private women had more bargaining power with their husbands than those private women who had never worked outside the home. In particular, the professional women's standing in the public sphere in Chile enabled them to make claims on their men with comparative ease, a fact which was openly recognized by some men. As Jaime put it:-

"I married a professional woman, not a housewife, and I won't accept that she should have to give this up in exile."

In some cases, then, individual strategies did pay off and in a few cases renegotiation had been quite far-reaching.

The partiality of this group of women's penetration, however, was to have wider repercussions, for it was from amongst the public-private women that the leadership of the one collective strategy to emerge in exile was drawn. As will be seen, the deflection of feminist politics dampened and repressed any penetrations made by the privatized women. It is to these women's experiences that I shall now turn.

C H A P T E R 6

PUBLIC-PRIVATE CONTRADICTIONS II:

"Family first, politics second"

"A party member has an obligation to be in the home with his wife and children. In my opinion the family should come first and the party second. Why should my husband's party leave me abandoned in the home?"

Mariana, a housewife

The privatized women came into exile extremely ill-equipped to lead the kind of lives they were about to lead, for in Chile many had lived almost exclusively within the micro world of the extended family. Many had never taken a decision without first discussing matters with the family. Female kin, in particular, had played a vital part in sustaining these women's identity and place in the world. They had consoled, advised and shared what had frequently gone unshared between husbands and wives, forming a daily channel of support. In exile, by contrast, the privatized women were forced to go about their daily lives in strange surroundings, in a language they did not speak and with few people outside husbands and children to talk to. Just as the men's political space shrank in exile, so these women's private space was also more restricted. Exile, by disequilibrating the women's private domain, transformed the texture and meaning of much of their lives, leading them to question some taken for granted assumptions or to articulate some long-held or newly experienced grievances.

a restricted private domain

Unlike the public-private woman for whom the housewife role threatened a non-domestic identity, the private woman regarded being a housewife as part and parcel of her self-

image. Managing the home and bringing up children were the activities which legitimized her very existence as a woman and gave her a sense of purpose in life. Falling under her exclusive charge, these activities were the one area where men deferred to her judgement. In short, they were her domain. Carrying out this role efficiently and dutifully was a source of some satisfaction as well as sacrifice. "*La norteha*" (the woman from the North of Chile), "*is an excellent housewife*", said Silvia with pride, "*not like the santiaguina* (the woman from the capital, Santiago) *who flirts and neglects the home.*" For many of the private women, the role of housewife (*dueña de casa*) carried strong, moral undertones. By proving skilful at managing the household, by struggling and sacrificing for her children, by being a faithful wife, she earned the respect due to her as "*una mujer seria*", "*una mujer buena*" (a good and upright woman).¹ From this moral posture stemmed her leverage over the rest of the family.

Whilst being² housewife was not experienced as problematic by many private women, and whilst the business of home-making and childrearing continued in exile, these activities took place within a very different context from what they had known in Chile. If exile brought a major loss to the privatized^{women} by severing their kinship ties, it did give rise to the possibility of a renewed family life with husband and children. Indeed, after the turbulent years of Popular Unity and the coup, many privatised women welcomed the prospect of a more home-centred existence. Many hoped that things might get back to normal, that their marriages which had been so rudely interrupted might now take pride of place, that the nightmare had been left behind.

Part of this transformed context of the private domain in exile was experienced as being for the better. A word which recurs in the private women's accounts is "*tranquilidad*"

¹ A. and M. Mattelart, op.cit., pp. 59-62.

(tranquillity) and many felt that they had found this in exile. A major strand in this "tranquillity" was the provision of social security and welfare services which removed the women's previous constant anxiety in Chile about the family budget. The material basis of the private domain was secure after the scrimping and saving experienced after the coup in Chile ^{because of} by the unemployment or imprisonment of their men. Many private women had suffered real economic hardship at that time, having fewer economic resources and savings than the middle sectors. Silvia described her contentment in exile in the following way:-

"This is the first time I've felt calm since the coup. All my nervous tension has disappeared and I feel really well. The main relief is not having to worry about where the next week's money is coming from."

Similarly Ana spoke of the existence of social security as living "bajo una protección" (under protection) and Gloria of an exile "con garantías" (with guarantees). Although the women sympathized with their men's loss of work and shared in the men's dislike of receiving money in this way, these reservations were often eclipsed by their overwhelming sense of relief. The women's feelings reveal the precarious nature of the family economy since the coup. Eugenia remarked how quickly the time passed in exile, a comment which contrasted sharply with the men's descriptions of time as hanging on their hands. When I asked why this was so, she replied:-

"It's because I'm not always worrying about money. In Chile the day sometimes seemed never-ending because I never knew if the food would suffice."

A second dimension to the women's sense of well-being was the removal of the threat that their husbands might suddenly disappear or be detained. In exile they felt secure, their men out of harm's way. The women were also content at the educational provision for their children. Given the difficult economic situation they had faced in Chile, many children would have had to leave school early in order to supplement family income. Mariana, for one, thought that the education her children were receiving

was:-

"good and something we have to take advantage of. There are more opportunities for children to study here. In Chile the two eldest would probably have had to work."

With respect to their work in the home, many private women were able to benefit from the greater rationalization of domestic labour in a more developed country.¹ Many private women found housework "*easier*" in exile, compared to the public-private women who regarded it as "*more burden-some*" as they could no longer delegate part of the responsibility to a maid. Shopping was easier because of the larger number of supermarkets here where everything can be bought under one roof. Although supermarkets exist in Chile, they are notably absent from the popular neighbourhoods so women had had to go from shop to shop which was both tiring and time-consuming. Cooking was also regarded as less troublesome as foods are more processed here than in Chile and so quicker to prepare. Invariably the private women mentioned the laborious preparation involved in making the Chilean popular dishes - *porotos* (beans) and *cazuela* (a hearty soup) - as compared with the simplicity of meals here.² Laura recalled how:-

"In Chile a woman has to prepare huge meals at both lunch and dinner-time. There are no school meals so the children come home for lunch. Time is spent going from shop to shop buying the meat, fresh vegetables, salad. You get back home and then have to start stringing beans, shelling peas, soaking the beans, preparing the salad. Here you just go to the supermarket and buy a can of beans."

Although the private women were forced to simplify meals partly out of necessity as the ingredients for many Chilean

¹ Garrett also comments on the low level of household technology ^{in Chile} and the demands this makes on women's time and energy. P. Garrett, Growing Apart: The Experiences of Rural Men and Women in the Central Valley of Chile, unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1978, pp. 30-45.

² *Porotos* take three hours to cook; the *cazuela* two hours and another hour to add the remaining ingredients.

recipes are not readily available here, many children soon took to the Scottish diet and began to leave aside the Chilean dishes which their mothers sometimes prepared. The private women were surprised by the relative disregard for food here, as seen by the popularity of snack meals, compared with Chile where food is important and the ritual of the meal a key event in the day.¹

Cleaning was also less trouble as many private women were able to buy some labour-saving equipment in exile. Some acquired second-hand washing machines whilst most had had to wash by hand in Chile where these items are prohibitively expensive and the second-hand market restricted.² Even washing the dishes was regarded as easier as detergents were seen to be more effective. In Chile the maintenance of the wooden floors had been a major task. The floor had first of all to be gone over with wire wool to remove the ingrained dirt (*virutillar*), then swept, polish applied and finally removed. All women agreed what hard work this was in comparison with passing a carpet sweeper or Hoover over the carpets here.

However, if housework in exile was experienced as less burdensome it was also more solitary. Housework in Chile had taken place within the context of wider family and community relations. An outing to the shops would be an occasion to stop and chat to a neighbour. Doing the laundry may involve popping to one's mother's to use her machine and perhaps meet other sisters there. Many private women had used the extended family to break out of the isolation of the housewife role. They had had a network

¹ The middle sectors had the habit of lingering over the table and chatting after a meal (*sobremesa*) as they had had a maid to attend and wash up. In the working class, however, the women would be constantly on her feet, attending the men and children. Often when I was a guest in working class homes here, the woman never sat down at all leaving her husband and myself to eat and carry out the conversation alone.

² The demand for labour-saving equipment in Chile was restricted partly by the ability of middle and upper income groups to employ a maid. P. Garrett, op.cit., p.44.

of social relations which had reduced the deprivations of their labour. Housework in exile, by comparison, became an impersonal, isolated and solitary activity. Going into a supermarket was convenient and required the minimum of language skills, but it also meant that the women went about their work silently and alone.

Whilst housework was experienced as lighter in exile, childrearing loomed much larger in the private women's lives. Many private women had depended heavily on female kin, especially their mothers, for childcare and child-rearing advice and support. In two cases, children had been brought up by their grandmothers. What had been a shared female concern in Chile, now became the task of a single woman. Many private women felt an increase in responsibility caring for their children alone in exile, for many had to confront more than routine childhood problems. With the upheavals in family life since the coup - especially where the father had been arrested - many children exhibited behavioural problems, revealing the sensitivity of children to public events. Bed-wetting, aggressiveness and nightmares were common. Some children were also fearful of being left alone, making great demands on their mothers' time and freedom of movement. The absence of supportive kin transformed the meaning of having a child. in exile "*Me enclaustré*", (I shut myself in), said Catalina on the birth of her first child here.

The private women not only found mothering to be more burdensome and imprisoning in exile but they also experienced a social devaluation of motherhood here. In Chile, "*señora con guagua*" (woman with baby), had been a passport to a seat on the overcrowded buses and during Popular Unity, the surest way to jump the food queues. Such had been men's resentment at the prerogatives attached to motherhood that they had even been heard to comment in the queues, "*ah, se ponen a criar*", (ah, women are setting out to have children) for the privileges it had been perceived as entailing. This veneration of women

as mothers had given Chilean women a form of "mother power", such that some authors even speak of an incipient matriarchy in the Chilean household.¹ Here, by contrast, the private women experienced motherhood as bringing few such privileges. In their opinion, many Scottish women did not take their mothering seriously enough. Compared to the child-centred focus of Chilean society, children here were seen to be regarded as a "nuisance" from which women sought to relieve themselves as fast as they could.

It was not only in terms of the absence of extended family members that the private women experienced their domain to be more restricted in exile. Those women who had enjoyed an active *barrio* (neighbourhood) life in Chile, felt isolated and marginal in their new neighbourhoods. For two private women, the Chilean *barrio* had provided a sphere of community action, channelled through such women's neighbourhood organizations as the *Centros de Madres* (Mother Centres).² For others it had been a social sphere and for others, simply the taken for granted backdrop to their daily lives. For all private women, the *barrio* had formed their "home territory"; a space within which they had been able to move around freely and comfortably.³ Although many women received welcoming visits from their Scottish neighbours, these dropped off when they were considered to be settled. It was then that the reality hit home. Eugenia, who lived on a new housing estate, commented on the materially helpful but emotionally cool neighbourhood. She compared it to her *barrio* in Chile where she had lived for over fifteen years:-

¹ V. Bampirra (a), op.cit. p.5. Jaquette notes the stake which Latin American women have in the family "as a strong institution in which they have power" through their control over the socialization of children, the enforcement of social sanctions and the preservation of moral values. J.S. Jaquette, in Nash and Safa, eds., op.cit. p.229.

² A discussion of the *Centros de Madres* appears in Ch.7.

³ Home territories are defined as areas where regular participants have relative freedom of behaviour, a sense of intimacy and control over the area. S.M. Lyman and M.B. Scott, op.cit., p.92.

"When I took or fetched the children from school, I always met other women and we would arrange activities. We would exchange news or one would invite the rest for tea."

Now life took on a dull pattern with little room for the unexpected or spontaneous. The novelty in the private women's lives was often provided by their children, who, through the school, were interacting and mixing with the local population.

Some private women initially felt extremely vulnerable in their new surroundings. Some had received visits from the Housing Inspector, prying into bedrooms and kitchens. Others had received complaints from neighbours over noise levels, especially where Chilean families were doubling up whilst awaiting separate accommodation. The women's feelings of vulnerability were at their most severe on the "tough" council estates. Ana related how:-

"I live in the bad part of the estate. I've been harassed and insulted. I've had live matches thrown through my letter box, urine too. I live in terror not daring to go out for fear that someone might break in."

An additional dimension to the women's sense of vulnerability relates to the change in body image brought about by exile.¹ Silvia's fears of being treated as "an indian" have already been mentioned. Other private women voiced fears about their stature, at skin colouring and complexion. Although these fears soon dissipated as the private women discovered that *"there are fat, small and ugly people here too"*, they were initially powerful enough to dissuade them from straying too far from home, particularly when they were unable to defend themselves in English.

The Church, which had formed part of some private women's world in Chile, rarely held the same place in their

¹ Vásquez looks at the change in body image as experienced by adolescent exiles in France, A.Vásquez, *op.cit.*, p.28. On the one hand Chileans in exile here could be mistaken for other ethnic groups in the area, notably the Pakistani population, and experience a degree of racism. In other social circles, such as the university, the dark, Latin features of the Chilean women took on an exotic or striking quality which elevated their social image.

lives in exile. Some private women had undergone a certain distancing from the institution, given the negative attitude of individual church members to their plight after the coup in Chile. Sectors of the clergy had welcomed the coup and the women's need for help had sometimes been spurned on account of their husbands' "communist" beliefs. Whilst some re-established a loose contact with the Church here, others continued to experience some opposition.

Many private women, then, cut off from the network of family and community relations which they had known in Chile, experienced their world to be impoverished here. Compared to the relatively powerful private domain which some had known in Chile, many experienced an erosion of their power base in exile and the social devaluation of their labour in the home. They had lost their "women's world", in which they had felt respected and valued members of society. Like the men's loss of public standing, many private women lost any standing they had enjoyed in the community in Chile as exemplary mothers and upright people. Their moral authority was dimmed. Against this loss, many private women felt that the basic conditions ensuring the stability of the private domain were met in exile - a steady and secure flow of income, education for their children, physical safety of their men and peace and tranquillity in society at large.

friendship

Given the importance which the kinship system had held in many private women's lives, many harboured what they knew to be impossible dreams of bringing family members over to join them in exile. Ana frequently dwelt on this but knew it would only involve them in suffering:-

"I knew in my heart that they would only suffer here, especially my mother with the language, the climate, the loss of social life. In Chile my mother went out every weekend to the beach or countryside. What would she do here?"

Not all private women were totally disconnected from extended family members in exile, however. One family group in the

vicinity included the grandmother and four married brothers and sisters, thereby reconstructing the extended family in exile. Given the magnitude of the Chilean exile, a number of women also had family members in other parts of Britain or Europe. Furthermore, as time passed, savings were set aside to enable family members to visit from Chile and several women later had one, or both, parents to stay.

Given the private women's initial loneliness it is perhaps surprising to note that those Chilean women within visiting distance did not see more of each other. However, this is just one indication of the way in which the extended family had formed a self-sufficient world for some privatized women in Chile. Many privatized women had not been accustomed to visiting and the idea of knocking at the door of someone who was not well-known was hard to countenance. Ana remarked:-

"Sometimes I get very depressed when I've nothing to do all day. Nobody visits. I know I could easily go and visit someone but I never do. In Chile I never visited anyone outside the family. Here I never knock at anyone's door."

Many privatized women were unaccustomed to discussing personal matters outside family circles and had little notion of friendship. Furthermore, whereas kinship provides an automatic closure on the circulation of information, friendship does no such thing and there was a tremendous fear of gossip. I was frequently told how the Chilean woman had a bad reputation as a gossipmonger. Indeed both Ana's and Mariana's self-reported high standing in their local communities in Chile had been based on their aloofness from gossip and the way they had kept themselves to themselves.¹ There are a number of expressions used by the privatized women to denote this perceived female trait - "*la mujer peladora*" (the woman who skins you) and "*copucheo femenino*" (women's gossip). Furthermore, whilst the verb

¹ Naish also discusses the way in which gossip can be a form of social control over women, keeping them isolated from each other and from the world of men. This ideology of "keeping out", or "keeping oneself to oneself" had negative consequences for the development of female solidarity. J. Naish, "Désirade: a negative case", in P. Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., op.cit., pp. 245-6.

describing friendly relations between men - *compadrear* - translates into the neutral "to go along with", the female equivalent - *comadrear* - translates into the pejorative "to gossip or tattle". Women were not only seen as gossiping but also as having sharp tongues. Silvia's comment is typical of many:-

"I have little confidence in Chilean women. They are busybodies (chismosas) who spread rumours. I'd rather have a Scottish woman as a friend than a Chilean."

Some privatized women withdrew from socializing after bad experiences here. Isabel, who had put up a family of Chileans whilst awaiting reallocation, mentioned the strain this had placed on her and the little gratitude which she had received in return. She later felt herself to be the victim of a slander campaign:-

"I began to think that everyone was talking about me behind my back. I completely withdrew from all contact. I decided never to have anything to do with Chilean women again. I'm always on my guard when I speak to them. I'm more spontaneous with my Scottish neighbours. Chileans exaggerate everything you say to them and spread rumours right around the community."

Thus, relations between Chilean women tended to be marked by reserve and distrust.

Some of the difficulties which ^{the} privatized women experienced in entering into social relationships relate to the mixed social composition of Chileans living in the same vicinity in exile. Compared to the greater social uniformity of their *barrios* in Chile, the random allocation of exiles to neighbourhoods here upset a carefully graded pecking order. Here middle class and working class families were often living side by side. Regional differences also had a bearing on social relations, with those from Santiago seeing themselves as a cut above, or simply different from, those who stemmed from the more distant provinces in Chile. The privatized women explained the differences between themselves by the fact that here "you are mixing with people you wouldn't normally have as guests in your home in Chile", through "jealousy" or "envy". The women were divided by subtle differences in their husbands' standing

whether in Chile or in exile, by material differences as reflected in the relative comfort of the home, and by different levels of competence in the English language. The Chilean women were seen by each other to be constantly striving to outdo each other, as being proud and putting on airs. Status rivalries, then, played a part in keeping the privatized women separated from each other.

Whilst amongst the men it was their political backgrounds and identities which were a source of division, amongst the privatized women it was their social and family backgrounds which were the important unknowns. The privatized women tended to judge each other by the way they fulfilled their roles as mothers and wives. Upbringing, manners and morality were all carefully noted. Most privatized women denied that the men's party politics interfered in relations between women. However, to the extent that women were dependent upon their husbands for bringing company home, party politics did have some bearing on the privatized women's relationship to the exile community at large. Apart from those Chileans living in the immediate vicinity, any privatized woman's knowledge of the community tended to be biased towards her husband's party comrades. The fact too that many came to be identified themselves by their husbands' party politics, as will be seen later, also meant that the men's political divisions were not without repercussions for their wives. As ideological differences increasingly eroded personal relations between men, the privatized women's hesitancy about entering into friendships could only be exacerbated.

Given the low level of solidarity amongst the privatized women, the interview situation opened up a space for many to unload a bundle of grievances. Some came to regard me as a confidante who was sufficiently inside the community to be familiar with their world and yet sufficiently outside to overcome the distrust they had accumulated. Silvia told me one day after relating some of her more personal memories:-

"I wouldn't tell half these things to a Chilean woman as I have no confidence in them. With my Scottish friends, there is still a language problem, but you know the Chileans and you speak Spanish."

the marriage bond

As the privatized women's networks had been cut, they could only look to their husbands for adult company and support. However, exile brought men and women in the segregated marriages face to face with the consequences of having inhabited different worlds, for they had little conversation and few shared activities. In Chile there had been the men's world of work, union and party and the women's world of neighbours, family and children with very little interaction between the two. The absence of marital dialogue in Chile had been shielded by the fact that men and women had each moved within their respective large and rewarding domains.¹ In exile, meanwhile, both the men's public domain and the women's private domain had shrunk and the empty shell of some marriages was exposed. Both Ana and Laura spoke of discovering in exile that they had been living with "strangers". In Laura's words:-

"We never acted as a couple in our marriage. We never did anything together. We never discussed anything. I feel as if I've been living with a person I've never known."

The loss of the public men's and private women's respective spheres of action made for great instability in marriage for it gave husband-wife relations a load they had not been accustomed to bearing.² The desire for affirmation and gratification from the marriage partner became more critical. This was particularly true in the case of the

¹ The fact that the mother-daughter bond was as important in some respects as the husband-wife tie meant that the couple had constructed few joint images through marriage. In this case, marriage rarely constituted a "nomic rupture", whereby the marriage partner becomes "the nearest and most decisive coinhabitant of the world". P.L. Berger and H. Kellner, op.cit. pp.35-40.

² A study of Chilean exiles in Belgium also notes the way in which political actors, deprived of cohesive political groups in exile and the gratification they had provided in Chile, look to the family for compensation, becoming more exacting towards family members. COLAT (a), op.cit. pp. 4-5.

privatized women, for whilst men could still count to some extent on their political comrades, women depended solely upon their husbands for support.

Given the fragility of the men's and women's worlds in exile, marriage was increasingly required to function as a nomos-maintainer.¹ However, although husbands and wives in the segregated marriages had travelled through time together, they had had such different experiences of events that they had little common ground on which to build. The public-private split and the form of divided consciousness which this gave rise to made for a built in conflict between the politicized men and the privatized women. The men's outward gaze conflicted with the women's homeward view and the men's public priorities were often seen by the privatized women to be at loggerheads with their private goals. The need for a degree of marital dialogue and resolution was particularly acute, when bearing in mind that the men's political stance had been responsible for uprooting the women from their private world. The potential for recrimination was great.

In three cases, marital communication was further complicated by the fact that the couple had to reconstruct the marriage in exile after a lengthy separation in Chile through the man's imprisonment. Gloria, for one, found herself married to quite a different man. She described her husband as "*muy alterado*" (very changed) by his prison experience and much more politically convinced than he had been before. Compared to the strong collective identity built up amongst men in prison, any collective identity between women in the prison queues had been fleeting and short-lived. For the women, the experience remained a largely private matter. Gloria compared the importance which the prison experience held for the men with the equivalent place it held in her life in the following way:-

¹ Marriage as a "nomos-maintainer", that is as an institution through which the individual creates order and sense of the world is discussed in P.L. Berger and H. Kellner, op.cit., p.27.

"I don't think about this period very much but Juan is always going over it. It's his favourite topic. He always tries to bring the conversation around to this subject and he suffers whilst talking about it. I think he's masochistic."

The fact that the men were constantly reliving their time in prison "bothered" Gloria:-

"The men's preoccupation with their prison experience bothers me. The same conversations are repeated over and over again. Only very occasionally does anything new arise. I've heard it all a hundred times before."

When I asked Gloria why she thought the men dwelt on this, she pointed to the political purpose which the retelling played:-

"It's because their past is linked up with their present in exile. It's a way of keeping up their hatred of Pinochet. It bothers me but I suppose it's positive in this sense."

For the men this constant talking through of one of the key experiences in their lives was a way of keeping their political commitment alive. In this sense, it might well have "bothered" the privatized women that politics continued to hold such an important place in their husbands' lives and that the men did not put the same emphasis on building up family life in exile as they did. Unlike Juan, Gloria wanted to forget about the bad times and return to the cozy family life she cherished.

The politicized men's and privatized women's projects increasingly collided in exile for whilst the women were desperately anxious to re-establish family life on a firmer footing, the men were equally anxious to rebuild their political lives. To some privatized women, it seemed that whenever political demands cropped up, the men would drop everything and be off without so much as a nod in their direction. The privatized women's sense of self-worth was undermined by this attitude. In Gloria's words:-

"What particularly upsets me is the way my husband accepts political engagements without consulting me. It's this lack of consultation which hurts me. It makes me feel as if I don't exist."

A related source of tension concerned the different priorities

which men and women had for spending family income. Living on social security was tight and the men's travel expenses to attend political meetings sometimes ate into money which the privatized women had earmarked for other purposes. To quote Gloria once again:-

"Juan recently went down to a meeting in London. But I ask you why do they all need to go? Why can't they send a representative? The fare down to London is £30 and sometimes we're down to the last few pence at the end of the month. Then when he comes back he does nothing but complain at the decisions which were taken."

Similarly the men's priorities in sending money to political comrades in Chile sometimes conflicted with the privatized women's priorities for sending money back home to kin.

This tension between the men's political engagements and the privatized women's homecentred focus was not something new. During Popular Unity, the men's heavy political involvement meant that they had practically disappeared from the home. Given that men were more about the house in exile, it may seem paradoxical that the privatized women continued to complain. Indeed not all did. Mariana, for one, felt that she had won her husband back in exile and the conflict which had arisen in her marriage during the Popular Unity years evaporated. However, although the men's political activity was reduced in exile, its overall impact on the privatized women alone in the home loomed disproportionately larger. As Laura remarked:-

"Some women complain because they are all day in the house with little opportunity to go out whilst the man is constantly attending meetings. In reality this may be only once or twice a week, but to these women it feels like all week."

As the women had no other kin to fall back on, men's absences became more critical. Where the men's absence from the home was for the purpose of breadwinning, this was regarded as legitimate by the privatized women for in this case the men could be seen to be playing a supportive family role. Where it was for political purposes, however, the privatized women were less content for the men seemed to choose this over and above time spent with the family. Ana related how:-

"It was in exile that I really came to appreciate what it meant when my husband said that politics came first and then the family. In Chile I didn't feel abandoned by his political activity, I respected his ideals. I suppose it was partly because I had my family living nearby. Here, meanwhile, when my child fell ill and had to be taken urgently to hospital, my husband - who was in a political meeting at the time - told me to wait until it had finished. That was the last straw."

Even those private women, such as Elena and Eugenia, who sympathized with their husbands' politics found their sympathies sorely tested by their men's absences in exile.

Not only did the privatized women desire their husbands' company in the home, but they were also initially dependent on their men for all transactions in English. As the men had more freedom of movement than the women, they generally picked up the language more quickly. This meant that the privatized women often had to call on their husbands for such matters as hospital and school appointments, where they had once been competent. However, when the privatized women were looking for their husbands' support to ease the gap opened up by the loss of their extended family network, it seemed to many to be unforthcoming. The privatized women described themselves as feeling "hurt" and "upset" by their husbands' behaviour in exile. After all, they had fulfilled their side of the marriage contract. They had stood by their men when they had been imprisoned and done what they could to secure their release. They had followed their men into exile. They had been "good wives" and done what was expected of them and yet what recognition had they received in return? As Laura said:-

"I always had his meals ready on time. I looked after the children and the home but I got no response from him at all."

Given this lack of response, some privatized women began to reconsider the sacrifice they had made in coming into exile. Gloria, who had not thought twice about leaving at the time, now came to say:-

"It was only in exile that I thought about the sacrifice I had made."

Likewise Ana, whose marriage was to break up in exile, commented:-

"Looking back I should have thought about coming into exile more carefully than I did."

And finally Cataline ventured that:-

"I might not have done the same thing now. If I'd been more of a woman at the time, I might have stayed in Chile."

a private offensive

This downgrading of the female world was one of the main grievances of the privatized women. These women were looking for consideration and respect for their domain instead of its devaluation. They wanted the men to recognize not only by their words but also by their deeds that the ^{women} were doing a worthwhile job in the home. Given the social loss of esteem which the privatized women experienced in this society, they came to depend more upon expressions of appreciation from husbands for their labours. This was what made the sacrifice worthwhile in the privatized women's eyes. Sometimes the mere presence of the man in the home could accomplish this.¹ As Mariana put it:-

"When my husband's at home I feel complete. When he's not there, I feel alone."

The privatized women reacted to the politicized men's devaluation of their private domain by trivializing and ridiculing the "squabbling" which went on between men in the public sphere. Whilst women got on with the important business of running the home, men were seen to be the ones who sat around talking and never did anything. Silvia's comments about the men's politics are typical of many:-

"These political meetings never accomplish anything. It's all just bla, bla, bla. There are so many meetings and they never do anything."

Gloria, likewise, charged:-

¹ Zaretsky also notes the "limbo of private time and space" experienced by women in the home. "When I am by myself I am nothing. I only know that I exist because I am needed by someone who is real, my husband, and by my children." E. Zaretsky, Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life, Pluto Press, London, 1976, p.74.

"What do the men achieve? They spend all their time fighting amongst themselves. If so and so's going to be there, then I'm not going, they'll say."

Unlike the Popular Unity period when the men had been seen to be involved in "something big" (even if not to the privatized women's liking), the men's low level of political practice in exile could more easily be attacked by the privatized women. The fact that the men were divided by words and that the women were confused about the reasons for these divisions, led many privatized women to question the value of what the men were up to. To some it was just pure *tontería* (nonsense). Yet others described the men as "fanatical", "obsessed", "neurotic", as having lost all sense of proportion.¹

Many privatized women held that it was the private domain - not the public - which was the more important sphere. In this way, they inverted the men's model by substituting the primacy of family life for the primacy of politics.² The privatized women, then, had a counterpart model to the men's and one which they came to articulate more forcefully and openly in exile, for the women's thoughts on this matter were not new. What was *new*

¹ Porter, writing on Britain, examines the way in which the men's public world is mediated to their wives at home. She also found that some shop stewards' wives regarded all union involvement as a distraction from the important business of running the home. When the men went on strike, these women felt the men "had taken leave of their senses and rejected the home in favour of the alien outside world". M. Porter, "Consciousness and Second-Hand Experience: Husbands and Wives in Industrial Action", Sociological Review, Vol.26, No.2, May 1978, pp. 270-1.

² Reiter also found that within the highly segregated village societies of the South of France, women regarded the private domain to be "the more important and formative". This was a view not shared by their men who saw themselves as predominating in village life and who dismissed the importance of women's activities in the home and their seasonal role in agricultural labour. R. Reiter, "Men and Women in the South of France: Public and Private Domains", in R. Reiter, ed., op.cit., p.253.

was the way in which these women were no longer willing to put up with (*aguantar*) this devaluation of the private domain. If the oppression of women had once been seen as something almost noble, it now came to be regarded as unjust and demeaning.¹ From having suffered in silence and been on the defensive about their views, some privatized women passed to the offensive. Given what many considered to be their husbands' disregard for their personal well-being, the privatized women no longer automatically performed what was expected of them in the home. They abandoned their servility. Women who had spent time cooking for men, who then turned up late without apology, now sometimes told the men to serve themselves. Where the men took the women's labour for granted, where they showed no signs of recognition of the sacrifice which women had made in coming into exile, the privatized women felt justified in taking action. They were housewives, not slaves.

There are a number of factors which help to account for the privatized women's abandonment of their resignation. Some of these relate to the removal of control mechanisms over the women's lives in exile; others to the privatized women's own experiences after the coup both in Chile and in exile. These changed conditions enabled the privatized women to air grievances which they had previously put up with or which they experienced with increased vigour in exile. As Laura said:-

"It's not that women have had nothing to say before. They've always had it in them. They've always had the potential, but they've never been able to express themselves before."

As in the case of the public-private women, exile made the private women acutely aware of male privilege. The

¹ Stevens adopts the term *marianismo* (from the adoration of the Virgin Mary) to describe this pattern of female behaviour, whereby women suffer in silence, reflecting their moral and spiritual superiority to men. E.P. Stevens, "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America", in A. Pescatello, ed., *op.cit.*, p.91. Amongst my sample, this pattern of behaviour typified *la mujer aguantadora* (the woman who puts up with her lot).

loss of female kin in exile brought into sharp relief the different ability of men and women ^{to engage} in activities outside the home. To the privatized women, the men's political engagements increasingly came to be linked to their ^{own} private subjection in the home. Men could go out because women stayed in. The private women mentioned how they always had to hurry when they went out compared to the freedom of men who could come and go as they pleased. Silvia grumbled:-

"When I go out my husband always wants to know exactly what time I'll be back. When he goes out though, he stays out really late and sometimes stays the night over at friends."

"Es muy cómodo, muy cómodo", (he just likes to please himself), she repeated several times. And Gloria likewise complained that:-

"Men can go out and they don't feel so responsible towards their children. If I go out, I worry all the time. I keep looking at my watch. Juan recently went to a meeting, missed the last train home and returned smiling the next morning. It's not very responsible and I don't think it's right for a married man. Imagine what would happen if I did that."

Whilst the private women described the men's freedom as "innate", theirs' was seen to depend on their husbands' goodwill. The private women's sense of oppression increased as any activity they wished to engage in outside the home - language classes, going into town, visiting - came to depend upon their husbands' willingness to babysit. Laura described the conditional nature of women's freedom in the following way:-

"Men are free. They can go out when they want. They have no problems of childcare. If a woman wants to go out she has to start by asking her husband what day he is free and, if he has any spare time, whether he is willing to look after the children in it. In some cases, even when this is only once a month, he isn't prepared to do this. They think that these tasks are for women not for men. But I say they are his children as well."

These women experienced their subordination in a new way in exile. *Machismo* was probably not a new word

to the private women. If they had not known what it meant literally before, they had known what it meant in practice. Now, however, it was a word which was frequently on their lips. "*El hombre chileno es muy machista*", (the Chilean man is a real macho), they would tell me. "*What does it mean?*", I asked:-

"It means the man thinks the woman is only good for the home and children and nothing else. It means that all the tasks which women do in the home - washing up, feeding children, cooking - are women's exclusive duties."

Machismo was sometimes defined as an attitude but it was also seen to encompass a power relationship between men and women. Laura added, parodying the men's macho stance:-

"It also means that the man is the one who rules in the home (manda en la casa). It's reflected in such sayings of men as: I'm the one wearing the trousers (quien lleva los pantalones aquí soy yo); and I'm the one who goes out to work, she can't; and, in this house you do as I say (en la casa se hace lo que yo digo)."

The private women, bereft of the cushion of the extended family in exile, fell under the exclusive and more naked control of their men. However, if men's control became more explicit in exile, the structural basis for their control was considerably weakened. At one and the same time, the private women experienced male domination as more of an aggravation and yet as not so invincible as might once have appeared to be the case. As has been seen, many men - and manual workers in particular to whom most of the private women were married - spent long periods unemployed. The loss of the men's breadwinning role had implications for their authority over women in the family, for the wage packet underpinned patriarchal relations in the segregated marriages.¹ Living off social

¹ Kuhn examines the way in which the property basis of patriarchy in bourgeois households is displaced onto the wage form in working class marriages. The wage comes to underpin male supremacy in the working class as it is seen to be the man's property alone and, therefore, his to dispose of as he wishes. Women's contribution to the wage through domestic labour remains obscured. A. Kuhn, "Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family", in A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe, eds., Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978, pp.56-7.

security was not regarded by either men or women as giving the man the same claims over his wife and her labour as if he had earned the money directly himself.

The private women's perception of the men's authority as stemming from their role as wage-earners in the public sphere is revealed in such comments as Silvia's that "*a man who doesn't work, doesn't feel head of the family*" and Laura's that "*the men are the ones with the activity, they earn the money and are head of the family*". Although the loss of the men's breadwinning role was a source of anxiety and discomfort for both men and women, the denting of male supremacy which it entailed enabled the private women to press their claims with increased vigour. Furthermore, whilst the private women in Chile - with few economic opportunities outside the home - had had little option but to put up with their lot, in exile the economic factor behind their subordination was weakened. The fact that the private women, in cases of marital breakdown could support themselves economically in exile through the social security system, loosened the economic dimension to the women's resignation. The social services filled the gap previously occupied by the extended family in Chile, whilst exercising few of the moral or controlling functions of the latter.¹

This brings us to a second meaning which the extended family had for the private women. Alongside the support and comfort proffered by the kinship system, there was

¹ Whilst some British authors have pointed out the way in which the State, through its family policy and welfare legislation, acts to maintain and reinforce the family household system, to the Chileans - and especially the men - bereft of such provision in Chile, the welfare system here was seen as encouraging and promoting marital disintegration through its provisions for single parents and separated women. M. McIntosh, "The State and the Oppression of Women", in A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe, eds., op.cit., pp. 254-289.

also a perception of the control it exercised.¹ By removing the private women from the bed of kinship, exile caused great personal suffering but, at the same time, provided the chance for these women to develop in a more autonomous way. The extended family had often worked to resign women to their lot by ironing out grievances, patching up quarrels and consoling in times of stress. At the same time as leaving the private women exposed to their husbands in exile, the absence of kin permitted the private women to challenge the men or, in some cases, to get to know them. Although the extended family generally worked towards maintaining marital stability, kin frequently got in the way of marital communication. Kin in Chile, it was generally agreed, interfered to an unwarranted extent in a couple's affairs, leaving the married pair very little space to themselves.

As the private women came to reconstruct their lives in exile without the presence of the extended family, the initial sense of loss and helplessness sometimes gave way to a feeling of satisfaction at the way in which they could order their own lives without parental interference. "*We can do what we like*", said Catalina gleefully. Many came to enjoy the independence which the nuclear family permitted, and to reflect on the dependent and pampered way they had been brought up which did not prepare them for life outside the family and home. The control exercised by kin in Chile covered broad aspects of the couple's and each partner's behaviour for the kinship group acted as the transmitter of moral and social values. The family upheld notions of respectability, of what was right and proper behaviour for people of their standing and gender.

¹ Sennett and Cobb point to the dual nature of extended family relations as both "sustaining bonds" and "oppressive chains", R. Sennett and J. Cobb, op.cit. p.107.

As this control was particularly keenly felt by women, its removal was potentially more significant for their lives than the men's. Gloria - one of the privatized women to work outside the home in Chile - mentioned some of the negative aspects of extended family life as she had known it:-

"In Chile you constantly have to give explanations to the family. You have to account for everything you do. The men in particular like to exercise a form of paternal control over the women. In Chile if you continued working after marriage, your father immediately thought your husband wasn't able to support you and he would come in for a lot of criticism. When I began to work after I married, my father and brother both began to criticize me. "What, does Juan really earn so little?" they would ask. Then my father would show his disapproval by being over-concerned about my well-being. "What time do you have to get up? What time do you arrive back home at night?" he would ask. They would think: you poor thing, what a hard life you are leading. They don't understand that a woman might like to work outside the home. Apart from the money, it gives her another activity."

Parental authority in Chile had been sufficiently strong to inhibit the airing of certain opinions or to deter certain behaviour. The cost of disagreement could be a degree of family ostracism as both Laura and Silvia had found out to their cost. To many private women, with few other networks to fall back on, the price may have been deemed too high to pay. In exile, however, the ability of the extended family to employ sanctions had been effectively cut. As Jorge put it:-

"We still think about what our parents will say but we don't worry too much, as there is not much they can do if they do disagree."

Distance protected the private women from the prying eyes of kin. In exile there was always the option of withholding information which it was deemed prudent to keep from family knowledge. However, if the absence of extended family members was another factor enabling the private women to contemplate courses of action which would have been vetoed back home, there was still the question

of return to consider. Carmen became extremely nervous when she saw me jotting things down in my notebook. "You're not going to put that down about my mother, are you?", she cried.

The feeling that women could breathe a little more freely in exile was also reinforced by the private women's observations of women's lives in Britain. Unlike the professional women, many housewives experienced gender differentiation as being weaker here and relations between men and women as looser than what they had known in Chile. Silvia now came to refer to the strict sexual division of labour she had experienced in Chile as "*una tara*" (a drawback). Here she saw women painting, gardening, fixing things which in Chile would be considered "men's work" and no woman, even if she wanted, could do these tasks comfortably. In the same way, she saw men here carrying out jobs which she had previously known only as "women's work". Unlike the professional women, who spoke of the "*backward*" and "*subordinate*" position of women in this society, Silvia thought women had never had it so good before. Whilst her husband, Pepe, made constant references to exploitation under capitalism, Silvia's views about women's improved lot in this society led her to deny that exploitation took place here at all. Whilst Pepe uses the term to refer to the exploitation of wage labour in the public domain, Silvia's terms of reference are drawn from women's experiences ^{of oppression} in the private domain of the home:-

"Pepe's always going on about exploitation under capitalism but I don't see any such exploitation taking place here. Nobody has a maid here and men help in the home more than they do in Chile."

The private women also experienced an extension of female space in exile, as what had been exclusively male territory in Chile was seen to be open to women here. Scottish women were seen going into pubs, going out unaccompanied at night, engaging men in conversation. My own movements were frequently commented on by the private

women, giving me an insight into the restrictions they came under. "Won't your husband be annoyed at the time you arrive back home?", they asked when I stayed interviewing until late and "Isn't it dangerous to walk alone at night?". If, as will be seen, some of their observations about British women were made disapprovingly, they did show that women's lives could be different from what many had previously taken for granted. Laura remarked on the difference in the following way:-

"In Chile it's another way of life. Here you can go to a pub alone as a woman. You can talk to men. In Chile you don't see women alone. There are only men in bars and it would be extremely unusual for a woman to drink in public. It just would never occur to a woman to visit such places."

Here Laura reflects back on an undifferentiated past in Chile. This is how women's lives had always been and even such radical governments as Popular Unity had not been seen as transforming their lives in any significant way. In exile, meanwhile, the more elastic boundaries to male and female space and activity led the private women to reflect about where they could or could not go, what they could or could not do. Some taken for granted ideas began to crumble. In Ana's words:-

"I didn't see things so clearly in Chile. It's only here because of the difference in the social system between Chile and Britain that I've begun to see how things could be different."

Not all the private women's learning, however, stemmed from contact with this society, for some of these women's own experiences after the coup in Chile had demonstrated new capabilities and opened doors. Silvia, who had struggled single-handedly with four small children, spoke proudly of her ability to cope in an emergency as compared with what she regarded as men's helplessness in such situations:-

"I feel that there is always a solution to your problems. If you look hard enough, search long enough, there is always something that can be done. My husband would drown in a glass of water but I wouldn't drown in the middle of the ocean."

Those privatized women who had been forced to take charge of the household and earn a living whilst their men were in prison, had often surprised themselves at what they had been able to do when pushed. Gloria reflected:-

"After the coup I discovered a strength in myself which I didn't know I had. I know now that I can do things which I didn't think possible before. I almost can't believe myself what I went through then."

Although many privatized women who had been thrust into the public arena in this way were happy to return to the home in exile, many were unwilling to shut themselves in quite as tightly as they had done in the past. Some were eager to maintain their new-found self-confidence and skills. As Mariana put it:-

"I no longer think that the woman is just for the home. I suppose this idea began with all the changes I've experienced recently. It began in Chile after the coup with the realization that I was capable of doing other things outside the home."

Unlike their enforced public involvement after the coup in Chile, some private women voluntarily came to seek out a degree of extra-domestic activity in exile.

breaking out

The restricted private domain in exile meant that the private women were gradually forced to overcome some of their initial hesitancy and seek others out for advice, help or company. Over time small groups began to grow up in the exile community and the privatized women began to exchange some experiences. As Laura put it:-

"In exile you get to know other people. There is no family to fall back on and no help apart from the solidarity committee. This is what makes you mature. You are living in another kind of environment where you have to manage without the kind of support you had in Chile."

The privatized women would occasionally resort to others for baby-sitting, younger women would consult more experienced mothers for child-rearing advice, scarce goods were pooled. In this way, some privatized women began to develop a notion of friendship. Laura, who frequently

referred to herself as part of a group, remarked:-

"I had no women friends in Chile. I didn't feel I needed the company in the way I do here. Here you are forced by the situation into sharing. I am one of the few with a large pan and this does the rounds of the Chilean community when cooking for special occasions."

Through informal chats, the privatized women exchanged experiences. By opening up the private side of life to more public view, women were able to compare notes and to reflect on their lives in a more informed and self-conscious way. Laura, who had married at eighteen, recalled:-

"I had no idea of marriage before. You learn about these things from others and nobody talked to me about these things before exile. I had no other boyfriend apart from my husband. I was very immature before I came here. Those who came into exile single have seen much more of a couple's problems. They will be able to go into marriage with their eyes open."

The exile situation also called for unprecedented solutions which upset established patterns of male-female behaviour. One woman was extremely nervous about remaining alone at night when her husband travelled away to political meetings. This was solved by asking one of the single Chilean men in the community to stay overnight. The absence of male kin to play a protective role thus led to the adoption of solutions previously ruled out as "scandalous". *"What if we behaved like this in Chile?"*, Laura sometimes reflected, *"People would be shocked."*

After a time some privatized women also developed friendships with their Scottish neighbours. They would pop in and out of each other's houses, sometimes when I was there, and arrange joint activities. Silvia, who had been worried about being treated as a social inferior in this country, now came to say:-

¹ Single people in the exile community were either men who came into exile as bachelors or young adults who came over as part of a family group.

"In fact I've found better treatment here than from my own compatriots. People are friendly and willing to listen."

Nor did the private women feel so vulnerable on the streets as in the beginning. Even Ana, who had experienced such problems in her neighbourhood, decided against moving as at least her face was now known.

As the private women began to feel more comfortable in this society, some expressed a desire for work outside the home. These women's economic opportunities, however, were extremely limited. Mariana, whose children were fast growing up, wanted to take on a part time job but did not know what she could do and was worried about the language problems she might face. Four privatized women, however, did find employment, three of whom had not worked outside the home since marriage. One began as a voluntary helper in a local Oxfam shop. Later she and another Chilean woman in the sample took up part time shiftwork in a local factory. A third worked as a home help several mornings a week. The fourth obtained a local authority grant and was able to satisfy a long-held ambition to study. In most of these cases, the hours were such as to allow the women to squeeze in jobs or studies around the children's timetable, although one also depended upon a childminder and experienced some of the same difficulties as the public-private women mentioned in the last chapter. If the kind of work found was intrinsically unappealing, to the women concerned it provided a welcome respite from the isolation of work in the home. Alongside such privatized motives as the desire for additional family income, the desire for company and conversation was an important factor in their search for a job. As Ana remarked:-

"If a man or woman works it is to improve the home materially. You work because you want to improve your standard of living. For me work also means escaping from the domestic routine."

Privatized motives, however, did not exclusively account for the private women's search for non-domestic activities. Those women, in particular, who had personally suffered at the hands of the Junta through the imprisonment

of their men and had experienced economic hardship, were open to a degree of participation in the solidarity campaign. Many privatized women sympathized with the plight of those families back in Chile, where the children went under-nourished and the woman worked long hours scraping a living under the continual fear of persecution, and had a desire to help out in whatever way they could. The small scale political practice in exile, the involvement of such public bodies as the Church and the centrality of such issues as human rights, enabled the privatized women to give expression to their humanitarian concern. Some privatized women who had kept away from the marches and political rallies of the Popular Unity period, now took to the streets alongside their men. This shared public arena was a novelty for those privatized women, who had engaged in few activities with their husbands, especially of a political nature. Furthermore, the presence of a number of women speakers in the campaign, enabled the privatized women to identify with their message and the straightforward language in which it was expressed. In some cases the privatized women were bound together with the speaker by their common experiences after the coup, as wives and mothers of the detained or disappeared. Some privatized women shared their own personal experiences with the woman speaker after the meeting, establishing a rapport which they would have found impossible with a man. Many women speakers, such as Madame Allende, specifically appealed to the Chilean women in the audience to help with the solidarity campaign.

These first steps into the public domain were often taken extremely hesitantly, for the privatized women had to undo years of conditioning. Mariana, who had never attended a meeting before in the twenty years of her married life, recalled how:-

"At the beginning I felt totally inhibited. I just sat and listened to what the others said. It was very difficult for me as all my life had been spent shut in. But the main thing is that the step has been taken. I no longer restrict myself to the pots and pans."

Silvia, by contrast, preferred to participate from the confines of the home:-

"I'll do what I can to help, so long as it's something I can do from the home. I don't want to attend meetings. I have helped the campaign making 'empanadas' (Chilean bridies) for sale and by knitting woollen ponchos."

Although the privatized women's inroads into the public sphere were small, compared to the sheltered lives which they had led in the past the change was considerable. The privatized women gained a new awareness of the world outside the home. Their blinkers had been removed. In three cases, the privatized women acquired the beginnings of a political dimension to their awakening. Catalina, who was only seventeen at the time of the coup, repeatedly apologized to me for her past political ignorance, an ignorance which had begun to be broken in exile:-

"It's only here that I've come to suffer and to understand what happened in Chile. I feel angry now at how stupid I used to be. I could have been of more help but nobody ever explained anything to me. I was 'una mujer hue-ca' (a hollow woman). I didn't know half then, that I know now."

Some privatized women, then, came to acquire a retrospective understanding of events. By helping the work of the solidarity campaign, going on political marches for Chile, attending some meetings, the private women had access to political ideas and discussions. Some came to experience some of the rewards of political participation and to gain a sense of making history in exile, an experience previously confined to their men. Mariana commented:-

"I feel important knowing that I'm doing something for Chile. I feel more fulfilled, more Chilean, in a way. I'd like to continue working for Chile when we go back. I don't want to join a party but I could work with the Church."

Mariana came to feel she was playing a part, however small, in her country's history. "Working for Chile" reflected a very different outlook to the one she had held before the coup, when the home had been her world. Others, in turn, came to realize how their own lives were shaped by wider

structures than the immediate circles in which they moved. In exile, some privatized women became aware of the connection between their own biographies and history. Gloria spoke of the way in which politics had entered her life in exile and explained this:-

"... because we're living the consequences of a government... it's the reason we are here. In Chile, politics is not so fundamental as it is in exile. In Chile, you have your work, your family, your children. But here one is constantly worrying about what can happen, what is the future? The future is no longer in your own hands, as it was before, but depends upon political changes in Chile. It's incredible how politics shapes your life, even someone's like mine, who hasn't participated politically very much."

Before the coup, Gloria had moved in a strictly private world and had seen her life as being hers to live out as she wished. The enforced removal from her private world through exile led her to reflect why they were here and why she could not live where she wanted. What had once been regarded as a matter for individual decision, was now seen to depend on external forces and events. In this way Gloria became aware of the extent to which her private world was not so 'private' after all, but part of a wider institutional structure. This new way of seeing the world certainly pierced privatized consciousness, even if it did not always lead to political action. Without renouncing the importance of their family roles, some privatized women came to reinterpret the blinkered way in which they had lived in Chile and their past non-involvement in political life. The two privatized women, who went furthest in reinterpreting their personal lives, however, continued to play no part in the political affairs of the exile community.

As the private women put one toe in the public sphere and began to challenge their men in the private domain, they described themselves as having learnt to speak up. Two privatized women referred to themselves as having been "*pajaritos*" (little birds) or mice, as we would say, and of having discovered in exile that they also had

the right to speak. Ana described how she had changed:-

"In Chile I was extremely quiet. I never gave an opinion. I let others decide everything for me. My mother used to call me a little bird (pajarito). What I've learnt in exile is that I've also got the right to speak. Now I give my opinion, I talk, I discuss, where before I would have remained silent. The general lesson I've learnt here is to relate to and know other people. I'm not going to go back to Chile and shut myself in. This exile experience is going to remain part of my life for ever. I'm not going to forget what I've learnt here."

In a similar way, Laura related how she had learnt to break her silence in exile:-

"I've learnt to say things here which I would have kept to myself before. Before I was the kind of woman who puts up with things (una mujer aguantadora). Now I don't put up with things which I would have done before. In Chile I wouldn't dare say half the things to men which I say here. I used to think that nobody would pay any attention to me if I presented my point of view. Now I no longer feel ridiculous."

In this way, some privatized women, by finding a voice in exile, moved in the opposite direction to the politicized men, whose overwhelming sensation was that of having lost a voice here.

public radicalism - private conservatism

The private women's more assertive stance had repercussions for their relationships with men, accustomed to women's more docile behaviour in the home. Most men in the segregated marriages were not used to their wives speaking up, going out to work, attending meetings. Some men openly attempted to curb their wives' new-found freedom and to maintain their monopoly of public activity. Both Ana's and Laura's marriages had foundered in exile in this way. Yet others initiated a new dialogue with their marriage partner.

If the private women began to speak up in exile, they needed a vocabulary through which to appeal to their husbands. As long as the gulf between the men's public world and the women's private world is regarded as part of an immutable, natural order, women will lack a vocabulary

of change. In exile, however, the private women found powerful new arguments which their husbands could not so easily ignore, for the men's political beliefs gave the private women a ready-made framework within which to insert and press their claims. Although the privatized women's notions of socialism were generally vague and confused, the one clear idea which they held was that it entailed equality. Given the glaring inequalities which they perceived between their own lives and the advantages which men enjoyed, the women began asking questions. Mariana inquired of Cristián:-

"Aren't you working for an egalitarian society? Well, won't it include equality between men and women?"

Although Mariana was personally quite content at the extra freedom which she experienced in exile, she came to hear of some instances where men prevented their wives from taking up activities outside the home:-

"There's something I don't understand", she persisted. "If we are fighting for a socialist society, why is the man like this with the woman? If it's socialism we're after, why does it have to be so machista (male chauvinist)? Doesn't socialism mean equal participation of men and women? Why are the men like this with their wives, then? The men contradict themselves."

The contradiction which the private women penetrated in their marriages, between the men's public radicalism and their private conservatism, was highlighted by the fact that many privatized women came to be addressed as *compañera* by the men for the first time in exile. As the men became increasingly sensitive to charges of *machismo* in exile, they attempted to accommodate the private women's grievances by a change of address, which in practice changed little - for if the women were now *compañeras* rather than *esposas* (wives, in the traditional sense), the problem was defined away. When I asked the men what they meant when they used the term *compañera*, Carlos, a manual worker, replied:-

"Es más que esposa, es más que madre de tus hijos, o sea el concepto de compañera sería esposa, madre de mis hijos, pero además,

alguien que esté de acuerdo con uno en un camino, en un proceso social, en una lucha social, Te acompaña en cada situación familiar, personal, social, en los momentos duros, en los momentos difíciles."

(It's more than wife, more than mother of your children, or rather the concept of *compañera* would be not only wife and mother of my children, but also someone who agrees with you about the way forward, about a social process, a social struggle. She is someone who accompanies you in every situation, family, personal, social, through the hard and difficult times.)

For Carlos, whose *compañera* had left him whilst he was in prison after the coup in Chile, steadfastness and loyalty were important parts of the definition. Enrique, from the middle sectors, related in broadly similar terms:-

"It's different to wife. A woman can be a man's wife without being his compañera. It reflects an ideal form, a true relationship between the couple. It's more than just being married. It means the relationship is solid. She supports the husband ... and he supports her. The couple could be formally married or not, but the essential thing is that they have a family together. It reflects a partnership."

These definitions of *compañera* have strong echoes of a much older model of Chilean woman - that of faithful wife and mother - with some unspecified degree of political understanding tagged on. They involved little modification of the sexual division of labour in the family. Indeed, the term *compañera* can be seen as a way of containing change by politically rationalizing gender roles in the family. This was implicit in the way in which some men spoke about women's work in the home as being their political contribution. Pepe remarked that the Chilean woman did a great deal so that "*el hombre puede desenvolverse mejor en lo político*" (the man can become better involved in politics). By taking charge of the household, women enabled the men to become the full-time activists that many of them were. In this view, women constituted an invisible political front, a home guard. Whilst this went some way to redefining the 'private' status of domestic labour, it did nothing to transform its character

as "women's work". However, the men's attempt to give housewifery political status was resisted by most privatized women, with the exception of the two housewives who had been "*compañeras*" in this sense in Chile and who had supported their men politically before exile. As has been seen, most privatized women saw themselves as carrying out their work in the home not for some lofty political ideal, but for their individual men. The fact that these same men were seen to repay their labour of love with absence and neglect was one of their most persistent grumbles.

Many privatized women rejected this form of address because they saw through to its meaninglessness in practice. If they were *compañeras* - as the men indicated - then why had not they been taken notice of, or only when it suited the men? Ana asked herself:-

"What is the meaning of compañera which many men use to refer to their wives? It's little more than a sham. It's totally contradicted in practice."

When I asked her what she thought it should mean, she replied:-

"It means sharing the same rights, so that just as the man can attend political meetings, I have the right to visit my family and friends."

Ana's definition points to the way in which the marriage partners would have equal rights to pursue often different activities in the public and private domains. Laura, meanwhile, thought that the term should signal that "*nosotros dos vamos a todas partes, no hay secretos*" (the two of us go everywhere together, we have no secrets), as a form of companionate marriage.

Many privatized women were surprised or indignant at the way in which men had unilaterally redefined the relationship. Gloria recalled her first reaction at being addressed in this way:-

"It struck me as something very strange, something unfamiliar. It shocked me a little. I was surprised to find that I also belonged to that group of people who refer to each other as compañero."

Ana would reply tartly when addressed in this way: "*Oiga, yo no soy la compañera*", (hey - using the formal 'you' as a means of distancing - I'm not anybody's comrade). To many privatized women, being addressed in this way was a further imposition of male authority, another way in which the men's definitions came to define them too. Mariana was incensed at being referred to as *compañera*, for she saw it as linking her up with the political parties. The strength of Mariana's indignation is made clear in one conversation where I remarked how Cristián, her husband, spoke of his trade union involvement in Chile as the most significant event in his life and asked Mariana what event held the equivalent place in her's. Her reply quite staggered me by its unexpectedness:-

"First of all I would say the conflict which Cristián's trade union activity caused in our marriage and secondly, the fact of being identified as a member of his party in exile. Why should I be seen as belonging to his party?"

"It's natural that people should see you like that", Cristián answered when she raised the point a second time in his presence. When Laura was identified publicly as a party member, she counter-attacked furiously:-

"Why should you automatically assume I'm a member of the party just because my husband is? You should first of all check things out before you make this kind of assumption."

To some privatized women this form of passive political incorporation was just another face of *machismo*. Turning the argument against the men, Laura pointed to the way in which - if this was the case - then, female party membership meant something quite different from male affiliation:-

"If I am supposed to be a party member, then where are all the compañeros who don't bother to inform me about what's going on? And they all remained mute (calladitos)."

In most cases the men's token identification of the privatized women with their party politics rode roughshod over everything which these women held most dear and implicated them in what they most strongly rejected. Even those private women who assumed a degree of political

involvement in exile continued to regard the party as the "enemy". These women did not want any truck with the parties because they continued to hold the parties responsible for their isolation in the home and for the devaluation of family life. How many times had the men said or implied by their behaviour that politics came first and then the family? From the privatized women's viewpoint, party politics had only damaged family life, had sown the seeds of marital discord and had led to the imprisonment and exile of their men. These bad memories formed a lasting scar for some.

When the men expounded their views on *machismo* in their wives' presence, the women would pay acute attention as compared to when their husbands were talking party politics. Sometimes they would challenge their husband in my presence, seeing me as an ally in their cause. When Cristián talked about *machismo*, arguing that the left-wing parties thought differently as they upheld the equality of men and women, Mariana butted in to ask that, if this was the case, then why did not men practise what they preached. Cristián's reply reflects the men's awareness of the contradiction between their public and private behaviour, their public and private thoughts:-

"I know that not all practise this but this is the programme. However, not everyone really believes it. The roots of machismo are very deep and difficult to break."

Many privatized women, however, remained silent and let me put questions they had not as yet asked or which had been brushed aside by their husbands. Their body language, some muffled sounds of exasperation revealed their inner tension at the men's replies to my questions. Like the men's politics, they seemed to be saying, this was only so much bla, bla, bla put on to pull the wool over my eyes. Each married partner's behaviour changed according to whether I spoke to husbands and wives separately or together. When the men were talking about *machismo* in front of their wives, the woman's presence exerted some control over their choice of words. When my probing went

too far, techniques for avoiding giving accounts came into play. As our discussion of marital relations became more searching, Cristián suggested a break for tea.

As the private women spoke out and became more demanding, the men were forced to re-evaluate their own behaviour. Whilst some made a genuine effort to change, others made the minimal adjustments necessary to maintain the situation under their control. Laura saw through to the way in which the men tried to disguise their *machismo* in exile, giving their wives a little more liberty whilst maintaining control of the reins. She no longer had the patience even to hear the men through:-

"Men are very hypocritical. If you ask them about machismo, they'll deny it. They'll put on an act. When a man tries to defend himself from charges of machismo, I interrupt saying: You needn't bother to say anything, because I know what you think."

Mariana concluded at the end of all her questioning about men's socialist beliefs and their chauvinist behaviour in the home:-

"I don't really think men want women to be liberated, to leave the house. All men want to be the sole object of their wife's attention. They want the woman to stay at home and themselves to be the only ones with any outside activity."

Two reasons were generally given by the privatized women for this state of affairs. Ana thought that the men restricted women's movements out of sexual jealousy. *Machismo* was seen to be a form of sexual control in which the man views the woman as his private property. Male-female relations were regarded by many men as being necessarily imbued with sexual undertones and platonic friendships to be impossible. Ana frequently fought with her husband about this but he would never accept that a woman could have a relationship with a man without a sexual element being involved. A second reason given by the privatized women for the men's *macho* control concerned the neglect of the household if women engaged in too

many extra domestic activities.¹ As the private women had not been in a position to engage a maid in Chile, they themselves had performed all those vital daily operations which enable men to go out to earn the wage without undue concern about their practical requirements for food, clean clothing and sleep. The privatized women perceived the interest men had in controlling both their sexuality and their domestic labour.

In the exile context these general considerations take on specific connotations. The men not only experienced a loss of control over women through the loss of their wage-earning role but they also felt insecure in this unknown and seemingly "permissive" society. Within this context, any hint of rumbling in the home could be seen by the men as the beginning of an open rebellion by women and any extra freedom which women might enjoy as marking the beginnings of marital breakdown. To many men in the segregated marriages it seemed as if the private sphere constantly threatened to spin out of their control.

Many men felt particularly threatened by the privatized women's expressions of satisfaction at aspects of life in this society, particularly in relation to consumption. It would be misleading to suggest that the women's relief was in no way shared by the men who were also happy to have a roof over their head and some home comforts after the trials of prison life and economic hardship endured in Chile after the coup. However for the politicized men, these material gains came at a price. Whilst the privatized women heaved a sigh of relief, the politicized men ^{suffered} anguish at the political consequences, for if their own women expressed contentment at being here, what effect would this have on the men's return goals or on their efforts to keep the consumer society

¹ Kuhn notes the way in which the continuation of male supremacy and the family form is under potential threat from the development of female wage labour. A. Kuhn, op.cit., p.48.

at bay? Silvia mentioned how Pepe always scolded her when she spoke of her contentment here. He would charge that this society was absorbing her and that she had forgotten the people in Chile. Silvia would reply:-

"I haven't forgotten the people in Chile and the suffering which still goes on there. But I've done my share of suffering and now for the first time I can say I'm happy."

Many men wanted to control their women's ability to operate independently in this society and to limit the depth and quality of their involvement here. It is in this sense that some men's opposition to women attending language classes may be understood, as well as the more general opposition by some men to women taking up any activity outside the home. Given that the privatized women's experience of this society often differed radically from the politicized men's, some men wanted to maintain their monopoly of transactions in English and thereby continue to mediate British society to the women.

Some men reacted to the women's private offensive by stepping up controls and clamping down on women's movements outside the home. In these cases, the pattern of highly segregated marital roles proved resilient to redefinition by men, who transferred patterns of behaviour from Chile to the exile situation. In two cases, the marriage broke down as the split between the man's public sphere and the woman's private sphere could not be mutually bridged or renegotiated. Laura's husband left so that Laura could have *"the freedom she had always wanted"*. Ana finally closed the door on her marriage when her husband, who had expressly forbidden her to work in Chile and had even restricted her visits home as her younger brother brought many male friends around, continued to exercise the same control here. *"What do I need a husband for, if you don't share anything at all?"*, Ana concluded.

Yet other men, however, came to perceive how this rigid response only exacerbated problems and led to

separation. They came to adopt a more flexible attitude but one which still left men in control. Cristián, when talking about the way in which male-female relationships had changed in exile, commented:-

"We've become more educated politically about this recently. A woman should be able to have friends. If a man comes to my home when I'm not there, this is alright by me, providing there is nothing going on. But some men won't accept this."

He then added:-

"You can give a woman more freedom but she has to know how to use this intelligently in order to keep it. If she gives her husband any cause for doubt, he can put an end to it."

Whilst men's freedom continued to be taken for granted, women's greater freedom in exile had to be constantly earned and remained conditional on her husband's view that she proved worthy of it.

Where the men proved more open to adjusting to the transformed context of the private domain in exile and more willing to grant their wives freedom of movement as a result, the segregated marriage sometimes changed in content and character. Two couples initiated a marital dialogue, talking through their problems, discussing priorities, sharing experiences. In these cases, what had been two segregated worlds moved a little closer together as husbands and wives shared more activities and understandings. Cristián, who had wanted to talk to Mariana about his political life in Chile during Popular Unity, had found little response from her at that time. Now Mariana's more open stance towards the solidarity campaign in exile enabled them to begin a conversation. For Mario, events after the coup in Chile had made him reflect upon the importance of women's role in the class struggle. Mario had been surprised at the way in which women had stood up to the Junta, whether as imprisoned militants or on a daily basis in the shanty towns. Whilst keeping his political life to himself during Popular Unity, Mario now came to see

the importance of talking to women as they were part of the class struggle:-

"We were not aware before of our own women's class consciousness because this was only revealed to us after the coup. The Chilean woman is very combative. She may not have the political level of many men but she has a class identity and is willing to struggle. She does have class consciousness."

Catalina's own efforts to overcome her past political ignorance, then, were reinforced by Mario's more open stance towards the political role of women. In the remaining cases, however, the marriage continued with a greater or lesser degree of marital strife or harmony than before.

partial penetration

Although the privatized women penetrated a contradiction in their marriages and had a vocabulary in which to press their claims, the extent to which they were willing to press for change and the kind of changes they contemplated varied. The privatized women's new-found voice in exile lacked coherent and organized expression. Although there was an awareness that their experiences were shared, as seen in such remarks as Gloria's that *"We Chilean women have had our eyes opened in exile"*, and although there was some evidence of interchange of ideas in the women's accounts (particularly in the case of the two separated women), the women's struggles remained semi-privatized in individual households. Few private women, if any, were arguing for a radical transformation of gender roles. Rather most wanted a little more flexibility in their marriage so that they could take up activities outside the home as well as a little more consideration and respect from men for their private roles.

Many private women were more verbally daring than they proved to be in practice. Oral comments to the effect that men should help in the home often proved to be empty threats. When Gloria was expecting visitors to stay, she warned her husband that she would not be attending them until all hours and that if they wanted a sandwich late

at night they would have to fix this themselves. However when the time came, Gloria, together with the other woman guest, took charge of the kitchen. Furthermore, whether this kind of behaviour was justified or not in many women's eyes, depended upon the wording and tone of the men's requests. As Laura put it:-

"I don't like this kind of behaviour very much (of refusing to attend the men) but it depends upon the relationship. Where the man is rude, the woman is justified, or where the man wants the woman to serve and attend him like a slave. There are ways and ways of saying the same thing. It depends on the way things are said, the tone that is used."

Where the men took the women's labour in the home for granted, where they showed no sign of recognition of what women had done for them, the woman could justifiably take strike action.

However, many private women did not want men to be too active in the home regarding this as an intrusion into their domain. Too much male help in the home meant that the woman was helpless in the one area where she could shine. Men coming into the kitchen and lifting the lids off the pans interfered with women getting on with the job. This did not mean, however, that men were totally excused from domestic labour. What the woman wanted was that when she had a headache, he could take over; if she had to go out, he could stay in and look after the children; when she was tired, he could get up and make himself a cup of tea. Rather than active male involvement, some private women wanted the men to upgrade the status of their labour in the private domain. As unpaid labourers, working in the seclusion of the home, the private women received little social recognition of their work. Silvia felt that Pepe, by being around the home more in exile and helping out on occasion, had been forced to reconsider what she did in the home:-

"Here for the first time he is forced to see all the work I have to do, to give it some value. For the first time he has learnt what a woman's work is, what it is to clean, cook, shop and iron for a family of four. He has seen how heavy this

work is. He can't say housework is easy any more."

Part of the devaluation of their labour they saw as stemming from the fact that domestic labour is female labour. As "women's work" it is considered trivial, inferior work - if work at all. The private women wanted to challenge the idea that it was beneath men's dignity to rinse a cup, whilst women should do this happily having less dignity to lose. However, most did not want men to take over their domain, or even share an equal role in the running of the home, for they basically accepted the sexual division of labour with man as wage-earner and woman as home-worker as right and proper.

Given that the private domain was more restricted, in exile, however, some private women came to share the public-private women's disdain for the "domestic routine" and search for outside activities or part-time work as an escape. Some private women tried to modify the impact of the sexual division of labour on their lives by breaking out into non-domestic spheres. However, social structural factors conspired to maintain and reinforce the private women's domesticity. Given their lack of job experience and their problems of childcare, the private women's options outside the home were limited - although some, as seen, found part-time work or study. Given, too, the more rigid pattern of gender differentiation amongst the Chilean working class, a woman did not have to step too far out of line to be regarded as deviant. One privatized woman had created quite a stir by interrupting a political meeting to fetch her husband home. Few women, however, went to such public and dramatic lengths, for gossip was a powerful deterrent. If men were sensitive to the *macho* label, the private women were equally sensitive to being thought of or seen as "*female machos*". Any hint of a shift in the balance of power towards women immediately brought forth cries of "female domination" and the need for "men's liberation", and not only from the men. Men and women alike closely monitored each other's behaviour

behaviour in this way. Gloria, who wanted to be consulted when her husband accepted public engagements, did not expect him to admit publicly that he needed her approval, but thought he could use some euphemism such as "*checking his diary*".

If the men's arguments did not have the same hold over the private women in exile and if their authority was pierced, in some cases, through the loss of the wage, men were still superior at the physical level. I came to hear of three cases of wife-battering amongst the wider exile community. Part of the private women's resignation in the past and the suppression of certain insights in exile can be explained by their fear of physical violence. As one woman remarked:-

"Sometimes I chose not to confront my husband for fear of blows. I often held back to avoid a physical fight."

Living alone in a strange environment, should the marriage break up, also acted as a break on pressing claims too far, although the private women did maintain the option of returning separately to the extended family in Chile. The two women whose marriages did break up in exile both spoke at length about their fear and panic at living alone and one eventually returned to Chile.

Although the moral costs of separating were seen to be reduced in exile, family authority was still sufficiently strong to deter some private women from breaking its code here. The most serious violation was seen to be the dissolution of the marriage, especially where this was initiated by the woman herself. Where a man left his wife in Chile, the extended family had often provided shelter and support for the abandoned woman. However, a woman who left her husband could expect very little sympathy and support. Breaking up the marriage meant the loss of your nearest and dearest as well as a loss of respect. Most private women concurred that the separated woman is not well-regarded in Chile. Laura related the fate of one such woman in Chile:-

"When her marriage split up, she couldn't visit her woman friends when their husbands were at home. The women feared she might lead their husbands on. Neither could the woman have men in her flat. Even when her brother came to see her, she had to talk to him outside. Her general status is little better than a prostitute who is seen to be continually on the look out for men."

Unless her father accepted her back into the family home, the separated woman could expect continual harassment, for amongst the respectable working class there was no place for women without men.¹ Amongst this group, marital breakdown presented the family with a major crisis. Although family influence was eroded in exile, it was not eradicated. One woman would not consider separating in exile for fear the family in Chile found out, and Ana delayed breaking the news of her separation for over a year after the event took place.

The family's condemnation of the dissolution of marriage is but an echo of the official ruling of the Catholic church. No divorce law exists in Chile and where couples do separate they have to undergo a lengthy and expensive process of annulment. Many private women clung onto their strong socialization into the "faithful wife model". Gloria mentioned how:-

"Women are more faithful than men. A Chilean woman I met here had remained faithful whilst her husband was in prison in Chile. Yet in exile the husband went off with another woman. I don't think this is fair after all his wife had done for him. In my opinion, women are more faithful than men."

And Isabel, when speculating about what would happen to those Chilean women (generally daughters of exiles) who had married Scotsmen in exile in the event of the family's return to Chile, thought that:-

¹ Amongst lower levels of the working class it was common practice for couples to cohabit. Amongst the skilled working class and lower middle class, however, there was a stricter emphasis on observing moral codes as a way of distancing themselves from the "rough-toughs". The middle sectors were more liberal in their interpretation of sexual codes. They had other planks of respectability in the economic sphere to fall back on.

"The Chilean woman is very faithful and would be unlikely to leave her husband."

One image of the separated woman in exile, held by both men and women alike, was of "*una persona desamparada*" (an unprotected person) who had been abandoned by her husband. The man, who was to blame for this sorry state of affairs was strongly criticized by other men, for the good militant kept his family united. The woman, who was blameless, an innocent victim of man's irresponsibility, retained respect. Enrique thought that the separated women in exile:-

"..are not the subject of gossip. I can't remember anyone speaking badly about them. In fact, they are treated with respect and no sexual approaches have been made towards them, even though some are attractive women."

However, this image did not always fit for in certain cases it was the woman who had initiated or finalized the break-up. It came as a shock to some men to find that women were prepared to challenge them to the point of rupture, for this kind of behaviour was not expected from women. Ana mentioned how her husband had assumed he could come back after she had closed the door on him. The fact that she had held firm came as something of a surprise for, as Ana said, :-

"The man always expects the woman to cede, to give in, to compromise."

Men found it difficult to believe that women could walk out of their marriages, that they could be the authors of actions rather than helpless victims. To the men, lurking behind all this somewhere must be the women's liberation movement.

The separated women's behaviour, contrary to Enrique's view, was frequently commented upon and scrutinized by both men and women. As women living without men, they represented a potential threat by the example they provided that women could go it alone. Those women, who may on occasion have felt like walking out of their own marriages, were less critical of the break-up but closely monitored the subsequent behaviour of the separated women.

The separated women had two "respectable" options - to settle into some form of asexual lifestyle similar to that of an early widowhood or to embark on a second marriage. Where neither course of action was clearly being pursued, the woman's morality came into question. As the rate of personal change was so uneven amongst the private women, old attitudes lingered on and new behaviour was sometimes viewed through the prism of the old lens. Women who broke up their marriages, lived alone and had relationships with men fell into that other category of woman - the prostitute. Laura was aware of the whispering that went on behind her back:-

"Some women still maintain the old attitudes from Chile. They continue to put up with things (aguantar), to be enslaved and to grow old without ever having done anything with their lives. This is seen in the way in which they regard the separated woman. She is seen as having more freedom than they have. They may be envious at the same time as disapproving. I go to all the parties. I like having a good time. I like to dance with different people. I know comments go around about how I'm looking for a man for the night."

Breaking out of marriage still had its moral costs and required courage. The fact that Laura had her own social group (formed largely of single or separated Chilean men and women) where she received support enabled her to counter some of the criticism. Within the group there was a feeling of intimacy, trust and confidence. There was a more open attitude towards personal relationships.

loss of moral superiority

Most private women placed clear limits on how far they wanted change to go. Most continued to regard their power as lying in the private domain, particularly in their role as moral guardians, for whilst the private women were economically inferior to men, morally they rose above them. This assignation of moral superiority to women, whilst entailing the repression of female sexuality, did bring women certain privileges in the form of male deference and homage. Many private women wanted to maintain "the good parts of being a woman", such

as the respect which they anticipated from men, to be treated courteously and gallantly. Some privatized women felt that relations between Chilean men and women had deteriorated in exile, that men were no longer paying women the respect they were due. Many men had forgotten their manners and their language in the women's presence. Some were now using *garabatos* in front of women without even thinking of apologizing.¹ To many privatized women, this simply was not right. Gloria complained:-

"Women have lost respect in exile. The fact that men are using garabatos in front of women shows that they no longer consider what women think. Men no longer feel the need to apologize to women. There are very few gentlemen (caballeros) amongst the Chileans."

When I asked Gloria what this "respect" meant, she replied:-

"Respect for women is a mark of consideration. It shows that the man is well-mannered, educated. I feel bad, turn red, if men don't show respect to me, but some men don't think about this any more."

What was even worse in some privatized women's eyes was the fact that some Chilean women were now using this type of language in exile too and "*sin vergüenza*" (without any sense of shame). Laura, who was identified as one of the offenders, had a more tolerant view of their spread:-

"In exile there's been a loosening up of language between men and women that would be considered offensive in Chile. Here it takes place in a mood of relaxation, as a form of joking around. Women can also answer back in a joking fashion. Nobody takes any offence or thinks anything

¹ *Garabatos* are coarse words which form a large part of male popular discourse. In Chile, they were not generally used in female company and where one chanced to slip out inadvertently, the man immediately apologized. In exile, the spread of *garabatos* to middle class men and to some women was often commented on by the Chileans themselves. Some related this to the desire to affirm Chilean identity in exile - given the very Chilean character of this language - by appearing "*más chileno que los porotos*" (more Chilean than beans - the staple diet); others related their spread to the relaxation of social controls in exile.

serious is intended. It's not the first move to ending up in bed together. It's more a way of expressing the confidence we have in each other, of expressing intimacy."

To Laura, no doubt, the women's condemnation of this language was just another indicator of the traditional and judgemental attitudes which still prevailed amongst many privatized women.

Part of this erosion of respect was blamed upon the lax sexual standards which the privatized women perceived as prevailing in British society. By comparison with the strict codes of sexual conduct governing a married woman's behaviour in Chile, to many privatized women it seemed that here anything goes. I was frequently told of "shocking" incidents which had taken place at parties, of married women flirting, drinking and proposing to men. Worst of all, in the privatized women's eyes, this went on in public and in their husbands' presence. The privatized women admitted that affairs took place in Chile but described them as hidden, furtive liaisons. It was the behaviour of married women which most caught their attention here and which was most strongly censored. The privatized women declared themselves "shocked" and "outraged" by what they saw. In Laura's view:-

"It's not such a shock for the men but for Chilean women it's a tremendous shock to see the way in which sexual relations take place here. Often anonymous couples form for the night, with no sentiment between the partners. It's animal-like."

In Chile, if a man laid his hands on another's wife, the husband "would kill him". At the same time, the married woman would feel "insulted" by the suggestion that she was available to others. By contrast British women were seen as ready and willing and implicitly blamed for some marriage break-ups or difficulties.¹ Negative comments

¹ The threat which British women were perceived to represent was not just one of greater sexual freedom but also a physical one. In Latin America, the blond, blue-eyed female is the ultimately desirable. One Chilean
(contd. over)

about British women were often made tentatively and apologetically as the women feared I might think they were calling my own morality into question. The depth of the women's shock reveals the strength of the sexual control to which they had been subjected in Chile, where even talking to a man in the street could lead to a round of suspicion and accusation. Although, as has been seen, part of the opening in male-female relations in exile was approved, this could easily slip into the unacceptable in many privatized women's eyes.

Whilst the politicized men collided with British society in the sphere of politics, the privatized women collided with this society in the sphere of morality. Many privatized women feared the moral disintegration of the private domainⁱⁿ/exile, as compared to the threat of political encroachment into their domain in Chile during Popular Unity. Many privatized women did not want to come down from their moral pedestal, experiencing this as a form of moral equalling; thereby as an erosion of part of their power base. Although the privatized women railed against *machismo*, they were all emphatic in disclaiming any sympathy for the women's liberation movement. The women's movement as many privatized women understood it (generally equated with observed differences between the behaviour of women in Chile and of British women here), seemingly sanctioned and encouraged sexual permissiveness. Even Laura, who was more open to change, discounted the women's movement. In her opinion, more could be gained through a privatized struggle which did not antagonize men so much. When talking about

(contd. from previous page)
worker elaborated on the specific connotations which *la rubia* (the blond woman) held for the Chilean male. She was generally somebody from the middle or upper classes, well-educated and well-dressed, of foreign extraction and the focus of much admiration. However, to the Chilean worker she was out of reach. Here meanwhile, Chilean men had the chance of meeting and mixing with blond women. The spell which they had cast in Chile was often broken as the men came to realize that many were just as "working class as any Chilean working class woman."

her experiences of *machismo*, Laura went on to say:-

"Although I think like this, I'm not going to go out and fight in the street or join the feminist movement. Every one has to struggle in a private way, in each individual household (en forma privada, en cada casa). Joining the feminist movement can be counter-productive as it only provokes a strong reaction from men who think of such women as lesbians and prostitutes."

Laura's dismissal of the women's movement shows the way in which the men had successfully discredited feminism by attacking the morality of the women involved. Given this, Laura calculated that it was more advantageous to keep the struggle privatized in individual households rather than to wage a collective struggle which would be ridiculed by men. Laura, herself, had come a long way through her own individual efforts in exile, breaking out of a stultifying marriage and entering the world of study and books.

However, many privatized women were as likely to ally with men in discrediting feminism for more than purely tactical considerations. For many privatized women, the women's movement was equated with the devaluation of their private domain. Many of these women did not want to lose the set of privileges which having their own domain was perceived as entailing. In this case, alternative definitions of the private domain, especially those which questioned women's role as mothers, were experienced as profoundly threatening by many privatized women.¹

Queens not slaves

The privatized women's old way of life in Chile which

¹ Oakley notes the way in which the male social scientist's view of "child-bearing as a burden" and motherhood as "uninteresting, marginal work" has been reproduced by some feminists. She sees this as a view which conflicts with that of many mothers "who see their ability to give birth to, feed and care for children as the greatest achievement of which they - or anyone else, female or male - are capable". A. Oakley, "Review Essay: Feminism and Sociology, Some Recent Perspectives", American Journal of Sociology, Vol.84, No.5, 1979, p.1262.

centred around the extended family, could not be reconstructed in exile and a new pattern had to be found. In the process, exile helped to bring about new viewpoints and understandings. However, the privatized women adjusted to the transformed context of the private domain in exile at varying paces and in differing ways. Indeed, the very unevenness in the depth and breadth of personal change was a source of friction amongst the women themselves. Those who went furthest in constructing a new self in exile were often deemed to have gone too far by others, whose change was more restricted. Those who continued to perform their private roles in a more traditional manner - who constituted those whom Laura referred to as "*the slaves*" or as "*la mujer aguantadora*" (the woman who puts up with her lot) - often attempted to police other women's behaviour. Maintaining their traditional role as arbiters of moral authority and enforcers of social sanctions, they monitored and censured female behaviour which departed too far from the norms of good mother, proud housewife and faithful wife, which they had brought with them from Chile.

Many authors have pointed to the way in which women may consent to and collude in their oppression.¹ However, in reproducing their role in the private domain, women may not be merely victims of false consciousness but may perceive certain benefits of gender role differentiation. Jaquette, commenting on Latin American women's important role in the family, argues that "it may be possible to maximize female power by retaining sex-role differences".² Likewise, Stevens notes the prerogatives which Latin American women's "privatized but venerated" position in society brings.³ Yet Garrett, writing about Chilean

¹ M. Barrett, op.cit., p.110; M. Stacey and M. Price, op.cit., p.10.

² J.S. Jaquette, in J.Nash and H.Safa, eds., op.cit., p.222.

³ E.P. Stevens, in A.Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.90.

working class women in the rural sector in Chile, paints a different picture of women's subordination, their economic dependence, sexual frustrations, fears of pregnancy and physical exhaustion.¹ In effect, these two pictures may be two faces of the same reality. Women are both superior and inferior; both power and pawn; both queens and slaves.² Indeed it is in this very ambivalence that the resilience of gender roles to change may lie. Gender differentiation and the sexual segregation of men and women in public and private domains may, then, be perceived as bringing both costs and benefits to women.³

It was out of this ambivalence that the movement of bourgeois women in Chile arose. Under the banner of "*el poder femenino*" (female power), women had taken action to preserve the private domain from political invasion and expropriation. In exile, meanwhile, the privatized women experienced a different process of devaluation of their domain. Their venerated place in society had been stripped away, mothering was socially devalued and there was a profound change for the worse in the terms of their ideological representation in society. Many privatized women experienced a "slippage in meaning" of the private domain in exile. In their attempt to recuperate the privileged meaning of the private domain, the privatized women turned to their men to reinforce the deference, honour and respect they felt they deserved as women.

However, as has been seen, the privatized women were not alone in experiencing an erosion of their power in exile, for both the public and private domains were

¹ P. Garrett, op.cit. p.59.

² A. Pescatello, Power and Pawn, The Female in Iberian Families, Societies and Cultures, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1976.

³ Jeffery, writing about Indian women in purdah - an extreme example of the public-private dichotomy - analyses this institution as "both abhorrent and attractive, both deprivation and privilege". P. Jeffery, Frogs in a Well, Indian Women in Purdah, Zed Press, London, 1979, p.171.

experienced as impoverished in exile. This disarticulation of both the public and private spheres meant that husbands and wives in the segregated marriages had to renegotiate the boundaries of their respective domains, thereby redefining the terms of the gender order. The balance between male power (located in the public domain) and female power (located in the private domain) became the subject of a gender struggle.¹ The privatized women wanted the men to attach more importance to their private domain and to respect female prerogatives. The politicized men, however, were equally eager to minimize time spent in the private domain (women's sphere) and to maximize time spent in the public domain (men's sphere). Each partner, then, attempted to prioritize their domain vis a vis the other's. To the politicized men's "politics first, then the family", the privatized women countered with "family first, politics second". Each partner drew upon the other's vocabulary in an attempt to press their claims or discount the claims of the other. The privatized women drew upon the politicized men's political vocabulary (socialism = equality) to press for the equality of women and their domain. The politicized men, meanwhile, drew upon the privatized women's moral vocabulary (women's liberation = immorality) to restrain the privatized women's demands for more freedom in the marriage.

In this struggle to renegotiate the terms of the gender order, the privatized women played an active role in setting some of the ground rules and of laying down some of the limits. In this way they exercised power and influence in drawing up a new map of male-female relations. By speaking up and making claims on men, some privatized women underwent a change in self-image from the "*aguantadoras*" (women who put up with

¹ Stevens refers to the delicate balance between male and female power in Latin American society as being encompassed by "the twin phenomena of *machismo-marianismo*". E.P. Stevens, in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.90.

their lot) or the "*pajaritos*" (little birds) which they had been before the coup. Some privatized women felt themselves to have been profoundly and irreversibly changed by exile and to have "*been awakened*" in the process. For these women, exile constituted a period of personal growth and development.

For many men, however, the changes in male-female relations in exile were experienced as more traumatic. Where *machismo* had been interpreted by working class men as meaning that women should not work outside the home, that they should be confined to domestic activities and subjected to strict sexual control, any loosening of the boundary between male and female spheres was experienced as profoundly threatening to their masculinity. The process of renegotiation in the segregated marriages, however limited, brought some marriages to the brink of collapse and two to breakdown itself. These upheavals in the home, when added to the difficulties experienced in the integrated marriages noted in the last chapter, take on the proportions of a "private crisis", whose full dimensions are addressed in the following chapter.

CRISIS OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOMAINS

"As far as the party is concerned you can forget the family. You will know the large number of couples who have separated in exile and many of them have been party members."

Jaime, a politicized man

It has been argued in the two preceding chapters that exile brought about a new tension between the public and private domains. Both the public-private women and the private women confronted a new and more disadvantageous set of circumstances in the home from what they had known in Chile. However, whilst the impulse was there for both groups of women to develop a gender critique, none was forthcoming. Any insights which the women made regarding gender inequalities were suppressed, deflected or distorted. Women continued either passively or actively to endorse the men's definitions (as the public-private women) or to invert the men's priorities by identifying the private domain as the more important (as the private women did). Although struggles between men and women were largely articulated at the level of the household, these upheavals in the home were not without public repercussions. There was a general awareness in the exile community that all was not well in the home, that marital difficulties and breakdowns had gone beyond the level which passes by without comment to become the subject of public concern and alarm. To many, it seemed that wherever one looked couples were on the verge of separating. There was what could be defined as a "private crisis" which left few untouched. Moreover, the private sphere was not the only one in difficulty, for this private

drama was being played out alongside an equally critical moment in the public history of exile. To some political actors, it seemed as if the attempt to reconstruct their lives in exile had failed, that both their public and private lives lay in ruins. In this chapter I shall examine how this crisis was addressed and, in particular, whether it led to the search for new models of the public and private domains or to the accommodation and adjustment of previous patterns.

female solidarity

Before analysing the men's responses to the crisis of the private sphere, I first want to examine further some of the problems which women experienced in giving public expression to their grievances in the home. Up to this point, I have emphasized the semi-privatized nature of the women's struggles in the home and the private character of the negotiations between husbands and wives. However, women did not totally discount collective strategies for there was an attempt to form a women's group in exile which could have served to foster women's collective identity and to raise consciousness of gender discrimination.

This attempt to organize women into a separate female public sphere had an organizational precedent in Chile in the form of the *Centros de Madres* (Mother Centres). As the leader of the women's group in exile had this former model in mind and as the *Centros* had exerted a socializing influence on a number of women in the sample, it is worth briefly examining their organizational principles and goals.¹ The *Centros de Madres* had been set up by the

¹ Women in exile communities in other parts of Britain also revived the *Centros de Madres* in exile, retaining the same name. In this case, the women referred to their organization here as *Grupo de Mujeres* (Women's Group). Five women in the sample had had personal experience of the *Centros de Madres* in Chile. Three public-private women had participated in a leadership capacity and two private women had been rank and file members.

Christian Democrat government - which preceded Popular Unity - as part of their overall project for the political incorporation of so-called marginal groups in society. As they represented the first large-scale organization of housewives in the popular neighbourhoods, they filled an organizational vacuum and rapidly established a nationwide network.¹ Whilst men and some women had been organized into political parties which differentiated class interests, women in the *Centros de Madres* had been organized into a body which encouraged ideas of social interdependence and class cooperation.² The *Centros* specifically focused on women's family roles - as their name suggests - but with a view to maintaining rather than transforming women's position in the family.³ The *Centros* aimed to improve women's performance of their domestic roles by educating women about nutrition, child development, welfare and hygiene. At the same time, they had provided women with some limited income-earning opportunities through the commercialization of handicrafts.

Popular Unity had attempted to broaden the focus of the *Centros de Madres* to include action on education,

¹ Since their inception in 1964, there are now approximately 6,500 *Centros de Madres* spread throughout the country being regularly visited by a large number of women. SIDA, Women in Developing Countries, Stockholm, 1974, p.59.

² "Conceived with the intention of integrating women into a "communal" society, these Centers reinforced a conservative ideology and, under the cover of participation, removed women from any action or political allegiance contrary to the system." M. Mattelart, op.cit., p.294.

³ "The *Centros de Madres* implicitly assumed that the legitimate sphere of activities for the homemaker lay within the confines of her own home. Consequently, the *Centro* institutionalized one of the most traditional aspects of women's role - that their activities be confined to the private sphere and that the private sphere ended at her doorstep." P. Garrett, op.cit., pp.196-7.

health and the environment with an explicit class content.¹ The food supply committees (JAPs) - often organized through the *Centros de Madres* - had also politicized an important female concern. This extended focus had thrown up new leadership, often affiliated to the Popular Unity parties. The *Centros de Madres*, however, had not been able to broaden their role outwards to the community without a struggle. Many had continued under the partial or complete control of the Opposition who had used them to mobilize women for their large demonstrations against Popular Unity.²

Although those Centros under Popular Unity control had extended the scope of their activities, the former domestic outlook had not been totally abandoned. Rather than revising the old orientation, the new activities had simply been tagged on.³ In some *Centros*, the former emphasis on improving women's domestic skills had continued to predominate. In the middle of the Popular Unity period, Cristina had spent her Saturdays at a rural *Centro*, teaching about twenty peasant women economical and easy ways of preparing food and some dress-making.

women's group in exile

In reviving this form of organization in exile, the leader of the women's group saw two possible bases of female cooperation: firstly, a common desire amongst women to help the work of the solidarity campaign, and secondly, the shared problems which women experienced in the home

¹ The official organ of the *Centros de Madres*, *Mujeres* (Women) reflects this change. One issue which was published during Popular Unity defined the task of the *Centros* as the creation of food supply committees, improved health facilities, the setting up of nurseries, action on education, literacy and the environment. Issue No.2. 4.12.1971.

² M. Mattelart, *op.cit.*, p.293.

³ The political ambiguity of the *Centros de Madres* has enabled this same organization to be used by a reformist government (Christian Democrats), by a government committed towards moving in the direction of socialism (Popular Unity) and by a military dictatorship as an outlet for bourgeois women to engage in charity work in the shanty towns.

in exile through the loss of their support structures, be they maids or female kin. The organizer, a professional woman, had been one of the first Chilean women to arrive in her locality and had witnessed the "initial helplessness" of those who arrived later. Just as the men wanted to pass on some of their accumulated political wisdom to later arrivals, so Cristina had a strong desire to transmit some of the domestic wisdom she had acquired:-

"No sé si por un deseo de enseñar - a lo mejor, mis padres son profesores entonces probablemente tenga una vocación a enseñar - o tal vez simplemente copuqueo femenino, pero tenía un deseo enorme de transmitir todo lo que yo sabía con el deseo de organizar a las mujeres. Al mismo tiempo me puse en contacto muy directo con el comité de solidaridad con la idea de formar un grupo de mujeres con los objetivos de ayudar al comité de solidaridad en el trabajo de artesanía para los comedores populares. Al mismo tiempo la idea era poder tener oportunidad de intercambiar ideas, por ejemplo, saber comprar una vez al mes es mucho mejor, se evitan problemas con el marido."

(I don't know whether from a desire to teach - my parents are teachers so I've probably got a teaching vocation - or perhaps just simply out of female gossip, but I had an enormous desire to pass on everything I knew with a view to organizing the women. At the same time, I contacted the solidarity campaign with the intention of helping their work by making handicrafts to raise money for the children's dining rooms in Chile. This would also provide the chance for women to exchange ideas, such as, it's better to shop once a month, you avoid conflict with your husband.)

Changing the terms of the gender order did not form part of the leadership's objectives in organizing the women. Women were not cooperating to challenge the sexual division of labour but to come to terms with their increased domestic load in exile in a way which left men free. The women's group, as envisaged by its leader, made no claims to be a feminist organization. It did not set out to transform or problematize the relationship between public and private

domains.¹

Cristina initially set to work with the women in her immediate vicinity. The Miner's Gala in Edinburgh presented the first opportunity for a stall and Cristina's small group worked hard making woollen dolls and Chilean flags for sale. This proved a success and women in other neighbourhoods expressed an interest in participating. The group then branched out to work at the regional level and the solidarity campaign provided the women with a central meeting place. This enlarged group was formed by a core of six area representatives and embraced a membership of between twenty and thirty women. This included six women in my sample, three of whom had never participated in any organization before.² Gloria, who had had some sporadic contact with the *Centros de Madres* in Chile, related the activities of the group:-

"We worked by neighbourhood. Each area sent a couple of representatives to the meeting in Glasgow. In my area, there were about eight women working. Two didn't join in. We made embroidered tapestries with wool. I made some of copihues - (the Chilean national flower)."

The choice of tapestries (*arpilleras*) paralleled the activity of women in the shanty towns in Chile. After the coup, these women had found an ingenious way of putting their domestic skills to political effect. They collected scraps of unwanted material from neighbouring textile factories and wove their daily experiences of hardship and repression into a form of patchwork protest. These tapestries were then smuggled out of the country and exhibited abroad. Their protest reached many corners of

¹ Bujra discusses the varied forms which female solidarity may take, including a number of "alienated forms", whereby women cooperate to police women's domestic roles and to reproduce their subordinate position in society. She suggests that "it is only when women have independent resources (and not always then) that their organizations challenge the terms of the gender relationship". J.M. Bujra, op.cit., p.40.

² As the group was short-lived - functioning during the second half of 1976 - some women in the sample arrived after its disbandment. However, Silvia who had the opportunity to join, remained aloof.

the world and this exile community in particular when a local art gallery mounted an exhibition of their work.¹

An impending solidarity concert provided a chance for the women to exhibit and sell their work. This fund raising event proved a substantial success in terms of the amount of money collected. However, it turned out to be the only major effort before the group foundered. In accounting for the collapse of the group, both premises of female solidarity upon which it had been based were called into question by Cristina. Firstly, the assumption of shared political concern was regarded as having been ill-founded. According to Cristina, some women were simply not interested in helping the solidarity campaign:-

"Creo que cometí el mismo error que cometimos todos los chilenos en pensar que somos una muestra representativa de un país. Entonces abarcamos todos porque igual que trabajamos en Chile con los Centros de Madres, pueden trabajar aquí. No. Resulta que el grupo de chilenos que hay aquí son totalmente heterogéneo, no ha sido elegido, simplemente venga por acá. Entonces se formaba en condiciones muy extrañas. Entonces una parte de la premisa de que lo único que están pensando es hacer algo por volver a la democracia en Chile - partes de una premisa que también es falsa porque hay muchos chilenos que no les interesa. Llegaron por otras condiciones y de allí partes mal."

(I think I made the same mistake that all we Chileans made, in thinking that we are a representative sample of our country. So, just as we all worked together in Chile in the *Centros de Madres*, so we can work together here. It isn't so. It turns out that the group of Chileans here is totally heterogeneous. It hasn't been elected - people simply come here

¹ The subject of the tapestries and of women's role in the shanty towns in Chile after the coup forms the subject of a play (*Tres Marías y Una Rosa*) by a Chilean playwright. This ran for some time in a small chamber theatre in Santiago itself and recently went on tour. Two women travelled down to London to see it and pronounced it "*muy femenista*" (very feminist). The play depicts women as occupying the centre of the stage - the men being absent through imprisonment or the search for work - and reflects women's growing independence and consciousness of both class exploitation and sexual oppression.

by chance. So the community is formed in very unusual circumstances. You set out with the premise that the only thing everyone is thinking about is to do something to speed up the return of democracy in Chile - but you start with a false premise because there are many Chileans who are simply not interested. They arrived here for other reasons. So you set off on the wrong foot.)

Cristina here echoes some of the men's disillusionment at the "political quality" of the exiles. Amongst the men, privatized motives were often a catchall explanation for any drifting away from the parties in exile. Many women, however, had only been selectively conscientized by the Popular Unity process and some had not been politicized at all. The women's group brought together women with varying levels of prior public involvement and political experience. Whilst some had participated in the "men's politics", other had participated exclusively in "women's politics", such as the *Centros de Madres*, and others had not participated in any organization before at all. For these privatized women, solidarity had been predominantly expressed through the kinship system.

The existence of privatized motives amongst the women was given as a reason for the group's collapse by both Gloria and Isabel. Gloria related how some women were discontented because:-

"they thought that their work was under-priced for the effort which they had put into it. The prices were fixed by the solidarity committee and although we were asked to make a note of what we spent on wools and materials, few did."

Behind Gloria's statement lies a hint of exploitation, that the result had not matched the effort put in and that the women were consequently left out of pocket. Isabel added that some women wanted to keep the money from their work for themselves, regarding the handicrafts as a source of personal income. They maintained the old meaning of handicraft work as undertaken in the *Centros de Madres* where it had been a way for women with few economic opportunities to earn a small income. The possibility of

feeling exploited was there because the women's political consciousness was low. As handicraft work was largely carried out in individual homes, there was little opportunity for collective bonds between women to develop or strengthen and for a new meaning to be given to their work. Some women then viewed their participation as a form of home work for private gain rather than as a political contribution. Yet others preferred the money so raised to go to kin in Chile.

Some privatized women, accustomed to acting within the personal networks of kin, brought this personalized focus to their relations in the public sphere. This was contrasted with men who are accustomed to acting impersonally in their networks and organizations. Isabel remarked that:-

"Women are more intuitive than men. They immediately sense the atmosphere when they enter a room. They are concerned with small details, personal differences and qualities. Men abstract these and this enables them to act together. Women's relationships are more complex and they are more difficult to organize as a result."

Women, responsible for maintaining the emotional and psychological atmosphere in the home, were so immersed in rich detail as to prevent any sense of collective identity emerging. Women could easily become "bogged down" in personal detail and "trifles".

As the women were scattered over a wide geographical area, meetings were infrequent despite the availability of a central meeting place. Some women mentioned the practical difficulties involved in attending meetings as playing a part in the disintegration of the group. To attend a woman had either to take her children along, which was costly for those living at a distance and/or on social security, or find a baby-sitter which was not easy either. Men's attendance at public meetings was both cheaper and more flexible with respect to the timing of their movements. Added to these practical difficulties was the uneasiness which some privatized women experienced in attending meetings outside the home. Indeed, this was one of the

reasons why Silvia decided not to join as well as her fear of gossip. For some too, it brought conflict and opposition from their menfolk, unaccustomed to women moving freely around outside the home. For all these reasons it was generally only the area representatives - usually those with most prior public experience - who got together. However, this meant that there was little opportunity for solidarity and confidence to grow between women except for the few at the top.

Solidarity was not only low in political terms for the women were also divided by class. Just as the *Centros de Madres* had placed women from the shanty towns under middle class tutelage, so in exile it was women from the middle sectors who organized the rest.¹ Some housewives resented the tone in which they were appealed to: "*Alone in the house, with so many children, compañera*", they would say. Laura felt incensed:-

"I am the sort of woman who can solve my problems alone. I don't cry and I don't complain. Why don't they remember you on other occasions? Why don't they try to become friendly with you on a more regular basis? My chats with my friends are much more helpful than going to an organization doing manual work once a month."

Laura, who it will be recalled had broken out of her marriage and constructed her own independent network of friends, contradicted the leadership's views of women as

¹ The perception of class differences was also present in the *Centros de Madres*. Chaney quotes one *pobladora* (a woman from the shanty towns) as saying: "We sense that there is a class difference; we are not the same, and we are made to feel it in little ways. ... The *asesoras* (teachers) often do not allow leadership to develop or only to a certain level. They work in the manner of *patronas* (female bosses).... One thing which we resent very much is the way in which these people from outside *tutear* (use the familiar 'you') us from the very first while we must always continue with *Señorita*. Why should this be? Why should not a *pobladora* who has worked and fought for her children, who is respected by us and listened to, not also be respected by the *asesoras* and called *señora*?" E. Chaney, in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit., p.118.

being totally isolated and helpless in the home. It was this idea that they were helpless, with the associated notion of inequality among women that some women rejected. To some, the practice of the women's group implied that some women knew better than others. Gloria mentioned that:-

"Some women got fed up being told what to do and preferred to work by themselves."

Some women, then, withdrew because they felt talked down to and patronised.

The existence of class differences amongst the women had repercussions for the second premise of the women's group: that women shared similar problems of domestic labour in exile. Compared with the situation in Chile where the ability of a certain class sector of women to employ a maid had sharply differentiated their life-experiences off from those who could not, class differences between women were experienced as being less pronounced in exile. Here both groups of women were often living side by side in the same council housing, there was more social mixing between the two groups and mutual use of the informal "tú". However, the women were marked off by differences in their husbands' standing and, as the public-private women regained a public role, by more overt social differentiation between the women themselves. This meant that some of the solutions proposed by the women's group leader were inappropriate for the private women. Cristina's system of housekeeping, outlined in Chapter 5, involving monthly shopping, careful budgeting and forward planning not only required a "certain level of education", as she put it, but also required a certain income and was decidedly impractical for those living off weekly social security payments. Not only were Cristina's domestic solutions class specific, they were also designed to leave gender relations intact. As has been seen, those public-private women who regained a public role in exile had a measure of economic independence which gave them a bargaining counter with their men. The private women, economically dependent on their husbands,

and subject to a much cruder version of *machismo*, had no such bargaining power. However, when one private woman tentatively suggested that if the men were socialists they should help in the home, she was told:-

"Pero precisamente no estamos en condiciones ideales. El nació en un sistema y no le vá a cambiar de una noche a la mañana. Yo sé que esta parte es dura."

(But we're not living in ideal conditions. The men were born under one system and they're not going to change overnight. I know it's tough.)

Cristina, then, sympathized with the women's grievances whilst defusing their charge. She was aware of the criticism of her leadership and of the way in which her "urge to teach" could be misunderstood. She related how her attempt to organize the women had come to grief in the following way:-

"Fuí muy criticada, duramente criticada porque es muy difícil que la gente acepte que la enseñen de ninguna manera. Se piensa que una exagera lo que sabe y pretende dirigir y se vé como una persona 'outstanding'. Además, no podría evitar el hecho de estar trabajando en la universidad... todos los problemas de envidia."

(It was criticized, heavily criticized because it's very difficult for people to accept being taught. No way. They think you are exaggerating what you know, or that you are setting yourself up as someone outstanding. Apart from the unavoidable fact that I was working in the university, and all the problems of envy that this aroused.)

However, criticism was by no means universal. Some women actively supported the leadership. Gloria thought that the leader took many initiatives and found no cause for complaint.

Although the women's group was internally fragile, it was from without that the final blow came. As the men's political world became structured along party political lines, those organizations which escaped party definition came under increasing pressure. It might well be asked why the politicized men were interested in the women's

group, given the way in which they tended to dismiss women's attempts to come together as "mere gossiping". One reason is that women in exile were engaged in very much the same kind of activity as the men - fund-raising - and furthermore had proved relatively successful at it. Secondly, the women's group loomed much larger within the micro world of exile politics, as compared to the peripheral role played by the *Centros de Madres* within the expanded political arena of Popular Unity in Chile. The political parties were also uneasy about women organizing separately for the men perceived that there was always the possibility of women differentiating their interests from men and posing a feminist challenge. For all these reasons, the men had an interest in keeping a watchful eye over the activities of the group.

At the time that the women were embarked on their fund-raising effort, a dispute was taking place between the political parties at national level concerning the precise destination of money raised in exile, in particular which political groups in Chile were being supported in this way. Many women were content with the idea that the money was going to help those suffering from the Junta's political and economic repression, especially the undernourished children in the shanty towns. However, this wider political dispute introduced conflict and division into the group. Cristina related that:-

"Habían algunas que no querían trabajar con el comité, entonces hubo desacuerdos sobre los ingresos de la artesanía. No querían entregarlos al comité para que el comité los mandara a Chile."

(There were some women who didn't want to work with the solidarity committee, so there were disagreements about the income raised by our handicrafts. Some didn't want to hand it over to the committee for onward remission to Chile.)

The men's political divisions cut across the already fragile cohesion of the women. Although some women in the group belonged to political parties themselves, this was often less important than the fact that all were married to men who were party members, with partisan interests to

defend. Although the parties could put forward their viewpoints in the women's group via their female party members, the men could also control the women's actions by controlling their own wives. When I asked Cristina how many women in the group belonged to political parties, she replied:-

"Muy pocas, pero siempre se toman el problema del marido. Los maridos son los que se opusieron."

(Very few but they always take their husbands' position into account. It was the husbands who put up the opposition.)

The men used their privileged influence and authority over their wives in the private domain to control and shape their actions in the public sphere. The women succumbed to their husbands' pressure in a sphere in which they felt insecure. To have done otherwise would have meant challenging the men on the political level as well as challenging their husbands' authority in the home. Few women did this as most accepted that it was the men who made the political definitions.

The women's group ended in debacle when Cristina, annoyed at the way in which some women had allowed themselves to become pawns in the men's political divisions, made a sudden exit. Given the energy and time she had invested in the group, its collapse came as a severe personal setback:-

"Esta experiencia fué un poquito dolorosa, muy triste. Nunca he tenido una experiencia de ese tipo antes."

(That experience was quite painful, very sad. I've never had an experience like that before.)

Many women were demoralized and depressed by what had happened when *"we should be more united than ever"*. With the emergence of the fund-raising dispute, attendance began to drop off. Gloria related how:-

"The group worked for about three to four months before it broke up. With all this trouble about the money, people began to get fed up and isolate themselves."

And Isabel recalled:-

"I went to one or two meetings but then problems began and I stopped going. I'm not sure what happened. From one day to the next, Cristina changed her mind and didn't want anything more to do with the group. I had many materials belonging to the group in a spare room which I wanted to clear out for a visitor. A friend who had earlier agreed to take them for me now refused and also said that she didn't want anything more to do with the group."

These instances of dramatic reversals and withdrawals indicate the strength of the women's feelings on the matter. Although reasons for the collapse were not always coherently verbalized, the women's actions reveal the depth of the passion aroused. From the perspective of many of the women, the sectarian questions which had torn the group asunder were irrelevant to the work at hand. Squabbling over where the money went, whilst people were hungry in Chile appeared amoral and wrong.

To some women the collapse of the group served to show the impossibility of women acting together. The experience of the women's group, then, served to reinforce some women's privatized stance. To others, it underlined their view of party politics as a destructive force. Mariana thought that:-

"Direction is a bad thing. It takes over the group and creates difficulties. The important thing is for the Chilean women to carry the group forward and not look for outside support from the parties."

The history of the women's group underscores the difficulties which women experienced in constructing a separate female public sphere in exile. The women fell victims to the men's political differences yet were not able to construct an alternative politics of their own. Whilst representing an attempt to collectivize women's grievances in the home, there was no attempt to give these coherent political expression by raising them as a public issue. Indeed, the women's group had the notion of women's separate and subordinate place in the public sphere built into it. In Cristina's mind, women were cooperating to give political support to the solidarity

campaign and to resolve their problems in the home. When some women hesitantly raised the issue of domestic labour as a task for both men and women, the leader gently re-asserted the gender order. Domestic labour remained a problem for women, and for women to solve outside the formal political arena.

Although the women's group did not overtly function as a consciousness-raising group, its existence was not without importance in the women's struggles in the home. Some informal learning did take place on the margin. Moreover, the degree of male opposition which the group aroused, and the way in which some men would retort, "*vaya, donde sus amiguitas*" (go to your little girlfriends, then) when challenged in the home, served to sharpen the women's thinking about the degree of male control over their lives.

politics of the family

Although the women's grievances in the home were not politicized by the women's group, women - as has been seen - did struggle individually in the home around the issues of domestic labour, childcare and freedom in the marriage. The "private crisis" which ensued was seen by many politicized men to be a matter of public concern for in their view "*the good militant kept his family united*" and "*a Marxist's family conduct should be an example for all*". Before exile, it had largely been up to individual militants to keep their own house in order. The gravity of the "private crisis" in exile, however, called for a degree of collective rethinking and action by men. As the women lacked an agenda, men were free to dictate the terms on which the private sphere entered public debate.

The dominant model of the family held by the politicized men was one which stressed harmony and coincidence of interests between family members. Drawing upon the male political idiom, Alejandro commented:-

"El núcleo familiar se entiende que es un núcleo que no tiene que porqué tener diferencias de intereses. Ellos tienen una alianza permanente. No es una lucha de clases entre ellos, sino que ellos luchan por los mismos ideales."

(It's understood that the family nucleus has no reason to have different interests, that theirs is a permanent alliance. There's no class struggle within the family but rather all are fighting for the same ideals.)

The marriage vows were seen by some politicized men as sealing a permanent, political alliance between men and women in the family.

However, this model of the family as a harmonious unit was increasingly strained in exile as both groups of women struggled in the marriage, at times to the point where the "alliance" was dissolved. Women had a new and different vocabulary for talking about the private sphere in which words like "*raw deal*", "*slaves*", "*imprisoned*", and "*machismo*" figured prominently. As women abandoned their resignation or placed new demands on men, the depth of the gender asymmetry was exposed. What had broken down was a pattern of accommodation between men and women which had largely depended upon women's docility in the home.

In effect the men were faced with two types of grievances from the women. Firstly there was the private offensive mounted by those privatized women who experienced the men's politics as detrimental to their family goals. This collision of the men's and women's worldviews characterized the segregated marriages, typified by Marcelo and Mónica. Secondly, there were those demands from the public-private women who needed the men to play a more active role in the running of the home if they were to engage in public life in exile without working a "double shift". This situation characterized the integrated marriages, typified by Pedro and Paula.

divided consciousness

Some politicized men dismissed the privatized women's complaints of being abandoned in the home and their attempt to reassert the primacy of family life in exile,

as "momia" or reactionary.¹ The privatized women, by arguing from the perspective of individual family members were seen as placing their own narrow concerns above those of "el pueblo" (the ordinary people) or "la clase" (the class) whose interests the men defended. This awareness of many women's conservatism and of their family-centred outlook was not something new to the politicized men; women had long been seen as the weak links in the chain. In exile, however, the divisive political consequences of the public-private split in consciousness were experienced more forcefully because of the privatized women's more outspoken views and the vulnerability of the men's political stance here. For here, unlike the "political age" of Popular Unity, the women's privatized stance held sway and the men's political viewpoints were in retreat. At a time when the men were desperately trying to hold onto their political goals in the face of adversity, the privatized women were undoing their work in the home. The women's sense of satisfaction at certain benefits of exile - national health service, social security and educational provisions, improved standards of living, and above all the fact that this was "un país tranquilo" (a peaceful country) - caused a great deal of misgiving amongst their men. Given this, the view that it was sufficient for the man to be politically committed as he stood for the family group came to be increasingly questioned by some politicized men. As Alejandro put it:-

"El compromiso unilateral, el compromiso de una parte de la familia no es un compromiso honesto, lleno. Yo creo que la familia tiene que ser parte de ese núcleo que está luchando. Es decir la compañera de uno tiene que estar en esa misma parada. Tener una compañera que no estuviera a la altura del trabajo que estaba desarrollando uno, no serviría como compañera.

¹ *Momia*, literally mummy as in the Egyptian mummies, was a popular term used by the Left during Popular Unity to denote the reactionaries, who resisted change and swam against the tide of history. They were seen to be pickled, preserved and belonging to the past.

Sería un estorbo, sería un elemento negativo para el desarrollo del trabajo que estaba haciendo uno."

(Unilateral commitment, or the commitment of only part of the family, is not a full, honest commitment. I think that the family has to be part of the nucleus in struggle. I mean that one's *compañera* should take the same stand. To have a *compañera* who wasn't up to the work you were developing, wouldn't be any help as a *compañera*. She would be an obstacle, a negative element for the development of the work in which one was engaged.)

However, the damage went even further, for given women's pivotal role in the socialization of the young, the privatized women transmitted this personalized world-view to their children. This factor was particularly critical in exile given the dearth of alternative socializing agencies to counter the influence of the woman at home. The other main socializing institution - the school - lay outside the men's control in the British public sphere and the school curriculum was as likely to reinforce the women's privatized stance as to politicize. In exile, few children were growing up in a political culture, as some of their parents had done. Hence the importance which the politicized actors attached to taking children along to those political rallies which did occur here. Under these circumstances the family took on critical importance in maintaining the political ideals of the exile community alive by forming a politically conscious second generation in exile. No one amongst the politicized men wanted their children to turn out "chueco" (crooked) as Cristián put it. This process of transmitting the men's political ideals to their children was undermined, however, where the woman did not share the man's political stance. As Alejandro put it:-

"Ahora los hijos que tenga uno tiene que formarlos en esos intereses porque uno no puede tener hijos con otro tipo de intereses. Entonces también es un aporte a la causa tener un flote de uno mismo que va a estar al servicio de la causa. Por eso me parece contra-productente el compromiso unilateral, porque va a incidir de que el hogar sea una

cosa y el hombre sea otra cosa; porque el fruto de ese hombre no va a ser suficientemente claro como cuando el grupo completo toma ese camino."

(You've also got to bring up your children with these same interests because you can't have children defending other interests. So it's also a contribution to the cause to have a troop of children in its service. That's why unilateral commitment is counter-productive because it means that the home stands for one thing and the man for another, because it means that the man's seed will not be so clearly formed in their ideas as when the whole family takes the same road.)

The existence of a group of privatized women was seen by the men as not only depriving the cause of part of the adult population but also of a new generation of coherently politicized recruits. The split in consciousness between women in the home and men in the public domain came to be experienced by the men as "counter-productive" in terms of their own political goals. In the men's eyes the privatized women were a "hindrance", an obstacle to the forward march of the revolution. However, there was no perception of the *compañera* as having any rights or goals outside the men's political definitions or viewpoints. Rather than addressing the privatized women's grievances in the home in their own terms, the men reformulated the women's "troubles" into "political problems" for men. A few men proved more sympathetic to the women's charges of neglect. Jaime commented that:-

"I agree with those women who complain about their husbands' political activities because it leaves them abandoned in the home. If you want to win people to the cause, you must win the family first of all."

Whilst Jaime was willing to grant a degree of legitimacy to the women's problems, others continued to regard these problems exclusively in terms of the negative costs for men's political goals.

bringing the women in

If the men turned the spotlight onto women's problems in exile, it was a decidedly male lens which was doing the

viewing. This was evident in the kind of remedies and solutions proposed. In the men's eyes, the privatized women had to come to see things like the politicized men; they had to be enlightened and acquire the "correct consciousness" so that children likewise would be coherently socialized.

When asked, most politicized men explained the women's privatized stance by their encapsulation in the home. "*La mujer chilena es un ente que vive en la casa*" (the Chilean woman is a being who lives in the house), said Jorge by way of explanation. Sheltered in the privacy and isolation of the home, the women were seen to be closed off from a set of experiences which had politicized the men. By bringing women out of the private sphere and into the public domain, the politicized men hoped to break down the women's individualism and repeat the pattern of their own conscientization. Declarations put out by men began to register the need to involve women in the political life of the exile community. Tagged on to the bottom of one political circular appeared the following:-

"Es de igual importancia entregar actividades a nuestras compañeras quienes en muchos casos han pagado un costo mayor del exilio, con escasa participación política y casi sin relación con la comunidad en que están viviendo."

(It's equally important to hand over activities to our *compañeras* who, in many cases, have paid a higher cost in exile with scant or no political participation and with very little contact with the community in which they are living.)

Although the men were more verbally open to bringing women into the political sphere in exile, women were not being offered an equal and valid place in the public sphere. In all cases it was men who decided what and how much to "hand over" to the *compañeras*. In effect, women were being offered a few crumbs from the men's political table as a form of compensation for their deprivation in the home. As has been seen, the political sexual division of labour, with men as "professional"

militants and women as "supporters" continued unchanged in exile. However, even this limited and partial incorporation of women was too much for some men who continued to regard public activity as their monopoly and resisted any measures which reduced their control over women.

Whilst the men were more open to bringing women into the political sphere in exile, they also wanted to control and contain their entry. Women were clearly being brought into the men's political framework and definitions. The politicized men continued to disregard the way in which women's experiences may differ from men's and that the process of acquiring consciousness may likewise diverge. As has been seen it was at the point of "reproduction" rather than, or as well as, "production" that women experienced structures as oppressive. However, rather than re-examining their political model and extending the boundary of the political sphere to include the private domain, the men acted to close off and discredit alternative formulations. A good deal of energy was exerted by men in countering a set of ideas - placed under the general heading of "women's liberation" - which the politicized men felt were beginning to penetrate the home. Enrique related how his party:-

"... did not discuss women's liberation as this is a petty bourgeois movement. Men and women have to fight together to overthrow capitalism. Women may have links with the women's movement but it is understood that their participation is defined by their membership of the party."

In most politicized men's eyes, the separate organization of women around gender inequalities, was merely helping to reproduce capitalist society by dividing the working class and fragmenting its political efficacy. Women's differentiating their struggle from men, was seen as nothing but functional for capitalist society. Carlos held that:-

"Hay sociedades que son muy bien amarradas porque incluso han alineado organizaciones femeninas, .. que inclusive aprovechan de estas organizaciones y amarran más la sociedad. Porque si las mujeres se dedican a hacer anti-

hombre, entonces esto significa que este hombre no va a poder luchar en su sindicato, no va a poder luchar en su partido, pero la mujer tampoco lo hace. Es decir, la mujer está dándole tareas al hombre para que estuviera en la casa y el hombre entonces no pudiera luchar contra la sociedad. Cuando la forma más correcta sería de que tanto el hombre como la mujer luchara contra la sociedad para que ambos y la familia sea libre."

(There are societies which are very well bound together just because they have set up feminine organizations, or because they take advantage of the existence of these organizations to secure themselves even further. Because if women devote themselves to being anti-men, this means that the man cannot struggle in his trade union or his political party, yet neither does the woman. I mean that the woman is giving tasks to men in the home so that the man cannot struggle against society. When the correct thing would be that men as well as women should fight against society, so that both they and the family are free and not just the woman.)

Women's struggles in the family to reallocate housework and childcare more equally between men and women was regarded by some men to result in a net loss of political activity by entailing a privatized withdrawal by the man from the arena of struggle in the public domain.

Sexual politics were not only regarded by the politicized men as being politically divisive, but also as "unChilean". The separated women's attempts to lead more independent lives in exile were censored by men (as well as some women) as reflecting their absorption into "Western" lifestyles. "*Vive como una inglesa*" (she lives like an English woman), the men would say, or certain behaviour would be criticized as being "*muy europea*" (very European). Implicit in the men's criticisms was a model of Chilean woman as "feminine", "morally pure", "faithful". This public censoring of certain behaviour, however, was not confined to women's sexual conduct. Men who left their wives or engaged in extra-marital affairs were also criticized by others. Jorge remarked:-

"Some Chilean men have adopted European patterns of behaviour. They are imitating

'el gringo' (the foreigner) and this goes against the family, with the result that many couples split up."

The men pronounced themselves for liberation (*liberación*) but against licence (*libertinaje*). Whilst liberation was seen as a responsible action, *libertinaje* was immoral and degenerate. Jorge held that:-

"Liberation is a responsible action, according to the rules of any human being. Liberation is correct, it doesn't harm anybody, whereas libertinaje prejudices all."

The distinction between liberation and old-fashioned bourgeois family virtues was not always very easy to establish in practice. The men reacted to what they regarded as widespread sexual permissiveness and family disintegration in this society by counterposing an idealized version of Chilean family life.¹ "Bourgeois" sexual decadence was contrasted with a form of socialist puritanism which shielded a very conservative version of family life and individual sexual freedom.²

The dismissal of sexual politics as a set of Western ideas carried particular force in the context of exile where there is already widespread concern about "deculturation".³ Appeals for the defence of Chilean culture in exile, however, were generally made without any critical examination as to what should be preserved or not. It has been noted before how the defence of "traditional" cultures from imperialist contact can reproduce male supremacy by upholding the subordinate position of

¹ Particularly commented on with respect to British family life were the lack of concern for elderly parents, the lack of parental control and responsibility for children, high levels of marital infidelity and separation, and the intrusion of economic transactions into kin relations, and the general lack of vitality of the kin network as a whole.

² One political party reportedly expelled militants who divorced for five years.

³ This rejection of imported and alien "Western" ideas did not however extend to the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, etc.

women in the family and society.¹ Sexual norms, family and gender ideologies which had been carried into exile unexamined were uncritically defended here as forming part of Chilean national identity.

Through these political and moral controls, the politicized men effectively closed off a set of meanings which could have given coherence to the women's grievances in the home. As has been seen in the two preceding chapters, the women were sensitive to the men's views on women's liberation. Some private women, like Laura, had concluded that it was more advantageous to keep the struggle privatized and for each woman to struggle individually (*cada una en cada casa*) than face public ridicule from men. Likewise, María, a public-private woman, when asked by her party comrades if she had anything to add from a woman's point of view, remained silent. She knew what the men considered as counting politically, and what to expect if she should raise women's problems in the home as a public issue. "*Me van a tirar al suelo*" (they'll just ride straight over me), she told me by way of explanation for her silence. The politicized men, then, did not have to exert too much control for women themselves acted to reproduce the men's definitions or to keep alternative viewpoints to themselves.

men and the private domain

Women's entry or re-entry into the public sphere, however limited, brought into the open a second contradiction which the men had to confront in exile. As Enrique remarked:-

"Some men permit their women to attend meetings but then don't share in the housework or child-care."

"Permitting" women to engage in a degree of political life brought into the open men's freedom from domestic work. As has been seen, this formed the core of the second set

¹ E. Zaretsky, op.cit., p.103.

of grievances which men had to address in exile. Demands for help in the home were most forcefully articulated by those public-private women in the integrated marriages whose resumption of work or study outside the home meant undertaking a 'double shift'. The variations in men's responses to women's requests for help in the home have been discussed in Chapter 5. Whilst some men resisted becoming more involved in the running of the home, others assumed a more active role and a few came to redefine their involvement as part of their political stance. The "*responsible militant*" was someone who lent a hand in the home, who fulfilled his commitments in the private as well as the public sphere, who was consistent in both his public and private behaviour.

However, the men's involvement with domestic labour did not lead to the revision of their political model. Men's helping in the home was condoned so long as it did not interfere with or displace their political engagements. The political parties continued to demand top priority in a (male) militant's life, above family commitments, above "capitalist" work schedules, etc. This was the "*politics first*" about which the privatized women complained so bitterly. When Jaime asked for a lightening of party duties in order to accommodate his enlarged domestic role, he was asked by his party if both he and his wife needed to have jobs. The political parties then continued to reproduce the sexual division of labour in the family, which left men free to assume the major political responsibilities whilst women shouldered most of the domestic burden.

revolution in the revolution?

The absence of a coherent and publicly articulated counterpart model by women meant that the politicized men were able to manage the "private crisis" within the confines of their own political model. This does not mean to say that male-female relations went unchanged in exile. As has been seen, they were shaken up a good

deal. In effect a new set of public norms came to shape relations between men and women in exile. Alejandro when asked about *machismo* within the political parties, replied:-

"It's very difficult to say because most political leaders publicly appear very open and broad-minded as far as women are concerned. They cover themselves very carefully even though they may hit their wives in private."

There was growing evidence that men had an idea of what they should be doing and saying as far as women were concerned. Not only was behaviour in the public sphere closely monitored in exile, so now was the men's behaviour towards women and the family in the private domain. Those men who refused to let their wives participate outside the home became the target of criticism from men as well as women. These men were regarded by other more enlightened men as being the "real machos", as forming "the ones who should be put against the wall", and as "maintaining feudal relations in the home". In this respect, the more frequent reference by men to their wives and other women as "*compañeras*" is but another example of men signalling distance - to both men and women - from a chauvinist stance. The Chilean exile community was not so fragmented as to allow no scope for public opinion to control behaviour. Laura spoke of the group life and the influence this exerted on behaviour:-

"You're not living out these experiences individually here but as part of a group. The group often publicly condemn machista behaviour in a joking way: saying, how can you treat your wife like that? Nobody wants to look bad in front of their friends so people feel pressurised into changing their behaviour."

Although men could still air the most chauvinist views, the fact that I generally came to hear these comments second-hand is also indicative of a shift in public opinion. Yet other men had been heard to say - somewhat tongue in cheek - "*tengo que pedirle permiso a la señora*" (I'll have to ask the wife's permission) before

going on to the pub after a meeting, reflecting their perceptions of a shift in the balance of power between the sexes.

Women's struggles in the home successfully shifted the terms of the gender order and changed the day to day relations between men and women. Chauvinism was muted, machismo disguised, more overt and public demonstrations of male power avoided. However, these changes reflected ad hoc responses and adjustments to a largely private and uncoordinated challenge from women. The theoretical core of the men's political model remained untouched. There was no "revolution in the revolution".¹ Rather than a penetration of the public-private distinction and a reconceptualization of the boundary of the political sphere to encompass the private domain, women continued to be regarded by men as "anomalies" or "defective" in some way for not fitting as neatly into the political framework as men. Rather than something being wrong with the political model, there was something wrong with women.

public malaise

Whilst the men's political model was adjusted, if not theoretically revised by women's struggles in the home, its grip over men themselves was loosening. Alongside this "private crisis" was a growing crisis in the Chilean political sphere in exile. This was reflected in the lower overall level of political activity as well as the increasing number of militants who drifted away from party work or who no longer felt represented by their parties in exile.

1. Stoltz Chinchilla coins this phrase to argue the need for a revolution in the Left's theorizing about the role of women in the revolution. N. Stoltz Chinchilla, "Mobilizing Women: Revolution in the Revolution", Latin American Perspectives, Issue 15, Vol.IV, No.4, Fall 1977.

The broad parameters of this wider "public crisis" are set by the passage of time and distance from Chilean events. As the anniversaries of the coup mounted, hopes for a short exile and a rapid return to Chile evaporated. The Junta, initially concerned with extinguishing the threat of "communism", was now seen to have a long-term project for the radical restructuring of Chilean society. The early apocalyptic analyses predicting the imminent downfall of the Junta now appeared as mere wishful thinking and the public vocabulary of optimism - although what many had wanted to hear - backfired when events did not turn out as forecast. Accompanying this was a certain loss of credibility in the political leadership. The political parties were regarded by some as "*distorting facts*", as providing "*slanted and partial analyses*". Party publications, once strongly defended, were now read with a degree of scepticism. One politicized man related his own distancing from the party in exile by the fact that:-

"Es que no han dado pruebas los partidos políticos de izquierda chilena de ser partidos que se adhieran a la verdad siempre. Por ejemplo, al principio contaban que Pinochet iba a caer de un día al otro y todo el mundo esperaba que cayera. Yo nunca lo creí. Siempre dije que dura más."

(The Chilean left-wing parties have not always given proof of being parties who adhere to the truth. For example, at the beginning they said that Pinochet was going to fall from one day to the next, and everybody expected him to fall. I never believed it. I always said that he would last longer.)

As the prospect of socialism receded to what many regarded as beyond their life-time, a note of pessimism crept into some politicized men's accounts. There was a new degree of demoralization as faith in the possibility - although not generally the desirability - of revolutionary change dimmed. As Cristián put it:-

"To think of a situation similar to Popular Unity arising again in the near future, to think of a revolution occurring in Chile,

is like thinking you can pluck a star from the sky."

The lack of a political opening in Chile had repercussions for what the political parties could offer in exile. Some militants got fed up with meeting after meeting (*reunismo*) at which little practical was accomplished. As the years went by, the gulf between the exterior and the interior widened as each side was being moulded by such different political and material circumstances. Whilst the exterior in exile had the freedom to discuss and organize openly - denied to the interior in Chile - the question of whether they could make an adequate political analysis of the Chilean situation from exile became increasingly debateable.

The unrestrained growth of theory in exile, untested against Chilean reality for fit, exacerbated ideological divisions within and between the different left-wing parties. Exile politics can still be understood with reference to the same dichotomy between "reformists" and "revolutionaries" which had emerged during the Popular Unity period in Chile. A large part of the "war of words" centred around the nature of the alliance which should be forged to combat the Junta. Whilst the "reformists" argued for the construction of a broad front which included the centrist Christian Democrats who had initially welcomed the coup, the "revolutionaries" stood for a narrower front and for a socialist revolution. These differences had repercussions for the solidarity movement in exile, with the "reformists" campaigning around the restoration of democracy in Chile and respect for human rights, and the "revolutionaries" waging a more overtly political campaign around distinctly socialist goals. After experiencing many fruitless and increasingly bitter debates, each side withdrew and dialogue was cut. Networks closed off and personal relations between opposing party members became increasingly strained. Common political work became impossible. Most politicized men thought that these divisions were not happening in Chile,

or at least not to the same extent. People in Chile, it was held, were "living in the real world". Cristián, a worker, commented:-

"I know the trade union movement in Chile and its organization is not lost. The Popular Unity parties, the Christian Democrats and the people not in parties will all be working together."

And Alejandro, from the middle sectors, thought that:-

"The reality in Chile is very different. People are constrained by the struggle for subsistence. All are working together. No one's thinking of the long-term strategy but of the day to day reality. Whilst exile politics is characterized by theory divorced from practice, in Chile the struggle is characterized by a practice devoid of theory."

The Left in Chile faced a situation which had drawn militants from different parties together. In exile, meanwhile the parties built global theoretical edifices, which solidified and became increasingly resistant to change. Whilst those in Chile had moved on, those in exile remained stuck in the same grooves.

The gulf between the exterior and the interior became evident whenever the two sides met. The sweeping declarations put out by the exterior were sometimes seen as irrelevant to the evolving situation in Chile by the interior. Given the staggered nature of arrivals - with several years lapsing between the first and the last - this gulf was also evident amongst the exiles themselves, making collective viewpoints difficult.¹ Whilst the

1 This gulf was also experienced on a personal level by those exiles who later returned to Chile. A report by a Chilean church body (FASIC) of those who have returned to Chile from exile makes the point that the difficulties which they experience on return arise not so much from political ignorance about events in Chile as from the fact that they have assimilated this information in an idealized or intellectualized manner. This knowledge did not form part of "lived experience" and therefore had to be re-absorbed in a new way on return to Chile. FASIC, "A socio-psychological study of 25 returning families (1980)", in WUS (b), op.cit. p.39.

early arrivals had only experienced the coup, later arrivals had experienced several years of life under the Junta's new vision of Chile. These late-comers sometimes brought pictures from Chile which did not fit those which had gelled in the minds of the early arrivals. Carlos, who did not arrive here until 1978 - almost five years after the coup - was shocked at the attitude of his fellow exiles:-

"No sé si temerían algo, no entiendo lo que pasó, pero se produjo una barrera entre nosotros. Cuando yo hablaba de las cosas, ellos me escuchaban a veces, pero después, poco a poco, me fui dando cuenta que eran otras posiciones que ellos planteaban y defendían. Al momento en que yo salí de Chile, yo dejé un pueblo muy golpeado y ese golpe había hecho que todo el mundo se une sin diferencias entre base. Hay una buena unidad en todas partes que es muy difícil que la gente en el exterior lo acepte. Tiene conceptos ya muy fijos, ideas fijas, que no quiere otra concepción. Pero hay situaciones nuevas en el pueblo chileno, sobre todo en la unidad en la base, que no reconocen los partidos en el exilio."

(I don't know if they feared something. I don't really understand what happened but a barrier came between us and when I spoke they sometimes listened, sometimes not. Little by little I realized that they defended other positions to the ones I brought. When I came out of Chile I left behind a beaten people, and that beating had made everyone unite without differences between the base. There is a high degree of unity everywhere which is very difficult for the people in the exterior to accept. They have very fixed concepts, fixed ideas and they don't want to hear other viewpoints. But there are new situations in the Chilean people, especially in the unity of the base, which the parties in exile don't recognize.)

In particular Carlos's more open attitude towards the Christian Democrats and the Church were often shot down. Carlos felt himself branded - if not a counter-revolutionary - a reformist or conciliator. *"Ah, la Junta lo hizo cambiar"*, (Ah, the Junta's made him change), they seemed to be thinking. Whilst others, who underwent similar experiences on arrival, were resocialized back into the party line, Carlos remained aloof and restricted his involvement

to the Chilean trade union movement in exile and the Church.

Ideological divisions between the parties in exile increasingly conflicted with a growing desire on the part of many rank and file party members for political unity. Some workers laid the blame for these divisions at the feet of the intellectuals or a few "ideological trouble-makers" or "hotheads" whose personal position depended upon the maintenance of a distinct political organization. The strength of these ideological differences and the way in which they prevented common political work was a major factor in the widespread malaise. Worst of all, in many of the politicized actors' eyes were the damaging effect which these divisions had on the solidarity campaign. Raúl commented on the demoralizing effect of the divisions in the following terms:-

"There's no reason to be disunited because the type of action we can undertake in exile is so limited anyway. Disunity has a negative effect on the solidarity campaign and on British sympathizers who get fed up and feel it's not worth continuing."

This lack of speaking with one voice tormented Cristián and was a point to which he returned again and again in his account. In his view, just as the left had squandered the Popular Unity process, so the exiles had squandered the opportunity to sustain an effective campaign in exile, a fact which only served to heighten their sense of failure. Cristián lamented that:-

"After five years in exile, there's still no common organization. People are still pre-occupied with arguing about who was more revolutionary than whom, who committed more errors, who was right. We missed the opportunity to exploit the situation when Chile was making world headlines. We've lost people's interest."

The passing of the years since the coup also brought problems for sustaining the solidarity campaign abroad. Compared to the early years of exile, when there had been a certain effervescence, the campaign began to lose

dynamism. The political arena, which had been small from the start, began to shrink even further. Even the annual marking of the anniversary of the coup became vulnerable. Furthermore, events worldwide presented a gloomy international panorama. The election of a conservative government in Britain, who renewed diplomatic relations with Chile and wound down the funding for the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America and for the WUS Chile programme, meant that the British public sphere became even less favourable for the Chileans' cause. Moreover, Ronald Reagan's presidency in the USA and the spread of monetarist doctrines in the advanced capitalist world gave ideological vigour and respectability to the Pinochet regime, pursuing these policies in Chile. Right wing political commentators now specifically referred to the "Chilean model" and to point to certain economic "successes" which the Junta's ruthless adoption of monetarism had brought.

The short-term code of conduct propagated by the political parties was increasingly strained by the growing number of longer-term decisions which the exiles confronted. Some bought houses, others married British people, children became more firmly integrated into the educational system. Roots began to grow a little deeper with the realization that one could not live out of a suitcase for ever. These longer-term decisions raised new questions for the politicized actors' relationship to this society. Many politicized men voiced concern that politics was no longer holding the central place in a militant's life that it had once held in Chile, that people were forgetting their commitment to those who remained in Chile. In short, many men feared that their "anchor role" had been displaced.

Exile was regarded by most politicized men as having placed a new test on political commitments and one which not all passed. It was seen as separating out the chaff from the seed, the "pure" from the "impure". The ease with which some were regarded as having abandoned their political stance came as a shock to many. Exile was seen

to reveal people, to show that their ideals had not been firmly entrenched, and that they had only joined the Popular Unity parties "passively" when the going was easy. Cristián thought that many:-

"were opportunists and this is what shocks you in exile. Everybody is just out for himself (cada uno arregla sus bigotes). There's no collective effort to put down the Junta."

The degree of political drift in exile proved to some that the forces of privatization at work in this "consumer society" had won out. Many were held to be speaking with a new private tongue and engaging in a new form of private behaviour. Criticism crystallized around the issue of car ownership. Cars are much more of a status symbol in Chile as only a small percentage of the population can afford to own one.¹ They are well out of the reach of manual workers as well as many white-collar workers.

The car's great^{er} accessibility in exile, by destabilizing former living standards, was seen as raising aspirations. To some, its purchase signified the transformation of the exile into the migrant. As Cristián put it:-

"We have been here for five years and none of us can expect to be living in the same conditions as when we arrived. But these things produce a disequilibrium in exile. It's the fact that we are thinking in terms of private consumption and not working for Chile which makes the car stand for all that is rotten in exile."

People were seen to be expending energy towards private goals rather than in struggling to overthrow the Junta. They were seen to have become ensnared by the capitalist machine, lured by the bait of a car and a colour television set. Equally worrying to many of the men was the way in

¹ Chilean "household expenditure data show that the wealthiest 5 per cent of the population, which earned more than eight times the minimum wage, purchased more than 75 per cent of all automobiles sold in 1969. It is clear that the private car remains a luxury consumption item in most cases and, therefore, satisfies the demands of a narrow, privileged class." D. Barkin, "Automobiles and the Chilean Road to Socialism", in D.L. Johnson, ed., op.cit., p.515.

which this image of the exile had filtered back to those who remained in Chile. Letters received from comrades in Chile spoke of the exiles as "*tourists*", as enjoying the good time in Europe, whilst those who had remained behind sweated and slaved.

Without a strong set of alternative definitions to hold onto, the fear was that this "*luxury could absorb our reality*". However, the carrier of the men's political consciousness - the party - was in crisis. As time passed, divisions went beyond the ideological and began to erode personal relations between members of the same party. Within the small world of exile politics and amongst relations which were already fragile, tensions could easily arise. Charges of "*fllojo*" (lazy), "*irresponsable*" (irresponsible) and "*marihuanero*" (hippy) were bandied around. Eventually party life failed to provide even the minimal rewards of warmth and comradeship which many had hoped for. Whilst women were unable to construct a collective biography in exile, the men's collective voice - once so strong - became increasingly fragmented. More and more of the politicized men's accounts fell into the first person, rather than the collective "we", and an increasing number came to voice individual criticism and complaint of the party organization. Whilst some made a definite break from party life, others slowly drifted away and yet others remained inside, fearful of the vacuum in their lives its loss would entail.

public-private crisis

This crisis in the exiles' public and private networks - in both the family and the party - brought a high cost for the individual.¹ Personal breakdowns were common; yet the political parties held personal life to be outside their sphere of jurisdiction. They did not

¹ A list of complaints includes feelings of insecurity, anxiety, fear of solitude, apathy, withdrawal, fatigue and feelings of inadequacy, adding up to a total loss
(contd. over)

regard themselves as here to resolve individual crises but to confront crises and contradictions in society at large. The political parties specifically disassociated themselves from the role of "social worker" or "therapist". This failure to politicize personal life not only omitted much of women's experiences from the agenda - as has been seen - but also bracketed many of the problems which were troubling the men in exile. Jaime, who had brought up his difficulties of coping with increased family responsibilities and political tasks, at a party meeting, related how:-

"You can say these things to friends outside the party structure but once in a meeting your message is lost. Individual party members will know what you are talking about but the party as a whole won't. Once in a meeting, the party takes over and forgets each and every individual in the meeting. Everything is discussed in the name of "the party". When you are addressed as "compañero", it is not as you yourself, as an individual, but as part of the party. Declarations are made - "the party" thinks this or that. It is forgotten that each and every one of us individually is part of the party."

The political parties came to be experienced by some militants as depersonalizing bodies which acted over and above the individual. The public rhetoric of optimism masked a great deal of private anguish, anxiety and despair. However, these private doubts were marginalized by the parties as demobilizing, apolitical or as reflecting petty bourgeois or individualist indulgences. Personal crises were labelled and dismissed as "*deformaciones síquicas*" (psychic deformations) or "*desviaciones burguesas*"

(contd. from previous page)

of self-esteem, WUS (a), op.cit., p.1. These symptoms were generally aggravated in the case of those who had been imprisoned and tortured in Chile. COLAT, (b), "Los problemas psíquicos provocados por la tortura en los refugiados chilenos y latinoamericanos", paper presented to the VI Congreso Médico Internacional de la Federación Internacional de Resistentes, Prague, November 1976.

(bourgeois deviations). These psychological symptoms were regarded as reflecting low levels of political consciousness and revolutionary commitment and their solution thereby to lie in a renewed dedication to the cause by a greater immersion in political work. Their appearance did not lead to any revision of the political agenda. Nevertheless, given the magnitude of personal problems in exile - including several attempted suicides - "private" problems kept breaking through the surface of party life. When this occurred, they were dealt with on the fringe of the party meeting, outside the official order of business.

The parties' neglect of the personal meant that the interview filled an important gap. Two men volunteered that it had enabled them to get certain things off their chest which they had not found the opportunity to relate elsewhere, or which had been dealt with unsympathetically. More generally, however, the pieces were picked up by the Joint Working Group social worker and by the British medical profession. Going to a British doctor, however, rarely proved satisfactory not only because of language difficulties but also because the specific social and political context of the complaint was not always appreciated. The exiles' diffuse feelings of malaise and general ill-being rarely led to more than a prescription for tranquillizers.

Recently there has been an attempt by Chilean exiles in London, who belong to the medical profession, to intervene in the treatment of psychiatric problems arising amongst the exile community. This group provides individual psychological therapy as well as engaging in preventive work. Whilst not readily accessible to the exile community in Scotland, their work has initiated a public debate on this issue of mental health in exile.¹ However,

¹ WUS has organized two seminars relating to the work of the health group in exile. The papers from these seminars have been published in WUS,(a), op.cit., and WUS,(b), op.cit.

there is a danger of a split form of analysis developing, with the political parties working at the level of structures and "political" issues and the health workers at the level of the individual subject drawing upon a clinical model and a psychopathology of exile.¹ The danger of divorcing the "medical model" from the "political model" is one which some of the Chilean health workers are aware of:-²

"One feature which has emerged from this combination of therapeutic and preventive activities is the disassociation which still exists between technical and political concerns. The political parties must share some degree of responsibility for this situation because they have not always acted in such a way as to facilitate the confluence of technical and political criteria which is the only positive model for future activities."

In summary, the political parties' distance from events in Chile, their neglect of personal life and of problems arising out of the exile situation itself, meant that they increasingly responded neither to the reality in Chile nor to the reality in exile.³ The drift away from the political parties in exile served to show that a growing number of political militants no

¹ This contrasts with the work of COLAT (Colectivo Latinoamericano de Trabajo Psico-Social) in Belgium who have attempted to use the personal crisis in exile to extend the political agenda by reflecting on and confronting the contradictions of personal relations and everyday life, such as *machismo* in male-female relationships, authoritarian parent-child relations, and hierarchical political practices. COLAT, "The Latin American Social Work Collective of Belgium: Towards a libertarian therapy for Latin American Exiles (1980), in WUS, (b), op.cit., pp. 10-13.

² WUS,(a), op.cit. p.1.

³ The absence of a policy on exile is also regarded as a contributory factor in the drift away from the party by Chilean exiles in France. E. Neves and A. Vásquez, "La Militancia Política y los Exiliados", in Chile-América, Nos. 76-77, Jan-Mar. 1982, p.55.

longer found the party structure, as presently conceived, meaningful for their lives in exile. The attempt to reconstruct the political sphere along similar lines to what the politicized actors had known in Chile, had faltered. There was seen to be a need by some politicized men for a degree of innovating politics, which broke out of established ways of thinking and organizing.

a new public sphere?

In order to halt the slow slide into total disintegration in exile, a small group of men from different political parties and class backgrounds, came together to search for new ways of involving people. They drew upon the commonly held, but often partly suppressed view, that the old ways of organizing had acted to divide people and in the end had served to dampen rather than facilitate participation. In the process, personal relations had suffered. There was seen to be an urgent need to rebuild friendship, trust and confidence between members of the exile community, before the "community" disappeared altogether.

One event, in particular, had served to show that where people felt action to be meaningful and worthwhile they would turn out. The Hunger Strike of May 1978, begun in Chile by relatives of the "disappeared", had triggered off solidarity strikes in many countries of exile. It was an important event not only because it linked the interior and exterior in united action but also because it was one of the few practical actions in exile where all political parties collaborated. The Hunger Strike, as experienced by this exile community, served to break down barriers between different party members and to loosen personal relations. It often came as a surprise to find that members of rival parties were "approachable". Networks had closed off to such an extent that the men were left with an image of their political opponents as totally intransigent and inflexible. However, a subsequent attempt to build upon this rapprochement,

by the formation of *comités de chilenos* (committees of Chileans), which grouped together the exiles by geographical area irrespective of party affiliation, once again foundered on the rock of sectarian difference.

Now a small group took the independent initiative in trying to revive this form of organization whose initial idea had aroused widespread enthusiasm and support. This fresh impetus was seen to reflect the desires not only of many exiles but also, and most importantly, of those comrades back in Chile. In accounting for its revival, one of the founders related how two Chilean men, recently arrived from Chile, had come to his house asking that we organize and do something for the Chilean people. "*No nos pidieron grandes cosas sino que nos organizáramos y todos estuvimos de acuerdo.*" (They didn't ask for anything grand but simply that we get together and sink our differences).

As compared to the early emphasis on leadership and party discipline, the aim was to build up something different from below. The accent was to be placed on democracy and autonomy. The new group held that "*the responsibility for building something better rests on each and everyone of us*", and stressed that everyone's opinion was equally important. By explicitly emphasising their economic and ideological independence from all organizations, the group hoped to involve those without party labels, such as many women and (male) members of the armed forces in exile, as well as re-involve those who no longer felt represented by their parties in exile.

Given their long-standing commitment to, and socialization into, a party framework, this attempt to dismantle a party structure carried particular significance for the politicized men. "*Nos desorganizamos*" (we de-organized), as one of its founders put it. The absence of a party line and the loss of the party mantle meant that individuals stood more nakedly with their views and opinions. This was seen in the difficulty which the group experienced

when electing representatives to attend meetings in London or elsewhere. "But I don't represent anybody", the men would say. Stripped of party labels, attention was focused on personal standing and reputations within the exile community.

Political solidarity continued to be one of the group's objectives. Indeed the scope of solidarity was broadened to include not only the Chilean cause but the struggles of all Latin American peoples, and particularly at the present time with the people of Central America. By extending the scope of political support, some politicized men were explicitly trying to break down a tendency towards political chauvinism on the part of the Chilean left. This broadened focus was also propelled by the arrival of exiles from other Latin American countries which had fallen under military rule, notably Argentina, and the Joint Working Group extended its terms of reference to include "refugees from Latin America".

Whilst maintaining an outward gaze, the exclusively outward look of the early years was abandoned in favour of a degree of introspection. The group aimed to generate a discussion about the problems arising from the exile situation itself; problems which the political parties had largely bracketed by their emphasis on political events in Chile. With the aim of initiating such a discussion, the group circulated a newsheet, "*Las Copuchas de la Hora*", (the Gossip of the Day) in the hope of creating an open forum for the airing of opinions, ideas and suggestions.

The central core of the group - the glue which bound them together - was seen as lying in their common cultural heritage as Latin Americans. Issues which had initially been neglected - language, customs, and friendship - now came to be seen as providing the key to survival in exile and salvation from "*el monstruo de la alienación dentro del sistema británico*" (the monster of alienation within the British system). One pre-existing activity - a

football club - had played some part in reducing political tensions amongst the men and in building up what one member referred to as "*una fraternidad deportiva*" (a sports fraternity). The football team had developed a strong esprit de corps and, by entering the local league, members were able to engage in some informal political dialogue with their Scots competitors, curious as to their background. However, this was an activity confined to men, and to men fit enough or keen enough on the game.

This attempt to re-affirm cultural roots in exile reflected a change in the relationship between the politicized exiles and their homeland. In the early years of exile, the link had been an overtly political one, mediated by the party. As time passed, however, and political bonds weakened, Chile came to symbolize more than a political goal and to stand for a set of emotions which are rarely transferable to other settings. The exiles' hunger for sights and sounds Chilean, for landscape and people, for *cóndor*, *copihue* and *cordillera*, transcended the narrowly political and reflected a deep-seated sense of cultural deprivation and impoverishment in exile.¹

This task of cultural reaffirmation in exile, seen as important in sustaining the identity of adults, was regarded as even more important in the case of the young. The children's rapid absorption into British society transformed "things Chilean" into quaint and strange customs, which set them apart from their Scottish friends. This "loss" of one's children through their socialization into another cultural universe came to be regarded by both the politicized and privatized actors as one of the high costs of exile. Passing on "the culture" to the young, then, formed one of the central preoccupations of the new

¹ *Cóndor* is the Chilean national bird; *copihue*, the national flower; and the *cordillera*, in this case, refers to the Andean mountain range whose backbone forms the eastern boundary of the long, narrow strip of Chilean territory.

group. The intention was to create spaces where children could hear the Spanish language beyond the immediate family circle and feel part of an alternative and living Latin American community. A "children's day of action" served to highlight the dimensions of the problem, particularly the children's loss of competence in the Spanish language. The group envisaged themselves as playing an educative role, by rescuing Chilean folklore, dance and song from "extinction" in exile, with the longer-term aim of forming a Latin American school.

Within this new public sphere, however, men continued to play the leading roles - the planners and organizers were all men. The men did make an effort to incorporate women into the new organization, by extending a "special invitation" to the *compañeras*. However, it was still men who were doing the inviting. As the men's party politics collapsed, activities which they might once have dismissed as "women's issues" or deemed appropriate for a specifically female public sphere, came to form the central concern of men. In exile, the socialization of children acquired a self-consciousness and a political significance which it lacked before. Indeed, in a rather neat inversion of the men's customary perception of the "important" issues, at the political meeting where some women withdrew to play games with children in an adjoining room, one man stood up to say that perhaps the most important business was taking place not here in the "men's room" but next door in the "women's room", where the children were playing Chilean games. Although this point was not taken up at the time, it now came to form the focus of the new group. Rather than women entering the "men's politics" in the public domain, the men increasingly colonized what had been considered until then to be "women's issues" in the private domain, by centring their activities around the young.

As part of this general process of revitalizing the

exile community, there was another attempt by women to revive the women's group. An appeal was launched through the newsheet "*Copuchas*", in a page given over to women. This second appeal to women was cast very broadly in terms of the discrimination suffered by women the world over and of the general movement of women everywhere to struggle for their rights (vote, jobs, equal pay, birth control). More specifically, the woman author reminded women of the role which Chilean women had played during the Popular Unity period, notably in the food supply committees, of the role currently being played by women in Chile over the disappeared prisoners, and of the role which women in exile had once played, making handicrafts and raising money to send to the under-nourished children in Chile. In accounting for the disbanding of the women's group, the writer singled out the problems of distance arising from the geographical scattering of the exile community and the economic costs of renting a central meeting place. Given that this latter problem had now been solve^d with the provision of a Church hall, it was hoped that Chilean women could come together once again to combat their main problem in exile - identified as that of isolation. However, there was no clear indication of how this new organization would differ from the previous attempt, nor despite the initial reference to discrimination was there any clear commitment to sexual politics. Indeed, the kind of activity specified in the circular - that of bringing children to folklore classes - whilst providing women with an opportunity to come together did not seem clearly differentiated from the men's newfound interest in this area. The appeal largely passed unnoticed, and the women's section disappeared from the following number of *Copuchas*.

At the time of writing the attempt to create a new public sphere remains formative. Appeals for collaboration were often poorly received. Although specific activities such as the Children's Day, were well attended,

these events remained one-off and the group found it difficult to sustain a dynamic. For some, the initiative had come too late. They had disengaged from any organized activity and looked to individual solutions to their problems. At the same time, the exile community was undergoing change and shrinking in size. Some members moved down to London in search of a more active political and social life, whilst a trickle made their way back to Chile or to other Latin American countries. The tension involved in setting up an exile organization and maintaining a commitment to return also militated against its cementing.

In summary, whilst the men's political divisions were beginning to be bridged in exile, gender divisions have yet to be bridged or fundamentally addressed. The public-private distinction remains only partially penetrated. Men increasingly showed concern for women but continued to occupy the leadership positions and to dominate in policy-making, even on such matters as children's socialization. Women, themselves, continued to lack an alternative agenda and to play a subordinate role in this new public sphere. Putting gender onto the political agenda remains a task for the future.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

This final chapter aims to locate this study in a number of different ways: firstly, in terms of the wider theoretical debate on the public and private distinction, and on gender and class; secondly, in terms of the exile literature as a whole; thirdly, and more specifically, within the context of the Chilean exile in general.

public-private distinction

In this study the public-private distinction has been analysed as a powerful classifier and framer of social reality. In particular, the power of this distinction in classifying issues as "public issues" (politics) or "private troubles" (non-politics); in classifying activities as public labour (work) or private labour (non-work) and in assigning actors into the public sphere (men) and the private sphere (women), has been examined. Whilst bearing in mind the force of the critique of this distinction as false and ideological, I have argued that it must be retained as an actor's category, for this distinction not only informs everyday life but also structures political consciousness and action.

Part of the explanation for the tenacity of the public-private distinction lies in the way it has been able to pass off a set of "non necessary institutional arrangements" as "natural", "biological" and "universal". However,

¹ M.Z. Rosaldo, "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding", Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5, (3), Spring 1980.

rather than a fixed and immutable set of categories, the public-private distinction is the subject of historical and cross cultural variation. The classification of issues, activities and actors as public or private varies both over time in any one society, and across time between societies. For this reason, the public-private distinction needs to be given dynamic treatment and the differentiation of public and private spheres to be conceptualized as a shifting terrain, capable of reclassification. Not only do the shape and content of the public and private spheres change, but in so doing they are brought into new relationships through a shift in the boundary demarcating public from private. These public-private shifts may be the result of long-term historical changes in the development of capitalism or, as in this case, the result of a relatively concentrated period of accelerated social change.

Particular constructions of the public-private distinction - how activities and issues are classified, where actors are located - are not the result of an arbitrary or ad hoc division but reflect a set of power arrangements between social groups. The ability to set, police and enforce the public-private boundary reflects the superior power capability of the dominant group in society. Where this group enjoys cultural hegemony, the dominant set of public-private frames will largely set the horizon of the thought and action of subordinate groups so that trespassing is infrequent. However, dominant definitions never go completely uncontested. The boundary between public and private spheres may be the focus of ideological skirmishes between subordinate groups attempting to reclassify issues, activities or personnel and the dominant group attempting to recuperate lost ground by defusing, co-opting or suppressing the challenge. In this case there is a constant process of negotiation around the public-private boundary.

In revolutionary situations, this "boundary struggle" acquires the dimensions of warfare. Where there is a "specific ruptural response" by the subordinate group,

the public-private distinction will be penetrated and previously "non-political" spheres will be politicized, with implications for the position and status of women in society.¹ Where this challenge is unsuccessful, the old dominant group may act to reinstate the public-private distinction by force and suspend negotiations. In this case, "boundary violations" will be dealt with by imprisonment, torture and exile.

The public-private distinction in this study has been analysed not only as classifying and framing gender experience, but also as classifying and framing class experience. Furthermore, these two uses are inter-related. Gender distinctions arising out of the sexual division of labour in the private sphere, have been organized into the public sphere, structuring an economic division of labour within the waged labour force, as well as a political sexual division of labour within the formal political sphere. Where class movements have incorporated this distinction into their own political organizations, by reproducing dominant definitions of "public" and "private" issues, this distinction has served to fragment class challenge by restricting political opposition to one side of the public-private totality. The inter-connections between class and gender divisions point to the weakness of a class movement which does not simultaneously and systematically address gender divisions and to a gender movement which is not informed by class. The gender use only - from which this framework has largely developed - fails to capture the full power and force of this distinction in securing both a gender and class order. The public-private framework needs to be developed to include this dual and inter-related dimension.

¹ This analysis owes much to an article by J. Clarke, et al., who differentiate the responses of different class-based sub-cultures to the dominant "civic-private" distinction by the degree of challenge which they pose. J. Clarke, S. Hall, T. Jefferson, B. Roberts, "Sub-cultures, Cultures and Class", in S. Hall and T. Jefferson, eds., Resistance through Rituals, Youth sub-cultures in post-war Britain, Hutchinson, London, 1978.

the Chilean case

The Chilean case under study not only exemplifies the use made of the public-private distinction by different class-based political movements (Popular Unity and the military Junta), but also the interconnections of class and gender uses. The Chilean case provides an important historical reminder of the weakness of a political challenge which is limited to, or gives priority to, one side of the public-private totality and highlights the need for a theory which relates public and private spheres to the total framework of social relations in capitalist society.

As has been seen, whilst Popular Unity had a vision of an alternative public sphere, alternative definitions of the private sphere were not systematically developed and any new role for women in society remained ill-defined. The absence of a coherent project for the private sphere reflected the emphasis given to transforming relations of production in the public sphere. This one-sided focus, however, meant that Popular Unity lacked a vocabulary for talking to women in the private sphere and that, consequently, the struggle was on far less favourable terms here than in the public sphere where Popular Unity enjoyed organized mass support. Indeed it is plausible to argue that bourgeois definitions of the private sphere remained dominant during the Popular Unity period.

As the bourgeoisie perceived its control of the public sphere to be increasingly undermined by Popular Unity, it drew upon its privileged rapport with women in the private sphere to regain control of the public domain. The bourgeoisie, then, turned the mobilization of women into an important plank of their counter-revolutionary strategy. The Chilean case highlights the way in which the bourgeoisie, rather than a revolutionary movement, may at certain decisive junctures, politicize the private domain. In this case, the bourgeoisie penetrated the inter-connectedness of the public and private spheres and the role which the

privatized family plays in the maintenance of a class order. Once the political challenge had been suppressed, the public-private distinction was re-enforced with increased rigidity and private life was depoliticized.

This marginalization of gender divisions by the left in Chile meant that male-female relations were carried into exile largely unexamined. It was in exile that the public-private distinction began to be penetrated by women and the boundary between public and private spheres came to be the focus of re-examination and struggle.

exile literature

Exile, as the movement of people from one society to another, forms part of the general phenomenon of international migration. Typologies of migration have generally divided these movements into two groups: "free" or "voluntary" migration, motivated largely by economic considerations, and "forced" or "impelled" migration, propelled by such factors as political or religious persecution.¹ Exile clearly falls into the latter category. However, this has received less attention in the migration literature which is dominated by the former, economic model.

Once migrated, the focus of much literature on refugees and exiles has been on the process of their assimilation or integration into the host society. Analysts have attempted to measure the degree of assimilation and to identify variables working for or against integration in order to evaluate how far the refugee or exile has succeeded or failed in this endeavour.² This ethnocentric bias

¹ J.A. Jackson, ed., Migration, Cambridge University Press, 1969; C.J. Jansen, ed., Readings in the Sociology of Migration, Pergamon Press, 1970; W. Petersen, "A general typology of migration", American Sociological Review, Vol.23, 1958.

² Two such examples are: E. Rogg, "The Influence of a Strong Refugee Community on the Economic Adjustment of Its Members", International Migration Review, No. 4, Winter 1971; (contd. over)

ignores the question of whether this set of relevances accords with actors' definitions of the situation or not. In the case of the politicized actors in my sample, the "problem of exile" is not one of assimilation into the host society, but rather one of how to get by in this society whilst maintaining one's political commitment and cultural identity as Latin Americans intact. At the most, a very selective kind of integration is desired. COLAT - the Latin American social work collective based in Belgium - speak of a form of "critical integration", whereby the exile maintains "a Latin American socio-cultural identity but at the same time look(s) for points of contact with European people, in such a way that the exiles can contribute their experiences and accept critically the contributions which the Europeans can make".¹

Where an actor's perspective has been adopted, certain categories of actor have been singled out for preferential attention, whilst others have been largely overlooked. In particular, few studies of exile have incorporated a gender dimension into their analysis. P.W. Fagen, in her study of Spanish Republican refugees in Mexico, differentiates her sample by age, political affiliation, regional origin and economic activity but makes no mention of gender.² Her study largely takes the paradigm case of a male, middle class, educated refugee. (Of the 65 refugees interviewed only 5 are women.) Likewise, R.R. Fagen, Brody and O'Leary differentiate their sample of Cuban exiles by education, occupation and political biography but omit gender.³ Fox, in an interesting account of the part which the politiciz-

(contd. from previous page)

A. Portes, "Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee", American Sociological Review, Vol.34, No.4, 1969.

1 WUS, (b), op.cit., p.11.

2 P.W. Fagen, op.cit.

3 R.R. Fagen, R.A. Brody, T.J. O'Leary, Cubans in Exile, Stanford University Press, 1968.

ation of gender roles played in the decision of a group of male workers to abandon the Cuban Revolution, failed to interview any women - an omission which he himself came to regret, though did not think to question at the time.¹ Memórias do Exílio, which presents life-histories of Brazilians in exile, includes only a handful of women informants, an imbalance which the editors hope to make good in a future volume dedicate exclusively to women's experiences in exile.²

Turning to the Chilean exile, where much of the literature has been written by Chilean intellectuals themselves in exile, gender is also noticeable by its absence. The early work of COLAT speaks in terms of "el sujeto" (the subject) and implicitly takes the stance of the male political militant.³ Muñoz, in her study of the socio-psychological symptoms of Chilean exiles in Britain, adopts the generic term "exiles", and has no discussion of how this psychological reality or the "bereavement syndrome" which she identified may be differentiated for men and women.⁴ Henfrey and Sorj, who interviewed Chileans in exile in Britain about the Popular Unity period, record solely the voices of political activists, working on organized mass fronts in the public domain - six out of the seven activists interviewed being men.⁵ If women's viewpoints in general have been neglected, certain categories of women - such as the privatized women included here - have fared worst of all.

This study, by contrast, has emphasised the importance of differentiating historical experience by category of social actor. Failure to do so not only entails costs

¹ G.E. Fox, "Honor, Shame and Women's Liberation in Cuba: Views of Working-Class Émigré Men", in A. Pescatello, ed., op.cit.

² P.C. Uchôa and J. Ramos, eds., op.cit.

³ COLAT, (a), op.cit.

⁴ L. Muñoz, in WUS, (b), op.cit.

⁵ C. Henfrey and B. Sorj, eds., op.cit.

for the analyst, in the form of a partial and distorted account of the exile experience, but also has costs for the actors themselves. The neglect of a gender dimension means that the differential costs of exile remain hidden or are only perceived by actors after a good deal of pain and suffering has been endured. It was not until the upheavals in the home reached "crisis proportions" that the absence of a gender perspective began to be noted. WUS, in the introduction to the second seminar on mental health held under their auspices in May 1981, note the absence of a gender dimension amongst the (mainly Chilean) contributors, and call for further reflection and separate studies on the situation of women "whose problems of adaptation to exile and to return seem particularly acute".¹ Silva-Labarca's study of Chilean women exiles in France and Belgium - of which more later - is one example of the growing interest in a gender analysis amongst Chilean women social scientists in exile.²

gender dimension in the analysis of exile

Where gender is taken into account, as in this study, the findings show that whilst all categories of social actor experienced deprivation in exile, this took different forms. For the politicized men, deprivation centred around the loss of a valued public role. This loss pre-dated exile proper, beginning in Chile with the coup, where the men - stripped of power, status and rights - had already experienced an "internal exile" in their own country. The political defeat of a group of actors, who had actively intervened in a historical process and had been potentially

¹ WUS, (b), op.cit., p.4.

² M. Silva-Labarca, "Mujeres Chilenas Exiliadas: Procesos de Transformación Ideológica y de Comportamiento", Chile-América, Nos. 74-75, Oct/Dec. 1981, pp. 39-48.

poised to seize power, reveals the full force and drama of exile for this group. The men's loss of a history-making role was not shared by the privatized women, excluded from the public stage of history in Chile. In this case, deprivation focused on their removal from the extended family and from a set of personal and intimate ties. These different expressions of loss received unequal attention in exile. Whilst the politicized men were on the receiving end of much public sympathy and their plight formed the subject of an international solidarity campaign, the privatized women's loss often went publicly unregistered, expressed only through the women's private weeping in the home.

At the same time, the inclusion of a gender dimension reveals the differential capacity of categories of social actor to rebuild their networks in exile. Whatever, the specific context of migration, it is likely that men with their political and economic ties, their access to and freedom of movement in public places, will be in a better position than many women to rebuild their networks in an alien context. In this case, the politicized men had a structure and framework for reconstructing their political networks in exile. The privatized women, meanwhile, could not reconstruct their private networks in exile - defined as they were by blood ties - and yet lacked the means and experience to construct alternative public forms of sociability. They remained increasingly lonely and isolated in the home. Likewise, the public-private women were initially unable to reconstruct their foothold in both the public and private spheres and were forced back into the home by what had been until exile an unquestioned sexual division of labour in the family.

These initially high costs of exile for both groups of women enable the ensuing gender struggle to be placed in context. Stripped of their respective support structures in the home, exile not only increased women's experiences

of subordination in the home and marriage but also brought into focus men's privileged access to public activities. These initially high costs of exile for women pierced taken for granted notions of men's and women's place and led to a power struggle between men and women to renegotiate the terms of the gender order. One of the important changes which took place in exile was a major shift in women's experience of male domination. In this respect, it is highly significant that the word "machismo" has been firmly incorporated into the women's vocabulary.

Exile, by disarticulating the public and private spheres and bringing them into a new and more problematic relationship, opened up male-female relations to re-examination and shook a whole way of talking about gender relations in terms of complementarity or coincidence. This leads to the surprising conclusion that gender roles have been disturbed more by exile to an advanced capitalist society - though not primarily through the impact of the host society - than during a period of "socialist" experimentation.

Yet if exile gave rise to the conditions for an emerging gender consciousness, this study has also shown the resilience of gender distinctions against pressures to change. Indeed, a large part of this study has documented the non-appearance of a coherent and publicly articulated counterpart model which penetrated the public-private distinction. This finding confirms much of what has been written about the strength and depth of gender socialization and of the discomfort experienced when gender norms are violated.¹ Many authors have pointed to the fact that challenges to the gender order are few and far between and to the difficulties which the subordinate gender experiences in mounting a full-blown challenge,

¹ M. Barrett, *op.cit.*, pp.110-111; M. Stacey and M. Price, *op.cit.*, p.8.

which would bring the whole power structure into question. Even where gender role change has been actively promoted by the revolutionary party, as in China, this was experienced by the Chinese to be one of the most difficult areas to change.¹ Rowbotham has pointed to the difficult and complex aspect of the gender struggle, whereby the mutual sexuality of men and women means that "very often the two love one another".² Indeed, some women in the sample may have been hesitant to challenge men at a time of political defeat and personal demoralization through the devaluation of their public status.

Yet other authors have examined the factors keeping women divided as well as those uniting them.³ Whilst Chilean women in exile were becoming gender conscious, their collective identity as women remained weak and any notions of shared female experience were clearly class-restricted. The two groups of women (public-private and private) were drawn from different class sectors, had different objectives and different experiences of oppression. Both groups of women, however, sought their objectives through a process of private negotiation with men in individual households, rather than through the construction of female solidarity groups.

In some respects the private women appeared the more verbally oppositional of the two. As has been seen, they were subject to a much cruder version of "machismo" from working-class men, had less room for manoeuvre and fewer opportunities for letting off steam - the interview being one. Furthermore these women had a counterpart model, albeit a muted one, to the men's dominant model. However, this muted counterpart model, rather than penetrating the

¹ E. Croll, The Politics of Marriage in Contemporary China, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

² S. Rowbotham, Woman's Consciousness, Man's World, Penguin, 1973, pp. 34-5.

³ P. Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., op.cit.

public-private distinction, drew its very strength from gender differences and from the differentiation of public and private domains. As has been seen, the women's private offensive was aimed at re-asserting the status of their private domain vis a vis the men's public world. In its one-sided focus on the private sphere, however, this muted counterpart model remained as partial as the men's dominant model with its exclusive focus on the public domain.

Having one's own domain could be perceived by the private women as carrying certain advantages for women, compared to the ambivalent position of the public-private women straddling both the public and private spheres and without fully belonging to either. Partly for this reason, a new analysis of the public and private spheres, which penetrates these seemingly separate spheres as part of a single process, is more likely to emerge from the public-private women, whose very lives bridge this gulf. The construction of such a counterpart model, however, presented special problems for the uneasily politicized amongst the public-private women. Unlike the privatized women, who clearly differentiated their goals from the men's socialist stance and class politics, the uneasily politicized women were conceptually entangled with the men's political definitions, and participants in the dominant model. Those women who were party members or sympathetic to socialist goals potentially faced the difficult and inter-related task of struggling with men to overcome class domination and against men to overcome sexual oppression. In this way, their struggle is both tied up with men and yet set apart from men.

As has been seen, however, whilst there were flickerings of gender consciousness amongst these women, they have yet to make the step of differentiating themselves as a separate social category, even though the costs of dismissing sexual politics increased in exile. Given the

degree of male opposition to women organizing separately, the uneasily politicized women may have perceived the costs of differentiating their struggle as too high. Some of the costs of constructing a feminist counterpart model are made explicit in the case of two Chilean professional women in exile in France.¹ These women had experienced similar problems of combining their dual role in the conditions of exile as the public-private women in my sample. Unlike them, however, they had been prepared to publicly challenge what they came to identify as "una tradición revolucionaria machista" (a revolutionary macho tradition). However, when they put forward their viewpoints at political meetings, they were treated paternalistically or with scorn. The attitude of their male comrades was either one of caution - it's a deviationist movement - or a denial of the problem, or an insistence on the priority of capturing state power, to which male-female relationships were secondary. Some of the most virulent attacks, however, came from women party members. These women, then, had difficulty in gaining a hearing and their authority was undermined and opinions dismissed.

Another important consideration in accounting for the non-emergence of an alternative counterpart model which relates public and private spheres to the total framework of capitalist relations, relates to the specific context within which any theoretical revision is taking place. In this respect, exile may be regarded as both facilitating and hampering the emergence of new models. Indeed, the presentation of the women's liberation movement as "foreign" and "unChilean" formed one of the important controls of the men, as has been seen. The transitory definition of exile may act as a break on the reworking of personal identity or on the investment of too much energy in the construction of a new gender identity. Indeed, some public-private women openly spoke of returning to Latin America in terms of providing a solution to the problem of childcare and the 'double shift' in exile.

¹ Quoted in FRANJA, No.8, 15.12.1978, pp. 21-24.

Many public-private women may have been hoping to resume their former strategies and solutions on return to Chile, where there was perceived to be "less need" for feminist weapons or vocabularies.

The public-private women's difficulties in constructing an alternative model and of extending the socialist struggle to include women's struggles in the home, underscores the uneasy relationship between socialism and feminism. Barrett speaks of the personal tensions and divided loyalties involved in being both a socialist and a feminist in the following terms:-¹ "By generations of socialists we stand accused of bourgeois, diversionary, individualist reformism. By our sisters, we are charged with betraying feminism in favour of a sexist, male class struggle." Likewise historical experience has also revealed a tension between class and gender movements. In the Chinese revolution, women were encouraged to see themselves both as members of a social class and members of a separate gender, with a specific experience of oppression. The Chinese revolutionaries set out to re-define the position of women by breaking down women's segregation in the private domain, through the creation of female solidarity groups. These aimed to raise consciousness amongst women of their separateness as a social category, with interests which did not always coincide with men's. At the same time women's consciousness of class was also raised.

However, in her analysis of the women's movement in China, Croll points to the ambiguities surrounding the construction of a separate basis of solidarity for women "in a society in which the division between the classes and class struggle is viewed as the motivating force generating social change".² Whilst the goals of the national

¹ M. Barrett, op.cit., p.256.

² E. Croll, "Rural China: segregation to solidarity", in P.Caplan and J.M. Bujra, op.cit., p.64.

revolutionary movement and the women's movement were theoretically seen as mutually interdependent, in practice there was an uneasy alliance between the two, as reflected in the shifting emphasis given to women's organizations and gender issues in the course of the revolution.

Finally, and by way of a normative aside, the Chilean women's difficulties in breaking their silence in exile, point to the need for a strong women's solidarity group in order to socialize insights, build up confidence and overcome the fear of public ridicule. Where women's solidarity is weak or absent, men can show concern for women without fundamentally transforming their secondary public status. Differentiation can, of course, mean the opening up of a separate path for women and one which legitimizes their secondary status in society. The one public strategy which emerged from the Chilean women in exile - the women's group - largely reinforced women's secondary status by failing to challenge either the sexual division of labour in the family or, relatedly, the political sexual division of labour. Given this, many women may prefer to remain "upfront" with men in the mainstream of political and economic life. However, differentiation can also mean the recognition of women's special experience of oppression and of the need for women to struggle separately to ensure that the public sphere is a place where both women and men can feel equally "at home". Evidence from the Chinese case indicates that where female solidarity groups were weakened and women incorporated exclusively into class organizations - as occurred during the cultural revolution - their specific interests were neglected.¹

¹ E. Croll, in P. Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., op.cit. p.67.

typicality of the case

This study has focused on one exile community amongst the many hundreds of clusterings of Chilean exiles in Britain, Europe and beyond. When a wider perspective is taken, the broad features of the public-private crisis outlined in the last chapter are borne out by findings of Chileans in exile elsewhere. Indeed the crisis within the exiles' two key reference and membership groups - the party and the family - is a common theme in the Chilean exile literature. Nonetheless this particular exile community possessed some atypicalities which were noted by the actors themselves. Certain features of the local political scene had served to accentuate political differences and this exile community had a reputation for being particularly severely divided. Chilean exiles, in other parts of the country, had been able to set up inter-party, umbrella organizations, whereby the individual parties agreed to suspend ideological differences in order to focus on certain common problems arising from exile. This kept open a channel of communication between all sections of the community and meant that networks did not close off to the same extent as occurred here. The notoriety of this exile community's problems came to acquire some of the characteristics of a self-fulfilling prophecy as people moved away in search of more congenial surroundings in other parts of Britain or elsewhere.

With respect to my findings on the transformation of gender consciousness, Silva-Labarca in her study of 46 Chilean women in exile in France and Belgium likewise found that exile has opened up "the world of the woman" and that there has been an awakening of women in exile.¹ Her

¹ M. Silva-Labarca, op.cit., p.47

findings also point to a range of responses by women to their situation in exile and to the uneven and, at times, contradictory character of any personal change. She tentatively suggests that a new family model is emerging in exile, as an increasing number of Chilean women exiles have begun to redefine family size, family role structure, marital and sexual relations. However, she also found that some women consciously postponed the task of transforming gender roles to the next generation, whilst at the same time systematically failing to attack gender socialization of their own children.

Silva-Labarca found more evidence of women taking their struggles in the home into the formal political arena and challenging sexist practices within the party structure. This led, in some cases, to the beginnings of a reappraisal of the subordinate position of women militants in the party and to a critical re-examination of programmatic statements for their role in reproducing this subordination. Contrary to my findings, she suggests that women have made progress within the party hierarchy in exile, attaining positions of greater responsibility than in Chile and being incorporated into political and ideological discussion. However, she also notes that whilst some women took feminist viewpoints to party meetings, they remained wary of autonomous feminist organizations and spoke pejoratively of an opposition between "feministas" (feminists) and "políticas" (political women). Yet others had left the political parties and joined other forms of struggle in France - environmental, ecology, nuclear and feminist.

Whilst these new openings have yet to crystallize into a coherent project - much of women's thinking being a piecemeal reaction against old models and patterns of thought - Silva-Labarca noted a general desire amongst women in her sample to socialize their experiences and to initiate the task of reconceptualizing the "political"

to take into account their struggles in the family. Whilst reiterating that not all women have undergone radical personal change in exile, she suggests that there is a growing movement of change amongst Chilean women whose implications have yet to be fully realized by men, and whose dynamic will be difficult to halt completely.

Turning back to my sample, I would suggest that the "renegotiated gender order" which emerged in exile remains highly precarious and fluid. Neither set of public-private contradictions outlined in Chapters 5 and 6 has been fundamentally resolved. Nor are these contradictions likely to be resolved on return to Chile. Women will be returning to the more overt and rigid differentiation of gender roles enforced by the military Junta. Those public-private women who suspended insights in exile in the hope of regaining their privileges in Chilean society are likely to be frustrated. Many women felt that they had been sufficiently changed by exile as to make their return to Chile highly problematic. Some public-private women voiced certain benefits of the loosening up of family life in exile and ^{came} to regard the question of employing maids on return as a source of tension and unease. Likewise, the privatized women - whilst generally desirous of family reunion - expressed some misgivings about the return to kin controls in Chile. A study of those exiles who have returned to Chile bears these women's fears out. FASIC found that many women experienced family conflicts and tensions after having gained "different degrees of autonomy and independence in exile".¹

The return to Chile with its present rigid endorsement of the public-private distinction is likely to bring yet another period of dislocation and upheaval. Whilst all categories of social actor are likely to experience serious problems of re-adaptation to their own country,

¹ FASIC, in WUS (b), op.cit., p.39.

gender grievances are likely to be acute.

Finally - and by way of rooting the findings of this study once again within the reality of actors' lives - I should like to end by giving voice once again to the actors themselves. One of the underlying themes of this thesis has been the way in which the past is constantly being reshaped and reinterpreted in the light of present experience. At the end of our meetings, Ana volunteered:-

"I've enjoyed bringing up these memories of the past. It's made me realize the extent to which I've rethought it. In another five years, when I've had yet more experiences, I might see things differently yet again and I'll remember this moment here with you."

Ana made me conscious of the way in which I was intervening in a process which had begun long before my arrival on the scene and would continue long after I left. In this way the study records just one moment in time of those whose lives appear in these pages. Some may well have since moved on in their understanding.

A P P E N D I X

TABLE 1

ACTORS' LOCATIONS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES DURING
POPULAR UNITY PERIOD 1970 - 1973

	PUBLIC SPHERE		PRIVATE SPHERE
	<u>PUBLIC MEN</u>	<u>PUBLIC-PRIVATE WOMEN</u>	<u>PRIVATE WOMEN</u>
<u>MIDDLE SECTORS</u>			
- professional workers	+ JAIME.....m...	FRANCISCA	
	+ Rafael.....m...	CRISTINA	
	Raúl.....m...	Claudia	
	+ Iván.....m...	Doris	
	Rolando.....m...	Isabel	
	Sergio.....m...	(ex-wife)*	
	Alejandro	s.	
- white-collar workers	+ JORGE.....m...	CARMEN	
	Juan.....m...	GLORIA	
	+ Julio.....m...	Margarita	
	+ Ricardo.....m...	María	
	+ Enrique	(ex-wife)*	
	Pepe.....m.....	SILVIA	
<u>WORKING CLASS</u>			
	CRISTIÁN.....m.....	MARIANA	
	MARIO.....m.....	CATALINA	
	+ Pablo.....m.....	Eugenia	
	+ Xavier.....m.....	Elena	
	Antonio.....m.....	Patricia	
	* (ex-husband)	ANA	
	* (ex-husband)	LAURA	
	Carlos	s.	

Notes: Those actors whose names appear in capitalized form are the most frequently cited in the text.
 m. refers to married couples.
 s. refers to single persons.
 + denotes shared political sympathies between husbands and wives.
 * In all cases of ex-wives or husbands, the marriage broke down in exile.

TABLE 2

MOVEMENTS OF CHILEAN REFUGEES FROM CHILE
BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGION⁽¹⁾

Country	Under auspices of ICEM from 6.10.73 to 30.6.1979 (2) (* = to Jan. 1976)	Other movements estimated from international sources, 6.10.73 to January 1976
<u>Latin America and Caribbean</u>		
Argentina	934	10,000
Bolivia	77	-
Brazil	7*	-
Colombia	195	-
Costa Rica	125	2,400
Cuba	463	1,600
El Salvador	4*	-
Ecuador	65	450
Honduras	108	-
Mexico	881	1,750
Nicaragua	6*	-
Panama	278	-
Paraguay	3*	-
Peru	38	750
Venezuela	392	-
	3,576	16,950
<u>Western Europe</u>		
Austria	409	-
Belgium	585	500
Denmark	580	250
Finland	153	-
France	1,918	3,000
Ireland	93	-
Italy	831	-
Luxembourg	43	-
Netherlands	794	250
Norway	368	130
Portugal	15	100
Spain	108	50
Sweden	2,704	300
Switzerland	543	360
United Kingdom	1,767	30
West Germany	1,279	800
	12,190	5,770

(Continued over)

Table 2 continued

Country	Under auspices of ICEM from 6.10.73 to 30.6.1979 (2) (* = to Jan. 1976)	Other movements estimated from international sources, 6.10.73 to January 1976
<u>Eastern Europe, USSR and China</u>		
Bulgaria	46*	-
Czechoslovakia	6*	-
German Democratic Rep.	471	300
Hungary	304	-
Poland	45*	-
Romania	1,352	-
Yugoslavia	61	-
USSR	62	-
China	13*	-
Sub-total	2,360	300
<u>North America</u>		
Canada	304	1,750
USA	1,323	-
Sub-total	1,627	1,750
<u>Australasia</u>		
Australia	768*	1,000
New Zealand	124*	-
Sub-total	892	1,000
<u>Africa</u>		
Algeria	54*	450
Sub-total	54	450
<u>Middle East</u>		
Israel	13	-
Lebanon	1*	-
Sub-total	14	-
<u>Other</u>	Sub-total	119
GRAND TOTAL	20,418	26,220

Sources: Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America, Refugees and Political Prisoners in Latin America, October 1979, p.34; Joint Working Group Interim Report, Refugees from Chile, December 1975, p.82.

(Continued over)

Table 2 continued

Notes:

- (1) Whilst giving an idea of the geographical spread of Chilean refugees, these figures grossly under-estimate the movement of people from Chile for both political and economic reasons since the coup d'état of September 1973. A report by a Catholic migration organization (*INCAMI*) estimates that one million people - or a tenth of the total population - have left Chile for political or economic reasons since the coup. The magnitude of departures reflects the severity of the military Junta's economic and political restructuring of the country. The majority of the "economic" refugees are in Argentina (500,000), Australia or Canada. The more "political" refugees are in Europe - 18,500 according to UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees). Latin America Political Report, 17.6.1977. It has also been estimated that there are 250,000 Chileans in Venezuela, El Mercurio, 22-28 October, 1978.
- (2) These figures provided by ICEM (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration) represent the minimum number known to be refugees.

TABLE 3

HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF CHILEAN REFUGEES IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND, DEC. 1975

	Family Units	Single Persons	Total Individuals.	HOUSING		EMPLOYMENT		
				Local Authority	Privately Rented	Trade Unions	Other Employment and Education	
Clydebank	6	1	19	6	1	1	5	
Cumbernauld	2	-	8	2	-	-	-	
Dumbarton	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	
GLASGOW	13	14	63	12	15	7	17	
Motherwell	6	-	31	6	-	2	1	
Renfrew	3	-	10	3	-	1	2	
TOTAL	31	15	135	30	16	11	26	

Source: Joint Working Group Interim Report, Refugees from Chile, December 1975, p.51.

- Notes:
1. Trade union refers to those exiles who found employment here through the trade union movement in Scotland.
 2. The largest category is likely to be education, with many Chilean exiles studying at the local College of Technology and University.

TABLE 4

BREAKDOWN OF THE MALE AND FEMALE VOTE IN CHILEAN
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 1958 to 1970

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>% of total valid male vote</u>	<u>% of total valid female vote</u>	<u>% of total votes cast</u>
<u>1958</u>			
ALESSANDRI (Right)	30.2	34.1	31.2
Allende (Left)	32.4	22.3	28.5
Frei (Centre)	19.0	23.9	20.5
Others	18.4	19.7	18.7
<u>1964</u>			
FREI (Centre)	49.6	63.1	55.6
Allende (Left)	45.2	32.1	38.6
Other	5.2	4.8	4.9
<u>1970</u>			
ALLENDE (Left)	42.0	31.0	36.5
Alessandri (Right)	31.9	38.9	35.2
Tomic (Centre)	26.1	30.1	28.0

Sources: F.G. Gil and C.J. Parrish, The Chilean Presidential Election of September 4, 1964. Institute for Comparative Study of Political Systems, Wisconsin, 1965.
R.E. Feinberg, The Triumph of Allende: Chile's Legal Revolution. New York: Mentor, 1972, p. 157.

TABLE 5

CHILE: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY SEX 1952 - 1970

YEAR	% of men economically active	% of women economically active	% of total population economically active
1952	54.17	17.58	35.54
1960	51.33	14.21	32.39
1970	44.00	12.87	28.07

Source: L. Ribeiro and M.T. de Barbieri, "La mujer obrera chilena", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, No. 16, April 1973, p.171.

TABLE 6

CHILE: MALE AND FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE 1960 - 1970

	<u>1960</u> %	<u>1970</u> %
Men	77.64	76.53
Women	22.36	23.47
	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Source: L. Ribeiro and M.T. de Barbieri, op.cit., p.171.

TABLE 7

CHILE: COMPOSITION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY SEX AND ECONOMIC SECTOR, 1970 (in percentages)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
AGRICULTURE	27.37	2.95	21.63
INDUSTRY	15.58	18.25	16.19
COMMERCE	17.87	43.44	26.23
OTHER (e.g. construction/mining)	28.25	10.43	24.06
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: L. Ribeiro and M.T. de Barbieri, "La mujer obrera chilena", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, No. 16, April 1973, p.174.

TABLE 8

CHILE: COMPOSITION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, 1970 (in percentages)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Employers	3.39	2.12	3.10
Self-Employed	19.70	17.68	19.23
White-collar workers (<i>empleados</i>)	26.55	33.68	28.28
Blue-collar workers (<i>obreros</i>)	42.20	12.95	39.45
Domestic workers	5.04	26.16	6.45
Others	7.62	7.41	7.57
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: L. Ribeiro and M.T. de Barbieri, op.cit., p.176.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- ABRAMS, P., DEEM, R., FINCH, J., ROCK, P., eds., Development and Diversity: British Sociology, 1950-1980. London: Allen and Unwin, 1981.
- ALLENDE, S., Chile's Road to Socialism. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- ALTHUSSER, L., Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. London: New Left Books, 1971.
- AMERINGER, C. D., The Democratic Left in Exile. The Anti-Dictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean 1945-1959. Miami: University of Miami Press, 1974.
- ARDENER, S., ed., Perceiving Women. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1977.
- ARENDT, H., The Human Condition. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.
- BACHRACH, P., BARATZ, M. S., Poverty and Power. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- BAMBIRRA, V., (a), "La Mujer Chilena en la Transición al Socialismo". Punto Final, No. 133, 22 June 1971.
- BAMBIRRA, V., (b), "Liberación de la Mujer y Lucha de Clases", Punto Final, No. 151, 15 February 1972.
- BARKIN, D., "Automobiles and the Chilean Road to Socialism" in D.L. Johnson, ed., The Chilean Road to Socialism. New York: Doubleday Anchor Press, 1973.
- BARRETT, M., Women's Oppression Today. London: Verso, 1980.
- BEECHEY, V., "On Patriarchy", Feminist Review, No. 3, 1979.
- BERGER, P. L., "Towards a Sociological Understanding of Psychoanalysis" in P.L. Berger, Facing Up to Modernity. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- BERGER, P. L., BERGER, B., KELLNER, H., The Homeless Mind. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- BERGER, P. L., KELLNER, H., "Marriage and the Construction of Reality" in P.L. Berger, Facing Up to Modernity. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- BERNSTEIN, B., Class, Codes and Control (Volume 3). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.
- BROWNE, A., "Latin American Refugees: British Government Policy and Practice" in Britain and Latin America, An Annual Review of British - Latin American Relations 1979. London: Latin American Bureau, 1979.

- BUJRA, J.M., "Introductory: Female Solidarity and the Sexual Division of Labour" in P. Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., Women United, Women Divided: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Female Solidarity. London: Tavistock Publications, 1978.
- BUTLER FLORA, C., "The Passive Female and Social Change: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Women's Magazine Fiction" in A. Pescatello, ed., Female and Male in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.
- CAPLAN, P., BUJRA, J.M., eds., Women United, Women Divided: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Female Solidarity. London: Tavistock Publications, 1978.
- CHANEY, E.M., "Women in Latin American Politics: The Case of Peru and Chile" in A. Pescatello, ed., op. cit.
- CHANEY, E.M., "The Mobilization of Women in Allende's Chile" in J.S. Jaquette, ed., Women in Politics. New York: John Wiley, 1973.
- CHANEY, E.M., "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile", Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 35, May 1973.
- CHANGE, Military Ideology and the Dissolution of Democracy - Women in Chile. Change International Reports, No.4, September 1981.
- CHAPLIN, A., Chilean Political Prisoners. Mimeo. January 1976.
- CHILE-AMERICA, "La Mujer Degradada", Chile-América, Rome, Nos. 28-30, 1977.
- CHINCHILLA, N. STOLTZ, "Mobilizing Women: Revolution in the Revolution", Latin American Perspectives, Issue 15, Vol. IV, No. 4, Fall 1977.
- CIMADE, Du Chili a la France, Exil et Accueil des Réfugiés. Paris, February 1975.
- CLARKE, J., HALL, S., JEFFERSON, T., ROBERTS, B., "Sub-cultures, Cultures and Class" in S. Hall and T. Jefferson, eds., Resistance through Rituals, Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain. London: Hutchinson, 1978.
- COLAT, (a), El Mundo del Exiliado Político Latinoamericano: Reflexiones Preliminares. Louvain, Belgium: Colectivo Latinoamericano de Trabajo Psico-social (COLAT), n.d.
- COLAT, (b), "Los Problemas Psíquicos Provocados por la Tortura en los Refugiados Chilenos" paper presented to the VI Congreso Médico Internacional de la Federación Internacional de Resistentes, Colectivo Latinoamericano de Trabajo Psico-social (COLAT), Louvain, 1976.
- COLAT, "The Latin American Social Work Collective of Belgium: Towards a Libertarian Therapy for Latin American Exiles (1980)", in WUS, U.K., (b), Mental Health and Exile, papers arising from a seminar on mental health and Latin American exiles, May 1981.

- COLECTIVO, La Vida Diaria en Chile bajo la Junta. Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1978.
- COULSON, M., MAGAS, B., WAINWRIGHT, H., "The Housewife and her Labour under Capitalism, a critique" in New Left Review, No. 89, 1975.
- COVARRUBIAS, P., Movimiento Feminista Chileno 1915 - 1949. Santiago: Instituto de Sociología, Universidad Católica de Chile, Documento de Trabajo No. 22, 1974.
- CROLL, E., "Rural China: Segregation to Solidarity" in P. Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., op. cit.
- CROLL, E., The Politics of Marriage in Contemporary China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- CROLL, E., Feminism and Socialism in China. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- CRUMMETT, M. de los ANGELES, "El Poder Femenino: The Mobilization of Women against Socialism in Chile" in Latin American Perspectives, Issue 15, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1977.
- CURRELL, M.C., Political Woman. London: Croom Helm, 1974.
- DAHL, T.S., SNARE, A., "The Coercion of Privacy: A Femenist Perspective" in C. Smart and B. Smart, eds., Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- DAHRENDORF, R., Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.
- DAVIN, D., Woman-Work, Women and the Party in Revolutionary China. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- DIVISION DE PUBLICACIONES ESPECIALES, ¿Cómo Participar?. Santiago, Chile: Editora Nacional Quimantú, n. d.
- EDHOLM, F., HARRIS, O., YOUNG, K., "Conceptualizing Women", Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 3, Nos. 9 and 10, 1977.
- ELSHTAIN, J.B., Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought. Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981.
- FAGEN, P.W., Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973.
- FAGEN, R.R., BRODY, R.A., O'LEARY, T.J., Cubans in Exile. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
- FASIC (Fundación de Ayuda Social de las Iglesias Cristianas), "A Socio-Psychological Study of 25 Returning Families (1980)" in WUS, U.K., (b), op. cit.
- FEINBERG, R.E., The Triumph of Allende: Chile's Legal Revolution. New York: Mentor, 1972.
- FISHBURNE COLLIER, J., "Women in Politics" in M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, eds., Woman, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974.
- FOX, G.E., "Honor, Shame and Women's Liberation in Cuba: Views of Working-Class Émigré Men" in A. Pescatello, ed., op. cit.

- FRANJA, A Journal of Latin American Exiles, published by Colectivo Latinoamericano de Trabajo Psico-Social (COLAT), Lovaine, Belgium. Nos. 1 - 13, 1977 - 1979.
- FREIRE, P., Education for Critical Consciousness. London: Sheed and Ward, 1973.
- GALTUNG, J., Theory and Methods of Social Research. London: Allen and Unwin, 1967.
- GARDINER, J., "Women's Domestic Labour", New Left Review, No. 89, 1975.
- GARDINER, J., "Women in the Labour Process and Class Structure" in A. Hunt, ed., Class and Class Structure. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977.
- GARRETT, P., Growing Apart: The Experiences of Rural Men and Women in the Central Valley of Chile. Madison: unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1978.
- GIDDENS, A., New Rules of Sociological Method. London: Hutchinson, 1976.
- GIL, F.G., PARRISH, C.J., The Chilean Presidential Election of September 4, 1964. Wisconsin: Institute for Comparative Study of Political Systems, 1965.
- GISSI, J., "Mitología de la Femeneidad", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Santiago, No. 11, 1972.
- GOODE, W.J., HATT, P.K., Methods in Social Research. New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1952.
- HARTMANN, H., "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union", Capital and Class, No. 8, 1979.
- HAWORTH, N., RODDICK, J., "Labour and Monetarism in Chile 1975 - 1980", Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1981.
- HENFREY, C., SORJ, B., eds., Chilean Voices: Activists Describe their Experiences of the Popular Unity Period. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1977.
- HERNANDEZ WALKER, A., Educación de Transición en los Hijos de los Refugiados Políticos, (Algunas Ideas para Desarrollar la Educación en el Exilio). Institute of Clinical Psychology, University of Copenhagen, mimeo, n.d.
- HIMMELWEIT, S., MOHUN, S., "Domestic Labour and Capital", Cambridge Journal of Economics, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1977.
- HUNT, A., ed., Class and Class Structure. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977.
- HUNT, P., Gender and Class Consciousness. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- JACKSON, J.A., ed., Migration. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

- JANSEN, C.J., ed., Readings in the Sociology of Migration. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970.
- JAQUETTE, J.S., ed., Women in Politics. New York: John Wiley, 1973.
- JAQUETTE, J., "Female Political Participation in Latin America" in J. Nash and H. Safa, eds., Sex and Class in Latin America. New York: Praeger, 1976.
- JEFFERY, P., Frogs in a Well, Indian Women in Purdah. London: Zed Press, 1979.
- JOHNSON, D.L., ed., The Chilean Road to Socialism. New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1973.
- JOINT WORKING GROUP FOR REFUGEES FROM LATIN AMERICA, Refugees from Chile, Interim Report. London, 1975.
- JOINT WORKING GROUP FOR REFUGEES FROM LATIN AMERICA, Refugees and Political Prisoners. London, 1979.
- KING, M., "Cuba's Attack on Women's Second Shift", Latin American Perspectives, Issues 12-13, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, 1977.
- KUHN, A., "Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family" in A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe, eds., op. cit.
- KUHN, A., WOLPE, A.M., eds., Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE, Slaves of Slaves, The Challenge of Latin American Women. London: Zed Press, 1977.
- LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL REPORT, "Chile: The Unhappy Middle", Latin American Political Report, Vol. XI, No. 23, 17 June 1977.
- LECHNER, N., "Represión Sexual y Manipulación Social", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Santiago de Chile, No. 12, 1972.
- LECHNER, N., coord., "Sexualidad, Autoritarismo y Lucha de Clases", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Santiago de Chile, No. 12, 1972.
- LEWIS, P.H., The Politics of Exile: Paraguay's Febrerista Party. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1968.
- LYMAN, S.M., SCOTT, M.B., A Sociology of the Absurd. New York: Apple Century Crofts, Educational Division, Meredith Corporation, 1970.
- MCINTOSH, M., "The State and the Oppression of Women" in A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe, eds., op. cit.
- MARTZ, J.D., "Latin America's Exile Politics", Latin American Research Review, Vol. X, No. 1, 1975.

- MATTELART, A., MATTELART, M., La Mujer Chilena en una Nueva Sociedad. Santiago de Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1968.
- MATTELART, M., "The Feminine Version of the Coup d'Etat" in J. Nash and H. Safa, eds., op. cit.
- MILIBAND, R., "The Coup in Chile" in R. Miliband and J. Saville, eds., The Socialist Register 1973: A Survey of Movements and Ideas. London: The Merlin Press, 1974.
- MILLS, C.W., The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- MILLS, C.W., "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive" in B.G. Manis and B.N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972.
- MOSER, C.A., Survey Methods in Social Investigation. London: Heinemann, 1958.
- MUÑOZ, L., "Exile as Bereavement: Socio-Psychological Manifestations of Chilean Exiles in Great Britain (1978)" in WUS, U.K., (b), Mental Health and Exile. London: World University Service U. K., 1981.
- NAISH, J., "Désirade: A Negative Case" in P. Caplan and J.M. Bujra, eds., op. cit.
- NASH, J., SAFA, H., eds., Sex and Class in Latin America. New York: Praeger, 1976.
- NELSON, C., "Private and Public Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World", American Ethnologist, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1974.
- NEVES, E., VASQUEZ, A., "La Militancia Política y los Exiliados", Chile-América, Rome, Nos. 76-77, 1982.
- OAKLEY, A., Housewife. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
- OAKLEY, A., "Review Essay: Feminism and Sociology: Some Recent Perspectives", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 84, No. 5, 1979.
- OAKLEY, A., "Interviewing Women" in H. Roberts, ed., Doing Feminist Research. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- O'NEILL, J., Sociology as a Skin Trade. London: Heinemann, 1972.
- PESCATELLO, A., Power and Pawn, The Female in Iberian Families, Societies and Cultures. Contributions in Intercultural and Comparative Studies, No. 1. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- PESCATELLO, A., ed., Female and Male in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.
- PETERSEN, W., "A General Typology of Migration", American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, December 1958.

- PLATT, J., "On Interviewing One's Peers", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, 1981.
- PORTER, M., "Consciousness and Second-Hand Experience: Husbands and Wives in Industrial Action", Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1978.
- PORTES, A., "Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee", American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1969.
- REITER, R., "Men and Women in the South of France: Public and Private Domains" in R. Reiter, ed., op. cit.
- REITER, R., ed., Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- RIBEIRO, L., de BARBIERE, M. T., "La Mujer Obrera Chilena", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Santiago de Chile, No. 16, 1973.
- ROBERTS, H., ed., Doing Feminist Research. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- ROGG, E., "The Influence of a Strong Refugee Community on the Economic Adjustment of its Members", International Migration Review, No. 4, 1971.
- ROJAS, P., "Making British Courses Relevant", WUS News, World University Service, U.K., London, March 1978.
- ROSALDO, M. Z., "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding", Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1980.
- ROSALDO, M. Z., LAMPHERE, L., eds., Woman, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press, California, 1974.
- ROWBOTHAM, S., SEGAL, L., WAINWRIGHT, H., Beyond the Fragments, Feminism and the Making of Socialism. London: Islington Community Press, 1979.
- RUIZ, R., Diálogo de Exilados, Filmscript, France, 1974.
- SAFA, H. I., "The Changing Class Composition of the Female Labour Force in Latin America", Latin American Perspectives, Issue 15, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1977.
- SECCOMBE, W., "The Housewife and her Labour under Capitalism", New Left Review, No. 83, 1974.
- SENNETT, R., The Fall of Public Man. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- SENNETT, R., COBB, J., The Hidden Injuries of Class. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- SIDA (SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY), Women in Developing Countries, Case Studies of Six Countries. Stockholm: SIDA, 1974.
- SILVA-LABARCA, M., "Mujeres Chilenas Exiliadas: Procesos de Transformación Ideológica y de Comportamiento", Chile-América, Rome, Nos. 74-75, 1981.

- SMART, C., SMART, B., eds., Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- SMITH, D.E., "Women, the Family and Corporate Capitalism" in M. Stephenson, ed., Women in Canada. Toronto: New Press, 1974.
- STACEY, M., "The Division of Labour Revisited, or Overcoming the Two Adams" in P. Abrams, R. Deem, J. Finch and P. Rock, eds., Development and Diversity: British Sociology, 1950-1980, London: Allen and Unwin, 1981.
- STACEY, M., PRICE, M., Women, Power and Politics. London: Tavistock Publications, 1981.
- STEVENS, E.P., "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo" in A. Pescatello, ed., op. cit.
- TOLSON, A., The Limits of Masculinity. London: Tavistock Publications, 1977.
- TURNER, R.H., "The Role and the Person", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 84, No. 1, 1978.
- UCHÔA CAVALCANTI, P.C., RAMOS, J., eds., Memórias do Exílio, Brasil 1964/19?? Volume 1: De Muitos Caminhos. Lisbon: Arcadia, 1976.
- UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, Study of Reported Violations of Human Rights in Chile, with Particular Reference to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. U.N. Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, E/CN.4/1221, 10 February 1977.
- VASQUEZ, A., "Adolescents from the Southern Cone of Latin America in Exile: Some Psychological Problems (1980)" in WUS, UK, (b), Mental Health and Exile. London: 1981.
- VASQUEZ, A., RICHARD, G., Problemas de Adaptación de los Hijos de Refugiados del Cono Sur de América Latina en Francia. Institut de Sciences de l'éducation, Université de Caen. Edited by la Cimade, Service oecuménique d'entraide, Paris, 1978.
- VERA, M., Political Prisoners. Chilean Women No. 2, London, September 1976.
- VIDAL, V., La Emancipación de la Mujer. Colección: Nosotros los Chilenos, No. 30, Editora Nacional Quimantú, Santiago de Chile, 1972.
- WALLMAN, S., "Difference, Differentiation, Discrimination", New Community, Vol. 5, Nos. 1-2, 1976.
- WESTERGAARD, J., RESLER, H., Class in a Capitalist Society, A Study of Contemporary Britain. London: Heinemann, 1975.
- WILLIS, P.E., Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids get Working Class Jobs. Farnborough: Saxon House, 1978.
- WUS (WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE), U.K., (a), Seminar on Mental Health and Exile. London: July 1979.

- WUS (WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE), U.K.,(b), Mental Health and Exile, Papers arising from a Seminar on Mental Health and Latin American Exiles. London: May 1981.
- WUS (WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE), U.K.,(c), Education for Refugees. London: WUS, March 1977.
- WUS (WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE), U.K., "Overseas Students as an Educative Force in the First World" (WUS Regional Seminar, Edinburgh), WUS News, London: May 1978.
- ZAMMIT, J.A., ed., The Chilean Road to Socialism. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, 1973.
- ZARETSKY, E., Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life. London: Pluto Press, 1976.

Addendum

- ROWBOTHAM, S., Women's Consciousness, Man's World. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.

Regulation 2.4.15 of the University of Edinburgh

In compliance with the above regulation for post-graduate study, I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work contained herein is my own.

Diana M. Kay