SURVIVING DICTATORSHIP

A Work of Visual Sociology

Jacqueline Adams

Surviving Dictatorship

Written as a book for undergraduate students, *Surviving Dictatorship* is also both a visual sociology and a case study that communicates the lived experience of poverty and powerlessness in an authoritarian society: Pinochet's Chile. So powerful a shaper of the poor's experience is a dictatorship, that one might add "degree of authoritarianism" (conceived by Patricia Hill Collins) as an additional dimension to the idea. This book is ideal for courses in social inequalities, poverty, and race/class/gender.

Jacqueline Adams is the author of articles and a book on the making of dissident art under dictatorship, shantytown women's reactions to the end of dictatorship, exile, and decision-making about migration. She has won a Pacific Sociological Association award and had an article selected as a "benchmark" by SAGE. She has worked as an assistant professor of sociology in Hong Kong, senior researcher at the University of Coimbra, and research fellow and visiting scholar at the University of California at Berkeley, where she is currently based.

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Surviving Dictatorship

A Work of Visual Sociology

Jacqueline Adams
University of California, Berkeley

To my parents, Paul Henry Adams and
María Angélica Adams

Contents

About This Book

This book possesses unique features: a novel conceptualization of resistance, extensive inclusion of visual and archival data that bring the text to life, and the examination of a little-studied but numerically important group: female shantytown inhabitants under dictatorship. Its multiple annotated web links point students towards carefully selected websites that will broaden their knowledge about human rights, the arts in resistance, women's struggles for democracy, economic survival, and gender emancipation. Instructors will find it useful for courses on resistance, authoritarian regimes, human rights, women's history, poverty in industrializing countries, urban history, qualitative methods, and oral history, within the academic programs of sociology, history, political science, anthropology, geography, women and gender studies, human rights, peace and conflict studies, development studies, and Latin American studies. Its benefits as a teaching tool include the following:

- It offers a theory of shantytown women's resistance to dictatorship and puts forward the concepts of incidental resistance, reluctant resistance, solidarity resistance, endemic fear, specific fears, generalized repression, and targeted repression, which instructors can use as a basis for discussion and debate among students.
- With its combination of photographs, lively interview excerpts, and flyers, bulletins, and art by shantytown women, it provides students with a vivid picture of shantytown women's survival strategies and resistance under dictatorship.
- This book is based on mixed methods: oral history interviews, photo elicitation, the analysis of visual data and shantytown documents, archival research, and participant observation. Professors teaching courses on qualitative methodology and oral history will find it useful for helping students understand these methods.
- Professors of gender and women's studies courses will find that this book enables them to broaden students' understanding of the lives, resistance, and history of a relatively little-studied group of women: the inhabitants of shantytowns under dictatorship.

How instructors can use this book:

- As a case study that will broaden students' understanding of dictatorship, repression, resistance, urban poverty, and survival strategies.
- As a means of developing students' critical thinking about the nature of resistance.
- As a starting point for discussion and debate about the resistance and survival strategies of women and the poor.

- As a point of comparison with other struggles for democracy or emancipation.
- As a means of clarifying for students the ways in which human rights are violated under dictatorship.
- As an example of how to use various qualitative methods and oral history interviews.

Series Foreword

In *Surviving Dictatorship* Jacqueline Adams humanizes and interrogates the lives of women in shantytowns in Pinochet's Chile. As an exemplar of visual sociology and classic case study sociology, the empirical analysis takes seriously the context in which these women's lives are shaped and unfold and, at the same time, reveals the nuanced ways in which women resist external forces. Although poverty and repression loom large in this authoritarian society, the women who live in these shantytowns reveal creative and effective ways of resisting the regimes that contextualize their lives and determine their life chances. Adams draws on a wealth of data—from photos and participant observation to interviews and archival work—to, quite literally, show these women's lives through provocative images and to offer a compelling analysis of their lives through multiple sociological lenses. The result is a moving sociological presentation of the multiple venues through which women in Chile's shantytowns survive dictatorship, advance their own cause, and reconstitute the conditions of their lives. For example, the book reveals how the women skillfully organize themselves into small groups to share information and raise consciousness, artistically express the realities of Pinochet's repressive regime through "arpilleras" (hand-made sewn pictures that are as beautiful as they are telling), and effectively create and sustain money-making enterprises, health awareness programs, and educational programs. Through these and other activities, the women in shantytowns survive extreme poverty and act as a force for self-determination and social–political change. This is an inspiring story that, on the one hand, does not downplay or glorify the damage done by poverty and authoritarianism; on the other hand, it presents the myriad ways resistance can unfold in even the most oppressive conditions. For this reason, it is a valuable contribution to larger efforts to understand the ways in which poverty, state structures, gender, and social change intersect. Likewise, it is an enticing springboard from which to engage students in discussions of survival strategies and resistance.

Valerie Jenness
Jodi O'Brien
Series Editors

Preface

This book examines the ways in which women in shantytowns experience and resist dictatorship. Its focus is the regime of General Pinochet in Chile, and the shantytown women of Santiago, Chile's capital. I became interested in this subject matter while conducting research on dissident art that shantytown women, relatives of the disappeared, and political prisoners had produced under Pinochet and subsequently. My being half Chilean but having grown up in Europe, eager to learn more about Chile, and interested in gender and art were influences in the decision to study the "arpilleras," as these dissident art forms were called. In a Ph.D. dissertation I explored the process whereby the arpillera-makers became radicalized as a result of joining arpillera workshops, and in subsequent articles and a book I examined their sense of loss once the dictatorship had ended, the forces that shape dissident art, the change in the arpilleras from sharply denunciatory to bucolic and decorative, the international network that develops around the export, distribution, and buying of "solidarity art," and the meanings that art from home holds for exiles.

During the year's ethnographic fieldwork that I carried out for this earlier research, conducting participant observation, interviews, and archival work, and creating a large visual database of arpilleras, the women from Santiago's shantytowns told me about the many other forms of resistance in which they engaged, and about the repression and poverty they had endured. I did not want this information to be lost. At the same time, I wanted to offer a testimony of sorts of what the dictatorship had been like in the shantytowns, and I wished to draw attention to women's energetic and creative efforts to survive their impoverishment and chip away at the regime's power. With the idea of writing a book that would meet these goals, first in English and then in Spanish, I embarked on a new phase of data collection that saw me conducting further interviews and archival research, and creating a visual database of photographs of shantytown life under Pinochet, and digitized copies of the flyers, bulletins, and public declarations that shantytown women had produced, and which the Princeton University's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections had had the foresight to collect. In parallel, I expanded the arpillera database by photographing further private collections, and reproductions of arpilleras in books. It was from the analysis of both these data and the data gathered for my earlier research that the conceptualization of shantytown women's resistance as self-protection, community affirmation, and mounting an offensive derives. Also emerging from this analysis is my theory about how shantytown women's resistance arises, and the concepts of incidental resistance, reluctant resistance, solidarity resistance, endemic fear, specific fears, generalized repression, and targeted repression.

The ingenious means used by the women to feed their families in the face of severe poverty and unemployment, when previously they had been discouraged from joining groups and working outside the home, and the wealth of resistance activities in which they courageously engaged, cannot be studied without a feeling of tremendous admiration. It has been a great privilege to have been able to get to know these women and hear their stories.

Acknowledgments

My greatest debt is to the women of Chile's shantytowns who allowed me to interview them and join them in their group activities. They shared their experiences with me and patiently answered my questions: many thanks. Ada, Juanita, Sara, Estrella, and Toya showed me much "cariño," for which I remain grateful and touched, and I remember the warmth of many more. I am grateful to the staff members of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, feminist organizations, and NGOs who allowed me to interview them; it was a privilege to meet so many courageous, determined, and caring people. I thank the staff of the archives of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, who allowed me to plough through their materials, and Boris Hau, who brought the Vicaría photo albums to my attention. I am grateful to the Princeton University Libraries, thanks to which I was able to access an outstanding collection of documents produced by shantytown women during the regime, which the University's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections had had the foresight to collect. I would like to express my gratitude, as well, to Liisa Flora Voionmaa Tanner, who allowed me to use some of her photographs of an arpillera group in northern Santiago, and to Isabel Morel, Verónica Salas, Andy McEntee, André Jacques, Geneviève Camus, David Kunzle, Riet Delsing, Paulina Waugh, the Association of Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared, the Fundación Salvador Allende/Museo de la Solidaridad, the Fundación Solidaridad, and Magasins du Monde, Switzerland, all of whom allowed me to photograph their arpillera collections. I am grateful to the photographers whose work I have used for their precious records of life under Pinochet, in particular Miguel Budnik and Carlos Alvarez Morales, and to the researchers/photographers Clarisa Hardy and Mariana Schkolnik, whose work I have drawn on heavily. I also thank Paulo Slachevsky, who helped track down some of the photographers. During the periods of data gathering in Chile, Anita Morandé, Pilar Moreno, and Irene Moreno were the best possible aunties.

I am indebted to the University of California at Berkeley, where my congenial and lively colleagues made for a stimulating academic home during periods of data gathering for this book. When the manuscript was completed, Ellen Fernandez Sacco and Michèle Pridmore-Brown read and commented on parts of it, and Katherine Poethig generously gave me feedback on all its chapters. The work of the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Service at Berkeley's Doe Library was invaluable. They found the many obscure Chilean and exile documents and publications that I requested, even offering me a space in their offices so that I could check which of the multiple publications that came in at the same time contained relevant photographs and which did not, and thus be able to carry a less heavy and more manageable pile back to the office. Their work and the excellent holdings of the Doe Library at Berkeley made the research much easier than it would have been otherwise. The Data Lab in the same library was where I did most of the scanning, and I am grateful for its staff's amiable professionalism. Beatrice Lau, Tamara Wattnem, Bram Draper, Brittany Gabel, and Trilce Santana, all of whom I taught within UC Berkeley's Undergraduate Research Apprentice Scheme, assisted me in my scouring of sources for

1.1–1.4

These women from the shantytown of La Victoria in southern Santiago would have lived lives of hardship that did not begin with the dictatorship. They may not have had a home of their own in their first years of married life, lodging instead with relatives, which was sometimes a source of anguish and frustration. They might then have participated in the 1957 land seizure that gave birth to La Victoria, living in a tent for several months, and this tent would gradually have become a wooden hut and then a brick home, cold and damp in winter, and hot in summer. For at least some of their lives, they would have worried about the cost of food and other essentials. Years of childbearing and child rearing while not being sure they would be able to give their children what they needed would have added to the strain. The group picture suggests that, between some women neighbors in the shantytown, there was affection and friendship. These four women of La Victoria gather for a chat at what is probably a shop that one of them has set up in the front room of her house.

1.6

An inhabitant of La Victoria, in front of one of the shantytown's many murals.

1.5

A woman bakes bread, which was cheaper than buying. A fire made with sticks sits on top of a metal drum. The numerous buckets in the background suggest a lack of room in the house, and were perhaps used to fetch water at the communal faucet, while the metal receptacle was probably used for clothes washing or catching drips from the roof. The houses are close together, suggesting an overcrowded shantytown.

1.7

The wall of wood against which the woman with the baby leans is most likely part of her home, the number on it her house number.

1.8

This family stands on the baked earth that surrounds their home and the mother sits on a rough wooden stool.

One   # Shantytown Women and Dictatorship

On September 11 1973, Chile's armed forces bombed Santiago's presidential palace and overthrew the leftist government of President Salvador Allende. At ten minutes to eight that morning, Catarina,[1] who lived in a "población" [Chile's version of the *favela*, or shantytown] in southern Santiago, turned on the radio and learned that people were being arrested. She then heard that there were soldiers in the wide road that bordered her neighborhood, shooting into her población to prevent people from moving. She had been working in the local clinic for years, and someone came to fetch her so that she might help a woman who had been shot while running after her child who had gone to the street corner to see the convoy of military vehicles. Because soldiers were shooting everything that moved, as she put it, she had to squat down to get there, keeping to the edge of the street. She took out the woman's bullet, and treated a child whose throat had been grazed by another bullet while he was looking out from the second floor of his home. However, there was little she could do for some of the injured, who died. The relatives kept the bodies in their homes for five days, and some dug holes in which to bury them. Helicopters would shoot down on the población from above, and there was a night-time curfew. Before long, Catarina's house was raided. "They would raid our homes," she told me. "They took all the men out into the street at midnight, to an open space that had not yet been built on. They would even take out adolescents, and boys, even. They'd leave the women in the house, and the police and members of the armed forces and soldiers would come in and examine everything. You'd get very scared . . . You'd feel invaded in your privacy. It was the first invasion you felt; strangers' eyes, strangers' hands touching your things."

This book explores how women like Catarina, living in Santiago's poblaciones [favelas], experienced and resisted the ensuing Pinochet dictatorship. As repression and exacerbated poverty were arguably the two aspects of the Pinochet years most prominent in their minds, it begins by examining these, before turning to the women's struggles against poverty, and their resistance. In the course of this journey it explores the consequences of the women's resistance, both for the dictatorship and for the women themselves. The poblaciones in which these experiences and resistance took place were impoverished urban areas that formed a ring around Santiago's center except for on its north-eastern side.[2] They had poor-quality housing, under-funded schools and clinics, partially paved or unpaved roads, and variable access to water, electricity, and a sewerage system.[3] Some poblaciones were only a few months old at the beginning of the dictatorship; others had existed for two decades. I will use the word "shantytowns" when referring to them, although this is a poor substitute, suggesting as it does expanses of wooden shacks with corrugated iron roofs. Chile's shantytowns in the 1970s and 1980s included such expanses, but also orderly rows of very small brick houses, normally divided into two homes, the tidy façades belying the economic difficulties within.

A central theme of the book is resistance to dictatorship. Shantytown women's resistance, I propose, consisted of self-protection, community affirmation, and the mounting of an offensive against the regime. Women became involved in resistance activities primarily because the regime's economic policies and national security doctrine led their husbands or partners to become unemployed. This unemployment worsened their poverty, and distressed the women because it meant that they were unable to feed their families adequately, send their children to school, or have running water and electricity in their homes. Mainly but not exclusively because they wanted to acquire money and food, they joined local income-generating and food-procuring groups that were mushrooming in the shantytowns. Once they had become group members, they were drawn into resistance because the groups occasionally engaged in resistance activities "on the side." Group leaders encouraged their involvement and even put pressure on them to participate at times when they were not eager to do so. The women, then, did not set out to resist the dictatorship, but rather their resistance was an outcome of their joining groups in order to solve an immediate problem; it was *incidental resistance*. Some of the women's resistance was also *reluctant resistance*. For example, when group leaders encouraged them to participate in marches, the women did so reluctantly, afraid of violence by the armed forces and worried about what would happen to their children if they themselves were arrested. Much of the women's resistance can also be described as *solidarity resistance*; resistance that their group engaged in not so as to express its own needs and wishes, but rather so as to show its solidarity[4] with another group. It took the

1.9   **Emergence of Shantytown Women's Resistance**
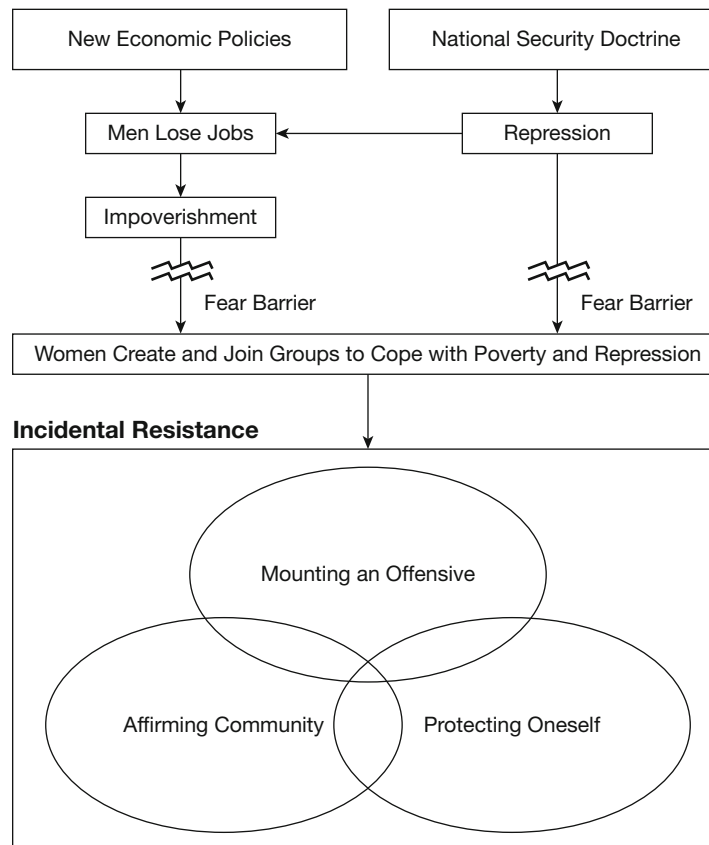
form of lending concrete support or expressing sympathy with the other group's cause or troubles, and encouraging others to do the same.

Some shantytown women came to resistance via an alternative route. Their husband, partner, son, daughter, father, or other close relative disappeared or was executed, thrown in jail, or exiled, pushing the women to begin searching for them, in prisons, morgues, and government offices. In the process, seeking moral support, they formed or joined a group of "relatives of" the disappeared, political prisoners, executed, internally exiled, or exiled, as the case may be, and through such groups became involved in resistance activities. Raising public awareness, demanding information, and denouncing the particular form of repression they had endured were central to these groups' activities. As most shantytown women did not experience the forms of persecution that were the motivation for such groups, I do not focus on these groups in this book. I focus, rather, on the more common situation of shantytown women joining groups so as to survive poverty, and the trajectory towards political resistance of these women. Of course, while most resistance by shantytown women occurred in the context of a group, it was not limited to this. Of the three main categories of resistance activity in which shantytown women engaged, namely affirming community, mounting an offensive, and self-protection, the first two usually took place in a group and the third did in some cases but not in others.[5]

The women's resistance and the hundreds of groups in which they carried it out had consequences for the regime. Tarrow's (2008: 10) words about China were also true of Chile, when he stated,

> China's authoritarian system will not be transformed by . . . capillary changes alone, and modern authoritarianism has more robust tools to suppress dissent than England's eighteenth-century polity had. But such incremental changes and the unintended responses to them can often be more effective in bringing about regime change than more open challenges that question the bases of political legitimacy.

Each new group of shantytown women and each new resistance activity was an incremental change that eventually contributed to the anti-Pinochet community's winning the plebiscite that ended the dictatorship, and paved the way for a democratic transition.

Besides helping us understand resistance to dictatorship, this book contributes to several other areas of scholarly interest. A second theme is the experiences that shantytown women have of poverty under dictatorship. The book explores what their poverty meant to shantytown women, and how they coped with it. The Pinochet government developed neoliberal economic policies that, for most of the first two-thirds of the dictatorship, produced high rates of unemployment, particularly for shantytown inhabitants. At the same time, a national security doctrine caused leftists[6] to be fired from their jobs in both the public and private sectors. These phenomena caused exacerbated poverty, which shantytown women experienced and understood in gendered ways, as shantytown women and mothers. The practices that they adopted to survive this impoverishment were also influenced by their gender, and in particular by their being mothers; in addition, they were shaped by the repression.

A third theme is how shantytown women experience repression and national security doctrines. Most shantytown men and women did not experience disappearances, torture, arrest, executions, and exile; at least not directly. Such forms of state violence are examples of *targeted repression*, that is, repression expressly directed at a particular individual. Instead, the repression that most shantytown women experienced was *generalized repression*, that is, repression meted out on the shantytown as a whole, or on an area of the shantytown. This included soldiers shooting people who were out after
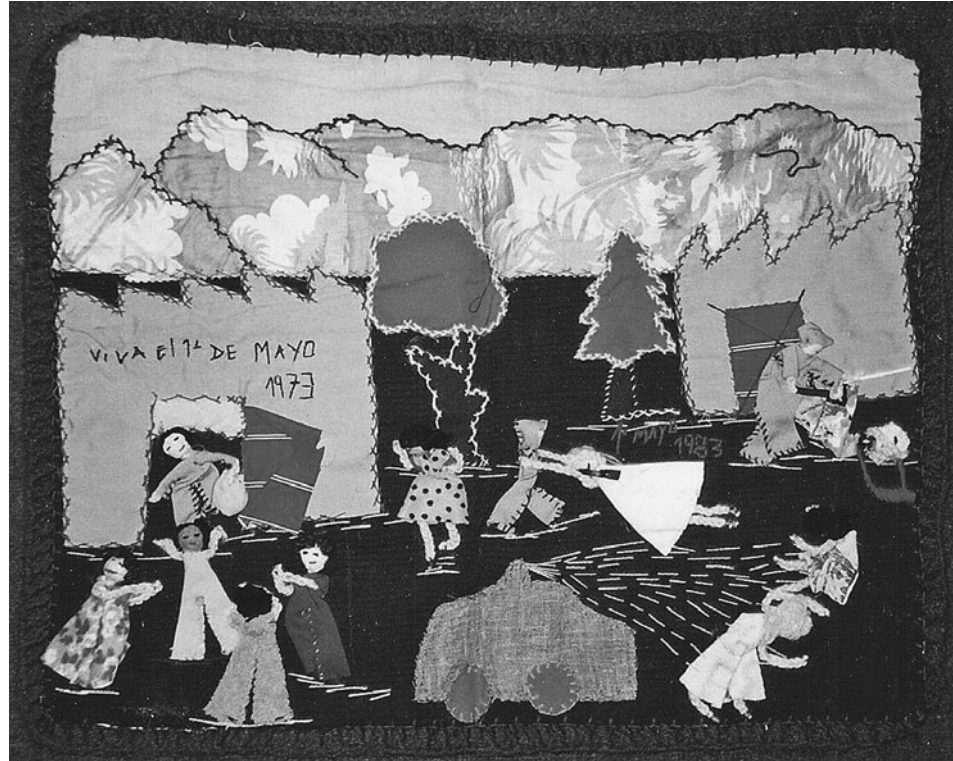
1.10

An arpillera depicting two facets of life that greatly troubled shantytown women, unemployment and repression. The factory on the left has an employee standing in the doorway, which signifies that there was employment, and the date May 1973, that is, a few months before the military coup. The one on the right, on the other hand, has a red cross over the door, signifying that it was not offering work, and bears the date of May 1 1983. This was a time of economic crisis, protests, and intense repression. Two soldiers in green beat up some civilians, while a water cannon sprays others. Blood comes out of the head of the civilian on the right.

curfew, members of the armed forces patrolling the streets, police and soldiers raiding all the homes in a neighborhood, helicopters flying overhead, and military vehicles being stationed in the shantytown for short periods of time. Both generalized and targeted repression are forms of *direct physical repression*. Shantytown women also experienced *non-violent repression*, that is, repression not immediately backed by violence, including restrictions on their freedom to organize, vote, and produce, own, or disseminate leftist or anti-regime messages. Together, the direct physical repression and non-violent repression made fear a central part of shantytown women's experience of the dictatorship.

The experiences that shantytown women have of repression is a theme closely related to a fourth topic that this study allows us to explore: the interconnectedness of repression and poverty. The repression impacted shantytown women's experiences of poverty and their efforts to survive it. The Pinochet dictatorship's national security doctrine identified leftists as dangerous enemies, and the persecution that ensued caused some of the women's husbands to become unable to work because they were fired, arrested, or disabled by police violence. Hence the repression contributed to furthering their family's impoverishment. When the women sought to cope with their impoverishment by joining food-procuring or income-generating groups, the repression affected this

too, in that it made them nervous to be in groups that might be thought leftist, fearful about engaging in certain group activities, and careful to take measures to protect their group, such as the use of secrecy and disguise. In these and other ways, the repression affected the poverty that shantytown women endured and the ways they worked to survive it.

Conversely, being poor and living in a shantytown shaped the repression women experienced. The armed forces meted out harsher repression on the shantytowns than on middle-class neighborhoods, where soldiers did not conduct raids on all homes in a particular neighborhood, shoot at citizens after curfew, or throw stones at their windows.[7] Meanwhile the women's poverty affected their struggles against the repression. When they made flyers in which they expressed that they wanted the repression to stop, for example, these flyers were often hand-written and produced simply with the aid of a photocopying machine, because the women could not afford anything better. When they made dissident art (*arpilleras*) in which they denounced incidents of repression, they used cheap materials, including their own recycled clothes and sometimes sacking, and their tools were simply needles, scissors, and threaders. Poverty shaped both their experiences of and struggles against repression.

A fifth, related theme in the book is the impact that being a woman and mother has on one's experience of dictatorship. Shantytown gender expectations were central to the ways in which shantytown women experienced the poverty and repression that the dictatorship inflicted upon them. To them the dictatorship meant having to keep their children indoors after curfew, worrying about the effects of the violence on them, and being unable to feed or school them. Children and home are at the forefront of these meanings, because they are the spheres for which shantytown gender expectations held women responsible. These same gender expectations affected their experiences of resistance; some of the self-protection in which they engaged was aimed at protecting their children, for example.

Shantytown women's joining groups in reaction to impoverishment and repression caused a change in the gender regime within families, albeit a temporary one. For instance, when husbands ceased to be the providers they were supposed to be, it became more acceptable for the women to participate in groups and take up paid work, where previously the gender regime had dictated that they spend nearly all their time at home looking after house and children, while men worked for wages. Husbands were forced to accept these changes where previously they would not have done so, although some were recalcitrant.[8] Hence, ironically, a repressive military regime's policies ultimately resulted in women's occupying powerful roles within the family, and experiencing fewer restrictions on the scope of their activities than previously. These same policies caused shantytown women to develop into a force that undermined the dictatorship.

A sixth and final theme of this study is the Pinochet regime. The book's analysis of shantytown women's experiences sheds light on aspects of the dictatorship previously examined through other lenses. We learn how its national security policy played itself out in the lives of the urban poor. We come to understand more about how the regime's abrupt introduction of neoliberal economic policies affected shantytown inhabitants.[9] Since this study uses visual data, we are able to "see" the consequences of the dictatorship for the women of the shantytowns.

With its exploration of these six themes, the book aims to fill certain lacunae in the literature. Shantytown women's resistance to dictatorship has been little studied. There exist analyses of the struggles of women in other classes or categories[10], and there are studies of multi-class women's movements[11] that include shantytown women, of shantytown men and women's joint resistance,[12] of shantytown men's resistance[13], and of other categories of urban poor,[14] but almost no studies focusing just on shantytown

women. Even Scott (1985), who brings to us now classic analyses of resistance, which apply to the underdog in many different oppressive situations, does not focus on dictatorship, although his analysis informs our understanding of authoritarian contexts. Some scholars dismiss men and women shantytown inhabitants' efforts to organize altogether, seeing them as a mass of unorganized individuals and a few isolated, weak organizations,[15] or viewing them as conformist and reluctant to act.

There have been few analyses of repression in shantytowns.[16] Studies of repression under dictatorship tend to focus on targeted as opposed to generalized repression, and neglect shantytown inhabitants. The relatives of the disappeared, most of whom were drawn from the urban poor in Chile, have inspired a number of works,[17] but they are a special group in the way that they were targeted. Shantytown women who did not endure targeted repression have been largely ignored by scholars. Poverty under repressive regimes has fared better; there being many studies of the urban poor's experiences of poverty and efforts to survive it, both internationally and in Chile.[18] However, few analyze the ways in which repression and shantytown poverty are connected.

There are a number of ways in which shantytown resistance and experiences of poverty and repression under Pinochet are relevant today. First, as the multiple uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa remind us, surviving and resisting dictatorships is part of what a great many people do. Authoritarian regimes have been very common historically, and still make up about half of the world's countries.[19] There are many comparable cases of resistance to authoritarian regimes, ranging from the recent revolutions in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, to the resistance in Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, China, Myanmar, Zimbabwe, and historically in Latin America. Where appropriate, studies on these are referenced throughout the text as endnotes.

Second, shantytown inhabitants make up a substantial proportion of the population of authoritarian regimes. Authoritarian regimes are concentrated in developing countries, which are experiencing urbanization; the rapid growth of their cities means that many of their poor, and even of their population as a whole, are the "urban poor." Shantytown inhabitants also represent a significant proportion of the world's population. Based on United Nations data, Davis (2006: 23) states, "Residents of slums, while only 6 percent of the city population of the developed countries, constitute a staggering 78.2 percent of urbanites in the least-developed countries; this equals fully a third of the global urban population."[20] There are probably more than 200,000 slums on earth, ranging in population from a few hundred to more than a million people, notes Davis (2006: 26).[21] Research on shantytown inhabitants, then, is research on a significant fraction of humanity.

With continued migration from the countryside to the cities in developing countries, the proportion of people living in shantytowns and other poor areas of cities is likely to continue to rise. In Davis' (2006: 151) view, "The countryside will for a short period still contain the majority of the world's poor, but that dubious distinction will pass to urban slums no later than 2035. At least half of the coming Third World urban population explosion will be credited to the account of informal communities." Critics have seen Davis' vision as too negative[22] but nevertheless, some of them acknowledge that "without the implementation of appropriate policies, the growth of festering slums will be inevitable."[23] Other analysts of slums have expressed views similar to Davis'. A scholar of poor urban neighborhoods in Africa, for example, has said, "Increasing numbers of Africans are situated in what could be called half-built environments."[24]

Finally, the experience and resistance of shantytown women to the Pinochet dictatorship remains relevant today because throughout the world, women are primary

actors in the struggle against poverty and repression. They develop survival strategies everywhere, including the joining of groups and engaging in reciprocal helping arrangements, and in many places women of all classes engage in political resistance against oppressive regimes.[25]

Methodology

This book is a work of visual sociology and oral history. Still a marginal practice within sociology, visual sociology boasts highly compelling works by authors such as Doug Harper (1982; 1987; 2001; 2009), Mitchell Duneier (1999), and Goffman (1979). It is closely related to visual anthropology, a field that includes remarkable works by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead (1942), Loring Danforth (1982), and James Barker (1993). Howard Becker (1986) and John Collier (1967) have produced now-classic analyses of how the visual may be used in social science.

Visual sociology has significant methodological power for communicating social stories to the outside world. I use visual images extensively in this book, primarily because they are an excellent source of data and an effective means of communicating information to readers. I wish my readers to "see" and not just to read about life and resistance in the shantytowns, and believe that the visual and verbal complement each other well in the task of communicating. To my knowledge there are no works of visual sociology on shantytown resistance to dictatorship, and I aim to contribute to filling this gap, offering images of shantytown women's resistance efforts, as well as of how they came to this resistance: their poverty, the repression, and the groups they formed.

This book draws on different kinds of visual data, each of which provides different information. First, there are photographs of shantytown life by outsiders, including researchers who studied shantytown organizations, the members of humanitarian organizations, NGO staff, exiles who had returned, members of clandestine political groups, writers of memoirs, photojournalists who courageously reported on the conditions in which the poor lived, and other members of the clandestine resistance community sympathetic to the sufferings of the poor. These photographs help us understand the women's experiences: the conditions under which they lived, their work, their associational lives, and their resistance, and such information is useful both as data to be analyzed by the researcher, and for the purposes of communicating to the reader in a vivid way. The photographs were not "neutral"; they were often tools of resistance, in that their authors used them to communicate the sufferings of the Chilean people under Pinochet to the readers of the publications in which they appeared, who tended to be exiles, locals in exiles' host countries, or members of the resistance community in Chile. Even though politically motivated, and even though they do not offer shantytown women's perspectives, I use them extensively in the book because they are almost the only photographs of shantytown life we have. I have found very few photographs by shantytown women, and I doubt that many shantytown women took photographs, especially on the subjects of repression and their poverty. Most would not have had a camera or money for film and developing the photographs.

These photographs came from numerous sources. One was the archive[26] of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (Chile's main human rights and humanitarian organization during the dictatorship) in Santiago, where I found photographs of the workshops and community kitchens that the Vicaría had supported, and of some very early arpilleras. Another source was out-of-print, once-clandestine publications by resistance groups, and the newsletters of exile organizations that had ceased to exist. Further sources included the Vicaría's bulletin, opposition magazines, NGO publications, memoirs by shantytown inhabitants

and visitors, non-academic books and reports about the shantytowns and about repression, and academic books and articles. These publications were housed in libraries throughout the United States and beyond, and I was able to obtain them through the University of California at Berkeley's Interlibrary Loan Service.

The second kind of image consists of photographs of arpilleras, most of which were taken by myself, and some by other researchers on the arpilleras. The arpilleras were made by women inhabitants of Santiago's shantytowns,[27] each woman working on her own arpillera but doing so as part of a group that met between one and three afternoons a week. They express what the women wanted to tell the outside world about the conditions they and others in Chile were enduring, and about their resistance. Rather than the raw expression of women's thinking, however, they are mediated by buyers and sellers abroad and by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, which sold most of the arpilleras for the women, exporting them to priests, Chilean exiles, and human rights activists abroad, who sold them to the public. The Vicaría asked the women to depict certain themes rather than others, and developed a system of quality control whereby it rejected some of the arpilleras. Even when the Vicaría did not make explicit orders, the women knew the kind of subject-matter it wanted, and censored themselves accordingly. Individuals selling the arpilleras abroad were another influence, since they told the Vicaría that their buyers wanted more arpilleras on certain subjects and fewer on others. Since the women made

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The arpillera workshop of Villa O'Higgins, in south-eastern Santiago. Women sit around a table with the wool and scissors they use to make their arpilleras, while their children play around them. The right side of the arpillera shows raw materials and stages in the process of arpillera-making: wool, the cloth or burlap base, and the stage of placing the cut-out cloth onto the arpillera.

the arpilleras primarily so as to earn a much-needed income with which to support their families, they complied with the Vicaría's orders (Adams 2005). Towards the end of the regime however, some women's compliance became begrudging, as the Vicaría began asking for subject-matter devoid of political content in order to cater to buyers who were no longer buying out of solidarity for a country in crisis, but rather seeking quality and decorativeness in what would hang in a child's bedroom, for instance. The women persisted in seeing the arpillera as quintessentially a vehicle for communicating to the outside world their social problems: "the truth about Chile," as they put it. Almost all arpillera groups ceased to exist in the 1990s, although production continued for some social entrepreneurship ventures run by middle-class professionals.[28] This book contains reproductions of arpilleras because, although mediated, they do represent shantytown women's "truth"; the arpilleras were their photographs of sorts. I began photographing arpilleras in 1994, beginning with the collections of human rights activists who had helped sell them in England, and arpilleras displayed in shops in Britain and Switzerland. When I began fieldwork in Chile in 1995, I continued to photograph arpilleras, owned by the association of relatives of the disappeared, ex-Vicaría employees, returned exiles, human rights organizations, and researchers. I later added to my dataset scanned copies of photographs of arpilleras from books and journal articles.

The third kind of visual data used for this research is in fact a combination of visual and verbal data, in the form of flyers, bulletins, public declarations, and letters produced by shantytown women and by relatives of the disappeared and of political prisoners. These documents (ephemera) give us the women's perspective, telling us about their problems, views, and concerns, what activities they organized to address these concerns, what groups existed, and where they were based. Analysis of such data yields valuable insights for the researcher about shantytown women's ideas and organizing. A large and remarkable collection of these documents is held at the Princeton University's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, and I made digital copies of all those produced by shantytown women, as well as many produced by mixed-sex shantytown groups, relatives of the disappeared, relatives of political prisoners, and other relevant categories. With these three kinds of image, I was able to create a large, digitized, visual database that covered many different facets of shantytown women's experiences of repression and poverty, and many different anti-poverty and political resistance activities and groups. This visual database and interviews with shantytown women were the parts of my dataset that I drew on most heavily in order to produce the findings in this book.

I conducted 170 interviews, in Chile, Europe, and the United States, in 1995, 1996, 2005, and 2006. I interviewed shantytown women, the members of humanitarian and feminist organizations that helped their groups, the staff of NGOs that had worked with them, Chilean exiles who had helped sell the arpilleras they made, and European and American activists with human rights sensibilities who had also helped sell their work. I conducted these interviews in shantytown homes, in the offices of humanitarian organizations in the center of Santiago, in the homes of Chilean exiles and local human rights activists in England, Switzerland, France, and the United States, and in the homes of returned exiles in Chile. For this book, I drew mainly on my interviews with shantytown inhabitants: forty-seven one-on-one, in-depth, semi-structured interviews with shantytown women, five semi-structured group interviews with shantytown women, and two interviews with shantytown men. The remaining interviews in my dataset were not of direct relevance to this book's subject matter, but they did provide information that enabled me to build up an understanding of transnational solidarity and the work of the Vicaría.

In conducting these interviews with shantytown inhabitants, I used a snowball sample with a broad base.[29] I found my first shantytown women interviewees with the help of a Vicaría de la Solidaridad staff person who had sent their arpilleras abroad, and subsequent ones thanks to referrals by these shantytown women, by other Vicaría de la Solidaridad employees based in other areas of the city, by the staff of other humanitarian organizations, and by middle-class professionals who worked with shantytown women's organizations. The shantytown women whom I interviewed come from shantytowns in all corners of Santiago, covering the north, south, east, and west of the city. Most were of European and indigenous descent, as are nearly all Santiago's shantytown inhabitants, but did not think of themselves in racial terms. They were mostly mothers of small children at the time of the coup, and married or partnered in a heterosexual union. Some came to live without a partner in later years, through separation or widowhood.

A little over half of the shantytown women interviewed had been in arpillera groups, because many of their interviews originated in an earlier study on shantytown women's production of arpilleras. To an extent this is problematic; the interviews focused mainly on arpillera-making, and moreover, a sample of all shantytown women would have been better. However, the arpillera groups had all developed out of groups with a different purpose, in which these women had been involved, including community kitchens, knitting groups, sewing groups, unemployed people's workshops ["bolsas de cesantes"], health teams, and discussion groups. Moreover, a great many of the arpillera group members were simultaneously in other kinds of group. Finally, since between one and two thousand shantytown women were members of arpillera groups in Santiago, these groups represent a significant segment of organized shantytown women. What this book is unfortunately unable to do is present the experiences of non-organized shantytown women.

The interviews I conducted were semi-structured and lasted between one and three hours. Aiming to let the interviewees speak for themselves, I used a short list of topics to be covered. Sometimes, when the interviewee was talking about certain topics, I probed for more detailed information. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and I coded them.

As well as conducting semi-structured interviews, I conducted a small amount of photo elicitation during fieldwork in 1995–1996 and 2005. This is a technique, described early on by John Collier in 1967, whereby the researcher asks the research subject to talk about what is in a photograph. I showed some shantytown arpillera-makers photographs of arpilleras by other groups and asked them to explain them to me. As most of the arpilleras showed women's poverty, the repression, women's organizations for coping with poverty, and their resistance, my interviewees would tell me about these subjects in the course of describing what was happening in the arpillera.

This book also draws on field notes from a year's ethnographic fieldwork. I began conducting participant observation in Chilean shantytowns in July 1995, five years after General Pinochet stepped down as President. I joined five groups of women from the shantytowns, four of which met regularly to make arpilleras. Two of these groups were based in southern Santiago, and were comprised of women from shantytowns there. Two more had formed after the coup, and contained women from a range of shantytowns and from more central working class neighborhoods, who came together once a week in a non-profit organization in central Santiago, to make arpilleras and learn how to run an arpillera-making cooperative. The fifth was a protest song group of wives, partners, mothers, sisters, daughters, and a sister-in-law of people who had disappeared; all were members of the Association of Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared. They came from a number of different shantytowns and more central working class neighborhoods

throughout Santiago. A sixth group that I joined consisted of women who made embroidered pictures and lived in a working-class neighborhood in Macul, in south-eastern Santiago, that was slightly too well-off to be called a shantytown, and whose inhabitants did not think of themselves as living in a shantytown, and for these reasons I did not examine data from this group for the book.

These groups accepted me as a participant observer, in which role I watched their work and helped as much as I could without changing what they normally did. I observed them for a year, except in the case of one of the groups of women from southern Santiago, which I observed for two months. Even though I concluded the participant observation five years after Pinochet stepped down, the data gained were still pertinent to this book, as they enabled me to learn about the shantytowns and shantytown family life. While not the focus of the analysis conducted to produce this book, my field notes do inform it. For example, while walking to the bus stop with one of the women one day, I learned that shantytown families worry about burglary and so build fences, preferring metal fences to wooden ones, but not normally being able to afford them initially. Snippets of information such as this helped me better interpret the visual data. In addition to this fieldwork, and the interviews, photo elicitation, archival research, and creation of a visual database, I read memoirs by people who had lived in or visited shantytowns during the dictatorship. I did not analyze them as a body of data, but they helped me learn about shantytown life and so inform this work.

My analysis of the data began while I was in the field. I regularly wrote analytical "memos" about important themes in the interviews, later checking what I wrote by asking further questions. Once the interviews were transcribed, I analyzed them by coding them, that is, by identifying key themes and giving them a label (a "code"), and marking that code in the text. I then compared the parts of the interviews and field notes that were pertinent to a particular code, following the principles of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). For this book, I focused on codes relevant to the experiences that shantytown women had of poverty and repression, and to their struggles against both these ills.

I approached the visual data by examining each photograph and asking who was in it, what sort of group it showed, what kind of activity it represented, and what message, if any, it contained. This analysis also produced codes, such as "Joining groups," or "Protests." The next step was to group visual images that shared the same code together, for comparison among images within the same code. To do this, I created several word documents, each containing a list of closely-related codes, and then copied and pasted photographs into them, under the appropriate codes. The result was a series of word documents headed by a code, and each containing between one and twenty photographs. The word documents were on the environment of the shantytown, the inside of shantytown homes, experiences of poverty, women taking collective action to cope with poverty, individual action to cope with poverty, repression, shantytown inhabitants' resistance to repression, and the types of group to which women belonged.

In order to analyze the visual images, I focused on one set of images under a code name at a time, examining them for what they said about shantytown women's experiences of poverty and repression, and their economic survival strategies and resistance, keeping an open mind as to the insights that they might bring, but also asking of them some specific questions. When examining the photographs under the heading "resistance activities," for example, I asked, "What are the goals of the women's resistance activity in this photograph?" (The answers might be informing about an event, or denouncing a rights violation, for example); "What means did they use to achieve their goal?" (e.g. organizing a gathering, or putting on an artistic performance); and "What do they describe as their main concerns?" (e.g. increases in the price of food, or poor healthcare). This process

produced several paragraphs of writing for each code. I later merged these into the body of the text that I had written based on my analysis of the interviews. This involved adding new sections and paragraphs to chapters, and altering already-existing sections in which I discussed the same issues. I also used some of what I had written during the visual analysis as captions for the photographs.

I saw myself as having a choice about whether to structure the chapters and book around the visual images or around the themes that the analysis of textual data produced. I decided on the second option because the textual data expressed the women's understandings of their experiences and activities, whereas this was not always the case with the photographs. Also, I could make claims knowing exactly who was speaking and where she had lived when I used the textual data, but did not always have such information with the images. A change of mind illustrates this priority that I accorded the textual data. I had originally placed the photographs of men selling items in the street and working in emergency employment programs together with the images of women doing exactly the same. However, I then moved the images of the men to the part of the text that discussed men's unemployment because the interview data revealed that the women thought of men's work in emergency employment programs and as street vendors as something they did while they were unemployed, and in their minds, the men were *still* "unemployed" ["cesantes"] while engaging in this work. As the focus of the book is women's meanings and experiences of the dictatorship, I wanted to present the data in accordance with the meanings that *they* gave to their family members' situation. These meanings came through more clearly with the textual data, and so these photographs ended up illustrating the paragraphs that resulted from the analysis of the textual and visual data on unemployment.

Visual images that merely illustrate depend on the text and are subordinate to it. This is how they are nearly always used in works of sociology and anthropology, but it was not how I envisaged a work of visual sociology. I wanted to redress the balance between image and text somewhat. I examined works of visual sociology and visual anthropology to gain a sense of the extent to which the images were subordinate to text or vice versa. I paid attention to whether images were alone in a sea of text or together in groups, how the authors used captions, and how and where they analyzed the photographs. Most of the works I examined (*Balinese Character* and Doug Harper's work being notable exceptions) appeared to have photographs subordinate to text, and while this was true of Barker (1993), his approach of having several photographs together at the beginning of each chapter appeared to me to give the photographs more equal status to the text. This example made me decide to adopt this practice of making some of the images "tell a story" by themselves, in their own right, as opposed to just helping the text tell a story. I had enough photographs of some of the women's activities to enable me to do this in Chapter 4. I also adopted, on occasion, Bateson and Mead's (1942) technique of using long captions, as captions, in my view, are somewhat subordinate to the images they describe. If the writing in a caption were placed in the body of the text, this would make the photograph more of an illustration, subordinate to text. Despite these efforts, I believe I did not achieve the goal of redressing the balance overall, principally because I had analyzed and written up the textual data before the visual data, and despite my best intentions, this analysis shaped the way I viewed and incorporated the images. Furthermore, when deciding on the layout of photographs within the text, I was not always able to place photographs where I had initially intended because of the need for a page break or number of words on a page in the final book.

At the writing stage, I had to decide which images to leave out of the book. I re-examined each photograph for quality and relevance, also making the decision based on

wanting to avoid repetition. Images on the same theme needed to offer new information. I chose to focus on experiences and meanings that the shantytown women shared, rather than on the differences between them. The experiences that the women had of repression, poverty, and resistance were remarkably similar, with the exception of the relatives of the disappeared, whose experiences of repression and resistance activities were different in degree and in kind, although there was considerable overlap. When it came to choosing which interview excerpts to use, the excerpt that best illustrated the point being made was the one selected for the book.

By way of background, I provide a brief description of historical facts that form the backdrop of the book. I then offer a large selection of visual images, which aims to introduce the reader to the physical environment of the shantytowns, both indoor and outdoor. The book as a whole is structured as much as possible in accordance with the sequence of steps that led shantytown women in Chile to engage in acts of political resistance. As a first step, the women experienced repression (Chapter 2) and more severe poverty than usual because of their husbands' unemployment, which resulted from the onset of neoliberal economic policies and a new national security doctrine (Chapter 3). They reacted to their impoverishment by joining groups aimed at coping with poverty, seeking jobs, engaging in entrepreneurship, adopting new consumption patterns, engaging in reciprocal exchanges, and asking their local priest for help (Chapter 4). Once members of groups, the women became involved in resistance to the dictatorship (Chapters 5 and 6). Shantytown women also resisted the dictatorship by joining groups that were not economically-oriented, and these groups, together with the ties that developed between all the different kinds of group and the women's new sense of belonging to a community, are examined in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 examines the significance of shantytown women's resistance, for the regime and for the women themselves.

The Dictatorship and What Preceded It

Unlike many socialist regimes that emerged after a violent episode during the twentieth century, Chile opted for a more peaceful route. "The Chilean way" ["La vía chilena"], as President Salvador Allende called it,[30] would bring socialism to Chile through democracy and legal means. Allende became the first democratically-elected, Marxist president in the world, taking office on November 3, 1970, and leading a coalition of leftist parties called Popular Unity [Unidad Popular, or UP]. His Popular Unity program was premised on "beginning the construction of socialism in Chile."[31] Whereas the orthodox capitalist model for economic development encouraged private capital and foreign investment, and anticipated trickle down,[32] the Popular Unity program emphasized using the power of the state to reorient resources towards the poor, through the continuation of agrarian reform, enlarging the sectors of the economy controlled by the state, and instituting social welfare programs that included giving a pint of milk a day to each child, expanding health services for the poor, creating day-care centers, and constructing low-income housing. It also aimed to bring employment for all Chileans at a decent wage level, reduce inflation, accelerate economic growth, and create a national unified education system. Importantly, it emphasized that Popular Unity would be multiparty and respect the rights of the opposition.[33] Although a change of course for Chile, this program was in some respects an extension of what had been done earlier. Chile's development strategies during the twentieth century had alternated between an export-oriented or growth-directed outward model, and a growth-directed inward model emphasizing industrialization through import substitution.[34] There had been moves towards land reform in rural areas since 1958, becoming more systematic after 1964.

The Popular Unity's plans met with severe opposition. The Christian Democrat Party slowed down change in congressional negotiations, and the delays motivated impatient rural inhabitants of the south to occupy large farms illegally,[35] often encouraged by such organizations as the Revolutionary Peasant Movement.[36] Factions within the Popular Unity coalition became apparent, with some members wanting to move towards socialism with all speed, ignoring legal constraints, and others preferring to advance through legal means.[37] There was also opposition from upper middle-class housewives, who marched banging empty pots in October 1972, as food was mysteriously absent in local supermarkets. Meanwhile, business owners concerned about nationalization shut down businesses and services, in what was known as the "October Strike," which lasted for four weeks and was settled with the incorporation of military men into the cabinet, the beginning of the armed forces' overt politicization.[38]

Allende's Chile thus faced severe economic and political challenges. Inflation rose very rapidly, and by July 1973 the inflation rate for the preceding 12 months had reached 323 percent, fueled by large government deficits.[39] As an authority on the period states, "The Chilean wage earner saw his entire 22 percent wage readjustment disappear in the first five months of 1972, and shortages of food and replacement parts led to massive dissatisfaction expressed in women's marches, shopkeepers' strikes, and continued violence in the streets."[40] Meanwhile, alarmed about the threat to United States corporate interests that Allende's expropriation policies represented, the Nixon administration carried out a program of economic destabilization, denying Chile loans and credits from both American and international lending institutions, and secretly funded opposition groups.[41]

A coup had been feared, but the ferocity of the one that surprised the world on September 11, 1973 was unexpected. It was on this day that the leaders of the armed forces stormed "La Moneda," Chile's governmental palace. Before they had seized control completely, Salvador Allende addressed the nation to inform it about the coup and his unwillingness to resign.[42] Remaining within La Moneda, he was either killed or committed suicide, a still unresolved issue. The acting Commander in Chief of the Military, Augusto Pinochet, very quickly came to head the Military Junta and continued to rule Chile until 1990.

In the weeks and months after the coup, thousands of Chileans who had supported Allende were detained by the police, military, or secret police. Of the 33,221 detained, 94 percent were tortured[43] by the DINA, Pinochet's Directorate of National Security,[44] akin to the Gestapo, and its successor, the National Center for Information [Central Nacional de Informaciones, CNI]. These institutions were responsible for much of the torture, disappearances, and arrests that occurred. Soldiers rounded up thousands of suspects, took them to Santiago's main soccer stadiums, and tortured and executed many of them; they also raided homes. The targets of this state violence were members of the government and the Popular Unity parties, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR], and workers and peasants suspected of participating in extralegal takeovers of factories and estates.[45] The number killed during the regime is an estimated 1,068, not including the disappeared,[46] which currently number 1,190[47]. Many from the political left had little choice but to flee Chile, and many were kicked out, becoming refugees and exiles. As an authority on exile states, "Between 1973 and 1988, an estimated 200,000 men, women, and children—nearly 2 percent of Chile's population—were forced out of their country for political reasons."[48] In response to such repression, cells of resistance emerged throughout the nation, their organizers and members being principally women, students, shantytown inhabitants, clandestine leftist party or organization members, and trade union leaders.

The Military Junta's first political acts included the banning or recessing of political parties, the dissolution of congress, the implementation of a curfew and state of siege,[49] strict censorship and control of the press,[50] and the reversal of many of Allende's reforms. Unions soon became severely weakened[51] while leftist parties and organizations went underground and their leaders were harassed, fired, arrested, executed,[52] or escaped Chile. In December 1973 the regime issued a decree-law forbidding elections at any level, even in athletic and educational institutions.[53]

The economy was put into the hands of a group of economists known as the "Chicago Boys," whose neoliberal economic policies between 1973 and 1981 fostered the growth of nontraditional exports, consumer imports, and foreign loans.[54] They abolished all price controls, reduced tariffs, devalued the currency, slashed public spending, privatized industries that had previously been nationalized, and opened up Chilean markets to foreign investment.[55] The government responded to high social costs with a minimal safety net that targeted expectant mothers, small children, and the "extremely poor."[56] The results of such policies have been debated. Inflation and unemployment declined, although in 1980 the number of jobless was still twice that of 1970.[57] 1975–1976 and 1982 were years of economic crisis and extremely high unemployment. Protests swept the country in 1983, much as they had under Allende, and there followed an adjustment of the radical neoliberal economic policies.[58] As an authority on economic policy notes, "The change from dogmatic, orthodox neoliberalism to a more flexible, 'pragmatic' neoliberalism brought some tangible benefits. By 1985, the economy had begun to recover."[59]

Pinochet attempted to legitimize his authoritarian rule through the development of a new formal constitution, which he brought to a public referendum. The opposition was unable to mount a successful campaign against it and was hurt by the lack of an official alternative and by disagreements among parties;[60] the Chilean public voted in favor of it in 1980. The constitution reserved Pinochet the presidency until 1989, and in 1988 a referendum would be held to legitimize another eight years of power. If the public voted against him, the position of commander in chief of the army was reserved for him. When 1988 arrived, Pinochet's opposition united in preparation for the plebiscite, and the Chilean populace voted Pinochet out of power, setting the stage for democracy to take root once again in Chile.

From 1990, when the Christian Democrat, Patricio Aylwin, became president, until 2009, Chile was governed by a democratically-elected alliance of center-left civilian political parties called the Alliance of Democratic Parties [Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia, "la Concertación"], and only in 2010 was a right-wing president elected. However, Chile did not become a democratic country immediately after Pinochet stepped down; many authoritarian "enclaves" remained. General Pinochet had placed numerous reactionary judges loyal to the armed forces in the courts, shaped electoral laws to favor his followers, appointed non-elected senators that included retired military commanders, created rules preventing the president from firing military leaders, made the constitution he had drawn up in 1980 difficult to change, and instituted an amnesty for human rights crimes committed during the dictatorship.[61] He continued as head of the army, keeping present the threat of military intervention until he stepped down and became a senator for life in 1998.[62] Civilian governments were eventually successful in removing these "authoritarian holdovers,"[63] but as late as 2009 the Chilean Right enjoyed a virtual "veto power." Although in the 1990s little progress was made towards removing the shackles of the dictatorship, the changes became faster after Pinochet's detention in London.[64]

The democratic transition was the product of a pact between the right-wing forces that supported Pinochet's dictatorship and the center-left sectors that took over in 1990. Its basis was the commitment to retain the neoliberal model and arguably to keep civil society demobilized so as to guarantee governability.[65] The civilian governments increased free trade policies;[66] foreign investment in Chile rose significantly between 1990 and 1999, and Chile's economy continued to depend on commodity exports.[67] At the same time there were increased public investments in infrastructure, education, and healthcare. After 1990, the economy showed structural growth and enabled almost everyone to experience improved living standards.[68]

Patricio Aylwin's administration was committed to reducing poverty and paying the "social debt" owed to those left behind. It began reforming social and labor policies within the free market framework. Many of Aylwin's programs were not maintained under the next president because of budget constraints,[69] but the president after that (the socialist, Ricardo Lagos) created new social and poverty programs.[70] President Michele Bachelet reinforced and expanded the public policies directed at the poor and disadvantaged.[71]

Poverty levels dropped after 1990 thanks to the social policies aimed at helping the most needy, and strong economic growth,[72] but in 1999, despite a decade of economic growth, almost half of Chilean households still had what many rated as poverty-level household incomes (although the official, conservative estimate was 27 percent poor or indigent). Between 1990 and 2009, Chile remained one of the world's most unequal societies in terms of wealth and income.[73] In the shantytowns, many inhabitants continued to endure hunger, low incomes, unemployment, and inadequate housing and healthcare after Aylwin became president.[74]

President Aylwin established a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, whose final report stated that 3,197 persons had been killed or disappeared, but did not mention the thousands of tortured, detained, and exiled, or people who suffered from job blacklisting, and it failed to facilitate prosecution of these crimes. It was symptomatic of the exchange of "justice for stability" and the "pact of silence" of the 1990–1998 period.[75] In 2004, another official commission was established, and its report, called the Report of the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, concluded that torture was a systematic policy funded by the military budget and carried out in more than 1,000 detention centers in Chile, and that it had affected a much larger number of Chileans than had disappearances and executions. The army apologized for these abuses, and the navy acknowledged that a training vessel was used as a center of torture. More than 27,000 of the confirmed victims were made eligible for a largely symbolic small pension in compensation for their suffering.[76] Only in 2000 did an open debate about the regime begin to emerge in public in Chile, and there have been many acts of memory in recent years.[77]

Justice for human rights abuses was severely hampered by laws established by the Pinochet regime and by Pinochet being head of the army until 1998, thereby constituting a threatening presence that might intervene militarily or even engineer another coup. The dictatorship had left in place a 1978 Amnesty Law that protected the military and police from prosecution from human rights crimes committed between 1973 and 1978, the period during which most of the atrocities were committed,[78] but after 2000, judges in Chile began to chip away at this amnesty shield and eventually more than 300 retired officers were either in jail or facing charges. The courts are still attempting to prosecute high-ranking military officials who worked under Pinochet, but progress is slow.[79] General Pinochet himself was never brought to trial by the time of his death in 2006, although in 1998 he was put under house arrest in London on extradition request from Spain, and charged with crimes against humanity, including the killing and disappearance of more than 3,000 people. He was subsequently released,[80] but placed under house arrest again in Chile. In

November 2006 he publicly acknowledged for the first time that "abuses" had taken place during his rule, but said that force had been necessary to prevent a civil-war that the Left was plotting.[81] In his last years, Pinochet lost support because it was discovered that his family had enriched themselves personally. Hence the dictatorship has been discredited, but many of its crimes are still unpunished, and many Chileans still approve of its overall goals.[82]

The nature of protest changed after Pinochet stepped down. There were almost no massive street demonstrations,[83] although in 2006 there were large movements of secondary school students,[84] and in 2007, at the initiative of Chile's largest labor union, thousands of people in different professions and cities participated in actions and demonstrations to draw attention to the widespread inequalities of neoliberal Chile, and highlight the disproportionate burdens carried by the poor and working class.[85] In 2011 there were many protests by students demanding free public education.

In the shantytowns, families were still under economic strain in the 1990s and 2000s, yet moments of massive collective expression only rarely occurred, and grassroots mobilization dropped off dramatically after March 1990.[86] There was increased apathy among grassroots leaders and their followers,[87] and many community organizations collapsed or saw their membership dwindle dramatically in the 1990s.[88] The decline in collective action has been attributed to the fact that Concertación political parties withdrew from activity in the popular sectors as grassroots organizing was not a priority for them.[89] It has also been proposed that grassroots participation was weakened by neoliberalization, co-optation by mainstream political groups, a rise in the costs and risks of collective action at a time when democracy was seen as very vulnerable, and the fact that political parties began urging the use of institutionalized political channels for the articulation of movement demands.[90] These explanations arguably apply more to male-dominated social organizations than to women's organizations,[91] which had tended to want to distance themselves from political parties all along, however. For them, weariness with all the activity during the regime, not being able to sell their products as easily (for those in income-generating workshops), and the withdrawal of the support of humanitarian organizations, international NGOs, and people abroad were key factors in the closure of their organizations.[92]

There was some organizational life, however. In Colón, a shantytown in southern Santiago, for example, there were history workshops, senior citizens clubs, a collective kitchen, a reflection group, a Christian Base community, and annual celebrations,[93] and several shantytowns had income-generating groups (albeit severely dwindling in size), gymnastics classes, and seniors' clubs.[94] Some of the organizations that remained were asked by the government to provide services that could have been offered by the state, such as cleaning garbage from littered fields, yet their members were discredited because they lacked professional degrees.[95] There were also land seizures around Santiago, launched by the right-wing party, Independent Democratic Union.[96]

Surprisingly, shantytown women members of popular organizations were nostalgic about the dictatorship years, when in their view people had cooperated, shown solidarity with each other, and felt that their lives had a purpose.[97] Community leaders felt abandoned by political parties, disconnected from broader social movements, isolated from their neighbors, lonely, and lacking in purpose. Individuals who had not led but nevertheless participated in protests and similar activities felt that democracy brought isolation, individualism, and boredom.[98] The sense of mutual support that had characterized the protest years had disappeared by the early 1990s.[99] The shantytown women whom I interviewed were nostalgic for "the good times" of the regime, when there had been solidarity and unity. By the mid-1990s most of their groups had shut down, and those that remained had greatly dwindled in size; in 2005 the arpillera groups were no longer