Sorry for the Inconvenience, But They are Killing Us

A Case Study of the *Ni Una Menos* Protests' Impact in Chile

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Abstract

This thesis draws upon social movement theory to explore the impact of the *Ni Una Menos* protest in Chile. In October 2016 thousands of people took the streets of the capital Santiago to protest the wave of recent femicides in Chile. The *Ni Una Menos* protest gained widespread attention and mobilized activists from all divisions in the women's movement.

The material of this case study was gathered through carrying out field work in Santiago. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with activists and stakeholders in the women's movement in order to answer the research question; *"how do stakeholders and activists in the women's movement in Chile perceive the impact of the Ni Una Menos protest?"*

A combination of the social movement approaches political opportunity structures, recourse mobilization and framing processes is used as the theoretical framework of the thesis. The narratives from the interviews were analyzed through a thematic analysis approach and centered around the strategies of the movement and how these were successful in the *Ni Una Menos* case. The findings of the study suggest that *Ni Una Menos* protests have been impactful as it managed to mobilize collective action, putting gender-based violence on the agenda and raising awareness of women's rights issues.

Key words: social movements, political opportunity, resource mobilization, framing processes, *Ni Una Menos*
Words: 19 860

Acknowledgements

First off, thanks to Sida for granting me the Minor Field Study scholarship that made the fieldwork in Chile possible.

Most importantly, my sincerest thanks to the women that participated in this study by sharing their thoughts and experiences with a Swedish *gringa*. This thesis is dedicated to you, and all the other women who are fighting for their rights in Chile and those who are unable to.

Many thanks to my supervisor Audrey Vandeleene for valuable comments and guidance throughout the thesis process. I would also like to thank those who have assisted me with translation and proof-reading: Alejandra, Iñigo, Alexis and Mikaela.

Finally, I am grateful for the love and support of my friends and family, even though my dad thinks that my major is Spanish. A very special thanks to Emma for being my biggest supporter at all times and to Filip for enduring countless nights with the sound of computer keys clicking in the next room. My MacBook is indifferent to the disturbance, but I am truly grateful for your patience and for always cheering me on.

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1 Introduction

Social movements are one of the primary forms in which a group of individuals can express and articulate their concerns and claims. By engaging in different forms of collective action, such as street protests and demonstrations, social movements can demand change (Tilly, 1999; Della Porta et al., 2004). By increasing the governments' responsiveness and pressuring the inclusion of new actors in the policy debate social movements can have great influence and promote democratization. The democratization wave that swept through Latin America between 1979 and 1990 exemplifies how movements from below can promote democracy (Ibarra 2003; Johnston & Almeida, 2006).

Chile has a long history of public protest and demonstration. All ends of the political spectrum have been active in taking the streets in the country. For instance, the pro-democracy movement opposed the dictatorship of Pinochet by mobilizing mass demonstrations and demanding change in the 1980's. The continuous denunciation of the human rights violations was eventually successful and Chile's transition back to democracy started in 1990 (Sorensen, 2009). While some of the transitions in Latin America were elite-led, the change back to democracy in Chile was indeed driven by social movements. Students, labor unions, shanty town dwellers and human rights organizations played key roles in making democratic demands and placing pressure on the Pinochet regime to liberalize the country (Donoso, 2016b; Johnston & Almeida, 2006).

The protest movement *Ni Una Menos*, which translates to "Not One Less"[1], started as a reaction to the murder of 14-year-old Chiara Paez in Argentina 2015. Chiara's death was the latest in a series of widely publicized *femicidios* (femicides) in Latin America where young women were murdered by their partners or close male relatives. Femicide is broadly defined as "the killing of females by males because they are females" by Russell, one of the early pioneers of the term (Corradi, 2016). Thus, the concept *Ni Una Menos* refers to the aim that

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[1] All translations from Spanish to English in this thesis are the authors own, if nothing else is stated.

not one more woman should be lost to male violence. Chiara's murder dominated media coverage for weeks and it generated a widespread reaction on social media (The Guardian, 2016a). Marcela Ojeda, a radio journalist, tweeted the phrase "They are killing us: Aren't we going to do anything?" and challenged women across the country to protest against femicide and gender-based violence (The New York Times, 2015). Thus, the collective protest of the *Ni Una Menos* initially grew on social media and defined a focus and specific calls to act oppose men's violence against women in Argentina, but also in Latin America as a whole. The movement sparked sister movements in several countries in the region and amongst them in Chile, where demonstrations gathered thousands of people marching the streets in several Chilean cities in October 2016. One of the most frequently used slogans in the protests was "*Disculpen las molestias, pero nos están matando*" (Emol, 2016), the phrase translates to the title of this thesis: "Sorry for the inconvenience, but they are killing us". Meaning, the protest acted as a necessary and inevitable reaction to the series of femicides.

After the merciless series of femicides in Chile, then President Michelle Bachelet made a statement saying that the cases of violence "have led me to join *Ni Una Menos*, the social movement born in Argentina, which expresses the frustration felt by our own compatriots at the cases of violence against women and girls" (The Guardian 2016). The statement is one example of the huge attention given to the protest and the extensive support of the *Ni Una Menos* is one reason why this case in specific was chosen for the thesis. Only in the capital Santiago 50,000 people joined the protest and the fact that it mobilized collective action all across Latin America makes it an interesting case to study. The number of participants leads to the expectation that this protest aims to have a societal effect and with a huge mobilization like this some extent of impact is anticipated. At this time, very few studies on the *Ni Una Menos* phenomenon have been conducted. The few that were found are minor studies undergraduate and graduate research projects, mostly within the research field of media and communication studies, and with focus on the context of Argentina and Peru[2]. Following these facts and the recency of the phenomena, the case of *Ni Una Menos* in Chile has been neglected, especially from a social science perspective.

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[2] See for example; Diaz Mansalva, 2017; Díaz & López, 2016; Terzian, 2017.

Social movements in Chile had an historical impact on society and democratization processes, especially while transitioning from the authoritarian rule (Noonan, 1995; Donoso, 2017). This historical influence leads to an expectation of impact in relation to other protest movements, such the *Ni Una Menos*. Due to the substantial mobilization and widespread attention of the protest, it raises questions on how influential the protest in October 2016 has been, and what kind of impact that can be identified. Furthermore, what kind of outcomes can be identified as an effect of the protest and did *Ni Una Menos* manage to change the stakes regarding women's rights in Chile? Moreover, what kind of opportunities and challenges does the women's movement in Chile see in the years to come?

In this thesis, I will investigate how activists and stakeholders in the women's movement in Chile perceived the *Ni Una Menos* protest and its impact on society in Chile. The empirical data was collected through field work in Santiago, Chile during the spring of 2018. The theoretical framework of this thesis is assembled by a combination of three prominent approaches in social movement theory; political opportunity structures, resource mobilization and framing processes. Based on this framework, the study is conducted as a qualitative in-depth case study. By conducting interviews and engaging in participant observations the focal point is the experiences of participants in the women's movement in Chile.

1.1 Relevance of the study

The intention of this study is to contribute to the research field of social movements, their strategies, and their influential abilities on society and future change. Social movements are one of the main ways through which people and collectives can give voice to their concerns and grievances. By enacting in social movements and through mobilization, demands can be directed and the collective action acts as an arena for claiming rights and justice (Snow et al., 2004:3). Collective action can work as a way of showing support or denouncing certain issues and the strategies of social movements and protest are interesting in several

aspects. Some scholars argue (see Engels, 2015; Donoso, 2016; Ibarra, 2003) that social movements can have a democratizing impact and increase political participation if their (democratic) claims are developed into public policy. With this in mind, it is interesting to study how social movements experience their influence and what specific actions and strategies they use in order to reach their goals, especially since they often aim to bring political and/or societal change. While Chile indeed is a democracy, the memory of the dictatorship is present in many ways, both politically and socially. Considering this, the women's movement in Chile provides an interesting case as the authoritarian history still influences societal and political practices today, which will be further investigated in forthcoming chapters.

The aim of social movements is often to reach the type of social change that makes certain groups in society more powerful and thereby more politically relevant, at least conceivably (Snow et al., 2004; Tarrow, 2011). As stated earlier, it is well known that scholars find it difficult to define outcomes of social movement, however Gamson (1975) identified 'acceptance' and 'new advantages' as two key cultural outcomes for social movements. These outcomes include representation of movements and media coverage, for instance movements or its representatives being quoted in the media. Occurrences like these can be seen as a cultural acceptance in society and accordingly a successful outcome if it agrees with the movement's objectives (Snow et al., 2004:514).

Studying a women's movement is particularly interesting from a democratization perspective since gender equality is an important aspect of both democratization and development. Less developed countries tend to have a more patriarchal structure and culture and also a higher rate of gender-based violence, including femicide (Krug et al., 2002; Heise et al., 2002:8). Over the past 30 years, the international community has increasingly recognized violence against women as a public health problem, a violation of human rights, and a barrier to economic development. Movements and organizations protesting gender-based violence and supporting women's rights as human rights can be argued to influence policies and reform, thus leading a country towards becoming more developed and/or democratized (Kabeer, 2005; UN, 2006). Moreover, the research on recent years women's movements in Chile is scarce, especially regarding the

issue of impact, which implies a gap in the literature of social movements and their abilities to reach their goals.

1.2   Aim and research question

Since the consequences or outcomes of social movements are both notoriously hard to define and difficult to measure (Snow et al., 2004; Cress, 2000; Giugni, 1998), the focus will lie on the experiences of the activists and their views on how impactful the women's movement in Chile have been after the *Ni Una Menos* protest in October 2016. Because of the recency of the case, it would also be inaccurate to measure impact in scientific terms barely two years after the event. Real impact would happen on the long term; thus, focus is put on the perceptions of impact.

The intention of the study is to contribute to the research field of social movements in general and the women's movements work to bring their demands into action in particular. With this thesis, I intend to fill a gap in existing research on contemporary women's movements in Chile. The aim is to study how activists and representatives of the women's movement experience the *Ni Una Menos* protest and in what way the protest, in their perception, had influence and impact in Chile. The overarching research question goes as follows:

> • *How do stakeholders and activists in the women's movement in Chile perceive the impact of the Ni Una Menos protest?*

In order to answer the research question, I intend to study how the movement framed their objectives and grievances, what kind of strategies that were used in order to mobilize action and make an impact and in what way these were or were not successful in their opinion. Focus is also put on how the participants of the study experience the further challenges and possibilities after the *Ni Una Menos* protest.

The type of impact in the research question is purposely let open since the study will take on a qualitative approach and I am interested in learning what kind

of impact was intended, as well as what was achieved according to the activists and stakeholders. A possible research question could have put focus on the experiences of political impact and outcomes of protest. However, going into the field I quickly realized that a focus on only political consequences would have been misguided, as it soon became evident that being politically influential did not necessarily correspond with the main objectives of the women's movement. While political change was indeed identified as one of the goals I was surprised to learn that several activists and stakeholders stated that they had no interest in influencing policy or interacting with the state nor political parties. I will return to this particular finding later on in the Analysis chapter but as of now it is part of why the premise of the research question is in a broader sense. To conclude, the research question as it is stated above, allows for a broader discussion on the kind of impact the *Ni Una Menos* and women's movement in general want to achieve.

The principal research question has been addressed with the help of a number of working questions. These relate to how the participants identify and experience the underlying social structures, possibilities and limitations with implications for the *Ni Una Menos* protest and the women's movement overall - how does the women's movement frame their objectives and grievances? What strategies are used by the women's movement in order to bring about change? How did *Ni Una Menos* influence the forthcoming challenges and opportunities of the women's movement?

1.3   Definition of social movements

Various conceptualizations and definitions of social movements can be found in the literature. Tilly (1999:258) defines social movements as an "actor or organization that seeks to challenge power holders over a sustained period of time in the name of their fellow citizens by means of repeated public displays of that population's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment". Scholars fail to agree on a single definition of a 'social movement' and one hurdle in studying them is to select a distinct definition. The definition needs to include both organizations within an active social movement and the 'free-standing' individuals that identify

with it, without including all politics leading the definition to be too expansive (McAdam, 1982; Tarrow, 1988). Social movements can also be explained as: "collectives acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part" (Snow et al., 2004:3). One advantage of this definition, in regard to this particular study, is its inclusiveness without being too expansive. It applies well to movements that act outside the institutional sphere while trying to challenge the world order, which includes society, culture and politics. In this manner, the definition fits the protest movement studied in this thesis as it consists of a noticeably diverse collective that acts and organizes in different ways with various objectives.

1.4 Delimitations

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, it is essential to take into account certain aspects that are important but will not be examined in further depth. For research purposes, the concepts of impact, influence and outcomes will not be differentiated and in this manner applied interchangeably as in accordance with how the source in question uses the terms. Although, it is worth mentioning that a vast literature on how these terms are conceptualized exists (Giugni, 1998; 2008; Earl, 2004; Amenta et al., 2010).

As the women's movement in question is not of a homogenous character, neither in its goals nor in its organization, this thesis does not attempt to analyze the women's movement as a whole but to provide an understanding to this particular case and context. Case studies are beneficial when the intention is to bring thorough insight to a case and how it is affected by a special context (Baxter & Jack 2008). The accounts presented in this thesis are focused on the participants; their opinions, experiences and views. The role of different actors that are influential but not within the social movement domain will consequently not be addressed, for instance referring to political actors which are stakeholders outside the capacity of this study.

1.5 Disposition

The thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter introduces the concept of social movements shortly and presents the case of the *Ni Una Menos* protest in Chile and why it started. The reader is further introduced to the aim and research question of the study and how these will be addressed. The second chapter lets the reader get familiarized with the specific context of Chile and the historical account of social movements in the country. Chapter three reviews previous research concerning social movements and an outline of the theoretical framework of the thesis, including a description of the analytical process. The following, methodological chapter, presents the choices of material and methods used in this study as well as an explanation of how the analysis is done. Moving forward, the fifth chapter consists of a thematic analysis of the material in order to explain the experiences of the participants in the light of the theoretical framework. The final chapter includes a conclusion where the analytical findings are summarized, and the research question is answered. Lastly, in this chapter, I also relate the findings to further research and situate the thesis in the larger academic field.

2 Background

To establish a base for the thesis, the following chapter will provide a historical background and introduction to the case of Chile. In order to let the reader become familiar with the specific case, an overview of Chile's political, cultural and social context is presented. To delve into the complexity of the women's movement in Chile, this section will offer relevant background information about possibilities and challenges of protest in the country. Finally, a short description of the *Ni Una Menos* protest will be provided to situate the case within its context.

2.1 The political history of Chile

In September 1973 the democratically elected government in Chile was overthrown by a military coup led by Augusto Pinochet. The socialist President Salvador Allende was killed and a military junta took power by shutting down congress, banning political organizations and unions, and ordering the military and police to detain, torture and kill thousands of people. Hospitals, schools, universities and media centers were taken over or shut down by the military. Civil liberties were revoked and absolute censorship was installed (Sorensen, 2009:2-3). The dictatorship of Pinochet ended one of the longest standing eras of democracies in Latin America and lasted for over 15 years. During the dictatorship state-sponsored terrorism was used in the form of executions, torture, concentration camps, forced exile and "disappearances". Many Chileans have described the Pinochet regime as a "reign of terror" and an estimation of as many as 30,000 people were "disappeared" or killed during the first months of the military coup (Noonan 1995:82, 95).

Chile re-established a democratic form of government in 1990 after a referendum whether to extend Pinochet's rule or not. The voters opposing the dictatorship won with 56 % of the votes (Spooner, 1999). However, Pinochet

remained in the position as chief of the army and also became senator for life after changing the constitution of Chile. In 2002 Pinochet was deemed unfit to stand trial for health reasons in 2002 and later died without being convicted of his crimes, in 2006. On the day of Pinochet's death, the people who opposed him filled the streets in celebration, while the mourners waited in line to bid a final farewell by his coffin (Sorensen, 2009:3-4).

During the 1990s, politicians and government leaders cautiously proceeded with the transition back to democracy and the first four elected presidents have since then been Christian Democrats and Socialists. What happened during the military rule was rarely mentioned in the transition period and still poses a sensitive subject to discuss in Chile (Sorensen, 2009;3).

2.2 Contemporary politics in Chile 2006-2018

In 2006, the first female President of Chile was elected, namely Michelle Bachelet of the Socialist Party. She is the daughter of a military general who was murdered because he did not agree with the coup that resulted in the dictatorship. Bachelet herself is a former political prisoner and survivor from the notorious detention center Villa Grimaldi, during the dictatorship era (Sorensen, 2009:2, 6). After Bachelet's presidency, Chileans elected their first right-wing president in two decades, businessman and billionaire Sebastián Piñera. Piñera's win represented a significant shift from Socialist Bachelet's government as he took office in 2010. His party and formed coalition is known to promote neoliberalism and exercise a generally conservative rhetoric (Washington Post, 2010). In 2014, Piñera was succeeded by Bachelet returning to office for four more years. She campaigned with promises to improve of healthcare, reduce income disparity and reform both education and political and economic structures dating from the dictatorship (BBC, 2014). Her political successes include an electoral reform that made the political system more inclusive, especially regarding the participation of women, and managing to get a deeply divided Congress to legalize abortion in limited circumstances (New York Times, 2018).

In March 2018, Bachelet was yet again succeeded by Piñera as he won his second presidential election in 2017 with more votes than any president in Chile since the return to democracy. Piñera's promises includes more strict immigration policies and making Chile the first country in Latin America to reach "developed nation" status in the OECD (Economist, 2018 & Reuters, 2017).

2.3   The culture of *machismo* and *marianismo*

It would be inaccurate to try to describe Chilean society without at least mentioning the concepts of *machismo* and *marianismo*. These concepts are central to the reproduction of gender inequalities in Chile and in Latin America as a whole.

Machismo can be broadly defined as male chauvinism and is related to the domination and privilege men have over women in political, judicial, economic, psychological and cultural spheres. *Machismo* is closely connected to patriarchal structures and contribute to discrimination against women. In a society marked by *machismo*, boys are taught that they are strong and can reach their goals by being aggressive. Furthermore, it is expected from men to be strong, independent, active and polygamous. They are also supposed to be the 'protector' of their wife and family. In a culture marked by *machismo*, the men expect certain attributes and behaviors from women which complements to the concept of *marianismo* (Cianelli et al., 2008; De Souza et al., 2004).

Marianismo derives from the Catholic beliefs of Mary as a virgin and mother of Jesus. The submission of women to men is a central component in the concept and it portrays a supposed ideal of 'true femininity'. Women are expected to be faithful, passive, submissive and affectionate and girls are taught that they must be good mothers and wives, and dependent on men. Important female values in the *marianismo* context include motherhood, chastity, care-taking and self-sacrifice (Cianelli et al., 2008; De Souza et al., 2004).

The combination of these two cultures in society produces a double standard, in which; "women are placed either in the category of good mothers and

wives or in the category of bad women who are sexually available and knowledgeable" (Cianelli et. al., 2008:2). Women should subordinate their body and pleasure to men and their decisions and feelings. This hierarchical structure holds up systems of discrimination, violence, sexual harassment and economic manipulation of women (Goldwert, 1985; Cianelli et al., 2008).

2.4 *Ni Una Menos*

According to Fortenzer (2017) the women's movement in Chile have been an almost inaudible voice in the public debate since the 1990's. That is, until the *Ni Una Menos* protest, which became one of the greatest expressions of the struggle to end gender-based violence in Latin America (Romero & Pates, 2017). The region is claimed to be one of the most dangerous places to live as a woman and 14 of the 25 countries with the highest rates of femicide in the world are countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (UN Women, 2017).

Following an increasing number of femicides and cases with very young victims, as the case of Chiara Paez mentioned earlier, the first protest of *Ni Una Menos* was held in Argentina on June 3rd, 2015. The hashtag #NiUnaMenos spread on social media and women all over Argentina called for change and collective action. The protest on June 3rd was organized by a group of mainly journalists, artists and activists and an estimated number of 300,000 people mobilized in front of the National Congress in Buenos Aires. The protesters demanded justice for the victims and more actions to eradicate violence against women. The movement grew to include broader sections of society as NGOs, political parties, schools, trade unions and militants joined the demand to stop the violence (Romero & Pates, 2017).

On October 19 the following year, *Ni Una Menos* marches were organized in 30 different Latin American countries including Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico and El Salvador. Evidently, the *Ni Una Menos* message touched a nerve in societies throughout Latin America. In Santiago, Chile, thousands marched with posters phrasing "*Nunca más*"[3] and "*Vivas nos queremos*"[4]. In 2016

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[3] Translates to "Never again".

until the march, 34 women had been killed and hundreds of attacks on women were reported, the most shocking case being Nabila Rifo, who was brutally beaten by her partner and lost her eyes in the attack (Tele 13, 2016; 2017). The central messages of the *Ni Una Menos* have been to call on the government to toughen penalties against perpetrators and expand women's safety. The aim of the protest has also been to call attention to voices of the victims that are silenced and for the authorities to provide better help to women who have suffered violence (Terzian, 2017).

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[4] Translates to "We want to live".

3 Theory

The theoretical framework of this study is based on different theories and concepts. The following chapter will outline previous research on social movements and their impact in general and, the impact of women's movements in particular. Furthermore, the chapter will provide an overview of the scholarly debates on social movement theory as well as a description of the chosen theoretical approach of this thesis. The aim is to help situate the reader and locate the subject of the thesis and its role in existing research.

3.1 Previous research on social movements

One of the most studied cases of social movements in Latin America is the activism of the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (hereafter called *Madres*). The *Madres* activism began as a group of mothers looking for sons and daughters that "disappeared" during Argentina's Dirty War 1976-1983 and became one of the most active and well-known human rights movements in Latin America. The *Madres* framed their activism by using their perspective and experiences as mothers of the disappeared, thus using motherhood and traditional gender roles as tools of resistance. After democracy was restored, the *Madres* have continued to play an important role in Argentine politics for over three decades (Johnston & Almeida, 2006).

According to Bosco (2006), the collective action by the *Madres* was a goal in itself, that is becoming, and remaining activists have been inseparable from the specific goals of protecting and attaining human rights. Their activities formed an emotional bond among women and mothers of the disappeared. By strategic efforts to promote collective gatherings in public spaces, the visibility of their protests increased significantly. The visibility and public locations facilitated recruitment and "permitted the struggle for human rights to reach remote corners

of Argentina where the social and political realities were not conductive to the development of human rights activism" (Bosco; 2016:361).

Bosco (2016) assesses the *Madres* mobilization outcomes by drawing attention to the personal and the emotional dimensions of activism. He claims that the effectiveness and long-lived mobilization of the *Madres* relates to their capacity to, through emotional labor, stop regarding themselves as victims and passive mothers and instead transform themselves into activists in *Madres de Plaza de Mayo*. Their success in measured by their duration and perseverance as well as their ability to maintain a cohesive collective. Their objectives were also achieved since they managed to transform their members into collective actors in the beginning and caught widespread attention and recognition as legitimate actors (Johnston & Almeida 2006; Bosco, 2016).

3.1.1 Social movements in Chile

Previous research on social movements in Chile tend to focus on the student movements and their demands. This is not surprising since Chile has become the stage for widespread student demonstrations over the past decades (Roberts, 2016; Donoso, 2017). A wave of mass demonstrations mobilized by students started in 2001 and mobilization like this had not been seen since the protests against the Pinochet dictatorship during the 1980s. In 2001, the student movement's main tactics were street protests in the capital Santiago. This received extensive public attention and came to be known as the *Mochilazo*[5]. In response to several weeks of protest, the education authorities promised to make changes and later reversed part of the state's separation from the education field by transferring responsibility from private actors to the state. It was considered a huge accomplishment and the first time that student mobilization had a positive impact. This accomplishment had an important effect for the coming years of student mobilizations as it showed activists that going out on the streets can make things happen (Donoso 2017:75).

Another case of student protest in Chile started in 2011 and had a heavy impact on the political agenda. The demonstrations gained a strong popular support and generated a debate on educational reforms and also managed to

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[5] From the word "*mochila*", which translates to "backpack".

trigger other political developments such as tax reforms and a call for a new constitution (Donoso, 2017:65; Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). The strategies of the student movement were constructed by the historical legacies of the movement and its former experiences of mobilization. The government's embracement of many student demands explains the new insider strategies of the movement and displays an example of how social movements can influence domestic politics. The closer relationship between the student movement and the Chilean government can be explained by what Gamson refers to as 'acceptance' of the movement (in Donoso, 2017:86). However, it is important to note that the extension to these insider strategies were not appreciated by all students in the movement and outsider strategies, such as protesting in the streets, are still regarded as the only way of reaching the goals of the movement (Donoso, 2016a; Dreyer & Ocampo, 2013).

3.1.2 Women's movements in Chile

The literature on the women's movement in Chile is limited, partly because of the lack of a cohesive and perseverant movement during recent years. Previous research on the movement focus mostly on the period of transition in the 1990's (see Fortenzer, 2017; Baldez, 2002; Noonan, 1995). This literature is scarce as well, especially regarding the topic of impact. Fortenzer (2017) concentrates on the dynamics of the movement, while Baldez (2002) focal points regards the reasons for female protest. Noonan (1995) studies the history of women's mobilization in Chile and examines how and why women engage in mobilization against the state. Regardless of the research gap, women have always had a fundamental part in social and protest movements in Latin America and Chile is no exception (Johnston & Almeida, 2006; West & Blumberg, 1991). Women's participation in Chile ranges from before women had the right to vote and during the independence struggles in the beginning of the 19th century to the guerrilla wars during the 1960s and 1970s (Baldez, 2002; West & Blumberg, 1991; Noonan, 1995).

Women's involvement in politics in the period 1953-1978 was in a way an extension of the traditional role of women in the family. Women concerned

themselves mainly with social welfare and child health issues reflecting women in politics as "mothers for the country". Thus, the traditional role of women, as mothers who cares for the children in a family, was reinforced and promoted in the political sphere. By adopting the dominant political and cultural themes in Chile at the time, women framed their activities and objectives around issues related to family and motherhood. In other words, when the political sphere did not accept the feminist or strategic interests of women, they shifted focus to the practical and maternal interests which seemed to be acknowledged (Noonan, 1995:88-89).

The first to criticize and protest the Pinochet regime and its human rights offenses were the mothers, daughters and sisters of the detained or "disappeared", similar to the case of the *Madres* in Argentina. At this time, women's involvement in political protest was legitimated by their traditional roles being mothers and wives and they played an important role in subverting the regime's legitimacy with their strong political voices. The grievances due to the violations of human rights during the Pinochet regime, as well as the crises during Allende's presidency, made opportunities for mobilization possible and facilitated organization. The moments of instability and division of the elite in Chile created an environment where mobilized groups in general were more likely to succeed (Noonan; 1995; Baldez, 2002). The opposition to the Pinochet government and the desire for a return to democracy unified their actions. Intense mobilization, unity with multiple organizations and alliances with political parties made it possible for the women's movement to pressure for a transition to democracy (Dandavati, 2005; Noonan 1995).

Since the return to democracy, the women's movement have been profoundly divided and almost an inaudible voice in the public debate. The fault line has been between "autonomous" and "institutional" feminists, shaped by tactical or strategic disagreements as well as differences concerning political and philosophical approaches to central feminist issues (Fortenzer, 2017; Francheschet, 2003;11). The major feminist claims since 1990 have regarded reproductive rights and violence against women. However, during this period, the women's movement have been marked by unmet expectations, setbacks and division (Fortenezer, 2017:170; Francheschet, 2003).

In 2005, the organization *la Red contra la Violencia hacia las Mujeres*[6] launched a major campaign against gender-based violence called *¡Cuidado! El Machismo Mata*[7]. The campaign included different components, such as marches, putting up posters and honoring victims of violence in the public sphere. The same year, the National Agency for Women in Chile (SERNAM) began keeping count of female victims killed by their partners and former partners. As violence against women became an issue for political debate and was put forward on the agenda, partly by SERNAM and partly by the widespread attention given to the *¡Cuidado! El Machismo Mata* campaign. Finally, in 2011, a law that criminalized femicide specifically was enacted (Fortenzer, 2017:180).

3.2   Social movement theory

There may be theoretical disagreement concerning how to explain social movements and their potential political impact within the social movement field, however there is one thing scholars agree on: the study of the impacts and consequences of social movements in the Global South has been neglected (Escobar, 1992; Noonan, 1995; Johnston et al., 2016). While researchers seem to agree that the study of social movements in this part of the world have not been given enough attention, they disagree about how one should conceptualize and explain social movement impact. The debate between scholars of *resource mobilization* and scholars of *political opportunity structure* have been central to this (Kriesi et al., 1995). The theoretical focus of this thesis lies on both of these social movement theories as well as the concept of *framing processes,* also known as *frame alignment theory*. Political opportunity theory and resource mobilization theory are the two traditional theories used to understand social movements but alongside them the interest in framing processes have grown and the concept of framing have lately become regarded as a central dynamic in social movement research (Benford & Snow, 2000:612; Diani & Della Porta, 2005).

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[6] The Chilean Network against Violence towards Women
[7] Translates to "Careful! *Machismo* Kills"

3.2.1 Resource mobilization

As the study of social movements came into view as a research field within social sciences, the idea of collective action as dangerous, emotion-driven and irrational was discarded. Early theorists in the field emphasized political protest as actions of intention and rationality. One of the first theoretical approaches in the field of social movement studies was the resource mobilization approach. Resource mobilization outlines "the importance of organizational structures and resource accumulation for mobilization: social movements and movement organizations have to acquire resources in terms of money, personnel, organization and external support" (Engels, 2015:109). Thereby, the resources can be cultural, moral, human or socio-organizational and lacking material resources can be compensated by human resources to give one example. However, the different types of resources can only make up for one another to a certain degree (ibid). Furthermore, the resource mobilization approach hypothesizes that an organized and united social movement stand a better position to achieve impact in comparison to a loosely organized movement. The approach emphasizes the importance of internal variables, for instance movement resources and organizational infrastructure (Eisinger, 1978). Gamson (1990) found that successful social movements appear to be more bureaucratized and centralized and that the number of protesters in a movement is closely connected to the strength of the message sent to politicians. Simply put, a centralized and organized movement with greater resources, a large number of participants poses a stronger collective power and thus a higher probability of reach its goals and having an impact (Jenkins, 1983).

The approach also emphasizes other sorts of resources, such as social movements relationship to authorities, media and the interaction among organizations within the movement. In broad terms, resource mobilization approach deals with the tactics and dynamics of social movement change, growth and decline (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

The potential for resource mobilization is affected by prevalent authorities, police and other agents of social control. These are not usually part of social movements but may have the ability to control, enable or frustrate resource mobilization, thus they constitute an important aspect to take into account. The

actions of this certain group can also have an impact on adherents, bystanders and constituents and change their engagement and position (McCarthy & Zald, 1977:1221).

Eisinger (1973) criticizes the resource mobilization approach arguing that it overlooks the political context in which the social movements try to achieve their goals. The critique became known as the political opportunity theory, which focuses less on internal factors and instead turns focus to the external factors. The political opportunity approach will be explained further in the following section.

3.2.2 Political opportunity structures

In social movement literature nowadays, there is a general agreement that changes in the political opportunity structure are significantly important (Snow et al., 2004:24; Tarrow, 1994; McAdam, 1995). As stated earlier, the political opportunity structure approach concentrates on the external factors that social movements encounter. The basic premise of political opportunity theory, also known as political process theory, is that external factors "enhance or inhibit prospects for mobilization, for particular sorts of claims to be advanced rather than others, for particular strategies of influence to be exercised, and for movements to affect mainstream institutional politics and policy" (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004:1457). The principal variables in models of political opportunity according to Tarrow (in Noonan, 1995:84) are: "(1) degree of openness in the polity, (2) stability or instability of political alignments, (3) presence or absence of allies and support groups, (4) divisions within the elite or its tolerance for protest, and (5) the policymaking capacity of the government". These principal variables of political opportunity theory have helped adding to the understanding of the variations in structures, strategies and outcomes of social movements. In other words, the external factors include the political environment, the government's repressive capacity, the degree of political openness and unity among the elite, the existence of allies and the prevalent party system (Goldstone, 1980; Tarrow, 2011). The approach builds upon the theory that the aims and strategies of protest do not form in a vacuum but rather are affected an assortment of structural conditions (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly, 1978). That is, the context from which

movements and protest actors emerge is important to take into account as it can help explain their rise and impact (Engels, 2015). Hence, the central point is that the structural setting of a country matters in regard to the possibility for social movements to influence its surroundings and make an impact. A basic notion of the approach is that "political opportunity structures influence the choice of protest strategies and the impact of social movements on their environment" (Kitschelt, 1986:58). This particularly shows for so-called 'instrumental movements' which are often politically oriented, as for example the solidarity and peace movements. Movements such as these tend to act instrumentally to pursue their goals in the environment and accordingly, their outcomes rely to a great extent on the political opportunity structure (Kriesi et al., 1995: 236).

The first direct use of the political opportunity framework is seen in Eisinger's work to explain the extensive riots in some American cities in the late 1960's. The aim of his study was to understand why some cities witnessed these riots while some did not. He found that some cities preempted protest through inviting traditional means of participation to redress grievances. Other cities did not have this visible openness for participation and instead discouraged or repressed persons of dissenting views to the degree that protest failed to emerge (in Meyer & Minkoff 2004:1459). Since Eisinger's first study on the concept of political opportunity structures, scholars have differentiated between 'open' and 'closed' structures. Open structures permit easy access to the political system and closed structures aggravate access (Snow et al. 2004:69f). The structural factors can be temporary, usually events leading to the opening of a "window of opportunity" for protest activities and mobilization. In spite of being temporary, the structures shift and create new opportunities for collective action which can explain why people engage in social movements at this particular time (Engels, 2015). Political opportunity theory proposes an answer to the questions: "Why does contentious politics seem to develop only in particular periods of history? [...] And why do movements take different forms in different political environments?" (Tilly, 2011:28).

Due to its popularity the political opportunity approach has even been called the "hegemonic paradigm among social movement analysts" (Goodwin & Jasper 1999:28). However, even though it is widely known as a powerful tool for the study of social protest it has faced some criticism. One criticism concerns the

interpretation of the political opportunity approach. The key terms of the theory have been interpreted in many different ways and the definition and conceptualization of the term 'political opportunity' has been elusive (Snow et al. 2004:68). With these criticisms in mind, I have tried to be clear about how I conceptualize political opportunity and underline in what way I use this approach in my particular theoretical framework. Moreover, by using a combination of theoretical approaches in the thesis I aspire to cover the shortcomings of each one.

Furthermore, scholars have mostly used the theory when studying social movements in democracies in the Global North, thus it has met criticism regarding its applicability to non-democratic states and states in a non-Western context. Social movements and protest in countries outside of the Western context are often based on crisis with different aspects and outsets. Historically, in Latin America for example, protest have been emerged from different grievances than the ones in most Western cases (Noonan, 1995:84). In response to this criticism scholars began turning more focus on framing processes, for instance how actors present specific problems (Snow et al., 1986; Della Porta et al., 2004). By adding the framing approach to this study's theoretical framework, I hope to cover this aspect of criticism as well. In the next section, the approach of framing processes will be described more thoroughly.

3.2.3 Framing processes

As the study of social movements came into view as a research field within social sciences, the idea of collective action as dangerous, emotion-driven and irrational was discarded. In the early 1980s, the traditional theories in the study of social movements were criticized for not paying satisfactory attention to the role of ideology and grievances as explanations and determinants of participation in protest. The critique addressed that previous studies could not adequately explain why some grievances, topics and demands became focus of protest instead of others. This inability was especially obvious in the wave of so-called 'new movements' focusing on the environment, peace and women's rights. In response, scholars in social movement research directed their attention to the cognitive mechanisms, such as the framing of grievances (Della Porta et al., 2004:195).

The concept of frames derives primarily from the work of Goffman in the 1970's. According to Goffman, frames denote a "schemata of interpretation" that allow individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" different occurrences in their life in the world at large (in Snow et al., 1986:464). That is, frames are used to provide meaning to occurrences or events and in this manner function as a way of organizing expertise and direct action (Benford & Snow, 2000:614). Put simply, the notion of frames refers to collective's explanatory design for understanding the world and a guide to collective action. Framing processes brings attention to the interpretative work movement actors engage in to produce consensus and how this can be used as strategic tools for gaining support and recruiting participants (Snow et al., 2004:368, 380).

According to Benford and Snow (in Johnson & Klanderman, 1995:168) collective action frames are identified by three functions, namely: punctuation, attribution and articulation. Punctuation refers to the efforts of calling attention to different injustices experiences by certain groups. Attribution concerns the explanation of the causes of the injustices and proposing remedies for the same. Articulation involves the connecting of experiences into a coherent point of view. That is, collective action frames construct a shared definition and outlook of the situation by defining injustices, who is affected and responsible for the injustices and how to fight and discourage them (Snow et al., 2004:368).

The framing concept concerns "the ways in which actors in contentious politics present a specific problem through their discourses and practices; the causes, solutions and means of action they derive from the problem; and the deployment of these discursive frames for protest mobilization" (Engels 2015:110). Namely, framing theory puts focus on the methods and actions movements use when trying to recruit participants. Specifically, it does so by constructing compliance between the movement's collective frames and the individual meanings systems that are already present in daily life. The frames do not emerge by themselves but are created by social movement actors and work as a set of shared meanings and beliefs. Framing theory recognizes the importance of cultural factors and the role of 'meaning' in regard to movements mobilization and recruitment abilities. In short, 'meaning' refers to social movements' ideas and beliefs (Taylor & Whittier, 1995:171). The social movement actors are engaged in how meaning is produced and maintained for opposers, observers,

constituents and bystanders. This production can include the amplification or transformation of existing meanings and the development of new ones (Snow and Benford in Engels 2015:110). Primarily frames are set by the actors who engage in protest events from the start and are not easily changed. The frames assemble a link between the mobilization and the structural conditions of protest. Simply put, frames "provide an explanation as to why successful mobilization occurs at some times and not at others, even when conditions are similar" (Engels 2015:110).

Activists in social movements construct identity narratives which explain their actions and links their experiences in terms of 'meaning' frames. These frames are situated, both contextually and historically, in social movement communities (Taylor & Whittier, 1995:173; Giddens, 1991). The framing approach addresses the origins and the development of the meanings of social movements, especially if these derive from the frameworks and beliefs of previous social movements or cycles of protest (Taylor & Whittier, 1995:171).

3.2.4 Concluding the theoretical framework

The reasons for combining the three approaches above are mainly to gain a broader theoretical framework in order to understand the character and course of the *Ni Una Menos,* the Chilean women's movement and the experiences of the activists who identify with it. Though theory often still deals separately with resources, opportunity structures and framing, in the empirical world, they are inseparably entangled, which is another reason for using more than one approach in the study. For instance, Tilly (1999) argues that political opportunity theory cannot explain every aspect of social movements and protest, but through a combination with other approaches in social movement theory a deeper analysis can be reached. To summarize, political opportunity emphasizes the structural conditions around social movements and how these external factors affect the possibility for protest. Resource mobilization approach on the other hand, focuses on the internal factors such as a movement's organizational abilities or financial resources for protest. Ultimately, the framing processes approach deals with how social movements use ideas, culture and ideology to interpret grievances, define goals and produce meaning in order to mobilize support.

4   Method

Fieldwork must always be carried out with thoughtful consideration and awareness with regards to representation and power (Klandermans & Staggenborg 2002; Milan 2014). As a researcher using fieldwork as a method it is important to consider the ethical and moral aspects of one's study and the responsibilities that comes with it. Needless to say, fieldwork can be carried out in countless settings and contexts which makes different demands of the researcher. The section below describes themes related to fieldwork generally, but focus is put on the ones that have been most relevant to this particular study and setting. It can be hard to isolate the themes from each other as they are intertwined to a large extent. The discussion in this section is an attempt to make sense of fieldwork and its components and methodological challenges.

4.1   Research design

Based on the theoretical framework, this study was conducted as a qualitative in-depth case study of the women's movement in Chile. Case studies give the researcher an opportunity to gain a vast insight into a case and take into account how a phenomenon can be influenced by its specific context. It enables answering questions of "why" and "how" and allows for the researcher to collect data from different sources and merge them to illuminate a case (Baxter & Jack, 2008:556). The research was carried out as a field study in Santiago for 8 weeks, from February to April 2018. In a broad sense field research can be defined as "research based on personal interaction with research subjects in their own setting" (Wood 2007:124). Field research often includes methods such as formal or informal interviews, participant observations, surveys or collecting documents. Two elementary features of fieldwork are described; firstly, the research takes place in the social environment of the "subject", an environment which the researcher does

not control but depends on while doing research on a certain subject. The environment can enable and shape the research process in many ways but also restrict and delimitate the same. Secondly, the access to the field is often based upon personal relationships and involves encounters that extend beyond formal ones. The researcher acquire access to places or groups through social organizations and networks in which the access is constantly managed and negotiated in personal interactions. The main source of information in field work is "the process of interacting with people and being part of social situations" (Malthaner, 2004:2). In this case, this includes mainly interviews and participant observations.

4.2   Ethical considerations

It is important to keep in mind the different motivations and investments of activists and researchers while studying social movements. One possible discrepancy between researcher and activists in social movement studies regards who is to "gain" what from the research (Milan, 2014; Lewis 2012). For example, interviews require an investment in both time and resources from the activist as it affects their leisure time whereas for the researcher it is a part of their daily work. The researcher earns material while the activists could lose time to gain income or do voluntary work for social change. In many ways there is an imbalance that needs to be considered in these types of research (Milan 2014; Lincoln 2011). In this study, I addressed the issue by reflecting on myself as a researcher in the process, knowing that the activist is the expert on the subject. Even though I am the researcher in this case, the aim of doing fieldwork is for me to learn and listen to the activists' experiences. The concept of reflexivity concerns ""the ways in which researchers should reflect upon their own practices" (Mikkelsen 2005:197). Reflexivity is necessary in order to be attentive of any possible implications and biases that can appear in research, including the researcher's own values and choice of methods. It is important to not let these factors impact the results of the study and thus keep a reflexive approach (Bryman, 2016:388). Considering the data collection, I chose interviewing techniques that gave the interviewee the

option to decide on what to conceal and reveal based on their own assessment of the risk involved. This was done to ensure that the participant feeling of comfort and may also have helped to create a trust. The fact that I, as a woman, interviewed other women may also have been an advantage as shared experiences regarding gender also can help create confidence towards the researcher. For me, it was important to be sensitive about the ways my study could affect social arrangements and I aimed to give the activists an opportunity to reflect on the movement in a way they otherwise might rarely have time for. In this sense, I tried to reduce the aforementioned discrepancy by using a research design that may be at service for more than scientific data gathering. Specifically, the research questions were designed to relate to the daily practices of the activists in order for them to engage with it and accept the study as legitimate (see Milan, 2014:453).

4.3 Material

To answer the research question 10 interviews were conducted with stakeholders and activists in the women's movement in Santiago, Chile. The interviews varied in time between 50 minutes and 2 hours. The data that was gathered through the interviews constitutes the primary source of empirical material in this study. However, in addition to the interview data secondary sources was used to add depth to the material. Along with the primary data, the secondary material provides an empirical basis for the analysis and consists of previous research, statements, newspaper articles, social media activity and different publications from women's rights organizations.

Moreover, participant observations were used to provide supplementary information about the movement as well as to inform the interviews and add to the analyses of the same. For instance, I attended a march on the International Women's Day on March 8 and a panel discussion on the subject of "*Feminismo hoy, un debate necesario*"[8] as well as other meetings and talks, both formal and informal. This was done in order to deepen my understanding of the women's movement and their work and objectives. A common definition of participant

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[8] Translates to "Feminism today, a necessary debate".

observations is that it is a 'research strategy whereby the researcher becomes involved in a social situation for the purpose of understanding the behavior of those engaged in the setting' (Burnhan, et al. 2008:265). A growing number of social movement scholars use participant observations aiming to comprehend mobilization through active participation. By using participant observations as a method, the researcher seeks to acquire insights into the processes of mobilization while they take place and attempt to understand activism from within (Della Porta et al., 2014:149).

4.4   Sampling

The interviewees were chosen through a combination of purposeful sampling and snowballing. With a purposeful sampling approach, interviewees are chosen because of their certain positions, characteristics or experiences etcetera. The intent while using purposeful sampling is to ensure that all relevant actors to the subject matter are considered. The criteria for the selection of participants were made in an early stage and informed by the aim of the study and review of literature. By researching the field, relevant organizations, groups and stakeholders could be identified and contacted (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003:80).

Activists from four different women's rights movement organizations were purposely sampled; *la Red Chilena contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres[9], el Observatorio Contra el Acoso Callejero Chile[10]*, *Miles Chile[11]* and *Humanas[12]*. Two spokespersons from the protest coordinating group of *Ni Una Menos*, *Coordinadora Ni Una Menos Chile,* were also sampled. However, since the women's movement in Chile is very diverse and also consists of activists that are not engaged in formal groups or organizations, the sampling also includes activists who do not identify with a specific organization, most of these activists identify themselves as *feministas sueltas[13]*. *Sueltas* takes part in the movement in

[9] the Chilean Network against Violence towards Women.
[10] the Observatory against Street Harassment Chile.
[11] Miles Chile is an organization working with reproductive and sexual rights.
[12] Humanas is an organization working with women's human and legal rights.
[13] Translates to 'loose' feminists, meaning non-affiliated. The term is purposely not comparable to the concept 'independent' as it derives from liberalism. The term is closer to concepts of 'autonomy'.

different ways and all of them had previously been part of formal women's organizations at some point. One of the participants is active in the human rights organization and memory site *Londres 38,* but was not purposely sampled due to her affiliation with the organization. The activists were mainly found through a snowballing approach and were recommended to me in contact with other interviewees or intended interviewees. Snowballing is a sampling approach which entails asking initial interviewees to identify and propose other people who may fit the criteria. It is often advantageous to use this approach as a supplement to other sampling methods as it makes systematic sample selection difficult (Ritchie and Lewis 2003:94)

The sample of this study is homogenous in the way that the informants are exclusively women, this was not a deliberate choice but a natural outcome as a result of the over-representation of women in the women's movement. However, I strived for a broad age span among the participants and the women's' ages ranges from 28-68 years.

After about 8 interviews 'theoretical saturation' was reached as no new themes or concepts were brought up after this point. That is, no new dimensions or insights to the theoretical categories were discussed after this point (Bryman, 2016:412). However, two additional interviews were still conducted after the theoretical saturation point was reached as these were already planned for and in order to verify the saturation point, that is, certify that no new data would come up. With this in mind, the sampling size for this study is adequate due to the time span and scope of the thesis and considering the reach of theoretical saturation.

4.5 Interviews

An overall goal of using verbal data through interviews is to "reveal existing knowledge in a way that can be expressed in the form of answers and so become accessible to interpretation" (Flick, 2009:160). In social movement research interviews have been central as a way of collecting data about the objectives and aims of the activists participating in protest and the activities of the movements they identify with (Blee and Taylor 2002:92). Due to ethical considerations the

interviewees were informed that they could stop the interview at any time and they also got to decide on interview location for the sake of their comfort. All interviewees were offered to answer the questions anonymously, however they all preferred having their name stated in the study. Furthermore, the interviews were recorded with consent from the interviewees and they were offered to listen to the recording afterwards. I took notes during the interviews and all interviews were transcribed shortly after they were conducted in order to reflect the discussions in a fair way. I used an interview guide as a basis of the interviews with a few background questions as a starting point. Some of the questions in the interview guide were slightly modified after the first interview as I noticed that some linguistic improvements could be made to make the questions clearer. Besides this, the guiding questions were overall the same in the first interview and as in the last one. The interviews were semi-structured in nature, which allowed for topics and some specific questions to be predetermined, while many questions were formulated during the interview (Mikkelsen, 2005:169). Semi-structured interviews are especially useful when the aim is to understand movement actors and respondent's experiences. They provide a depth of information and allows for flexibility during the interview. Interviews require a high level of knowledge from the researcher in order to understand the complex issue and processes under scrutiny. It becomes necessary to ask the relevant follow-up questions and to probe further when needed (Flick, 2009:168). The open-ended nature of semi-structured interviewing also allows for an analysis of the context in which statements of social movement's participants is made. It is important to understand the activists' responses in the context of their social setting and discourse (Blee and Taylor, 2002:94). The interviews focused on the emergence and impact of the *Ni Una Menos* protest in October 2016 and the subsequent events and attention following the protest. Moreover, the interviews covered questions regarding the objectives and strategies of the women's movement and how activists in the movement assess the *Ni Una Menos* protest and its societal influence on Chile.

The interview guide[14] is well informed by the theoretical concepts of the study and a framework was developed in order to analyze the data from the

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[14] See Appendix 2.

interviews. It is crucial to get to know the theory well in order to be able to develop a well-constructed interview guide and analyze the data (Becker, 1998:110). Seven interviews were conducted in Spanish and three interviews were conducted in English. The respondents were free to choose whichever language they were comfortable with. Transcription of the interviews was done shortly after they were conducted to keep the sentiment of the discussions close in mind. In order to avoid any dialectal errors a native Spanish speaker has listened to the recordings and proofread the transcriptions from the interviews conducted in Spanish.

4.6   Data analysis

After transcription of the interviews the data was coded and thematically analyzed. By coding and choosing themes the data can be analyzed in the light of the theoretical framework (Burnham et al. 2008:245). The coding process involves breaking down the data into component parts and giving them labels. Thereafter the researcher looks for recurrences and links in the coded text to make sense of the data. Basically, data analysis is about data reduction and making the data more accessible in order for the researcher to interpret it (Bryman, 2016:11). In most qualitative research data gathering, analysis and the building of concepts interact concurrently in the research process. That is, these research steps do not follow each other in a straight line but happens simultaneously. In this way, the practice of fieldwork is closely attached to the theorizing of analysis and the stages might affect each other early on in the research process (Della Porta et al., 2014).

4.7   Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is one of the most common approaches used to analyze qualitative data and the search for themes can be recognized in several other approaches, including critical discourse analysis and narrative analysis. Thematic

categories can inform the interpretation of data in order to find key messages and how these are framed. The themes and subthemes derive from careful and repeated reading of transcripts and field notes (Bryman, 2016:584f). Critique against thematic analysis is concerned with how researchers identify themes or how the themes emerge from the data. Bazeley claims that researchers tend to be unclear on how the thematic analysis approach is used and that it is not sufficient to simply present the themes without further explanation (in Bryman 2016:587). With this criticism in mind, I will try to make clear how the themes in my study are important and how they may relate to each other or to other literature. I aim to justify the emergence of the themes by being transparent and presenting a trail of key decisions in the research process.

In the search for themes there are several things to look for, for example: repetitions, indigenous typologies, transitions, similarities and differences. Repetition is possibly the most common criteria for establishing a pattern that can constitute a theme in the collected data. The indigenous typologies include local expressions that can be unfamiliar to the researcher and the transitions shows in which ways the topics in the data can shift. Similarities and differences examine how interviewees discuss a certain topic and how it may or may not differ. The researcher can also look for theory-related material, that is concepts from previous research on the subject which can be used as a springboard for themes. Furthermore, the researcher can also look for missing data and reflect on what is not discussed by the interviewees (Ryan & Bernard in Bryman, 2016:586).

4.8 Triangulating data

A triangulation technique was used in order to facilitate validation of the data and to capture different dimensions of the *Ni Una Menos* protest and its outcomes (see Bryman, 2016). Triangulation refers to the use of a combination of research methods and different types of data to analyze the same issue. By a cross-verification, this approach allows for the analyst to receive a more complete view of the complex social movement phenomena. As previously stated, it is a validation strategy but also an approach that allows for a deeper understanding

and thorough explanation of a case (Ayub et al., 2014:68). In this study, data from interviews with activists and stakeholders are triangulated with data from participant observations, previous research and content from newspaper articles and social media platforms.

5   Analysis

In the following chapter, the collected data will be analyzed with a thematic analysis approach. In accordance with this approach, the analysis will be divided into themes and sub-themes and through the lens of the chosen theoretical framework. In summary, the framework consists of a combination of approaches that emphasizes different angles in the analysis; political opportunity takes into account the structural conditions social movements face and how these external factors affect the possibility for protest. Moving forward, the resource mobilization approach emphasizes the internal factors such as organizational abilities or financial resources for protest. At last, the framing processes approach highlights how social movements use ideas, culture and ideology to portray grievances, define goals and construct meaning in order to mobilize support.

5.1   Themes and sub-themes

The theoretical framework mentioned above, together with a thematic analysis approach, will help answer the research question; *How do stakeholders and activists in the women's movement in Chile perceive the impact of the Ni Una Menos protest?*

      This chapter consists of seven parts divided into the main themes found in the data; Aim and objectives, Political and social structures, Cultural traditions, Awareness and Acceptance. Discursive practices, Strategies, Unity and a new outset. All themes and sub-themes are presented in the table on the next page.

Main themes	Sub-themes
Aim and objectives	Societal change, Prevent gender-based violence, Gain acceptance, Overthrow patriarchy, Expand women's opportunities, Political responsiveness
Political and social structures	Memory of the dictatorship, Tradition of fear, Ideology, Patriarchy, Political responsiveness, the Constitution, Distrust
Cultural traditions	Private vs. Public, Role of women, Catholicism, Family, *Machismo*, *Marianismo*, Victim-blaming
Awareness and acceptance	Feminism, Discourse, Resources, Identity, Violence, Legitimacy, Agenda setting
Discursive practices	Role of media, Openness, Responsiveness, Human rights frame, Abortion, Violence, Gender roles
Strategies	*Funas*, Street Protest, Mobilization, Social media, Education, Creativity, Inclusiveness, Intersectionality
Unity and a new outset	Apathy, Lack of power, Fragmentation, Common ground, New arenas, Future challenges, New generation

Figure 1: Themes and sub-themes.

The figure above shows the main themes and sub-themes that was found in the collected data. The themes were identified by the use of a thematic analysis approach, searching for; repetitions, indigenous typologies or similarities and differences. In this study, the sub-themes mainly consist of concepts that were continuously repeated by the interviewees, such as patriarchy, gender-based violence, role of the media and apathy to name a few. Some sub-themes were identified by looking for indigenous typologies, namely *machismo, marianismo* and *funa*. Moreover, I looked for similarities and differences in the interviewees discussions on certain topics, such as how they perceive the role of media or which strategies they describe. Lastly, I searched for concepts from previous research on the subject, two examples being mobilization and role of women. In order to make sense of these findings I divided the themes into overarching main themes that in turn include a number of sub-themes.

The themes and sub-themes are deeply intertwined and often connect to each other, which will become evident in the sections below. Thereof, the themes are not to be seen as static matters but affected by the existence and changeability of other themes. As an example of how the themes overlap and influence each other, the sub-theme 'role of women' is connected to the cultural settings of other themes, such as '*machismo*' and 'Catholicism'. Further on, these cultural tradition-themes are also intertwined with the theme of political and social structures as the traditional gender roles are further perpetuated by the government as well as the other way around. Namely, the political structures in Chile are deeply affected by the surrounding culture and powerful Catholic Church in Chile.

First off, I will analyze the aim and objectives presented by the activists in order to understand what kind of impact the women's movement find desirable.

5.1.1 Aim and objectives

Primarily, it is relevant to note that all participants in this study stress the importance of the decades of struggle by the women's movement in Chile and the progress made by women who have fought before them. It is unthinkable to talk about the impact of today's' women's movement without acknowledging the history of women's struggles and the ground they have gained. Nevertheless, many of the movement's objectives and grievances seem ageless, especially in the Chilean context where progress for women's rights has been found to move slowly.

The aim and objectives of the *Ni Una Menos* protest largely conform with the women's movement in general; to end to violence against women, break down patriarchy and the culture of machismo. Ximena describes the goals of the movement as follows:

> We all dedicate ourselves to different things, but what we want is to change the patriarchal culture, to end it [...] through criticism, concrete actions, denounce violence. What we want is a profound, political and cultural change.
> [my translation[15]]

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[15] The translation of the quotes from the Spanish interviews are the authors own. The quotes from the English interviews are the original ones. The interview language of each participant is presented in Appendix 1: Participants.

The participants describe that they want to expand women's opportunities and rights and put an end to hurtful social structures, such as *marianismo* and *machismo*. Overall, they all want a profound change in society but how it will happen differs. A few of the participants highlight the importance of legislation and political action. However, most stress the importance of education and acceptance of feminist claims as the way forward. Many see capitalism and neoliberalism as obstacles for equal rights and want to see a change in the market system as well as the political system. Moreover, the participants articulate that the women's movement wants to raise awareness on women's rights issues in general and especially on gender-based violence and femicide. In accordance with the concept *Ni Una Menos*, the overall objective of the movement and aim with the protests is that not one more woman should die from violence.

5.1.2 Political and social structures

One of the most conspicuous themes in the participants' narratives is how the history of the dictatorship still influences social movements' opportunities to protest and mobilize. The memory of the dictatorship and the tradition of fear it created is described as a big obstacle for the success of social movements. The oppressive past is still tangible and contributes to the view of both the cultural and the political system as 'closed' structures. Andrea articulates that Chilean people are accustomed to being afraid, which hinders protest and have led to a delay of fundamental rights, including women's rights and gender issues. Many participants describe how extensive impunity affects the Chilean society and mobilization in different ways. People who were involved in murders, "disappearances" and torture during the dictatorship were never prosecuted and some of them are even in power today according to the interviewees. The failure to administer justice on behalf of the victims of the crimes committed during the dictatorship has wounded the Chilean people's' belief in justice and change. This is noticeable throughout the interviews and described as one possible reason to the apathy of the women's movement, naturally the common feeling of disappointment aggravates mobilization because people have the impression that change and justice is impossible. Moreover, the fact that a large number of women

in the movement that identify as *sueltas* is another way in which the mistrust to the political and legal system of Chile is visible. This mistrust and unwillingness to cooperate with political sphere exemplifies the movement's complex relationship to the state.

Several participants mention the Chilean constitution as a further political opportunity obstacle. The constitution was enacted by the military during the dictatorship and contains a number of 'authoritarian enclaves' that still put serious restrictions on policy-making processes in Chile (Donoso, 2007). The memory of the dictatorship and its institutional elements that still are in effect poses serious challenges for change regarding women's rights. These structures can be described as external factors that acts as inhibitions for both mobilization and for movements to affect institutional politics and polity. The government's policymaking capacity is one of the main variables of political opportunity and in the case of Chile, the capacity is considered low (see Tarrow, 2011; Meyer & Minkoff: 2004).

The impunity as well as the large policy-making challenges can further be connected to the women's movement's general unwillingness to engage in the political arena and the detachment from the state. The discussion above can be connected to one of the core arguments of political opportunity structure theory, people's engagement in protest and social movements depend on "the patterns of enabling and hindering structures" (Engels, 2015:109). Thus, large parts of the movement prioritize actions outside of the hindering political sphere, these actions will be addressed in the "Strategies" section later on.

Throughout the interviews and observations, neoliberalism and capitalism are presented as challenges to the women's movement. It is considered that the capitalist system is deeply rooted in Chile and Latin America as a whole. As Maria describes:

> One thing that is very relevant within Latin America is, in the end, that the patriarchal system in Latin America is sustained through the installation of capitalism [...] authoritarian governments installed it through [using] terror towards the population.

Maria's quote shows how patriarchal structures are perceived as inevitable in the prevalent capitalism system that "encourages inequalities". Again, this can be linked to the concept of 'closed' structures, meaning the patriarchal structures

embedded in capitalism acts as an obstruction of women's rights and the objectives of the movement. The significance of class in Chilean society and how it is connected to gender is further described in the interviews. As an example, the abortion law affects women differently depending on class. Many poor Chilean women are forced to perform abortions in their homes without the assistance of doctors, since abortion is illegal in most cases. Needless to say, the method can be dangerous and strenuous, both physically and mentally. This problem does not affect women of the upper class in the same way since rich women can afford to pay doctors to do hidden abortions. In this sense, the abortion law mostly affects women of the lower classes who are forced to have abortions risking their health or give birth to children they do not afford to have. Meanwhile, the doctors that perform these illegal abortions can make a lot of money out of it and if something goes wrong women do not have the opportunity to demand accountability. Ana summarizes the class and abortion issue: "in that sense reproductive rights is completely crossed with gender violence, class and poverty. You cannot detach one from the other". Connecting this further to political opportunities, the system of capitalism poses a hindering structure for women of the lower classes, for example when it comes to reproductive rights. The unequal system is regarded as one challenge to reach change as the women with less resources are the ones that suffer the most. The problem does not, to the same extent, concern the ones who might have the resources to demand change.

On a similar note, Silvana describes a conformity with the inequity of the system that people have had to cope with and become comfortable with: "I think also the dictatorship damaged it, the national conscience. So many years living in that situation naturalize the ideas". She connects this with the issues of women's rights but also other kinds of protest mobilization. Elements of unfairness in society are accepted because people are 'content' with the privileges and perks that were non-existent during the dictatorship. Moreover, Silvana requests a deeper discussion today, in conformity with the intellectual production and critical opinion that was seen during the 1960-70's, before Pinochet came into power. The account presents a disappointment in the degree of consciousness regarding women's rights and protesting the system. This can be viewed as an example of how to the movements possibilities to influence its surroundings are poor because of conformity among the people (see Kitschelt, 1986). On a similar note, Andrea

states that there is a need to work with education; "civil education was lost in the dictatorship, because they did not want people to fight for their rights". According to her, the women's movement has an important role as one of its goals is to include a feminist perspective in people's everyday life, entailing the idea that you have the right to protest and demand equal rights. Most participants articulate education as one big challenge for reaching change in Chile. The *Ni Una Menos* protest presented some grievances regarding sexism in education and calls for educational reform in general have been made throughout decades by social movements. Thus, education is framed as both a possible cause of inequalities and sexism and a solution to the problems (see Snow & Benford, 2000). Organizations within the women's movement have taken education matters into their own hands while waiting for the state to decide on reform, this strategy will be further discussed later on in the chapter.

As stated before, structural factors can be temporary and a few participants mention that political parties, and to some extent the government, have been responsive to gender issues and to the claims made in relation to the *Ni Una Menos* protest. For example, this is shown through statements made by politicians and promises to change policies. However, as Natalie puts it; "they only answer to what is being asked", and do not take initiative themselves. She speaks of the recent abortion law as one example of how politicians answer to claims, although clarifying that it took several years and constant pressure from reproductive rights organizations to finally decide on a law. In recent years, most political parties have installed gender secretaries or commissions which can be explained by demands on an unequal gender quota in politics. To a small extent the responsiveness of the government can be regarded to have some openness, however it seems that this openness only shows in certain situations (see Tarrow, 2011). In this sense, protest becomes crucial as the political arena is more reactive than proactive.

5.1.3 Raising awareness and gaining acceptance

The participants experience the mobilization impact of the *Ni Una Menos* protest in October 2016 more or less the same. The huge number of protesters led to

widespread attention and the amount of human resources gave the impression of a strong collective power. Moreover, even if the organization of the movement was not formal, but a rather impulsive action to occurring events the organization was successful since it managed to mobilize so many (see Eisinger, 1978; Jenkins 1983). All participants state that the protests raised an awareness about men's violence against women and that it led to a broader discussion of the issue. In the light of the protest, there was a 'discursive change' regarding violence against women in general and femicide in particular. Participants express that femicides were, before the protest, often described as murders for love or jealousy and crimes of passion. Natalia articulated this:

> These murders are because they are women and men feel like they own them. I think *Ni Una Menos* contributed to the population in general, that these issues are recognized as such; as gender violence issues.

This statement can be seen as an example of how the *Ni Una Menos* protests provided an opportunity for presenting the problem of gender-based violence with a new meaning in the Chilean context. In other words, the framing impact of the movement changed people's perception of gender-based violence and femicides. The protest and the following attention put focus on the aggressors and not the victims. The common understanding among the interviewees was that, before the protest, there was a lot of 'victim-blaming' tendencies on the one hand and a discourse of 'passionate crimes' on the other hand, while talking about violence against women. By defining the injustices and showing the victims of violence in marches, thereby giving new meaning to the issues in public, the *Ni Una Menos* had some impact in regard to achieve a coherent point of view (see Snow et al., 2004). The women's movement often frame the cause of the violence linked to the *machismo* culture and patriarchal system of the Chilean society, naturally, thereof the solution is framed as putting an end to *machismo* and to un-naturalize male violence (see Snow & Benford, 2000).

The recent creation of the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity is regarded as a success of the women's movement the past years. Even though the bill to instate such a Ministry was written before the *Ni Una Menos* protest, half of the participants believes that the attention of the many femicides during 2016, had a hastening impact on its implementation. As an example, after the formal

inauguration of the Ministry, then President Bachelet made a statement saying that the Ministry would strengthen the efforts against gender violence in Chile referring to recent femicides and attacks on women (Agencia EFE, 2016). Bachelet's statement and the Ministry shows how the mobilization managed to put femicides on the agenda, thus creating an awareness. In accordance to Gamson (1990), the numbers of protesters in the *Ni Una Menos* can be closely linked to the strong message the movement managed to send to politicians. Without the attention of the protest Bachelet may not have made such a statement or pushed the creation of the Ministry.

A common goal among social movements is acceptance, which comprehends partly acceptance of concrete demands and partly the acceptance of the ideas and claims. In other words, a recognition and to be seen as a legitimate actor. As the women's movement often uses a feminist frame to pursue their goals and mobilize, the connotations of the word 'feminist' is of great importance. Both in the narratives shared by the participants and during field observations, a shift regarding the perception of a feminist is highlighted. Participants state that it is is no longer a radical statement to call yourself a feminist in Chile. Natalia describes:

> We never said "we are feminists". We were really scared of the word. Now feminism is cool and everyone say that they are feminists [...] I think that it is a good thing, that it is fashionable.

While the participants describe this change as a development over time, they also state that the *Ni Una Menos* protest events were some kind of breaking point and that more people would identify themselves as feminists openly after the protests. Gladys says: "we went from being the angry, the bitter [...] to, I want to be a feminist too and take a picture when I go on the march". The quote exemplifies how the negative connotations formerly associated with feminists, as 'bitter and angry' women, started to dissolve. The embracement of feminism shows a profitable framing impact, which can provide an explanation to why the mobilization was successful (see Engels, 2015). The protest inspired more women to embrace the word feminist, whilst simultaneously legitimizing the women's movement and its grievances within the feminist frame. According to Druckman (2004), people's perception of political issues depend on how the problems are

framed by either elites or the ones who introduced them to it. In this case, people were influenced by how *Ni Una Menos* presented for instance feminism and gender-based violence.

The participants who are members of organizations, attest that they experienced an increase of people who wanted to join their organizations and contribute to the movement after the protests in October 2016. Thus, the *Ni Una Menos* protests facilitated further mobilization and made way for an acceptance of the feminist making of 'meaning'. A large number of participants means a strengthened collective power, which in turn increases the likelihood of reaching proposed goals and having an impact (see Jenkins, 1983).

5.1.4 Cultural traditions

The role of women is a recurring theme throughout the interviews and is closely connected to the reappearing concepts of private and public; who belongs where and when? The traditional role of a woman in Chile is described as a devoted wife and mother and men are the ones who provide for the family, in line with the concepts of *marianismo* and *machismo*. These set roles make "rules" regarding how men and women are supposed to act and behave in the society. Participants outline a patriarchal culture where women's space is limited and deeply connected to the idea of family and stability. Women belong in the house, the private sphere, and cannot reside in the public on the same terms and conditions as men. Thus, the gender roles are external factors that limit opportunities for societal change (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1995: 236). Natalia describes that the set roles have a big impact on society and the possibilities to achieve change, for example: "it even influences the street harassment bill because women are not supposed to be out". The street harassment bill is thus dismissed because of the idea that a woman who gets harassed on the street has left 'her place' and has herself to blame. Victim-blaming is a common framing occurrence in Chile and strongly rooted in cultural traditions and the concept of public versus private. As male violence is expected and framed as inevitable within *machismo* culture it is rarely taken seriously by authorities. Authorities such as the police, can affect the potential for resource mobilization as they can frustrate mobilization by having impact on

adherents and bystanders. In this case, as the police do not take violence against women seriously, they can transfer these ideas on others and affect their engagement and position (McCarthy & Zald: 1977). Participants attest that women's trust to the authorities and police in particular is weak, consequently few women report their abusers. This leads to a further challenge for the women's movement as it normalizes gender-based violence making the problem seem smaller than in is.

Many participants link the traditional roles of men and women in Chile to religion and Catholicism and state that these roles are further enforced by the government. According to several participants, the government defends family values with a submissive thought of women and as Roxana explains:

> We already lived it in the old Piñera government. The view of the woman was changed towards a familistic perspective, no one talks about the rights of women, but of the family.

In other words, the idea is that women's role is mainly as an important part of family and not as an individual with certain rights. As the above quote proves, this has been enforced in former governments and the same idea and stance are expected from the new Piñera government.

The Catholic Church is a fundamental and powerful actor in Chile both in society overall and in politics. Several participants are critical to the influence of the Church and how it is often invited to discuss political issues in the government. Isa articulates the following:

> I believe that, as in this society, there are dichotomies [...] between the conservative sector and the liberal part. There is always that tendency to want to govern from a bible and not as an institution.

The statements above describe a societal separation and an understanding that the government more often leans towards the conservative view by governing with a Catholic agenda. According to the participants, the authority of the Church poses an aggravation to the claims of the women's movement. A woman's worth is often measured by her maternal and reproductive capabilities connected to *marianismo*, as a caring mother that is. Several participants speak of the Catholic view of women's role as traditional and repressive. Motherhood is central to the Catholic

idea of family and in a family the women are expected to care for children and housework, which for example limits women's financial possibilities as they are not expected to do paid work to the same extent as men. In this sense, the Church is framed as a powerful external actor that reduces opportunity structures and, to some extent, is responsible for women's subordination in Chile (see Johnson & Klanderman, 1995).

One of the participants mentions another type of 'closed' structure in the political sphere, namely a significant distance between the national government and the municipal authorities:

> In terms of women's human rights [...] there are policies, programs of the national government that when they reach the municipal government they take another, more familistic look. There are municipalities that have women's programs and gender units, they do have that part, but from a rather traditional perspective. They reinforce the traditional gender role of women (Isa, Interview 2018).

The gap between the political levels are thus important as the policies on a national level meet a resistance on the provincial or communal level. The municipalities and provinces are described to have their "own" structures and the policies or programs do not reach them as intended. The 'closed' structure acts as an obstruction as one aim of the women's movement is to dismantle the traditional role of Chilean women (see Tarrow, 2011).

5.1.5 Discursive practices

Almost all participants state that there has been a discursive change regarding violence against women in general and femicide in particular since the *Ni Una Menos* protests. Firstly, talking about these topics have become more accepted and gender-based violence is no longer considered someone's private business or something to be discussed at home. Meaning, the ideas regarding gender roles in the private versus public discussed in previous sections are becoming less visible. Gladys speaks about the change as follows:

> Today you go anywhere and talk about a topic, for example femicide, and immediately people tell you their story [...] a sister or neighbor it does not matter,

they have their own experience. And that did not happen before, women did not talk about what was happening to us, it was always a family secret.

Thus, participants experience a change in the openness of the topic and the societal approach towards gender-based violence. The quote also exemplifies how Chileans have started to change the way to treat the issue, earlier it was dealt with in the family and now you could even talk to your neighbor about the subject. According to the participants, *Ni Una Menos* had a positive framing effect leading to a greater openness for certain questions in society (see Druckman 2004; Goldstone 1980). The protest raised people's awareness of gender-based violence and simultaneously had an educational effect since people started to learn how to help women suffering from abuse. The participants further draw attention to the role of the media during and after the protest. As the problems with violence against women became more visible in the public sphere, the media also had to handle the issue in some way. Media offers a space for broadening the reach and spread of social movements' ideas. A widespread medial space can widen the support for movements, thus the media could act as a mobilizer of protest (Della Porta, 2006:220). Participants describe how the *Ni Una Menos* protest, sparked by the rise of femicides in Chile, forced media to draw attention to and discuss the subject. According to Sorensen (2009:6), Chilean media play an important agenda-setting function and largely suggest points of departure for debate and discussion in Chile.

The protests created new opportunities for collective action, opening a "window of opportunity" for people to engage in joint action. Namely, the hindering structure of keeping the issue of violence against women in the private sphere was shifted as the issue, due to the protest, was addressed by the media and the Chilean people in general. As mentioned, the media in Chile is a large influential actor and the fact that *Ni Una Menos* got generous attention in media is defined as important since the movement at the same time obtained a larger stage to present their objectives and grievances (see Sorensen, 2009). Natalia articulates that the media were forced to report on both the protest and what was demanded because of the extent of the protest:

I think after the *Ni Una Menos*, media had to share this. They couldn't keep ignoring what was going on, so they had to show the pictures of the march and

they were kind of forced to address the issue. Even though it wasn't part of the political agenda [...] I think they answered being more conscious about gender issues.

The quote also shows the division between the Chilean people and the political sphere since the agendas did not match at this time. However, the absence of political allies seems to be overshadowed because of the sudden interest of the media, causing a different kind of 'open' structure (see Snow et al., 2004).

Many of the participants talk about women's rights within the frame of human rights. For instance, abortion is framed as a human right as opposed to a health issue which is another common way of framing the topic. Framing abortion, and women's rights in general, as human rights could be a strategic way for the movement to reach out to more people. With the history of the dictatorship and the focus on human rights in the years after it ended, it is not surprising that this type of frame is used by the women's movement. Using a human rights frame can be a good strategy since it fits the individual meanings systems historically present in Chilean society (see Benford & Snow, 2000; Noonan, 1995).

Either way, all participants describe that the passing of the abortion legislation in August 2017 was a big achievement of the women's movement and that the legalization of abortion was, in some way, influenced by the *Ni Una Menos* protest. Until the recent legalization, abortion in Chile was illegal without exception since Pinochet put the ban in place during the closing days of the dictatorship in 1989. Since August 2017 abortion is allowed on three circumstances: 1) if there is a risk to the mother's life, 2) when the fetus has severe conditions incompatible with life outside of the womb, and 3) if the pregnancy is a consequence of incest or rape (The Guardian 2017a). The former law forbid abortion in all cases, and women who had them as well as those who assisted or performed them could face up to five years in jail.

While President Bachelet pledged reform of the abortion legislation when she took office in 2014, two years before the *Ni Una Menos* protest, many describe that the attention from the protest had an accelerating effect on the process. Ana states the following:

The law is not a result of *Ni Una Menos*, it had already taken shape. It helped push forward the law, but it was a promise the government had already done [...]

but all of a sudden it started moving faster at the same time [as the *Ni Una Menos* protest]

The participants carefully stress that the new legislation is a success of the women's movement as a whole and a result of decades of hard work and mobilization. With this in mind, it is still believed that the *Ni Una Menos* had a speeding impact, affecting the external factors in Chile. Although, the victory is shadowed by the fact that the ultimate goal was free abortion without conditions and a reform that would not allow doctors to refuse performing abortions on a conscience basis. As of now, doctors and entire health clinics can claim conscientious objection while denying women abortions. The participants describe both a sense of victory and a disappointment when discussing the decriminalization, they all had wished for more, however the passing of the law is still considered a huge accomplishment.

Nevertheless, the progress on the abortion issue is also talked about as an impediment for further advances. One participant describes that there is a common view that "people in power" are of the opinion that it is no longer necessary to talk about women's reproductive rights as they have already been "given" a law on abortion. Meaning, former allies on the abortion issues are now absent and, in this sense, the "window of opportunity" that made way for the reform has closed and the space for other issues regarding reproductive rights have been filled as well as, to some extent, women's rights issues in general (see Noonan, 1995). The 'saturation' of granting women certain rights is connected to the disappointment and apathy of the women's movement, which I will return to in a forthcoming paragraph.

5.1.6 Strategies

Because of the diversity of the Chilean women's movement, the types of strategies organizations and activists are of equal diversity. The participants talk about the street as the most fundamental space for protest action and where people can make demands and have their voices heard. When asked about the strategies of the women's movement, Ximena articulates the following:

> The street in itself is the strongest space and in all societies, it is an essential political space to occupy without necessarily destroying the city, [...] if you occupy the street, the street is a super powerful political space because it is where human bodies are represented and placed in a position to raise an opinion that something is not working, that something is wrong.

This corresponds with previous research on social movement strategies in Chile (Donoso, 2016; Johnston & Almeida 2004). Aside from the claiming the street, most participants speak about educational strategies as a way of raising consciousness about women's rights in general and violence against women in particular. As discussed earlier, the *Ni Una Menos* protest itself had an educational and awareness raising effect according to several participants. The educational strategy is frequently used by women's movement organizations as they see an absence of equal rights in the educational curriculum in Chile. The women's rights organizations represented in this study all have educational elements; they organize and attend discussion panels and talks, engage in training with female leaders and are members of different social networks. A lot of strategies are also communicative and to make visible certain issues by putting up posters in the public space or doing online campaigns and writing articles. In conjunction with, as well as after, the *Ni Una Menos* protest a new strategy is to take part in radio and TV-shows. According to participants, this was not possible before since the shows would primarily spin feminist matters in a negative manner angle and portray the women's movement in an unfavorable way, thus making representatives of the movement unwilling to attend. The new strategy to attend these shows has emerged as a result of the successful framing mentioned earlier, as well as the gained awareness and acceptance. As previously discussed, TV and radio are popular and influential media channels in Chile and by gaining this new arena the movement can reach out to a lot more people, especially on the countryside.

Social media is continuously described as an important factor to the mobilization and success of the *Ni Una Menos* protests. The speed of the movement to act as well as its creativity are also emphasized as fundamental strategies in some of the interviews. Ana phrases following "The movement is very creative when doing things. With very little resources they are doing incredible things [...] they act so fast. It is impressive". In the Chilean context, creativity is considered needed due to the many different aspects of limitations to

achieve change regarding women's rights. The general sense of hopelessness is obvious throughout the interviews and forces the movement to find creative strategies to attain their goals.

One particular event during the fieldwork exemplifies the speed and mobilization potential of the Chilean women's movement. An activist cancelled a scheduled interview because of the assassination of Marielle Franco[16], a political human rights activist in Brazil, known for opposing military interventions in her city Rio de Janeiro. The interview was supposed to be held on the day after the murder, but the activist cancelled because she was preparing a manifestation in front of the Brazilian embassy to denounce the murder the same evening. In less than 24 hours the movement managed to mobilize through social media and carry out a widely publicized manifestation to denounce the assassination of Marielle.

While all participants agree that the movement lacks economical resources, some describe how 'word of mouth' is a common way of mobilizing. To an extent, the human resources in the movement and the newly gained arenas, thus make up for the economic resources (see McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

Some of the participants express that one of the challenges after the *Ni Una Menos* protest have been to establish an intersectional frame of the women's movement. As the topic of violence gained attention, the systems of oppression and ways in which violence affect women differently depending on race, class, sexual orientation etcetera, was highlighted. Maria explains that the organization *Humanas* have a new project with the aim to: "make visible and prevent institutional violence towards different groups of women that we consider groups of vulnerable women that are, lesbian women, women with disabilities, trans women, women living with HIV and migrant women". Naturally, the women's movement in Chile have had an intersectional perspective in their work for years, especially dealing with issues regarding the Mapuche conflict (see Richards, 2007). However, the urgency of an intersectional framing has become more evident during recent years. Partly, due to hate crimes directed at trans and lesbian women, as in the case of Nicole Saavedra who was killed for being lesbian, and partly because of a rise of racial hate crimes (The Guardian, 2017b). Chile has seen an increase of migrants the past years, for example the Haitian population in

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[16] The Dawn News, (2018) http://www.thedawn-news.org/2018/03/17/marielle-franco-presente-global-protest-movements-denounce-the-assassination-of-brazilian-activist/

Chile grew from around 13,000 in 2015 to more than 100,000 in 2017. The surge has given rise to concerns about racism and xenophobia since the Chilean society has until recently regarded itself as white and most immigration in the past have been from other nearby Latin American countries, such as Peru (Miami Herald, 2018). As with any type of discrimination, the racism against the black female population in Chile manifests itself differently from the racism aimed at black men. As narrated by Estefanía:

> Other groups are also heavily discriminated, as the LGBTI population or migrants and so on. In this area, women still suffer discrimination, especially when there is a woman who may have more than one type of vulnerability in terms of being a migrant, lesbian or trans woman, or Mapuche, and also a woman. In that sense there are still plenty of things to move forward.

The issues of migration and racism are discussed in several interviews and was also noticeable in participant observations in the field, for instance at the International Women's Day March in Santiago. In particular, the case of Haitian woman Joane Florvil demonstrates the characteristics of racism in Chile and the urgency of broadening how the grievances of the women's movement are put forward. In 2017 Joane Florvil was arrested by Chilean police due to accusations of abandoning her child for three months. Reportedly, she suffered violent beating during her arrest and later died from the injuries (El Ciudadano, 2017). After her death, protests were organized outside of the police station in Santiago denouncing institutional racism, sexism, violence and shortcomings of the law enforcement in general. Isa describes that the case of Joane Florvil put the issue of immigrant women on the feminist agenda:

> [before] they talked about immigrants and immigrant women, but not as part of the feminist movement [...] it marked the feminist movement, the fact that the movement opened and became aware that the Chilean society is multicultural.

According to Isa, the movement seemed to reach a "phase of consciousness" and started dealing with the intersectional issues differently. This could be understood as a framing strategy, by including these perspectives the movement can include and mobilize more people and have a more extensive impact (see Snow et al., 2004).

Another recurring theme in terms of strategies is the *funa*[17]. Attending a *funa* can be defined as participation in "a public act of grievance and denunciation, against a person or entity that has committed a bad action or a crime and which is commonly carried out in front of the person's home or headquarters" (El Chileno, 2011). In other words, a *funa* constitutes a form of social justice intended to make the exposed person "feel ostracized in their own element" (Sorensen 2009:28). The women's movement has mainly used this strategy to denounce perpetrators of violence against women and men who have committed femicide. Ana describes; "it is kind of a revenge [...] the *funa* is being appropriated by the feminist movement. It is not a strategy they invented but it is very interesting that they took it". In Chile, the concept of *funa* was first used after the dictatorship to protest impunity and denounce the people involved in human rights violations during the Pinochet era. This type of public denunciation acts as a performance of not forgetting and with an aim to generate mass consciousness. The women's movement have adapted the ways in which criminals of the dictatorship were exposed and unmasked to be applied on the perpetrators of violence against women. Nowadays most *funas* are carried out on social media, meaning one person posts a *funa* and others share it, making the *funas* reach more extensive. Natalia articulates the following regarding *funas* and social media:

> When the *Ni Una Menos* started I remember that people started using social media, especially Facebook and Twitter, in order to expose people who were abusers […] that is called *funa* here in Chile, so you expose abusers and you give out personal details and personal information about them and what they did [...] some women don't know what to do. Most of the cases of femicide, they have sent complaints before and they have gone to the police and they end up killed anyway, so what can you do when the legal system does not work for you?

The statement above sums up how the funa works in order to expose abusers and also why it was appropriated by the women's movement during the *Ni Una Menos* protest. In conformity with the unpunished criminals of the dictatorship, women's aggressors in Chile often act with total impunity. Again, this is deeply connected to the political and judicial structures mentioned before in this chapter. All participants attest that the faith in the legal system to protect women is very low and many see the *funa* as a last resort to attain some kind of justice for victims of

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[17] *funa* comes from the term '*funar*', which is Chilean slang for causing or stirring up a ruckus

abuse, but also a way of warning other women of the aggressors. As the economic resources of the women's movement are scarce, the *funa* is a strategy most activists can use. Consistently in the participant's narratives, there is a frustration with the legal system and an anger against unpunished abuse, violence and femicides. If the judicial system fails to do something about the perpetrators and if the media ignore to notify the cases, at least the *funa*s are a way of making sure the victims are not forgotten and letting the community know of the crimes. As Gladys puts it; "if there is no justice, there is *funa*".

5.1.7 Unity and a new outset

As mentioned previously, one of the prominent themes in the interview data is the activists feeling of powerlessness and their disappointment in the system, both the political and the cultural. Gladys describes a feeling of apathy in the movement:

> Within the feminist movement, there is a total depression. We have not achieved, like other countries such as for example, the experience of Argentina [...] the movement and the organics are absolutely different.

The aforementioned difference of opinion regarding the role of women shows one aspect of the separation between the women's movement and the Chilean government. This aspect is something most participants brings up during the interviews. As described earlier in the analysis, the activists describe that the movement experience difficulties with having a political impact as the separation between them and the state is too extensive, which in turn leads to disappointments. This separation is also found within the women's movement and some of the participants thinks that the government further expands this fragmentation. Throughout the interviews, the women's movement in Chile is described as very diverse and often divided. Therefore, the participants request a more united movement and express a necessity to reach "a consensus on a feminist political agenda", as described by Isa.

With President Piñera recently taking office, all participants express concern and a slightly more pessimistic view of the future. Many activists fear that women's rights advances will deteriorate quickly and on a question regarding

the challenges for the women's movement Roxana answers: "the great immediate challenge is this change of government". Thus, the new government is framed as an impediment to the movement and a 'closed' structure. Throughout the interviews, a continued and increased urgency of feminist action is framed as a way of tackling this obstacle. The urgency of feminist unity is highlighted by Isa:

> I think that within the feminist movement it is necessary to reach a consensus on a feminist political agenda [...] to collect all these agendas and as a united movement to fight for that agenda. Because they tend to have divisions and sometimes that, instead of adding, subtracts, to be able to move faster.

According to the participants, there is a considerable deficit regarding women's rights in Chile which poses a challenge to unity as there are a large number of groupings focusing on their particular agenda. However, some participants also express hope and the *Ni Una Menos* protest is considered as one of few events when the movement was united and put their differences aside. Ximena describes that events like the *Ni Una Menos* protests are needed because "what remains for us as feminists is an organization, a unity", and denouncing men's violence constitutes a common ground for all female activists in the movement.

In the interviews, the call for unity is also connected to an increased internationalization of the Chilean women's movement. The *Ni Una Menos* is considered a successful transnational protest movement and the activists hope that the mobilization will continue. International allies and cooperation is described as an opportunity for a successful future women's movement in Chile as it can lead to expanded political opportunities (see Goldstone, 1980). The common understanding among the participants is that the new generation of women and feminists will lead the way for further and deeper change, Natalia explains:

> We [now] treat our government as something that owes things to us and not the other way around. I think that's also because lots of years passed since the dictatorship ended so people are not scared anymore, of asking things, of claiming things as we did before. I was born in the dictatorship, so we were raised, raised to be scared of the government, the police, of speaking out [...] the younger generation here in Chile, they are not scared anymore because they were not raised in these times.

Natalia's statement sums up how the memory of the dictatorship starts to fade as the younger generation which was brought up in democratic times and thus have a habit of demanding their rights, the same demands that the older generation were tortured, exiled or killed because of.

6   Conclusion

Through a thematic analysis of the data collected in this study, and by using a theoretical framework based on the approaches political opportunity structures, resource mobilization and framing processes, this thesis answers the research question: *how do stakeholders and activists in the women's movement in Chile perceive the impact of the Ni Una Menos protest?* by conducting semi-structures interviews and looking at the experiences of the stakeholders and activists in the movement. The participants in the study consists of members from four different movement organizations and other activists within the movement. By studying the recent *Ni Una Menos* protest mobilizations of the women's movement in Chile, I have aimed to fill the gap of research on similar subjects. Few studies on the contemporary women's movements in Chile have been done and this thesis is a small contribution to the social movement literature.

Based on the analysis in this study, it has become evident that the *Ni Una Menos* protest in Chile had an important impact. The goals of the protest and the women's movement in general can be concluded to raising awareness of problems with gender-based violence and femicide, and to illuminate hurtful social systems deeply rooted within the Chilean society, which maintain the subordination of women. The culture of machismo and marianismo are regarded as part of the reason for gender inequalities and gender-based violence in Chile. Some of the most important findings in the analysis regards the *Ni Una Menos* protest's impact concerning how people perceive and frame violence against women. The participants of the study experience a discursive change and an increased awareness about these issues through the recent mobilizations. In short, in the Chilean context, the *Ni Una Menos* protest provided an opportunity to frame gender-based violence with a new meaning, especially relating to the causes of it. Likewise, the framing of feminism has been impactful after the protest. The participants perceive that the connotations attached to the word 'feminist' are no longer solely damaging and people identify with feminism to a larger extent now

as opposed to only two years ago. That is, the protest inspired more women to embrace the word feminist which in turn legitimizes the movement as an actor and facilitates the societal acceptance that is needed in order to mobilize and bring about change.

Moreover, the participants regard the recent decriminalization of abortion as one of the biggest successes of the women's movement the past years and while this issue has been discussed for years, the common perception is that the *Ni Una Menos* ability to put women's issues on the agenda, facilitated and hastened the decriminalization process.

The transnational *Ni Una Menos* protest movement is one example of how social movements are born in globalization processes, which presents new recourses for mobilization. An increased efficiency of communication systems and by spreading information on social media, the *Ni Una Menos* protest could gather thousands of people in a short amount of time. This caused for attention of the media, that in turn offered a broader reach and spread of their grievances.

Distrust to the Chilean state and a disappointment regarding the policy-making abilities of the government are considered as hindering structures in the Chilean society. Men who have committed violent crimes against women often go unpunished which has brought an apathy to the movement. Because of the impunity, the strategies of the women's movement have to a large extent been reactive, in the way of public denouncing of perpetrators with so called *funas*.

As social fear and memory of the dictatorship has started to fade in recent time, new opportunities are provided and the participants have hope for the new generation of women fighting for their rights. The immediate challenges to the women's movement coming years are stated to be both external; namely the conservative forces in Chile, and internal; that is the fragmentation of the movement. Even though the activists in the movement, to some extent, put their differences aside during the *Ni Una Menos* protest, the mobilization did not manage to unite the movement.

To summarize, the *Ni Una Menos* protest have been impactful in several ways. Firstly, one impact would be putting the issues of gender-based violence on the political and medial agenda in Chile. Secondly, by managing to mobilize and create collective action as well as raising awareness of women's rights, the protest had a societal influence. Thirdly, by getting attention and new arenas to put

forward objectives and grievances the women's movement was made a more legitimate actor in Chile.

At last, I want to note that while writing this thesis, new *Ni Una Menos* protests have been organized. The current grievances concentrate on sexual violence and sexism in education, the most recent event being a protest march on May 16th, 2018. Again thousands of people, mainly young students, marched the streets of Santiago to demand an end to sexual abuse and harassment in higher education. Taking this into account, I would argue that the *Ni Una Menos* protest have sparked a new wave of feminism in Chile, as the mobilizations and demonstrations for women's rights show no signs of slowing down.

6.1   Future research

This thesis has studied the experiences of the *Ni Una Menos* protest impact in Chile. However, as there are matters this thesis could not investigate, there are still many interesting questions to look at. Such an example would be to, in a few years, study the political outcomes of the *Ni Una Menos* protest. It would also be of interest to do a broader study of the women's movement work during recent years as there is a gap in current literature. Furthermore, it would be interesting to do a comparative case of the *Ni Una Menos* protests in Chile and Argentina. As both countries have an authoritarian past and to a large extent have similar cultural structures it would be interesting to look at similarities and differences in impact and activist experiences.

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8 Appendix 1: Participants

Name	Language	Length	Date
Roxana	Spanish	1 h 57 min	7 March 2018
Natalia	English	1 h 23 min	10 March 2018
Ximena	Spanish	58 min	13 March 2018
Ana	English	1 h 46 min	15 March 2018
Isa	Spanish	57 min	16 March 2018
Gladys	Spanish	55 min	19 March 2018
Silvana	English	1 h 13 min	22 March 2018
Andrea	Spanish	1 h 48 min	27 March 2018
Estefanía	Spanish	50 min	29 March 2018
Maria	Spanish	52 min	29 March 2018

9   Appendix 2: Interview guide

Background questions

Name:
Age:
If applicable, organization:
Do you want to be anonymous?
Is it okay for me to record the interview?

Main questions

In what organization or movement of women's rights have you been involved?

Did you have a certain position in the organization / social movement?

For how long have you been involved in the women's movement?

How would you describe the general situation regarding women's rights issues in Chile today?

How has the situation developed since the Ni Una Menos protest in 2016?

What are the goals or general objectives of the women's movement in Chile?

Who in Chile promotes and works with gender equality issues today and how? How did this situation develop since 2016?

How do organizations and groups within the Chilean women's movement work to improve gender equality and gender related issues in the country?

How do you think the women's movement has influenced the political process in Chile? And in the last 2 years?

What are the strategies to change/influence society?

How's the relationship between the political sphere and the women's movement?

How did the Ni Una Menos manifestation influence society? and politics?

How has the discussion on gender and feminism changed since the Ni Una Menos protest?

Can you indicate any example of achievements of the women's movement since the protest?

Have there been any disappointments? What kinds?

What kind of challenges does the women's movement in Chile face in particular?

What are the political challenges that could stand in the way of achieving the objectives?

Is there a specific event or development that has been specifically influential or important for activities in the women's movement?

What would you say about the media and its general approach to the issue of gender and the actors within the women's movement?

Finally, do you have something else to add?