

Subjectivation in rural development: The case of women in Central Chiloé (Chile), 2008-2015

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I, Mariana Huepe Follert, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

The thesis explores the process of neoliberal subjectivation in rural development in Chiloé, Chile, focusing mainly on the experience of local women. In general, the literature that critically explores rural development in southern Chile centres on the impact that extractivism and economic globalisation have on the environment and local livelihoods. Although these studies address essential issues such as rural-urban migration, the proletarianisation of farmers, and gender and cultural transformations, there is little analysis on the role that development has in shaping the behaviour and subjectivities of the rural population. The thesis aims to fill this gap by focusing on how the national and local state's development practices and discourses shape people's understanding of their own lives and their relationships with others.

Empirically, the research focuses on a range of relevant governmental programmes during the salmon industry crisis and in the immediate aftermath. It draws on qualitative and quantitative data from diverse primary and secondary sources. Primary data includes interviews with local civil servants, programme implementers and civil society representatives, a socio-economic household survey and in-depth interviews with local women. The thesis argues that there is no straightforward correspondence between what development intends to do and what occurs in practice. Although the efforts to create responsible, rational economic individuals shape the relation of the Chilean state with the rural poor, parallel state interventions and discourses do not necessarily point towards the same ideal. Building on these contradictions and their culture and knowledge, poor rural women in Central Chiloé find ways to deviate from neoliberal ideals and express subtle yet relevant critiques to the development approach of the Chilean state in rural territories.

Impact Statement

The thesis contributes to the social science studies on Chiloé's neoliberal globalisation by focusing on the subjectivation process occurring in rural development. Most social science studies focusing on globalisation in southern Chile, particularly in the territories influenced by the salmon industry, centre on its impact on local labour markets, the economic and geographic concentration of capital, rural livelihoods, environmental degradation and the weak(ening) role of state institutions (Barrett et al., 2002; Barton & Fløysand, 2010; Barton & Roman, 2016; Constance & Jentoft, 2011; Fløysand, Haarstad, et al., 2010; Iizuka & Katz, 2015; Murray et al., 2009; John Phyne, 2010; Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012; Ramírez & Ruben, 2015; Swanson, 2015). This research aims to contribute to starting a conversation about the role subjectivation has in the expansion of global capitalism in the southern territories of the country and highlight the techniques of responsabilisation and depoliticisation and the gender inequalities that sustain it.

On a theoretical level, the thesis contributes to governmentality studies in rural development by focusing on the role that macro and microeconomic development goals and interventions have in local processes of subject creation. The research complements the analysis of subjectivation in social policies in rural Chile (and their search of 'rational economic women' and 'good mothers') with a broader view of development. In particular, the thesis analyses the role of economic vulnerability, labour casualisation, the unequal distribution of care, and the historical relationship between the state and local population, in the neoliberal subjectivation in rural development in southern Chile. In other words, the research highlights the limits of governmentality studies that do not incorporate how governmental power intersects with global capitalism and territorial specificities. Moreover, the research enriches analyses of neoliberal subjectivation by underlying the patriarchal notion of economic value underpinning gendered development subjectivities, which marginalises the role of care and domestic work in the reproduction of local

societies, and the different interests and deep-rooted practices within the state that influence development's processes of implementation (Altan-Olcay, 2016; Mckee, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997).

Finally, the research focuses on the experience of rural women and their role in criticising and shaping neoliberalism from below. In general, studies of neoliberal development in rural Chile, particularly in Chiloé, have ignored the role of rural women as agents capable of contesting and elaborating political critiques to neoliberalism. By studying how women embrace and transform the neoliberal condition that underpins the Chilean state approach toward rural territories in their everyday lives through their work and life goals, this thesis renders visible their development experience, the multiple ways they significantly contribute to the local economy and their agency in neoliberal capitalism. The research aligns with the work of the feminist scholars on the importance of focusing attention on the diverse economies that sustain life in local communities in order to highlight the limits and hybrid nature of capitalism and the alternative practices, rationalities and economic practices present in local communities (Berik & Kongar, 2021; Gibson-Graham, 2008; Rodríguez, 2010).

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Abstract	7
Impact Statement	9
Table of Contents	11
List of Figures	15
List of Tables	17
List of Acronyms	19
1. Introduction	21
1.1. DEVELOPMENT, GOVERNMENTALITY AND CAPITALISM.....	22
1.2. THE CASE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL CHILOÉ.....	25
1.3. RESEARCH AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	28
1.4. THE KEY ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS	28
1.5. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS	30
2. Gendered subjectivation in neoliberal development	33
2.1. NEOLIBERALISM AND SUBJECTIVATION	34
2.1.1. <i>Neoliberalism as a political rationality</i>	34
2.1.2. <i>Subjectivation and political power</i>	38
2.2. DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN AND GOVERNMENTALITY	42
2.2.1. <i>Development as a discipline of governmental power</i>	42
2.2.2. <i>The feminisation of development: From WID and WAD to Smart Economics</i>	44
2.2.3. <i>Care and social reproduction</i>	47
2.3. SUBJECTIVATION, FEMALE AGENCY AND DEVELOPMENT	50
2.3.1. <i>The gendered character of the entrepreneurial neoliberal subject</i>	50
2.3.2. <i>The female subject in development</i>	54
2.3.3. <i>Tactical and subtle forms of resistance</i>	56
2.4. A RELATIONAL VIEW OF THE STATE	59
2.5. CONCLUSION	60
3. Research methodology	63
3.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	63
3.1.1. <i>Research objective</i>	63
3.1.2. <i>Units of analysis and theoretical scope</i>	63
3.1.3. <i>Research questions</i>	65
3.2. POSITIONING THE RESEARCH AND THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE	66
3.2.1. <i>The ontological and epistemological position of the research</i>	66

3.2.2. <i>Central Chiloé: the case study</i>	69
3.2.3. <i>My role as a reflexive researcher</i>	72
3.3. RESEARCH METHODS	75
3.3.1. <i>Central Chiloé: delimiting the case</i>	76
3.3.2. <i>First set of interviews with institutional representatives</i>	79
3.3.3. <i>Household socio-economic survey</i>	82
3.3.4. <i>Second set of interviews with institutional representatives</i>	89
3.3.5. <i>In-depth interviews with women</i>	93
3.3.6. <i>Observation and participation</i>	97
3.3.7. <i>Positionality and ethical concerns</i>	100
3.4. ANALYSIS AND WRITING UP	104
3.4.1. <i>Preparing the data</i>	104
3.4.2. <i>Qualitative analysis</i>	105
3.4.3. <i>Quantitative analysis</i>	106
3.4.4. <i>The organisation of the document</i>	106
4. Chile and its approach towards rural development	109
4.1. SMALL FARMERS AND PEASANTS IN CHILE SINCE THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY.....	109
4.1.1. <i>The invisible role of the peasantry in the 19th century and early 20th century</i>	110
4.1.2. <i>Industrialisation and agrarian reform: The political awakening of the peasantry</i>	112
4.1.3. <i>Chilean neoliberalism: Efforts to 'modernise' small farmers and peasants</i>	117
4.2. THE CURRENT RURAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN CHILE.....	128
4.2.1. <i>Highly centralised state administration</i>	128
4.2.2. <i>Residual definition of rurality and weak municipal role</i>	131
4.2.3. <i>Residual welfare in the rural provision of public services</i>	140
4.3. THE RISE OF ENTREPRENEURIAL SOCIAL POLICIES	145
4.3.1. <i>From Chile Solidario to Ingreso Ético Familiar</i>	145
4.3.2. <i>INDAP's Programa de Desarrollo Local</i>	154
4.4. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER COMMENTS	156
5. The archipelago of Chiloé and the salmon industry	159
5.1. THE ARCHIPELAGO OF CHILOÉ	160
5.1.1. <i>General description of the archipelago</i>	160
5.1.2. <i>History of the archipelago</i>	162
5.1.3. <i>Broad changes in Chiloé during the last decades</i>	165
5.1.4. <i>Socio-economic characterisation of households in Central Chiloé</i>	169
5.2. THE ARRIVAL AND FAST EXPANSION OF THE SALMON INDUSTRY.....	174
5.2.1. <i>Industrial organisation and rapid growth</i>	175
5.2.2. <i>Contradictory assessment of the industry</i>	178
5.2.3. <i>Labour protection for wage workers as a secondary concern of public policies</i>	182
5.3. THE SALMON CRISIS AND THE STATE RESPONSE	187
5.3.1. <i>A broad description of the crisis</i>	187
5.3.2. <i>State responses to the crisis</i>	188
5.4. CHILOÉ AFTER THE CRISIS: LOCAL EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING	194
5.4.1. <i>Casualisation of salmon work</i>	195
5.4.2. <i>More difficulties for labour enforcement</i>	196
5.4.3. <i>Presence of disguised unemployment</i>	197
5.4.4. <i>Local embeddedness of the industry has weakened</i>	197
5.5. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER COMMENTS	198

6. Rural development in Central Chiloé and the salmon crisis . 201

6.1. DEVELOPMENT IMPLEMENTATION IN CENTRAL CHILOÉ IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SALMON CRISIS	202
6.1.1. <i>State responses to the salmon crisis in Central Chiloé in 2019</i>	202
6.1.2. <i>Post-crisis situation: The rise of entrepreneurial programmes and the economic role of women</i>	215
6.2. THE LOCAL POPULATION, AS SEEN BY LOCAL STATE AGENTS	218
6.2.1. <i>Chilotes: "short-sighted and depending on state help"</i>	219
6.2.2. <i>Chilotes: "a drag to local economic development"</i>	221
6.2.3. <i>Women: "family-oriented and secondary economic agents"</i>	223
6.3. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER COMMENTS	225

7. The development experience of women in Central Chiloé 231

7.1. NEOLIBERAL GLOBALISATION IN THE CHILOÉ	231
7.1.1. <i>Changes and continuities in gender roles</i>	231
7.1.2. <i>The two sides of local industrialisation and modernisation</i>	241
7.2. THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN IN CENTRAL CHILOÉ	246
7.2.1. <i>Women's triple economic role</i>	246
7.2.2. <i>Women as historical and spontaneous microentrepreneurs</i>	248
7.3. WOMEN'S RELATION WITH THE STATE	262
7.3.1. <i>An overall negative assessment of the functioning of the local state</i>	262
7.3.2. <i>The social protection role of local communities</i>	264
7.4. THE INCOMPLETENESS OF THE NEOLIBERAL SUBJECT: INTENDED AND UNINTENDED EFFECTS OF ENTREPRENEURIAL PROGRAMMES	265
7.4.1. <i>Women as necessity entrepreneurs</i>	265
7.4.2. <i>Consequences of women's participation in entrepreneurial programmes</i>	267
7.4.3. <i>Women's critiques to development</i>	272
7.5. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER COMMENTS	275

8. Conclusion 279

8.1. MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS	280
8.1.1. <i>Characteristics of the neoliberal political rationality in the approach of the Chilean state towards rural development</i>	280
8.1.2. <i>The development experience in Central Chiloé</i>	286
8.1.3. <i>Intended and unintended effects of the subjectivation process on the women of Central Chiloé</i>	288
8.1.4. <i>State and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)</i>	290
8.2. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS	293
8.3. AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	295
8.4. OVERALL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH	296

List of references 299

Appendix 333

List of Figures

Figure 1: Chile and its regions	27
Figure 2: Research theoretical focus, sub-questions and units of analysis ...	65
Figure 3: Los Lagos Region and its provinces.....	77
Figure 4: Number of surveys per month and surveyor.....	84
Figure 5: Age and years of schooling of participants of in-depth interviews in 2014.....	96
Figure 6: Call for a march for "Chiloé's priorities" (Poster)	98
Figure 7: March for "Chiloé's priorities", August 23th 2014 (pictures)	99
Figure 8: The organisation of the document (Chapters 4 to 8).....	107
Figure 9: Share of poor population in urban and rural territories in Chile, 1990-2015 (%).....	122
Figure 10: Share of households in the situation of multidimensional poverty in urban and rural areas	122
Figure 11: Percentage of permanent jobs by gender in urban and rural territories in Chile, 2015 (%)	124
Figure 12: Average employment income by gender in urban and rural territories in Chile, 2015 (USD).....	125
Figure 13: Labour participation of rural men and women in Chile, 1990-2015	125
Figure 14: The political-administrative organisation in Chile.....	130
Figure 15: Share of the rural population in Chile, 1990-2015	132
Figure 16: Components and interventions of Ingreso Ético Familiar	147
Figure 17: Distribution of agricultural holdings by farm size in Chiloé and Chile	164
Figure 18: Salmon production centres in southern Chile	166
Figure 19: Labour Participation in Chile and Chiloé 1996-2015 (%).....	167
Figure 20: Female share in household monetary income, Chiloé 1996-2015	167
Figure 21: Percentage of poor population (%), Chile and Chiloé, 1990-2015	168

Figure 22: Chiloé: Percentage of uniparental and female-headed households, 1990-2015	168
Figure 23: Sectoral distribution of female and male employment in Central Chiloé, 2008	174
Figure 24: Stages of salmon production	176
Figure 25: Salmon production in Chile and other producer countries, 1990-2002.....	177
Figure 26: Seashore industrial pollution	181
Figure 27: Concession centres in the regions of Los Lagos and Aysén (1979-2012)	195
Figure 28: Share of total employment in agriculture and aquaculture in Central Chiloé (4-5-year periods between 1990 and 2008, %)	232
Figure 29: Percentage of women and men participating in the labour market by age-range in Central Chiloé (2008)	235
Figure 30: Percentage of biparental and uniparental female-headed households in Chiloé, 1990-2015	239
Figure 31: The gualato: A traditional tool that continues to be used	251
Figure 32: Characteristics of neoliberal rural development in Central Chiloé	292
Figure A. 1: Timeline of presidential periods in Chile since the mid-20 th century.....	333
Figure A. 2: Percentage of unemployed population in the Province of Chiloé (1996-2015)	333
Figure A. 3: Factors that affect the probability to participate in the labour market (by gender, year 2008), Probit Model Estimation Results.....	335

List of Tables

Table 1: First set of semi-structured interviews.....	80
Table 2: Distribution of households included in the 2014 survey, according to area and livelihood type	85
Table 3: List of participants of the second set of interviews.....	90
Table 4: Livelihood characterisation of households of participants of in-depth interviews in 2014	95
Table 5: Qualitative analyses and data.....	106
Table 6: Rural land distribution in Chile and Chiloé, 1930	111
Table 7: Chile, land distribution of farms, by size categories, 1965-86 (%) .	117
Table 8: The monetary value of Chilean exports in 2019 by economic sector	120
Table 9: Distribution of agricultural land in Chile according to land size, 2007	123
Table 10: Rural household characteristics in 1990 and 2015 in Chile.....	128
Table 11: Share of rural population in Chile according to different measurement criteria	133
Table 12: Exclusive and facultative functions of the municipalities in Chile	135
Table 13: Municipal revenues (in thousands of USD) among municipalities by demographic and socio-economic characteristics	138
Table 14: Rural household access to basic services in 1990 and 2015 in Chile	141
Table 15: List of sessions of IEF's Psychosocial Support	148
Table 16: List of sessions of IEF's Labour Support	149
Table 17: Description of monetary transfers exclusive to IEF's participants	151
Table 18: Programmes with preferential or guaranteed access to IEF's Labour Support users	153
Table 19: Chiloé: Municipal Area and Demographic Information	161
Table 20: Characteristics of the population in Central Chiloé, 2009.....	170

Table 21: Share of households with access to services in Central Chiloé and Chile (%), 1990 and 2009	171
Table 22: Characteristics of self-consumption activities in Central Chiloé in 2009.....	172
Table 23: Household assets in Central Chiloé, 2009.....	173
Table 24: Composition of household monetary income in Central Chiloé, 2009.....	173
Table 25: Special Plan for workers of the Salmon Industry in Los Lagos, 2009.....	193
Table 26: Municipal beneficiaries of SERCOTEC's Capital Semilla by gender in 2009, Province of Chiloé.....	211
Table 27: Municipal beneficiaries of INDAP's PRODESAL by gender in 2009, Province of Chiloé.....	213
Table 28: Percentage of active working-age population (16 years or older) by gender, in Central Chiloé (4-5-year sub-periods within the 1990-2008 period)	233
Table 29: Percentage of active (working-age) population by sex, in Central Chiloé (1990-2008 period)	234
Table 30: Share of individuals, by age range, that works in the sectors of agriculture and aquaculture in Central Chiloé (2008 and 2013) (%)	243
Table 31: Working status of women and men aged 17 or older in Central Chiloé in 2013.....	247
Table 32: Summary of development goals, mechanisms and interventions in rural Chile in 2008-2015 period	282
Table A. 1: Missing households in fieldwork survey.....	333
Table A. 2: Non-labour related programmes with guaranteed and preferred IEF access	334

List of Acronyms

CASEN: Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional, National Socioeconomic Characterisation Survey.

CCT: Conditional Cash Transfers.

CHISOL: Sistema de Protección Social Chile Solidario, Chile Solidario Social Protection System.

CONADI: Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena, National Indigenous Development Corporation.

CORFO: Corporación de Fomento de la Producción, Production Promotion Corporation.

EET: Entrepreneurship Education and Training programmes.

FCM: Fondo Común Municipal, Municipal Common Fund.

FNDR: Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Regional, National Fund for Regional Development.

FOSIS: Fondo de Solidaridad e Inversión Social, Solidarity and Social Investment Fund.

FPS: Ficha de Protección Social, Social Protection Scorecard.

GAD: Gender and Development.

IEF: Ingreso Ético Familiar, Ethical Family Income.

IMF: International Monetary Fund.

INDAP: Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario, Institute for Agricultural Development.

INE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, National Institute of Statistics.

IPP: Ingresos Propios Permanentes, Permanent Personal Income.

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

OTEC: Organismos Técnicos de Capacitación, Technical Training Organizations.

PAME: Programa de Apoyo al Microemprendimiento, Micro-entrepreneurship support programme.

PBF: Programa Bolsa Familia.

PLADECO: Plan de Desarrollo Comunal, Local Development Plan.

PPE: Programa ProEmpleo, ProEmployment Programme.

PRODEMU: Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer, Foundation for the Promotion and Development of Women.

PRODESAL: Programa de Desarrollo Local, Local Development Programme.

Rimisp: Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural, Latin-American Centre for Rural Development.

SENCE: Servicio Nacional de Capacitación y Empleo, National Training and Employment Service.

SERCOTEC: Servicio de Cooperación Técnica, Technical Cooperation Service.

SERNAM: Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, National Women's Service.

SERNAPESCA: Servicio Nacional de Pesca y Acuicultura, National Fisheries and Aquaculture Service.

UN: United Nations.

WAD: Women and Development.

WID: Women in Development.

YES: Yo Emprendo Semilla Programme.

1. Introduction

The literature that critically studies rural development in Chile, and particularly in the archipelago of Chiloé, has mainly focused on the impact that processes of extractivism have had on the environment and local livelihoods (in Chiloé, the studies have mainly focused on the aquaculture industry, and more recently, on forestry and mining). Although these studies address issues such as rural-urban migration, the proletarianisation of farmers, and gender and cultural transformations, there has been a lack of attention on the role that development has had in shaping the behaviour and subjectivities of the rural population. The thesis aims to contribute to rural development studies in Chile by analysing the subjectivation process occurring in its context. It understands subjectivation as a "(trans-)formational process in which individuals are subjected to a specific form of self-reference and reference to others by means of the specific forms of rationality and technology of governing (Bührmann, 2005, p. 2). By focusing on the recent experience of an archipelago in southern Chile, the research aims to answer: What are the leading state and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)?

The PhD follows a critical realist approach; it understands development as a set of practices and discourses with tangible, material and extra-discursive effects. Development practices and discourses shape national and local economies and have real effects on local livelihoods while also impacting people's understanding of their own lives and their desires, goals, and actions.

Although people have agency in this process, their agency is constrained and enabled by the broader structure surrounding them and the particular knowledge system in which they live. Following this rationality, the thesis analyses quantitative and qualitative primary and secondary data. The generation of primary data occurred through mixed methods of investigations during eight months of fieldwork in Central Chiloé.

This introductory chapter comprises five sections. The following section presents the thesis' understanding of development as a system that facilitates the local expansion of capitalism and cultivates the material and discursive conditions in which subjects constitute. The second and third sections introduce the case study and research questions of the PhD. The fourth section presents the main argument of the thesis, and the last section outlines the organisation of the rest of the thesis.

1.1. Development, governmentality and capitalism

The first analyses of development as a system of representations started to emerge in the late 1980s and early 1990s (DuBois, 1991; Escobar, 1984, 1988, 1998, 2005, 2008, 2012; Ferguson, 1990). These studies analysed the historical function of development in expanding liberal regimes of governance in postcolonial contexts. They placed particular attention on the effects of the universalisation of development -that is, the de-contextualisation and technification of the problems of the Third World or the Global South- had for local states and societies (Mezzadra, 2013). Among this literature is the work of the anthropologist Arturo Escobar, who studies the development experience in Latin America and the role of social movements and indigenous organisations to contest globalisation.

Escobar (1998, 2005, 2008, 2012) criticised development as a system of control that undermines the knowledge of subordinated cultures and facilitates the expansion of technical knowledge and bureaucratic power. The author argues that struggles over meaning are central to contest the destructive processes of development and underlines that people resist

capitalism by developing strategies built upon their cultural and economic knowledge and differences. However, although Escobar places people's identities at the core of development resistance, his analysis does not directly engage with the subjectivation process that occurs in this context. Escobar does not study how power is exercised by development authorities to "shape, guide or affect the conduct" of individuals (Burchell et al., 1991, p. 2), nor the extent to which individuals transform themselves in this process. In other words, he does not study how, under contemporaneous development, individuals are subjected to specific forms of self-reference and reference to others. Specifically, the author does not focus on the changes that development and processes of subjectivation have experienced in moving from liberal to neoliberal regimes.

The studies focusing on neoliberal subjectivation in developing countries started to grow since the beginning of the 21st century, and they have placed their attention on the 'entrepreneurial self' promoted in the shift from state-led to market-led development approaches (Boeri, 2018; Dolan, 2012; Walker et al., 2008). In general, these studies conclude that the 'neoliberal subject' sought after in development is an individual that must behave as a self-maximising enterprise, that is, as someone who must continuously engage in activities to appreciate his/her economic value in order to function efficiently in the domain of the market and successfully compete against others. By encouraging the values of resilience, empowerment, 'good citizenship' and autonomy, among others, these studies showed how contemporaneous development imposed new forms for the state and development institutions of structuring relationships with the poor, making them responsible for their poverty while favouring market deepening and capitalist expansion (Meltzer, 2013; Rankin, 2001, 2002; Shakya & Rankin, 2008; Sigalla & Carney, 2012).

In contrast to the first generation of analyses mentioned above, this latter set of studies mainly focuses on the functioning and discourses within particular development programmes or interventions and not within broad development strategies or projects. For instance, Escobar (2008) studies the experience of the Colombian Pacific as a territory subjected to "an aggressive

neoliberal strategy" (p.3) that included a broad set of social and economic interventions aiming to connect the country with other Pacific economies (e.g. sewerage, water and electricity provision, education and health programmes, the building of port facilities, roads, an airport, large-scale fishing facilities, timber industries, among others). While the literature studying the promotion of neoliberal subjectivities in the context of contemporaneous development usually places its attention on specific interventions, such as Conditional Cash Transfers (from now on, CCT), microcredit, entrepreneurial training, and self-provision of basic services, among others (Altan-Olcay, 2016; Ballard, 2013; Caraher & Reuter, 2017; Chandler, 2013a; Garmany, 2017; Gibson, 2001; Gupta, 2001; Li, 1999; Meltzer, 2013; Rankin, 2008; Sigalla & Carney, 2012; Sletto & Nygren, 2015; Sukarieh, 2016; Walker et al., 2008).

At the core of the studies focusing on neoliberal processes of subjectivation is the work of Michel Foucault on biopolitics and governmental power (Foucault, 1982, 2007, 2008). Foucault understood power not as something that can be *owned* but as something that is *exercised* over others, in other words, as something that functions not through imposition or repression but by cultivating the conditions in which subjects are constituted. The specific technologies of this notion of power, which he called governmental power, and its projects and modes of calculation are not static, but they change depending on the dominant knowledge at a particular time and place. In this sense, Foucault rejected deductive analyses of the state that held pre-given assumptions about power and criticised the predominance of Marxist analyses for understanding society and politics, arguing that they marginalised other forms of knowledge and impeded detailed studies on the nature of subjects.

The authors who have studied governmental power in development engage in thick descriptions of the contexts, institutions, and places in which processes of subjectivation occur. They provide precise and nuanced analyses of the subjectivation embedded in contemporary forms of power. However, in their attempt to move on from previous totalising and universalising accounts, they have received critiques for disregarding how capitalism and neoliberal forms

of government intersect and influence each other (Altan-Olcay, 2016; Caraher & Reuter, 2017; Sukarieh, 2016; Weidner, 2009). Indeed, although recent studies have expanded their scope to consider the irregularities within the programmes of governmentality and their different forms of internal and external contestation (Garmany, 2016; Li, 1999; McDonald, 1999; Mckee, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997; Rankin, 2008; Rankin & Shakya, 2007), there is a need for more analyses that reflect on the role that capitalism and material/structural conditions play in neoliberal processes of subjectivation.

The thesis aims to contribute to the analysis of contemporary forms of subjection by acknowledging development's role in cultivating the *material* and *discursive* conditions in which subjects are constituted while understanding development as a *project* of rule that is never fully completed (Li, 1999; Rankin & Shakya, 2007).

1.2. The case of rural development in Central Chiloé

The thesis focuses on Chiloé's development experience immediately after the 2008 sanitary crisis that affected its salmon production and women's experience. Women are key development actors: They were essential to developing and expanding the salmon industry in Chiloé and have been increasingly the target of development programmes looking to alleviate poverty.

Chiloé is an archipelago in the south of Chile (1,200km from Santiago, the country's capital, see *Figure 1: Chile and its regions*) whose local economy has undergone drastic changes since the liberalisation of the national economy. The salmon industry started a path of accelerated growth since the 1990s, and because of weak environmental legislation and enforcement and firms' over-production, it suffered a sanitary crisis in 2008. The crisis meant the loss of direct and indirect jobs and an increase in poverty. The state reacted to the crisis on two fronts: On one side, it implemented different economic and legislative initiatives to help the industry to get back on its feet as soon as possible. On the other, local governments received additional funds to support

local livelihoods while the industry recovered. The context of the crisis represents an opportunity to analyse the functioning of the rural development approach of the Chilean state, particularly its support to export-oriented agro-industries and reliance on social policies that aim to strengthen individual economic autonomy. Similarly, the crisis also provides a chance to explore development implementation and the contradictions and gaps in local processes of subjectivation.

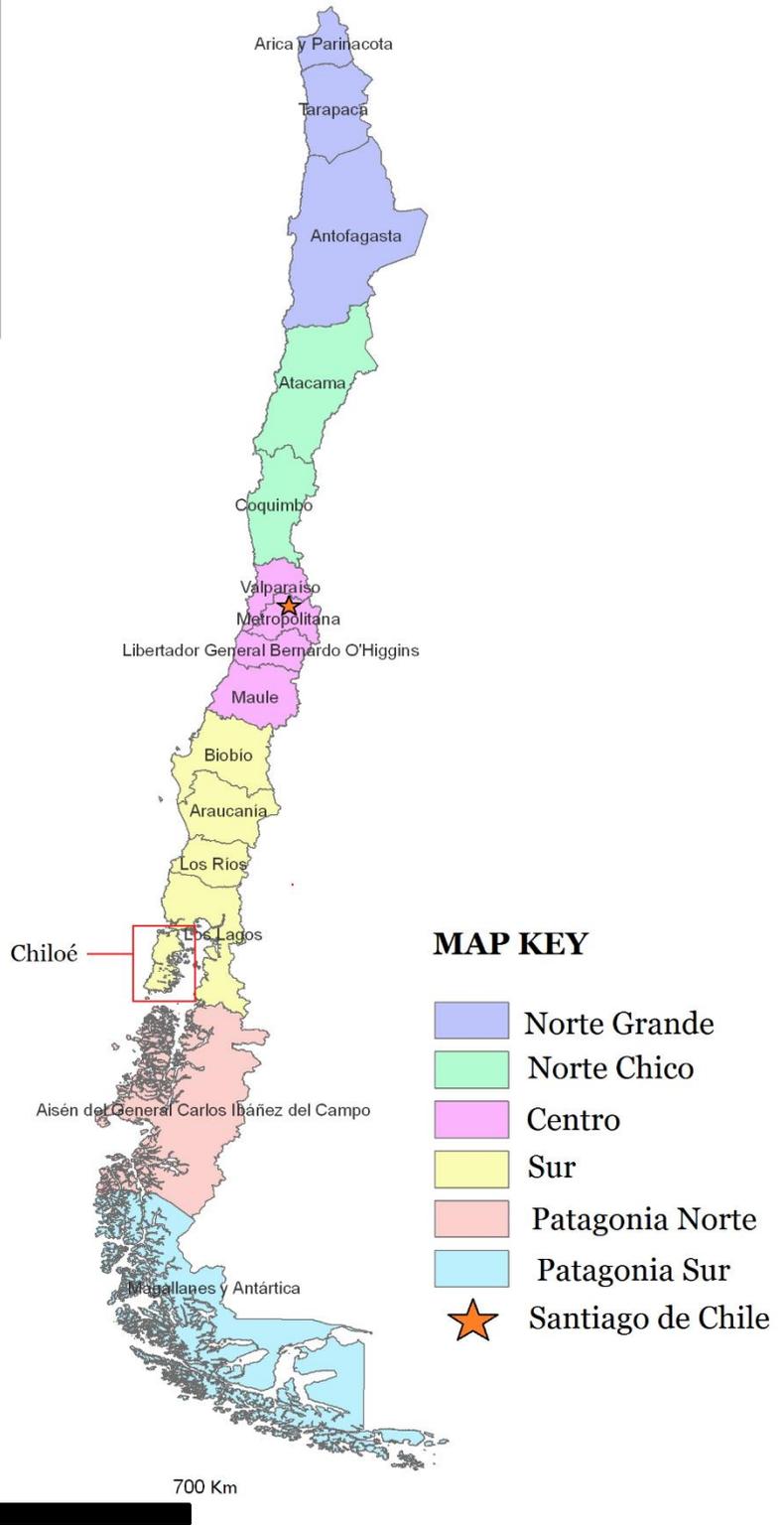


Figure 1: Chile and its regions
 Source: Population Division, ECLAC (www.cepal.org), edited by the author.

1.3. Research aim and research questions

The main question that the PhD tries to answer is: What are the leading state and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)?

The research aims to answer this question by focusing on three specific sub-questions:

- (i) What are the characteristics of the neoliberal political rationality within the development approach of the Chilean state towards rural territories?
- (ii) How do the macroeconomic development rationalities and interventions of the Chilean state affect the local economy and livelihoods in Central Chiloé, and why (if so) is this relevant in local women's process of subjectivation?
- (iii) What are the intended and unintended effects of the subjectivation process occurring through the microeconomic development interventions of the state on the women of Central Chiloé?

The first sub-question studies the characteristics and contradictions of neoliberal rural development within the Chilean state. The second and third sub-questions focus on the role of economic vulnerability, gender, and local agency in its rural process of subjectivation.

1.4. The key argument of the thesis

The thesis argues that although neoliberalism is the dominant political rationality shaping the development actions and discourses of the Chilean state in rural territories, this rationality coexists, clashes, is transformed by and adapts to the social and institutional dynamics that transverse the state and society.

The Chilean state has two central development goals in rural territories: Economic growth and poverty alleviation. It seeks these goals through explicit efforts to expand and create markets in localities and territories while following a residual approach to social welfare that limits state social support only to cases when people cannot provide for themselves. In particular, poverty alleviation public efforts in Central Chiloé functions through responsabilisation and depoliticisation techniques. They appeal to notions such as empowerment and autonomy while making the poor increasingly responsible for their situations, obscuring their problems' structural (and culturally ingrained) roots. The thesis shows, first, that the poverty alleviation efforts of the Chilean state are ultimately subjected to the goal of economic growth. The growth and internationalisation of the salmon industry in Central Chiloé has relied on the privatisation of natural resources (seawater), processes of de-capitalisation and devaluation of local assets (such as agricultural land, affected by global dynamics lowering production prices and incrementing production costs) and the creation of low-remunerated and precarious employment that has favoured large international corporations over local entrepreneurs. And second, that this development rationality that encourages the global concentration of capital relies on gendered subjectivities and a patriarchal notion of what is valuable and constitutes the economy.

However, although the state's entrepreneurial programmes indeed relied on techniques of responsabilisation and depoliticisation, the thesis also shows that neoliberal development and its process of subjectivation is not complete. In particular, while it is true that through programmes that encourage women's independent and entrepreneurial activities, the state aims to create rational economic women responsible for bettering their (and their families') situations. Local rural women have the agency to criticise and shape neoliberal development; however, this agency is constrained by the vulnerability and long-term inequalities characterising their lives. In concrete, women adapt development programmes to their needs and contest the neoliberal condition in subtle and tactical ways without compromising

their relations with the state and their traditional care responsibilities. In general, when participating in these programmes, women aspire to a calm life: To achieve economic stability, make ends meet, and provide a better future for their children, instead of engaging in the constant expansion of their businesses. They do not want to increase their production nor formalise their activities, as aimed by the state. On some occasions, women use the support of these programmes to leave wage-work where they do not feel valued or recognised. Thus, they strengthen their traditional, independent activities for reasons other than just economic ones, defying neoliberal ideals of individualism and monetisation. In short, when they can, women express subtle critiques to their terms of incorporation into the global economy by using the state's entrepreneurial programmes as subsidies to their traditional activities.

1.5. Outline of the thesis

Seven chapters are remaining in this thesis. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework through which the research examines rural development in Chile. In broad terms, the investigation is framed within a governmentality approach and understands development as a set of discourses and practices that transport neoliberal principles to the local level, shaping the behaviour and subjectivity of the local population to favour macroeconomic goals (Rankin & Shakya, 2007). However, the theoretical framework acknowledges that the state is a site of political struggle where different goals and interventions coexist and are intertwined, and local communities and individuals are not passive agents. Therefore, development can have contradictory outcomes at the local level: While it is true that development generates new forms of subjection and exploitation that favour the expansion of global capitalism, it also stands that it might open new opportunities for alternative, progressive futures.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the PhD. After providing more detail on the objective, questions, and scope of the research (as well as the reasons for choosing Central Chiloé as the case study), the chapter discusses the

ontology and epistemology of the PhD. It then presents the data generation methods undertaken during eight-month fieldwork in 2014 and reflects on positionality and ethical concerns. The chapter ends by presenting the data analysis methods and the relation between the thesis' organisation and the research questions. Chapter 4 introduces the main changes experienced by rural territories and societies in Chile during the last decades, highlighting the tensions and contradictions of the current process of economic globalisation. It then presents the rural development approach of the Chilean state and the increasing entrepreneurial orientation of the programmes that address rural poverty. Finally, the chapter concludes that the Chilean state's promotion of an entrepreneur mentality among the poor makes them responsible for their poverty in a context in which employment opportunities are deficient in quality, career prospects and remuneration.

Chapter 5 focuses on the experience of Chiloé since the arrival and development of the salmon industry. It places particular attention on the state's responses to confront the economic and social effects of the salmon crisis. The chapter concludes that Chiloé's recent experience represents the local expression of the country's overall economic growth strategy: The materialisation of an accelerated process of industrialisation based on the exploitation of natural resources and growing participation of the country in global markets. It also illustrates how, in Chile, local governments generally face the costs of a development strategy that places economic growth as its primary goal, and local inhabitants, in particular, end up subsidising (through their labour conditions and restrained access to natural resources) industries that under the neoliberal economic restructuring have become 'too big to fail'. Chapter 6 focuses on the experience of Central Chiloé in the 2008-2015 period. The chapter shows how state help increasingly encourages an entrepreneurial ethos among the local population. This pursuit has materialised in a context where the labour market is not generating quality jobs for the local population and, notably, where women increasingly participate in local labour markets. The chapter concludes that the state is transferring its social responsibility to the local population and that this transfer of duty is increasingly feminised: By encouraging the independent

activities and microenterprises of local women, they are increasingly accountable not only for their wellbeing but also for the wellbeing of their family members and communities.

Chapter 7 analyses the development experience of women in Central Chiloé. It shows that the increased monetisation and growing uncertainty, and instability of the local economy are important factors underpinning female labour participation during recent decades. However, despite these changes, traditional gender roles in the distribution of care and domestic work are still intact. The chapter also shows that although entrepreneurial programmes have failed to encourage the rise of the 'rational economic woman', they have other powerful intended and non-intended effects. Chapter 8 concludes by answering the research questions and reflecting on avenues for further research and the thesis' theoretical implications and overall contribution.

2. Gendered subjectivation in neoliberal development

The chapter presents the theoretical framework through which the research studies governmentality and subjectivation in development. In broad lines, the investigation understands the discipline of development as a vehicle of the neoliberal political rationality, in other words, as a set of discourses and practices that transport neoliberal principles to the local level, shaping the behaviour and subjectivity of the local population to favour macroeconomic goals (Rankin & Shakya, 2007). However, the thesis understands that local communities and individuals are not passive in this process, and the state is a site of political struggle where different development goals and interventions co-exist and are intertwined. Therefore, the PhD thesis highlights the fact that development can have contradictory and unintended outcomes in practice. In short, while it is true that development generates forms of subjection and exploitation that favour the expansion of global capitalism, it also stands that it might open new opportunities for unintended futures.

Five main sections comprise the chapter. The first section presents the research's understanding of neoliberalism and its process of subjectivation; the second section elaborates on the role of development as a governmental and gendered discipline of power; the third section examines governmentality and subjectivation in the context of neoliberal development; the fourth section elaborates in the role of state agents in this process. Finally, the last section concludes.

2.1. Neoliberalism and subjectivation

2.1.1. Neoliberalism as a political rationality

Many authors understand neoliberalism as an economic paradigm that seeks to limit the state's role to deregulate and liberalise markets, aiming to facilitate the international flow of capital, favour big corporations and improve the competitiveness of the national economy (Farías & Moreno, 2015; Fuenzalida, 2015; Gwynne & Kay, 1997; Harvey, 2007a; Irarrázaval, 2014; Kay, 2002, 2009; Murray et al., 2009; Peck, 2013; Risager, 2016; Schurman, 1996; Solimano, 2017; Winn, 2004). Although, in broad lines, these are indeed transformations that have affected the actions and the role of nation-states during the last three or four decades, this research has a different understanding of neoliberalism. In particular, the research understands neoliberalism as a political rationality that started to gain power in the 1970s and 1980s in different developing and developed countries, which has shaped the way states recognise their role and justify their existence. In other words, neoliberalism is understood as a political rationality that informs state actions and discourses, shaping how it relates to the local population and its knowledge of how best to improve their lives. This view of neoliberalism has its roots in the work of Michel Foucault in his lectures at the College of France in the late 1970s and early 1980s, where he introduces the concept of *governmentality* or *governmental power* not to refer to a particular ideology or a specific set of policies, institutions and practices, but to discuss the *rationality of government* or the core knowledge that speaks through these ideas and actions (Burchell, 1993; Burchell et al., 1991; Foucault, 2007, 2008; Gane, 2012; Lemke, 2001, 2002; Mezzadra, 2013; Oksala, 2013; Read, 2009; Weidner, 2009)

According to Foucault, political economy or, more broadly, economics is the main form of knowledge of governmental power, and *the economy* is its main

arena of intervention.¹ Following this line of thought, neoliberalism represents a reprogramming of the liberal governmentality,² as it relies on a new conceptualisation of the market and offers a new vision of how best to govern a society (Zuidhof, 2012, 2014). First, neoliberalism discards the liberal idea of a natural market (in other words, the spontaneous gathering of buyers and sellers, engaging in exchange according to their interests) but understands markets as something that must be actively sought and created by the actions of the state. Second, neoliberalism extends the management of the population to areas that were previously understood to be outside the reach of liberal governments. In particular, neoliberalism not only extends the market as a normative framework to the actions of individuals and the state but also uses it as a grid of intelligibility to understand relations and phenomena occurring in spheres of life that were traditionally understood to be outside of the economy (Foucault, 2008). This enlargement of the economic space, and thus of the arena of state intervention, was achieved by expanding the focus of liberal economics on the mechanisms of production, exchange and consumption (and their interconnections) to *all rational conduct* involving the allocation of limited means to alternative ends. Thus, under neoliberalism, economics is transformed into knowledge capable of addressing the totality of human behaviour (Burchell et al., 1991). In concrete, while the interests and motivations of the liberal homo economicus were obscure to the ruler and untouchable by the liberal government, the neoliberal individuals are seen as men and women that are ultimately manoeuvrable.

¹ This does not mean that governmental power only acts through economic interventions, but that *the way* it acts is linked to the hegemonic economic knowledge in place at a particular time.

² In the lectures included in his book *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault (2007) shows how with the rise of liberal political-economy in the XVIII century, earlier conceptions of political power that were typically rooted in territorial sovereignty and direct rule, were displaced and replaced by a modern notion of power. The liberal governmentality increasingly depended on appeals on how well one manages those that are governed, and instead of relying on the direct imposition of its rule as it was the case of sovereign power, relied on the indirect management of the population.

Third, by posing its emphasis on competition rather than on 'free exchange',³ neoliberalism encourages individuals to act as enterprises. With the rise of the theory of human capital and, more recently, of behavioural economics, neoliberalism opened the black box of labour, extending the analysis to the individual's inner self, that is, to his/her internal rationality. In particular, 'work' is no longer seen as an abstract element exchanged in the labour market, but as an "economic conduct practised, implemented, rationalised, and calculated by the person who works" (Foucault, 2008, p. 223). Therefore, people are no longer depicted as individuals who merely engage in exchanging their labour power and goods but as investors in themselves (Hart, 2004). That is, the neoliberal subjects are individuals who can improve their income by engaging in different activities that can add value to what they can offer in the market, and ultimately –because the work offered is inseparable from the persona that works–, the neoliberal subject is an individual that can add value to herself. In short, while the private life of the liberal free labourer was outside of the rule of government, neoliberalism breaks the traditional boundaries of public and private spheres. It encourages people to invest in themselves, through a broad set of behaviours and decisions, not only in education and skill training but also in aspects such as nutrition, clothing and social life, among others. In a nutshell, neoliberalism encourages individuals to behave in every aspect of their lives as eager companies, compete among each other, take risks, invest in themselves, and defer satisfaction to increase future incomes (Feher, 2009).

In his book *Free to Choose*, Milton Friedman –one of the most well-known American exponents of neoliberalism– argues that ensuring people's freedom "to control their own lives in accordance with their own values is the surest way to achieve the full potential of a great society" (Friedman and Friedman 1990, 309–10). Under his view, having free competitive private markets, with

³ In an ideal liberal market economy, prices are set freely by the forces of supply and demand, and the market reaches its point of equilibrium (in other words, it clears) without intervention by government policy, in other words, due to the free exchange of buyers and sellers. This 'free exchange' was the main characteristic that defined the optimal outcome of liberal markets.

minimal state intervention, which functions as the main means of production and exchange maximises society's wellbeing. Furthermore, Friedman underlines that placing equality ahead of freedom undermines the achievement of both goals, as living standards and innovation are at their optimum when competitive markets are allowed to function freely. In other words, societies would only flourish when individuals can freely specialise in what they do best. However, contrary to the discourse of minimal state intervention, free-market comes with significant pre-requisites, such as the extension of financial systems and well-established property rights and the fostering of an entrepreneurial mind.

The work of Hernando De Soto on the informal economy and the importance of formal property rights illustrates the focus of neoliberalism on unleashing the entrepreneurial drive of the poor. In particular, the Peruvian economist argues that the problem of the poor in developing countries lies on the constraints they face to generate surplus value from their multiple assets. In other words, De Soto states that the poor are constrained to unleash the potential energy from their physical assets -such as their land and livestock- because they need to go beyond *looking* them "to actively *thinking* as they could be". In other words, De Soto states that the poor are indeed capital owners but that their capital is in a dormant state. In his words, the main problem of the poor in developing countries is "not the lack of entrepreneurship (...) [but] easy access to the property mechanisms that could legally fix the economic potential of their assets so that they could be used to produce, secure, or guarantee greater value in the expanded market." (De Soto, 2001: p. 30).

Before elaborating further on the implications of neoliberal governmentality in the context of development in Section 2.2, the rest of this section explains the understanding of subjectivation in this thesis.

2.1.2. Subjectivation and political power

With its knowledge and techniques of intervention to "conduct the conducts" of individuals, governmentality is ultimately a form of power linked to a process of subjectivation (that is, to the creation of subjects). For Foucault, subjectivation is not the subject's self-determination because individuals are within power relations that attempt to configure, discipline, and direct their behaviour. However, it is neither the complete determination of individuals by outside forces, as these power relations are not relations of domination. That is, they do not act on individuals without giving them the possibility of resistance. In other words, although individuals are constantly subjected to power relations, they are never entirely subject to others through control and dependence (Foucault, 1982). Within governmental power, individuals are free, in the sense that they can develop different forms of responses and actions:

"A relationship of violence acts upon a body or upon things; it forces, it bends, it breaks on the wheel, it destroys, or it closes the door on all possibilities. Its opposite pole can only be passivity, and if it comes up against any resistance, it has no other option but to try to minimise it. On the other hand, a power relationship can only be articulated on the basis of two elements which are each indispensable if it is really to be a power relationship: that "the other" (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognised and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up."

(Foucault, 1982, p. 789)

Therefore, subjectivation is the never-completed process of becoming: "It is not the production of a certain subjectivity, nor is it the assignment by which a being could be determined, located, fixed. It is an adventure, a future without possible anticipation of what is coming, an undetermined future" (Tassin, 2012, p. 37).

Notwithstanding his acknowledgement of people's creative role in power relations, Foucault's analysis of subjectivation has been criticised for placing too much attention on domination and not on individuals' creative and

political force. Jacques Rancière argues that more attention should be placed on the forms of mobilisation against the different types of domination that individuals face in their lives (Tassin, 2012). In concrete, Rancière (2000) criticises Foucault's work because, in his view, it does not address the political aspect of subjectivation nor addresses the actions of individuals that aim to change the world and its institutions but focuses merely on the inner transformations of individuals.

At the core of Rancière's critique of Foucault is the question of what constitutes *political subjectivation* (Lazzarato, 2009). First, for Rancière (1996, 2000b, 2000a, 2006, 2016), political subjectivation is the production of a rupture or a separation between the individual and his or her social identity, intending to contest unequal social organisations. In his view, the critical political aspect of this process is the individuals' quest for equality. On the other side, Foucault was not interested in equality but in the search for truth: For him, subjectivation refers to the production of an individuality that, while influenced and shaped by power relations, seeks its own individual truth. Second, Rancière's political perspective is collective: A political subject is always a group engaged in an emancipation process. Whereas Foucault (1982, 1988b, 1988a) argues that, while the collective struggles against domination and forms of exploitation have not disappeared, the struggles against the government of individualisation are the main contemporaneous political problems. These struggles do not oppose a particular institution, group or class, but instead attack a form of power "that categorises the individual, assigns his own individuality, ties him in his own identity, imposes a law of truth upon himself that he is obliged to recognise and that others must recognise in him" (Foucault, 1982, p. 245). In short, while Rancière understands political subjectivation as a collective action linked to the search for equality, Foucault is interested in forming the ethical subject underneath or behind what has been traditionally understood as a political actor.

During the 20th century, particularly in Latin America, sociological analyses of the nature of political power and social domination were centred on the processes of industrialisation. In these studies, the political subject was a

collective subject, the proletariat, who -with the help of political parties- fought for a universal project of emancipation. The capacity of the proletariat to represent collective class interests was linked to its central place in the productive process (Martuccelli, 2007). The increasing flexibilisation and casualisation of labour markets and the disarticulation of the old industrial-based development model have undermined the political role of workers unions and the proletariat. Today, there is no totalising structure playing a central role in the social organisation (Martuccelli & Svampa, 1997). The transformations of production and labour and other phenomena such as globalisation and the rise of the information society have broken the relationship between political power and collective productive actors, and new non-traditional political actors have emerged (Hopenhayn, 2000).

In this context, Alain Touraine finds normative and political power in the subject's actions, which he understands as the "detachment of the individual created by the roles, norms and values of the social order. This detachment is only produced by a struggle whose objective is the freedom of the subject and whose medium is the conflict with the established order, the expected behaviours and the logic of power" (Touraine, 2015, p. 337). For Touraine, subjectivation is the -partial- transformation of the individual in a subject, that is, in someone who exercises control of her experiences, transforms her material and social environment and attaches a personal purpose to them (Touraine, 2015). Similarly, Axel Honneth argues that the individuals who have not been traditionally considered political actors can generate political critiques of the contemporary social and economic organisation forms. These critiques can be implicit in their actions and not necessarily elaborated in a coherent discourse because these actors do not always have the tools to articulate their critiques in ways traditionally recognised by the hegemonic political space, but are indeed crucial to think about potential, alternative futures (Honneth, 1995, 2012, 2014, 2016).

When elaborating a theory of justice from the analysis of society and individuals, Honneth (2014) highlights the risk of considering only the normative demands that social movements articulate in a given society.

Unjust situations become marginalised from the public discussion because their actors are invisible to this space. Honneth (1995, 2012, 2014) underlines the importance of placing attention on individuals' normative critiques through their actions and discourses in their everyday lives. He understands the importance of invisible critiques, as they refer to conflicts either in the genesis of future social movements or in the margins of what is considered relevant by the establishment. This political subject does not need to be explicitly defined, as he, she or they can be anybody who expresses a moral critique around an injustice, an unfulfilled need or a deficit of recognition in a society (Zúñiga & Valencia, 2018).

When studying unconventional forms of agency and activism in the Middle East, Asef Bayat proposes the concept of *social nonmovements* to alert us to be mindful of the political expressions of subaltern groups that do not fit the mould of traditional or western notions of agency. *Social nonmovements* refers to the “shared practices of large numbers of ordinary people whose fragmented but similar activities trigger much social change, even though these practices are rarely guided by an ideology or recognizable leaderships and organizations” (Bayat, 2010: p.14). For instance, Bayat focuses on the “ordinary practices of everyday life” of women under authoritarian patriarchal states that impose significant restrictions and sanctions on organised gender claims. Acknowledging that many young activists have faced harassment, repression, detention and even physical punishment by police and -in some cases- their male guardians, women have tended to follow different strategies to express their discomfort and critiques to the rules of the system. These strategies include pursuing education, sports, arts or working outside the home, in other words, they involve establishing themselves as public actors and subverting the traditional public-private gender divide.

The collective actions of these non-collective actors tend to be quiet and action-oriented rather than audible and ideologically driven. It is a politics of practice, not of protest, and as such, it does not involve extraordinary actions that go beyond the daily routine of life. The power of these nonmovements lies in the power of big numbers, that is, on many individuals doing similar and

provocative things simultaneously, which overall has the effect of normalizing and legitimizing these actions. “Whereas each act, like single drops of rain, singularly makes only individual impact, such acts produce larger spaces of alternative practices and norms when they transpire in big numbers -just as the individual wetting effects of billions of raindrops join up to generate creeks, rivers, and even floods and waves” (Bayat, 2010: p. 20-21).

Similarly, James C. Scott uses the term *infrapolitics* to refer to what he identifies as “the prevailing genre of day-to-day politics for most of the world’s disenfranchised, for all those living in autocratic settings, for the peasantry, and for those living as subordinates in patriarchal families” (Scott, 2012: p. 113). He implicitly agrees with Bayat’s power of big numbers when underlying the power achieved collectively when several individuals engage in fragmented but meaningful political actions. For instance, the author refers to the case of Malaysian villagers when the *zakat* (or Islamic tax of 10% of their harvest) became mandatory. Opposed to the tax being no longer voluntary and to the centralisation of its proceeds, the villagers started to quietly under-declare the amount of their farmed land and yields to evade paying the tax’s total amount. With time, the evasion grew, and it included the most prominent landowners. After a dozen years, the tax was finally abolished without any public protest or petition, but a massive, quiet and undeclared non-compliance.

2.2. Development, Women and Governmentality

2.2.1. Development as a discipline of governmental power

Ideas and conceptions about how the world is and should be, inform the management of individuals and the state's specific goals. In development, implementing policies to improve well-being is built on a prior idea of what areas of individuals' lives need improvement, how improvement can (and cannot) be brought forward and how to judge failure or success (Li, 2016)

Like other disciplines of power, development -understood as a set of techniques, practices and discourses that seek to improve the welfare of society- has undergone several changes during our recent history. Until the 1970s, the focus of development was the economic problem of accumulation and growth. In this period, the state's role was to encourage industrial expansion, as manufacturing industries were the social engines that would boost the modernisation of society. In the early 1970s, the effectiveness of this approach to alleviating poverty began to be questioned by various international organisations, which advocated incorporating poverty alleviation as an explicit and direct objective of development (that is, without the mediation of growth). The expansion of development objectives from a single concern with growth towards the double objective of growth and poverty extended the state's space of action and defined new forms of intervention (Sanyal, 2007).

Initially, poverty concerns focused around the *Basic Needs approach*, which incorporated the satisfaction of the material and immaterial needs of the poorest as explicit objectives in development interventions. In other words, the needs of food, housing, access to drinking water, health and education, to name a few, were considered as matters not only capable but necessary to be directly addressed by development institutions. In the early 1980s, this pro-poverty perspective found theoretical support in Amartya Sen's *Capability Approach*. In a nutshell, Sen redefined development as the set of interventions that aim to improve people's quality of life and highlighted that economic growth and income were only means to achieve this end. Under this view, economic growth does not always translate into human development since, on the one hand, its benefits are not necessarily equally distributed throughout the population, and, on the other, not everyone has the same capabilities to benefit from the same set of goods equally. The Human Development approach of the UNDP incorporated Sen's capabilities approach in 1990, and since then, it has been at the centre of the current development perspective focusing on improving the well-being of the population.

The transformation of the development discipline is associated with a new way of conceptualising the poor in developing countries. Contrary to the mid-20th century modernisation theory that understood development subjects as passive objectives of social engineering projects (Chandler, 2013a, 2013b), neoliberal rationality understands the behaviour of society and individuals based on the basis that we are all liberal, autonomous and in control of our lives. The differences between individuals originate because they "choose and make decisions, in complex, interconnected and often irrational ways" (Chandler, 2013a, p. 77). In this way, the Human Development approach changes the focus of development to people's inner life and formulates the role of public institutions as creators of the *enabling environment* in which *good choices* are more likely to occur:

"Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and personal self-respect.

Development enables people to have these choices. No one can guarantee human happiness, and the choices people make are their own concern. But the process of development should at least create a conducive environment for people, individually and collectively, to develop their full potential and to have a reasonable chance of leading productive and creative lives in accord with their needs and interests."

(UNDP, 1990, p. 1)

Development has become a project that aims to free individuals from their limitations and help them make the right decisions. Development has become a permanent project of self-help and self-improvement (Chandler, 2013a, 2013b; Chandler & Reid, 2016).

2.2.2. The feminisation of development: From WID and WAD to Smart Economics

The incorporation of poverty alleviation as an explicit goal of development is associated with the inclusion of women as key development actors. Until the early 1970s, the development field almost ignored women, and when

considering them, it was only through their roles of mothers and wives. This female role had its counterpart in the male breadwinner ideal that underpinned the welfare policies of the 1940s-1960s, under which women and children accessed social security through their husbands and parents, that is, through *male wage earners* (Elson & Cagatay, 2000). In the 1970s, due to the rise of feminism and the women's movement, there was a dramatic shift in women's perceived and ideal role in the development process (Benería et al., 2015). Ester Boserup (1970) seminal work, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, highlighted women's productive role and contribution to the economy and provided the theoretical basis of the emerging field of Women in Development (WID). WID promoted the integration of women into the economy on an equal footing to men, arguing that women were an unexploited resource who could contribute to the pursuit of economic growth (Dominelli, 2016)

A more critical perspective, known as Women and Development (WAD), grew in the late 1970s. In contrast to WID, this approach questioned the development process itself and the socio-economic exploitation affecting, although differently, both women and men (Benería, 1981; Benería et al., 2015; Beneria & Sen, 1982; Benería & Sen, 1981; Foucault, 2008; Sen & Grown, 2013). WAD criticised liberal feminism and orthodox development theory, favouring a structural change to attain gender equality. In particular, the proponents of WAD posed attention to the type of development that women were to be integrated into and claimed that gender inequality was partly a result of the economic system and its processes of dispossession, wealth distribution and precarious employment. WAD also expanded its critical focus to the institutions concerned with reproduction, such as the intra-household division of non-remunerated work. Over the years, both perspectives (WID and WAD) were incorporated in the more encompassing Gender and Development perspective (GAD), which originated from the theoretical changes that transformed feminist theory in the 1980s. However, despite this convergence in feminist thinking, it is still possible to distinguish liberal feminism from more critical views (Benería et al., 2015).

Currently, gender equality is a goal widely pursued by national and international development institutions. The United Nations (UN) played a relevant role in incorporating the gender perspective in development by facilitating the creation of the institutional framework for research and policy design through its World Conferences on Women (in 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1995) and its Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals (in 2000 and 2015, respectively). With time, the policy interest expanded from the UN, international donors and non-governmental institutions to the World Bank and the IMF, which explicitly encourage economic globalisation and neoliberal structural changes worldwide (Benería et al., 2015).⁴ Despite the importance of gender mainstreaming in the development field, the unprecedented attention on women as development actors poses significant challenges from more critical feminist perspectives. Mainly, because the expansion of gender equality intertwines with the rise of neoliberalism and market fundamentalism, a large proportion of the work promoting the accomplishment of gender equality encourage its pursuit through the expansion of economic globalisation (Calkin, 2018).

Although feminist goals, such as women's economic autonomy and gender equality, have been partially fulfilled during the last decades, concerns over the integration of gender in the field of development argue that feminism has been watered-down and re-purposed in this process (Calkin, 2018). In particular, because the hegemonic framework does not have a critical view of the processes associated with neoliberal globalisation, gender equality is promoted without attention to its intersections with other inequalities, such as class, race and ethnicity, and women are incorporated as instruments to achieve economic growth (Benería et al., 2015; Calkin, 2018). This instrumentalisation of women is explicit in the discourse of the 2007 Gender Action Plan *Gender Equality as Smart Economics*, in which the World Bank makes a case for *investing in women* to unleash their contribution to

⁴ In the late 1970s and early 1980s, developing countries turned to the IMF and the World Bank for financial help to face the international debt crisis. Aid packages were conditioned on the implementation of a set of market-centred reforms introduced through Structural Adjustment Programmes (Walton & Seddon, 2009).

economic growth (Word Bank, 2006). Moreover, although the 2012 World Development Report *Gender Equality and Development* argues that reducing gender inequality is essential in its own right, the document extensively develops the argument that women's equality with men makes economic sense (Word Bank, 2011). In concrete, the report refers to the improvements in women's health, education, employment and access to productive assets as investments that do not only increase female productivity in the short run but also benefit the productivity of the next generation due to women's role as mothers and carers (Benería et al., 2015). Indeed, as argued above, under neoliberal development and the theory of human capital that underpins it, citizens are seen as investment assets by policymakers. Women and girls, in particular, promise the most significant returns and the lower risks (Calkin, 2018).

A current development goal is to empower women to unleash economic growth through their role as workers and carers. In this sense, women enter the development field as feminine subjects who must act as entrepreneurs within a patriarchal disciplinary order. The dominant consensus is that women are intrinsically altruistic, who, on top of helping themselves and the economy through their work, will distribute the benefits of state help among their children. Moreover, besides being considered unexploited resources and *good value for money*, women are also seen as a safer investment than men: More likely to invest the money wisely and correctly follow the programmes' rules (Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016; Boeri, 2018; Bruni et al., 2004; Calkin, 2018; Chant, 2016; Dolan, 2012; Keating et al., 2010; Klenk, 2004; Rankin, 2002, 2008, 2001; Roy, 2012; Shakya & Rankin, 2008; Walker et al., 2008; Weidner, 2009; Ziai, 2016).

2.2.3. Care and social reproduction

The current social organisation of care and domestic work responds to a historical process linked to industrialisation and liberal capitalism (Carrasco et al., 2011). Even though men and women had different roles in pre-industrial work organisations, responsibilities were more diverse than in contemporary

times (Boydston, 1990). With modernisation and the commodification of intra-household production, men specialised in their breadwinner industrial role and women became 'naturally responsible' for domestic and care work (Vanek, 1974). Simultaneously, the economic rationality behind the transition to industrial capitalism focused on market and wage work and rendered invisible female economic contribution (Federici, 2018).

Despite the mechanisation of domestic chores associated with household electrification and mass-production, women's number of hours to non-remunerated work has had little change since the onset of industrialisation. A deep-seated hypothesis that explains non-remunerated female working hours' persistence in the Europe of the 20th century points to the rise of new theories and findings that linked hygiene and nutrition to child mortality and overall health. In this context, the good mother was the housewife who applied this new knowledge to maintain her family's well-being (Bourke, 1993).

With the rise of liberalism, domestic and care work was increasingly linked to a 'natural' female essence subjected to expert knowledge:

"Since the end of the 19th century, the continuous changes in medical and hygienic, educational, and later psychological theories on childcare have only increased and made the tasks of caring for mothers more complex. These tasks were progressively perceived less like work and more as a product of maternal love, which cannot be delegated therefore in its emotional dimension to domestic service and constantly tested for its fair adaptation to the 'expert' speech."

(Carrasco et al., 2011, p. 26)

The demystification of this female essentialism and the valorisation of care and domestic work have been central topics in the work of many feminist since the early 1960s (Aresti, 2000, 2001; Bolufer, 2009; Knibiehler & Fouquet, 1977; Nash, 2009). Feminist sociologists developed the notion of social reproduction in the second half of the 20th century to highlight the importance of women's non-remunerated work to the reproduction of people and social relations (Benería, 1981; Craske & Molyneux, 2002; Dalla Costa, 1972; Molyneux, 1979, 2001; Molyneux & Razavi, 2002; Picchio, 1999, 1981, 1992, 1994, 1996). Domestic work is essential to social reproduction. It includes

producing goods (such as cooked food and clean clothes) to ensure the physical well-being of family members, caring for children, dependents and active adults, and emotional support occurring through these relationships. The current notion of care includes all domestic work supporting the reproduction of life: It includes direct care (e.g., feeding a baby, attending a sick person, or listening and talking to an adolescent) and indirect care (more commonly known as domestic work, e.g., cleaning the house and doing laundry, among many others) as they both represent forms of caring about others (Carrasco et al., 2011). Another contribution from feminist sociology to the study of care in the 1970s and 1980s highlighted women's daily struggles to combine remunerated work with domestic and care responsibilities. With notions such as Balbo's (1978) *dual presence*, Hochschild & Machung's (2012) *second shift* and Oakley's (1974) *dual burden*, they underlined the emotional and economic costs of care for women.

Feminist economists started to focus on the analysis of care in the 1990s. Authors such as Himmelweit (1995), Folbre (1982, 2001) and Folbre & Bittman (2004) highlighted the subjective and emotional aspects of care and argued against the dichotomy of work/no-work as the primary framework to understand women's experience. Opposite to early feminists' efforts to recognise care as any work undertaken within the market, they focus on the distinctive characteristics of care and its overall importance for society's general well-being. Feminist economists argue that care (and not the patriarchally-based market) should be society's social and economic model. When welfare is based merely on the market, public policies ignore the importance of everyday life to people's well-being and allow "the survival of a socio-productive organisation where the production of goods has greater economic value and social prestige than the quality of people's lives" (Carrasco et al., 2011, p. 41).

2.3. Subjectivation, female agency and development

2.3.1. The gendered character of the entrepreneurial neoliberal subject

There has been a growing set of literature studying governmentality and subjectivation in development during the last decades. These studies have concentrated chiefly on anthropology, geography and development studies and have focused on the subjective effects that specific development interventions have on the local population and, particularly, on women. In general, they conclude that contemporary development discourses and practices establish a new relationship between the state and the poor, making the latter increasingly responsible for their poverty. In the case of women, the studies show how the subjects of development have shifted from citizens with social rights to women clients or women entrepreneurs who have the responsibility to better themselves and their families (Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016; Boeri, 2018; Bruni et al., 2004; Calkin, 2018; Dolan, 2012; Keating et al., 2010; Klenk, 2004; Meltzer, 2013; Rankin, 2002, 2008, 2001; Roy, 2012; Shakya & Rankin, 2008; Sigalla & Carney, 2012; Walker et al., 2008; Weidner, 2009; Ziai, 2016)

A frequent focus of governmentality and development studies is microfinance, seen as "epitomising the creation of neoliberal subjects" (Sukarieh, 2016, p. 1205). Microfinance programmes aim to alleviate poverty by extending financial services to the poor, and they include a broad set of interventions, such as the promotion of savings and access to different types of insurance. However, by far, the most popular microfinance interventions are the programmes offering microcredits to the poor. Microcredit has become a popular development tool during the last decade and has expanded quickly around the world. It aims to promote economic development and extend the credit system in poor and marginalised communities while encouraging the creation of micro-entrepreneurs. Hence, they are usually linked to Entrepreneurship Education and Training programmes (EET) that help vulnerable populations develop the skills that would help them generate independent sources of income and employment (Valerio et al., 2014). Two

implicit assumptions generally underpin microfinance and EET. First, poverty and deprivation are associated with individual constraints to properly participate in the economy and their circuits of exchange (notably, the poor's lack of investment capital and entrepreneurial skills). Second, the needs and desires of the poor can be satisfied in the market. In other words, that it is in the market where the poor will find what they require to improve their lives (Esquivel, 2012). In this sense, microfinance and EET are invariably linked with neoliberal governmentality, as they actively contribute to the expansion and creation of markets through monetisation and formalisation (Rankin, 2001; Rankin & Shakya, 2007).

Microfinance programmes often target poor women: Female participants represent around 80% of the total participants worldwide (Convergences, 2018; ILO, 2008). These programmes aim to increase women's entrepreneurial activities to indirectly benefit economic growth, poverty reduction, and gender equality. The assumption is that an increased female economic activity would benefit younger generations, boost women's empowerment and, through the latter, alter intra-household power relations. Therefore, the programmes fail to address the unequal sexual division of non-remunerated work within households and replicate the unequal distribution of its costs among men and women.

Through these programmes, women are encouraged to behave as *rational economic women*, that is, as entrepreneurial and responsible citizens that function successfully under competition in the domain of the market while taking care of themselves and their families (Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016; Li, 2016; Murray, 2002; Rankin, 2001, 2002). Although engendering development in this way may indeed open new opportunities for women, microfinance and EET programmes strengthen traditional gender roles and encourage the creation of subjects that are functional to the neoliberal agenda: Female empowerment is encouraged while validating the current unequal division of work and making women increasingly accountable for the well-being of their families and communities, in contexts where the states are diluting their social responsibility and increasingly focusing on their role as

promoters of market expansion and economic growth (Chant, 2016; del Valle & Boga, 2017; Rankin, 2001; Rankin & Shakya, 2007; Tabbush, 2010).

In Latin America, and due to the widespread importance of CCT programmes, governmentality studies have also posed their attention on the way these programmes intertwine with processes of neoliberal subjectivation (Ballard, 2013; Garmany, 2016, 2017; Meltzer, 2013).⁵ CCT are anti-poverty programmes that “have become the backbone of targeted social policies in Latin America” (Trivelli and Clausen, 2016: p. 6). They exist in all of the countries and benefit more than 100 million households in the region. They consist of small monetary transfers to beneficiary families on the condition they fulfil specific tasks, such as ensuring that children attend school or being up to date with their medical check-ups. In general, policy makers agree about the benefits of CCTs on the health and education of children, as well as on extreme poverty alleviation in the short term and, to some extent, on inequality reduction. However, there is also a general agreement that these programmes are not enough to generate sustained and substantial change in poverty conditions (Trivelli and Clausen, 2016).

The literature also reports concrete positive effects on women and other household members, such as improvements on their financial inclusion, improvements through small home investment made by (mostly female) recipients, greater food consumption in the household and positive impacts on families’ production activities, among others (Goldstein, 2014). However, some negative effects have also been reported. Among them, increase pressure on women, the bearers of CCT’s co-responsibilities, as well as on children, who privilege school attendance and medical check-ups, while still having to undertake other traditional responsibilities within their households, which ends up affecting their leisure and play time (moments of rest but also instances where important skills for their socio-emotional and cognitive

⁵ CCT are the main anti-poverty interventions in Latin America. They first emerged in Brazil in the mid-1990s and in 2012, they were already benefiting more than 20 million households and around 100 million people in the region (Esquivel, 2012; Meltzer, 2013).

development are formed). Furthermore, some researchers also criticise CCT under a governmentality framework, arguing that these programmes aim to reshape underachieving sectors of society, while creating docile, malleable and governable populations, disciplining their daily practices and regulating their movements (through impositions such as municipal registration, monthly reporting, and programme attendance) (Corboz, 2013; Ferguson, 2010; Garmany, 2016, 2017; Meltzer, 2013).

Most of the direct participants of CCT (that is, the ones responsible for fulfilling the programmes' conditionalities and responsibilities) are the mothers of the children and adolescents of the household (which in some cases responds to explicit programme requirements). However, women are only the operative beneficiaries of CCT, because they are not the actual holders of the right: They only access the benefits due to their familial relationship with those who ultimately hold CCT's entitlement, that is, their children and adolescents. Although the participation of women in CCT has some advantages, such as strengthening the relationship between women and the state and alleviating poverty in the medium and long-term (Bárcena & Montaña, 2013; González de la Rocha, 2010), CCT rely on the instrumental use of women as bearers of benefits to others. They do not contest but strengthen the unequal distribution of domestic and care responsibilities within the household and ignore women's needs and interests.

In particular, CCT impose requirements on women's time (for instance, collecting the programme's money, obtaining certificates, or attending programme meetings), which they could use to benefit. Moreover, they demand an extra burden of work in contexts in which women already have plenty of responsibilities (Craske & Molyneux, 2002; González de la Rocha, 2010; Molyneux, 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Molyneux, Jones, & Samuels, 2016; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011; Rodríguez, 2018; Tabbush, 2010; Waylen, 2004).

2.3.2. The female subject in development

The literature that studies subjectivation in the context of development shows that the female (ideal) subject is an entrepreneurial woman who holds the ultimate responsibility for the well-being of her family. The desired entrepreneurial woman can identify a market opportunity, bring together the required resources, start a business, and overcome obstacles (Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016). The female entrepreneurial subject is mobilised through empowerment and economic autonomy, but it is ultimately built upon traditional gender roles within the household. In other words, development limits the notion of female empowerment to the spheres of the economy and the individual. It fails to transform the unequal sexual distribution of domestic and care work, which lies at the core of gender inequality (Esquivel, 2012; Garikipati, 2008; Rankin, 2002; Rodríguez, 2010, 2018).

Moreover, by focusing on "women's willingness and capacity to improve themselves" (Altan-Olcay, 2016, p. 394), the neoliberal ideal decontextualises women's lives and depoliticises the roots of their difficulties (Brown, 2015; Ferguson, 1994, 2006, 2011; Ferguson & Ghupta, 2002). In concrete, social problems such as poverty and unemployment are not to be addressed through right-based social assistance or structural change but are transformed into individual challenges that rational economic women must solve (Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016; Boeri, 2018; Calkin, 2018; Dolan, 2012; Keating et al., 2010; Klenk, 2004; Rankin, 2001, 2002, 2008; Rist, 2007; Roy, 2012; Shakya & Rankin, 2008; Walker et al., 2008; Weidner, 2009; Ziai, 2016). Women are seen and treated within neoliberal development as docile, obedient and easily disciplined subjects who do not question the structural roots of their problems. On the contrary, the female subject must assume her role and position in society while improving her and her family's well-being by strengthening her market participation. In particular, under this neoliberal logic of development, poor women are encouraged to balance opportunity and risk and behave as good mothers and entrepreneurs (Meltzer, 2013). However, this process of subjectivation is never complete, as it encounters resistance by people and institutions that have their aims and views.

For instance, Shakya & Rankin (2008) analyse microcredit projects in Nepal and Vietnam and focus their attention on their subjectivation process. They show that the programmes foment division and inequality in local communities because they mobilise 'traditional' categories such as honour to foster entrepreneurial subjectivities and extend ideologies of shame among those who fail to pay their debts. For example, most female borrowers generally exclude the poorer women as financial partners and frequently apply punitive measures to defaulting members. However, the authors also show that subject creation is not complete: while the female participants appear to behave like promising entrepreneurs, getting access to credit and repaying their loans, in practice, they are constantly transgressing the programmes' protocols and regulations. These transgressive practices reveal the programmes' failures and challenge the gendered subjectivities imputed to poor rural women as docile, obedient and disciplined.

Similarly, Garmany (2017) explores how poor people negotiate the neoliberal subjectivity and obligations placed on them by a CCT in Viçosa do Ceará, a small town in northeast Brazil. He studies the *Programa Bolsa Familia* (PBF), the world's most extensive CCT programme,⁶ and shows how women draw on the programme conditionalities (which include maintaining up-to-date household demographic information, ensuring primary and secondary school attendance, and monitoring the health and development of children and pregnant women within the household) to make tactical demands on state actors. Rather than confronting the state with right-based discourses (of the sort of 'we deserve better'), women's demands appeal to what they require to meet the conditionalities of PBF. For instance, demands for paved roadways and transportation to and from schools are linked to the need to keep up with school attendance, and demands to increase the local availability of health professionals are made based on the need to meet health conditionalities.

⁶ PBF was launched in 2003 to alleviate extreme poverty and hunger in Brazil, and in 2014 it attended almost 14 million families and 50 million people (Garmany, 2017). The cash transferred to PBF participant families depends on the numbers of children, adolescents and pregnant women living at home.

In concrete, Garmany (2017) shows that women adapt the programme to their needs without compromising their access to its benefits. Besides making particular demands to fulfil the programme conditionalities, Garmany (2016, 2017) shows -similarly to what Shakya & Rankin (2008) found in Nepal and Vietnam- that women quietly bend and transgress PBF's rules and requirements. For instance, PBF aims to strengthen the participation of its recipients in the formal markets by constraining where they can spend their allowances (by transferring credit to cards only accepted in formal suppliers with electronic card readers). However, many participants strengthen their engagement in informal markets, either by re-selling the products they buy or by increasing their involvement in unpaid or informal labour. In particular, Garmany (2007) shows that some PBF participants prefer to engage in informal or lower-paying jobs to avoid their disqualification of the programme due to higher (reported) incomes.

2.3.3. Tactical and subtle forms of resistance

The 1990s saw the emergence of a particular field of critical development research. Scholars like Gustavo Esteva and Arturo Escobar criticised the meaning of development, claiming that it was a process that imposed western modernisation as a universal ideal for social change and threatened to erase the societies' specificities in the Global South. Arturo Escobar developed this critique in his book *Encountering Development* in 1995, which set the terms of critical development studies for a considerable period. Influenced by Foucault and Said, (Escobar, 2012) considered development as a discourse that only allows "certain things" to "be said and even imagined" (39), and which excludes -and eventually suppresses- local and more marginal views and models. The author saw hope in "hybrid cultures" and on the collaboration of grassroots activism and scholars to uncover alternative forms of knowledge and deconstruct and, eventually, reject development altogether. Focusing on Colombia, for instance, Escobar (2008) presents the strategies of local grassroots to protect their lifestyles and worldviews against the expansion of global capitalism in their territories. He highlights initiatives

such as the implementation of cooperatives and women associations for the commercialisation and marketing of local products, the operation of projects linking literacy, history and identity through the use of low-technology radio and printing materials, and the work of environmental conservation projects, seeing in them the potential to constitute an alternative to the modern capitalist economy and the hegemonic notion of development.

The above post-development perspective has received different critiques since its emergence in the 1990s. In particular, as studies like the ones presented in previous sections have shown, subaltern groups and social movements do not always fully oppose or altogether reject development but rather engage in different forms of struggles and actions to change its meaning and allow it to express their aspirations, interests and needs. These studies show a more nuanced view of development: Instead of portraying it as a dominant regime exercising authority over subaltern societies, they present development as a contested space, where recipients and beneficiaries do have power to change and redirect its processes and meanings. The different studies that explore governmentality in the context of development show that the population demands the state and deflects programme obligations, but in calculated and tactical ways that avoid compromising their programme participation. These responses cannot be easily categorised as *resistance*, as they are more subtle forms of executing power. In other words, they are not collective and explicit actions aiming to challenge dominant systems of power, but more ambiguous responses that, while expressing non-conformity with the programmes' rules and processes of subject creation, avoid falling into situations of greater vulnerability.

Drawing on Michel de Certeau (1984) notions of *strategies* and *tactics*, Garmany (2017) compares the control exerted by CCT's conditionalities and the disguised and ambiguous acts of resistance of the programme recipients. While the state implements practices that *strategically* aim to exert control over poor people, the recipients engage in *tactical* responses, that is, in deliberate and careful practices that acknowledge the unequal footing on which they stand. Tactics are non-combative and cautious methods of protest

and contestation; they are "clever tricks of the 'weak' within the order established of the 'strong'" (de Certeau, 1984; Garmany, 2017, p. 384). Similarly, Shakya & Rankin (2008) argue that the critical responses of development participants are not straightforward resistance but *subversive actions*, that is, "individual, covert instances of non-conformity that engage tactics to get as much as possible out of a constraining situation" (Shakya & Rankin, 2008, p. 1230). Indeed, in contexts where development programmes target individuals in situations of poverty and deprivation, it is essential to incorporate to the analysis of people's agency the fact that they engage with development programmes and their processes of subject creation from the standpoint of their own agendas and situated interests (Sukarieh, 2016). It is crucial to incorporate class and labour casualisation to analyse local contestation of neoliberal governmentality (Sukarieh, 2016; Weidner, 2009)

Development is not imposed on people, it does not operate through coercion or dominance, but it requires consent or compliance from the population it serves. Development –as a form of governmental power- is executed on free subjects (Foucault, 1982), and in this sense, its form of power constrains but also enables the emergence of new opportunities and subjectivities. In other words, when individuals participate in development programmes and interventions, they "put dominant cultural productions into their own moral and social frame of reference and, in so doing, change their meaning" (Shakya & Rankin, 2008, pp. 1230–1231). Along these lines, Feher (2009), for instance, argues that the critics of neoliberalism do not need to reject but to embrace the neoliberal condition to allow it to express aspirations and demands that its neoliberal promoters had never intended nor foreseen. Similarly, Katherine Gibson (2001), when studying the discourses and practices of governmentality in the Latrobe Valley in Australia, argues that although power is oppressive and limiting, it has contradictions and discontinuities that generate opportunities to be productive and creative (Gibson, 2001).

2.4. A relational view of the state

By transforming individuals into autonomous, reasonable and docile subjects that take complete responsibility to handle the difficulties in their lives, development increasingly comprehends the inner self of the population it tries to assist. Although this subjectivity is associated with a depoliticisation of the population, as it undermines the responsibility of the state to modify the structural, cultural, economic and political roots of the problems, in practice, both the subjectivation process sought after and the depoliticisation of social and allocation problems are not fully achieved (Hart, 2004; O'Malley et al., 1997). In order to undertake a governmental analysis of the local effects of development, "we have to consider how governmentality is itself a conjunctural and crisis-ridden enterprise, how it engenders its own mode of resistance and makes, meets, moulds, or is contested by new subjects" (Gupta, 2001, p. 239). In particular, we have to acknowledge that not only the population has agency in this process, but also that the state itself (or the public institution that 'does the developing') is not a unified entity but is transversed by different dynamics and interests that shape the implementation of the development project, deviating it from its original goals.

When analysing what development *is* and what it *does*, it is necessary to understand the social, cultural and historical framings that shape the way development unfolds (Ferguson, 1990; Li, 1999). Besides incorporating the local population's agency, one needs to incorporate the rationalities and interests within the state and analyse how those in charge of implementing development interventions interact with development participants (Li, 2016). In other words, when exploring the local effects of development, it is not only enough to merely analyse the responses of the local population to a particular development project or intervention, but it is also necessary to place attention on its 'messy processes of implementation' and on the actual forms that development discourses and its techniques of power adopt on the ground (Hart, 2004; Li, 1999; O'Malley et al., 1997).

The inconsistencies and 'governmentality gaps' encountered by those governed allow them to critically engage with the development interventions and subjectivation process. For instance, Garmany (2016) shows that the governmental goals of PBF are not only undermined by the actions of the local population but also by the practices of local state administrators. While focusing on the experience of Ponta Fina (a poor rural area that lies along the shared border of two states), the author argues that PBF fails to create autonomous and docile subjects. On one side, local implementers are not necessarily concerned nor in line with governance objectives (but seek their interests instead), and on the other, the local population do not see local state actors as figures of authority with the capacity to impose rules to be followed but perceives them as incompetent, negligent and corrupt. Likewise, Ananya Roy underlines that policymakers and development implementers can be 'double agents' in the local expansion of capitalism, referring that some of them can and do pose critiques and pressures to the hegemonic economic and social system from within (Roy, 2010).

In concrete, it is crucial to avoid conceptualising the state as a single, unified actor and acknowledge the different goals and rationalities that characterise it. Framing the state in relational terms allows incorporating to the study the contradictions that co-exist within the different scales, institutions and actors that comprise it (Allen & Cochrane, 2007). In short, it allows us to understand the state "as a site of political struggle and contradiction, as the locus of highly contested planning activity, and as a mediating force in the articulation of global economic processes with local cultural forms" (Rankin, 2001).

2.5. Conclusion

The chapter presents the theoretical framework used to analyse the implementation and local articulation of development in Chile. In short, this thesis understands development as a vehicle of neoliberal governmentality, that is, as discourses and practices that encourage economic growth while devolving social responsibilities from the state to the individuals and, particularly, to women. In other words, development aims to create gendered

entrepreneurial subjectivities that act efficiently in the economic space, managing risks to better themselves and their families. However, as the chapter has shown, this subjectivation process is never complete. On one side, the state is constituted by institutions and actors with different and sometimes contradictory agendas, which generates inconsistencies and gaps in how development unfolds and crystallises locally. On the other, local communities and individuals are not passive in this process but have power that, although limited, can shape and redirect development.

The thesis studies the development experience of Chiloé from 2008 to 2015, a period that includes an economic crisis and its immediate aftermath. On the one hand, the research places its attention on the actions and discourses of the state to save the industry and protect the local population. It assumes that these actions and discourses reflect the approach of the Chilean state to rural development (as explained in Chapter 4, Chile does not have an explicit or cohesive rural development approach) to unveil the contradictions and gaps that characterise it. On the other hand, the thesis studies how the local population, particularly adult women, relates to development programmes and makes sense of their own lives. The goal is to explore and understand the ways women execute their creative and political power when bending and shaping development to fit their interests. The next chapter presents the methodology and methods used to undertake the research enquiry.

3. Research methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used in the thesis to study the subjectivation process embedded in the rural development approach of the Chilean state. The research follows a critical realist epistemology and uses qualitative and quantitative data from a plurality of primary and secondary sources. The chapter has four main sections. The first and second sections state the research objectives and questions and look at ontological and epistemological considerations. The third and fourth sections present the different methods chosen to generate and analyse (and present) the data, respectively.

3.1. Research objective and research questions

3.1.1. Research objective

The main goal of the research is to contribute to the analysis of neoliberal governmentality in rural development by analysing its particular features and contradictions within the Chilean state and the role that economic vulnerability and gender have in its rural process of subjectivation.

3.1.2. Units of analysis and theoretical scope

The research aims to answer the central question: What are the leading state and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)?

The research organises its enquiry around three theoretical elements (each one related to one sub-question) and three units of analysis (see *Figure 2*). The first element is the characteristics, contradictions and gaps that characterise neoliberal rural development in Chile. Its unit of analysis is the Chilean state under a relational view, acknowledging the co-existence of different views, interests, and objectives. The second element is the development experience in (Central) Chiloé: The historical relationship between the state and the local population and its implications for local economies, livelihoods, and culture. Its unit of analysis is the local economy, understanding it as a historically and culturally-rooted system comprised of all remunerated and non-remunerated work contributing to the reproduction of individuals and communities in a particular territory and time. The third and final theoretical element is the (in)completeness of neoliberal subjectivation among women and how they express their agency in this process. Its unit of analysis is local adult women in Central Chiloé, and the analysis of their agency incorporates the broader structure and the particular knowledge system and culture in which they live (more below).

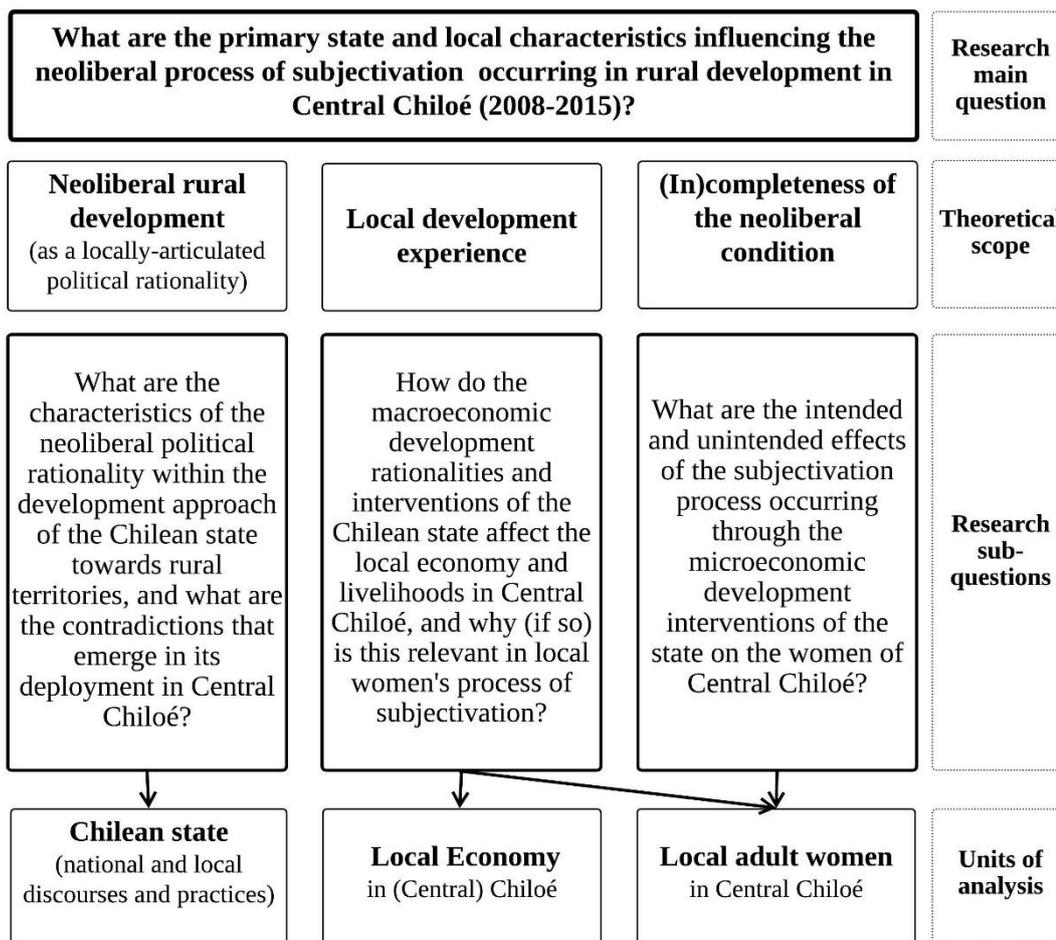


Figure 2: Research theoretical focus, sub-questions and units of analysis

Source: Author's elaboration.

3.1.3. Research questions

The main question that the PhD tries to answer is: What are the leading state and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)?

The research aims to answer this question by focusing on three specific sub-questions:

- (i) What are the characteristics of the neoliberal political rationality within the development approach of the Chilean state towards rural territories?

- (ii) How do the macroeconomic development rationalities and interventions of the Chilean state affect the local economy and livelihoods in Central Chiloé, and why (if so) is this relevant in local women's process of subjectivation?
- (iii) What are the intended and unintended effects of the subjectivation process occurring through the state's microeconomic development interventions on the women of Central Chiloé?

The first sub-question aims to identify how neoliberal rural development articulates within the Chilean state, and it aims to identify the coexisting goals and interests shaping its functioning. The second sub-question aims to characterise the local economy in Chiloé under neoliberalism and present the changes, obstacles and opportunities that local communities and individuals have encountered since the arrival of neoliberal globalisation in the archipelago. It contributes to understanding subjectivation as a situated process, where the structure both enables and constraints local agency. The third sub-question explores the intended and unintended effects of subjectivation among local women, their agency and the (in) completeness of the neoliberal condition.

3.2. Positioning the research and the researcher's role

3.2.1. The ontological and epistemological position of the research

Research does not exist in a philosophical vacuum: Ontological and epistemological philosophical perspectives frame all enquiries about the world. In other words, research is (implicitly or explicitly) underpinned by assumptions about the form and nature of reality and about how we can gain knowledge about it. At the extremes of the philosophical spectrum, there are two broad ontological positions: On one side, foundationalism/objectivism believes in the existence of a 'real world', which is composed of discrete objects with characteristics that are independent of any knowledge about them.

Scholars within this philosophical school argue that it is possible and desirable to arrive at objective and unconditional truths about the world. On the other side, anti-foundationalism/constructivism believes that reality is socially or discursively constructed and has no social role or causal power independent of individuals and societies' knowledge. Under this vision, the reality is not discovered, but it is actively constructed and shaped by its members. Within this school of thought, there are no value-free or objective evaluations of the world, as observers inhabit the social world, and their perspective is affected by the knowledge system in which they live (Furlong & Marsh, 2010; Kitchin & Tate, 2013).

Within each ontological perspective, there are different epistemological positions.⁷ In broad terms, foundationalist scholars tend to follow a positivist perspective and privilege studies focusing on causal relations and the development of explanatory and predictive models. On the other side, constructivist scholars tend to follow interpretative epistemologies and focus on the meaning of behaviour and how social processes unfold under particular contexts. While the former tend to prefer quantitative methods and analyses and seek 'objective' and generalisable conclusions, the latter tend to privilege qualitative evidence and offer their results as one interpretation of the social phenomena studied. Although these two ontological positions and their respective epistemological perspectives have been traditionally seen as logically incompatible, during recent decades, a philosophical alternative that bonds them has been gaining widespread acceptance in the philosophy of science: critical realism. In particular, critical realists share an ontological position with foundationalists while being closer to the constructivist epistemologies. In concrete, they believe that there are fundamental processes that exist independently of our perceptions and knowledge about them but that our understanding of them is a social construction that affects their outcomes. This philosophical approach rejects objective perceptions of reality

⁷ I acknowledge that this is a contested statement, and that there are authors (particularly post-structuralists) that do not pose a particular hierarchical order between ontological and epistemological approaches (Furlong & Marsh, 2010, pp. 187–188).

and views theories or conclusions as incomplete attempts to grasp something about a complex reality (Maxwell, 2009, 2013).

The PhD follows a critical realist approach. Development is understood as a set of practices and discourses with tangible, material and extra-discursive effects. Its processes shape national and local economic structures and have real effects on local livelihoods, for instance, by shaping their environment and local economies, but they also impact people's understanding of their own lives, desires, goals, and actions. Although people have agency (in other words, they are reflexive individuals, and interpret and attach meaning to development processes, change their structures and affect their outcomes), the research understands that this agency is both constrained and enabled by the broader structure that surrounds them, and by the particular knowledge system in which they live. On one side, although processes such as technological change, state structure and organisation, and the existence of patriarchal values in a particular society are made possible by the actions of humans, they exist externally to individuals and have the power to constrain them, whether they acknowledge it or not. Nevertheless, on the other, the beliefs, meanings and understandings that people have do matter, not because they determine the reality that surrounds them, but because they influence behaviour, which –collectively- may impact the real world. In short, the thesis studies development as a site where different meanings and understanding of the world meet and engage in power struggles, and as an incoherent and complex material and discursive project, which is full of contradictions and has unpredictable outcomes (Furlong & Marsh, 2010; Kitchin & Tate, 2013).

In order to grasp a social phenomenon -in this case, the way the subjectivation process occurs in the context of rural development in Central Chiloé-, critical realism requires to identify and understand the external reality through which this process develops (e.g. state organisation and actors, institutions, programmes, local economy structure, and people's livelihoods and living conditions), and second, the social construction of that reality. Moreover, the latter is subjected to a double-hermeneutic: Not only is it important to incorporate people's understandings and the meanings that they attach to a

social phenomenon, but it is also required to acknowledge our positionality as researchers when interpreting their interpretations (Furlong & Marsh, 2010; Geertz, 1973). The following section elaborates on the choice of Central Chiloé as the research case study and on my role as a reflexive researcher in the field.

3.2.2. Central Chiloé: the case study

Different research strategies are more suitable to answer different research problems and questions. A particular need for a case study arises when the research investigates a contemporary and complex social phenomenon, where contextual conditions are believed to be highly pertinent and, particularly, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not completely clear (Yin, 2003). The case study approach is well-suited to address the enquiry of this PhD. It provides an opportunity to acquire an in-depth understanding of the complexities of a process where historical, cultural, institutional, economic and social elements shape and intertwine with the actual process under study. In concrete, to understand how the process of neoliberal subjectivation in the context of rural development functions in Chile, it is essential to ground the study in a particular setting and context.

A case study entails a "detailed examination of a single example", and as such, it is a research choice subjected to different critiques, particularly concerning its capacity to generalise results and contribute to broader theories (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 220). Although there are indeed research approaches that are better suited to produce general, theoretical, and context-independent knowledge (e.g. comparative and correlational studies), case studies contribute to refining theory and establishing the limits of generalizability (Stake, 1995, 2005; Yin, 2003).⁸ Moreover, generalisation is only one of many means by which disciplines gain and accumulate knowledge. In this sense, a case study's primary contribution is the experiential knowledge of the case and its

⁸ For instance, case studies are ideal for contributing to general knowledge through tests of falsification: If just one observation does not fit with a scientific, theoretical proposition, then the latter is considered not valid generally and must be revised or rejected (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

attention to its activities and context (social, political, economic and others). This knowledge cannot be formally generalised, but that does not mean that it does not contribute to the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field as context-dependent knowledge has value in itself (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In sum, a case study should be primarily concerned with the case, as its ultimate purpose is not to represent the world but to represent the complexities of a real phenomenon (Stake, 2005).

The case is a complex, specific, and bounded functioning system (Stake, 1995), which can be intrinsically relevant or instrumental to the enquiry. In the first case, the main research focus is to acquire a better understanding of the particular case (in other words, the case itself is the main focus of interest). In the second case, the case analysis provides significant knowledge about one or more external issues of interest (the case is of secondary interests and plays a supportive role) (Stake, 1994, 1995, 2005).⁹ Whether one has intrinsic or instrumental interest, the knowledge-generation ability of a study will always benefit from the strategic choice of its case. Contrary to random selections emphasising representativeness, atypical cases are often preferred by case studies because of their capacity to reveal more information about a particular research problem and provide a higher potential for learning (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Stake, 1995). Indeed, since the fieldwork's limitations of time and access, the opportunity to learn is of primary importance: A good case is that "from which we feel we can learn the most" (Stake, 2005, p. 451). The latter criterion depends not only on the uniqueness and the context of the chosen case, but also on it having the right environment for learning (e.g. be the most accessible, safe or hospitable to our enquiry, or the one where we can spend the most time) (Stake, 1995).

The reasons to choose Chiloé as the instrumental case study for my PhD enquiry are multiple and subscribe to Stake's criterion on the opportunity to

⁹ Stake (2005) also identifies 'multiple case study' or 'collective case study', which focus their analysis on a number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, a population group or a general condition. In short, it is an "instrumental study extended to several cases" (445-446).

learn. As Chapter 5 will present in more detail, Chiloé is a very distinctive region within Chile: this is not only so because of its particular geography and natural isolation from the rest of the country, but also because of its recent experience as a locus of global production, and for the unique culture and identity of its local population. Chiloé is not a representative or typical rural territory in Chile, but its singularity allows us to explore the effects of the contemporary rural development approach of the Chilean state. Indeed, for most of its history, Chiloé has been relatively isolated from the processes that have occurred in the Chilean countryside: Its territory was not characterised by the big haciendas that shaped the country's rural territories since colonial times to the mid-20th century, and therefore, it was not directly affected by the social and economic processes linked to the agrarian reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. During all that time, small farmers and peasants mostly populated the archipelago, sustaining their livelihoods with subsistence agriculture, fishing, marine gathering (in other words, collecting marine creatures such as clams, mussels, among others) and cyclical migration.

It was not until the country opened its economy to the global markets in the late 1970s and early 1980s that Chiloé experienced first-hand the effects of the national development approach in its local economy and when the state considerably extended its presence in the archipelago. In this sense, Chiloé represents an unusual but very fruitful example of the impact that globalisation and neoliberalism have on the livelihoods and everyday life of local individuals.¹⁰

In addition, Chiloé represented the right environment for learning. It was not only a rural territory that provided a safe and hospitable environment to undertake fieldwork, but it has also been the subject of different academic endeavours (mainly from the disciplines of anthropology, development

¹⁰ In addition, the recent experience of Chiloé with the salmon crisis provided also the perfect timing to analyse the different interpretations of development within the state in specific relation to Chiloé, and to explore the unfolding of the subjectivation process associated to the entrepreneurial social programmes (which have increased their local importance after the crisis).

economics and political ecology), which facilitated its contextual and historical description, as well as my immersion in the field. Mainly, I chose Central Chiloé, not only because of the greater availability of secondary data (more below), but also because it is where Castro (in other words, the primary urban centre of the archipelago) locates, and therefore, the area within the archipelago with the best accessibility and service provision, which greatly facilitated my fieldwork.

3.2.3. My role as a reflexive researcher

Reflexivity refers to the researcher's examination and explanation of the influence that she has had on the research project. Although the extent to which researchers engage in reflexivity analyses associates with the methodological approach of their studies, broadly, reflexivity involves both a reflection of the researcher's positionality and a critical examination of the researcher-researched encounter (Dowling, 2006). On one side, reflexivity entails focusing on the researcher's motivations, interests, assumptions, and theoretical background and thinking about their implications for the research and its findings. In the end, the researcher is the one who ultimately decides what to include in the report, and therefore her meanings, contexts, and experiences are relevant to the project (Stake, 2005). On the other side, reflexivity also involves reflecting on "the intersubjective dynamics between researcher and the researched" and how they co-construct their research findings and change in the process (Finlay & Gough, 2003, p. ix).

From the above, reflexivity is a dynamic and continuous process involving personal and epistemological reflection in each research stage (Berger, 2015; Dowling, 2006; Etherington, 2004; Finlay & Gough, 2003): Reflexivity "facilitates a critical attitude towards locating the impact of research(er) context and subjectivity on project design, data collection, data analysis, and presentation and findings" (Finlay & Gough, 2003, p. 22). In this section, I focus my reflexivity analysis on the motivations and theoretical lenses that I had at the initial stage of my PhD and how they were shaped and transformed throughout my fieldwork. In Section 3.3, I explore the decisions that

underpinned the data collection process, and in Section 3.4, I present my role in data analysis and writing processes. Although I acknowledge the importance of being reflexive while carrying out research with an interpretative epistemology, I understand that there are limits to the extent of one's awareness of the research's influences (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). This is my best attempt to be intellectually honest and open to position and enrich my contribution to the broader literature on development and subjectivation.

Reflexivity in the fieldwork

My interest in analysing the contradictory effects of development policies in the local population emerged partly due to my previous professional experience. While studying the quantitative and qualitative effects of poverty-alleviation programmes in Chile, I started to internally question the extent to which they were temporarily subsidising the costs of an unquestioned growth-centred development approach in the country. As a professional with a background in Economics –a career that in Chile is mainly taught within a neoliberal framework-, I decided to take the time to study the broader rationality underpinning the current development paradigm. When I decided to focus my PhD on the case of Chiloé, I was particularly interested in the response of the local population to the development processes in their territory. It intrigued me that while in Aysén (an adjacent southern region), the local population had managed to organise and collectively react against the construction of a hydroelectric project (which was going to affect the natural environment, although at the same contribute to the local generation of employment), people in Chiloé seemed to have received the arrival and expansion of the salmon industry in their territory with open arms. Having read about the negative characteristics of the salmon industry in Chiloé and influenced by Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, my initial hypothesis was that the population in Chiloé accepted the salmon industry from the standpoint of their economic disadvantages: they were willing to turn a blind eye on its bad labour and environmental practices, because of the employment the industry generated. Therefore, my initial research project aimed to study the strategies adopted by the population to cope and adapt to the 2008-2009

salmon crisis's economic consequences and test the hypothesis that only the most economically vulnerable individuals continued to engage with the industry after its recovery.¹¹

The fieldwork changed the nature of my PhD and me as a researcher in ways that I had not anticipated. Once immersed in the field, I realised that the salmon crisis was a situation envisaged as something that had occurred long before. People seemed to have moved on and had difficulties remembering what they had done to confront the crisis six years earlier. I realised that most of the people in the archipelago had historically lived under a constant state of economic vulnerability and that the salmon crisis was one negative shock among many others in their lives. Due to my academic background, I had an idea of research as a deductive process, and I struggled to change the scope of my research without having a proposition to test. However, my previous reading on case studies had warned me about the importance of being flexible, and I decided to broaden the scope of my research to study the relationship between structure and agency in the context of a rural territory under a natural resource-based development approach.

I chose to focus my study on the ordinary population in Chiloé (on the '*Chiloé profundo*', in other words, the deep Chiloé, as a local researcher told me). Although I attended meetings of local organisations opposing specific projects in the archipelago (mainly against the state-led project of building a bridge to connect Chiloé's main island with continental Chile), I was naturally inclined to study the agency of individuals who traditionally have not had a voice to tell their experiences with development in the archipelago. Although it was not my initial intention to focus on the development experience of women, they were the natural participants of my research.¹² When inquiring about their work experience in recent years and their relation with the state, the micro-entrepreneurial programmes emerged as a particularly relevant subject.

¹¹ Vulnerability understood in its economic conceptualization, in other words, to be poor or highly likely to fall into poverty.

¹² I undertook my research survey and interviews in people's homes, and women were mostly the only ones that were either available or present to talk to me.

Therefore, I understood that to understand 'the structure', it was evident that I needed to learn about these programmes not only through policy papers (which stated the programmes' design and goals) but also through the perspective and words of those in charge of implementing them. Thus, I decided to incorporate interviews with the public and private agents participating in their implementation.

In sum, during my fieldwork, I did not change the core research problem that interested me (in other words, the relation between structure and agency in the context of development), but I was flexible to adapt my study and shift its focus towards the dynamics that I saw were more relevant for the people in Chiloé, and where I thought I could learn and contribute the most. In this process, I also questioned the deep assumptions that I had unconsciously accepted as a researcher.

3.3. Research methods

This section presents the data generation processes undertaken during my fieldwork in Central Chiloé from mid-February 2014 to early October 2014.¹³ For the sake of clarity, the research methods are presented following the order in which they were implemented in the field: Interviews with local civil servants and Third Sector representatives, a socio-economic households survey, interviews with local implementers of relevant microeconomic programmes, and in-depth interviews with local women, although some of these processes overlapped. The last method of data generation presented - observation and participation in the field- was undertaken during my entire stay in Chiloé. Before deepening on each of these research instruments, its objectives, participants and implementation processes, the section briefly introduces the geographical area of my fieldwork.

¹³ The term data generation is preferred to data collection because it acknowledges data is a result of the interaction between the researcher and the data source (Garnham, 2008).

3.3.1. Central Chiloé: delimiting the case

Chiloé is an archipelago that includes a large island –known as *Isla Grande de Chiloé* (the Big Island of Chiloé) - and more than 40 smaller islands and islets. It lies in the south of the country, approximately 1,000 kilometres from Santiago, the country's capital, and has an area of 9,182 km². In 2015, Chiloé had an estimated population of 185,445 inhabitants (1% of the national population), which was and has been historically concentrated on the inner coast of the big island (see *Figure 3*). Central Chiloé is comprised by the municipalities of Dalcahue, Curaco de Vélez, Quinchao, Castro and Chonchi (six of the ten municipalities within Chiloé), represents 37% of the total surface of the archipelago (3,412 km²), and according to official estimations for the same year, more than half of its total population (96,284 inhabitants). Central Chiloé represents a bounded system of economic and social relations in space: A territory that contains "a high frequency of economic and social interactions among its inhabitants, their organisations and their companies" (Berdegué et al., 2011).

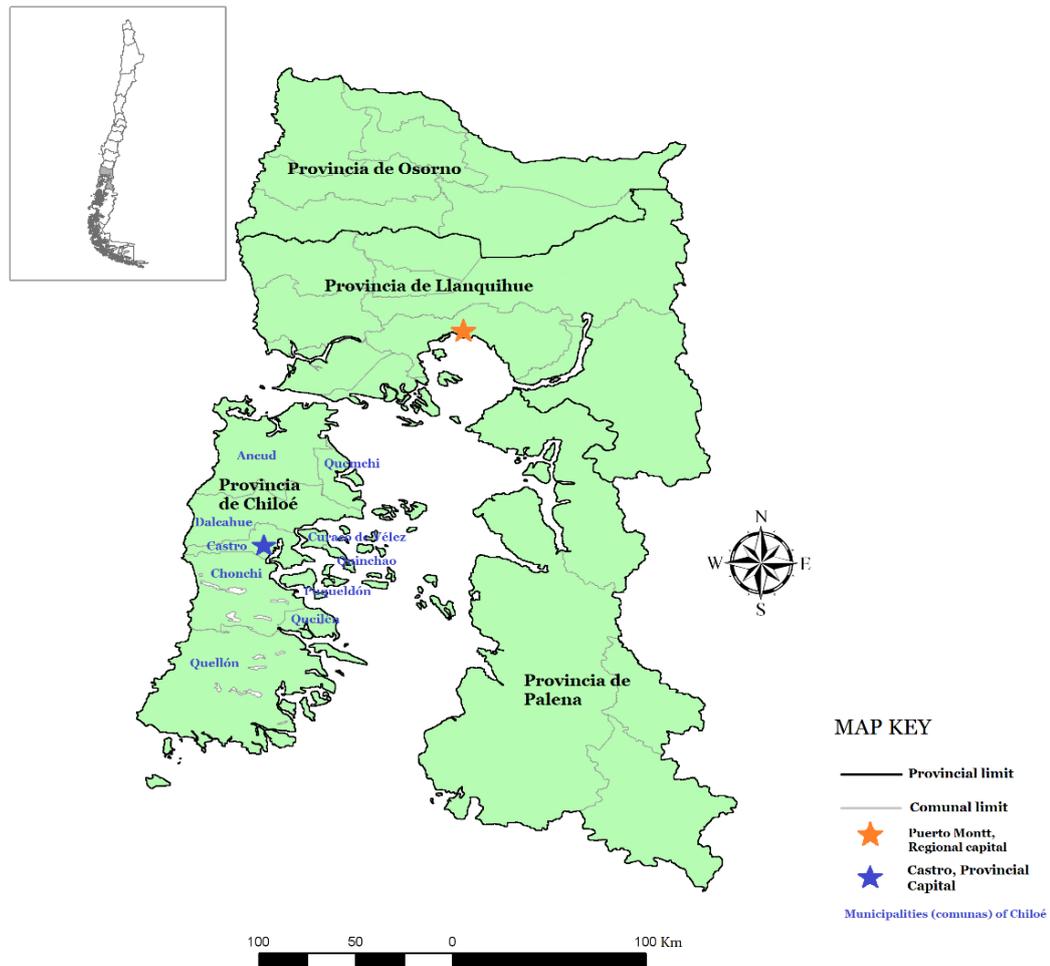


Figure 3: Los Lagos Region and its provinces

Source: Population Division, ECLAC (www.cepal.org), modified by the author.

As Figure 3 shows, in addition to the Big Island, Central Chiloé comprises several middle and small-sized islands. While the two middle-sized islands (the islands of Lemuy and Quinchao, home of the population centres of Puqueldón and Achao, respectively) are well-connected to the Big Island through ferries that regularly work during the day and night, the smaller islands lack a daily connection to the rest of the archipelago. The lack of expedite access, small and ageing population and the specificity of their dynamics and problems (which are directly related to their isolation and the relative absence of the state in their territories) led me to decide to leave smaller islands out of my study. Likewise, I also decided to focus only on the households headed by a person born in Chiloé. Two main reasons drove this decision. First, the local population has a strong local identity, history and

relationship with their community and natural environment. Since my study has the social and cultural dynamics as elements that constitute the context and the results of my investigation (as they are fundamentally intertwined with subjectivation), it seemed pertinent to leave non-*Chilotes* outside the scope of my research.¹⁴ Second, a central element of the research methods implemented during my fieldwork was the survey that followed a subset of households interviewed in a previous survey done in 2009 (details below). Many of the non-local households (in other words, those headed by non-*Chilotes*) came to the archipelago following the boom of the salmon industry,¹⁵ and –as the data of the initial set of interviews suggested- a significant fraction of them left Chiloé during or after the crisis when industrial employment shrank. By leaving non-*Chilotes* households out of the research, I minimised the time and resources spent surveying households with a higher probability of having moved.

In sum, because of my fieldwork's time and financial limitations and my desire to achieve greater cohesiveness among the population studied, I decided to leave out of my study both the households headed by non-*Chilotes* and those located in the smaller islands of the archipelago. From now on, when referring to the research findings and analysis in Central Chiloé, I am discussing the experience of *Chilotes*¹⁶ that live in the main islands of the central area of the archipelago.

¹⁴ I considered a person *chilote* (name given to those individuals born in Chiloé) if he/she lived in a household headed by someone who was born within the archipelago (the survey implemented in 2009 just asked for the origin of the heads of household).

¹⁵ Households headed by non-*Chilotes* represented 23% of the total households in Chiloé Central, according to the survey implemented in Chiloé in 2009. Almost two thirds of them (62%) arrived in the archipelago after 1990.

¹⁶ Following the operational definition of a *chilote* household in the context of the research, I consider *Chilotes* those that live in a household headed by a person who was born in the archipelago.

3.3.2. First set of interviews with institutional representatives

Once settled in Nercón, a residential sector located 5km from Castro,¹⁷ I started to conduct the first set of semi-structured interviews with local civil servants and representatives of the Third Sector. I carried out 16 interviews - 11 interviews with civil servants and five with Third Sector representatives, aiming to understand the overall functioning of the local economy and the livelihoods of the local population in Chiloé and, particularly, how the latter had been affected by the salmon crisis and the post-crisis industrial restructuring (see *Table 1*).¹⁸

¹⁷ I arrived in Castro in mid-February 2014, the last weeks of the summer season in Chile. Castro was crowded with tourists and it was very difficult to find a permanent house to settle. All the houses, rooms and cottages for rent were on a daily basis, and I had to wait until March to be able to rent monthly. Similarly, I also had to wait to start interviewing municipal officials and community leaders (the participants of the preliminary set of interviews), as they also seemed to be involved on the organization and implementation of fairs and other tourist activities during February. I had gone before to Chiloé during the summer several times, but I never had this experience of over-crowding. Although this was not planned nor intended, February in Chiloé allowed me to experience first-hand the important boom in tourism that the archipelago has experienced during the last years. Tourism is indeed an important engine of local economic development in Chiloé, and although it occurs throughout the year, it is specially concentrated during the summer months of the southern hemisphere.

¹⁸ Additionally, another goal of this set of interviews was to help me delimit the geographical area of my study (see previous section).

First set of semi-structured interviews		Civil servants	Third Sector			Total
			Salmon union leaders*	Head of residents' association	NGO representative	
Provincial representatives		1	1		1	3
Municipal representatives	Achao	2				2
	Castro	2				2
	Chonchi	2				2
	C. de Velez	1		1		2
	Dalcahue	1		2		3
	Puqueldón	2				2
Total		11	1	3	1	16

Table 1: First set of semi-structured interviews

Source: Fieldwork

*: I acknowledge that trade unions are not traditionally classified as part of the Third Sector, but the content of the interview (in other words, local impact of the crisis, coping strategies of the families affected and the support received by the state) allows me to consider the informants in this particular case as community leaders.

Selection of participants

To gauge the view of the local state, I interviewed civil servants in charge of the planning, economic or social development departments of their respective municipalities, as they have better knowledge about the local economy and more direct contact with the local population. I initiated contact with them by email or phone with the information available on the webpage of their respective institutions: I presented myself and the objectives of my study and invited them to participate in an interview at the time and venue of their preference. To include the view of those directly affected by the salmon industry, I interviewed an NGO (non-governmental organization) representative and two salmon union leaders. The former supported workers' negotiations with the parliament during the salmon crisis, and I received his contact information during my pre-fieldwork in Santiago. He helped me with

the contact details of the two union leaders, who participated later in a joint interview. I also tried to interview representatives of the local salmon firms. However, they were reluctant to participate in my study.¹⁹

Finally, to have the perspective of the local population, I contacted the leaders of residents' organisations through a list of names and telephone numbers provided to me by different municipalities (I had to request them through the respective Community Organisations' office). My initial intention was to interview local leaders from all of the municipalities. However, I soon realised that people approached me as a civil servant because I was accessing the community through the municipality, and I decided to change my strategy after having interviewed only three community representatives. In concrete, because residents' organisations (in Chile, *junta de vecinos*) represent the interests of the people that live in the same neighbourhood before the local authorities, and due to the assistentialist and clientelist practices that characterise the local governments in Chile (for more information, see Chapter 4), residents' representatives are used to relate with municipal civil servants from a position of need. In one interview, in particular, I felt that the interviewee was indirectly asking me for help, with a narrative that, in my view, magnified the problems of her locality. I also realised that previous researchers had too entered the community through the residents' organisations and that these previous encounters had affected the discourses of local representatives (I sensed that they were telling me what they thought that I, as a researcher, wanted to hear).

Notwithstanding the above, the experiential knowledge gathered in this latter set of interviews was essential to my research's overall design. To learn about the development experience of the local population directly through them, I decided to follow a subsample of the households that participated in a survey implemented in 2009 by the Latin-American Centre for Rural Development (Rimisp) (more details in the following section).

¹⁹ Partly, I think, because of the negative assessment that the sector had received from the academy, particularly during and after the crisis,

The interview process

The interviews comprised predetermined but open-ended questions. Each interview started with an introduction of my research and the purpose of the interview, and by asking permission to use a sound recorder while assuring them that the data would be anonymised and their names would not appear in the research (for more information on ethics and consent, see Section 3.7 in this chapter). The main topics discussed were (not all apply to the same interview):

1. The economic sectors characterising the local economy.
2. The local impact of the salmon crisis and the subsequent industrial restructuring.
3. The main economic activities in which the local population was involved.
4. The strategies of the local population to cope and adapt to the economic effects of the salmon crisis and the state help they received.

The interviewees were encouraged to elaborate on their views of these topics and were allowed to incorporate other topics they considered relevant. My interventions were kept to a minimum, limited to provide guidance to cover the interview topics, ask participants to clarify or elaborate on their thoughts when needed, and build a rapport through non-verbal and verbal active listening skills (Ayres, 2008; Roulston, 2012; Roulston & Choi, 2018). All of the interviews were sound-recorded.

3.3.3. Household socio-economic survey

The household survey gathered detailed quantitative information about 77 households and 258 individuals (that is, the total number of individuals living in the households surveyed; 51.6% were women). Its main objective was to understand the practices that comprised local livelihoods and the changes they had experienced since they were first interviewed by Rimisp in 2009, at

the onset of the salmon crisis.²⁰ My survey interviewed one household member (whoever was available to answer the question) but gathered socio-economic information about all the individuals sharing the same roof and budget.²¹ I chose a subset of the modules and questions used in the Rimisp survey to compare my results with those gathered in 2009. In concrete, my survey asked questions about the following topics:

1. General characteristics of the household members.
2. Economic activities undertaken by household members in the 2009-2013 period.
3. Material and immaterial resources of the household and its members.
4. Income data for 2013, at individual/household level and differentiated by source (wage employment, independent employment, monetisation of self-consumption production and others).
5. Community participation and networks.
6. Personal assessment of the changes in their life and environment since 2008 (questions only asked to respondents).

Most interviews (78%) were undertaken during July and August 2014. Each survey took between one hour and one hour and a half, and all of them took place inside the respondent's house. Although I hired three surveyors to help me during the process, I undertook 71% of the surveys (see *Figure 4*).

²⁰ Although in 2009 the salmon crisis was at its peak, the survey gathered information of the economic activities that the household members undertook during the previous year (2008).

²¹ These two criteria were also used to operationalize the definition of household in the Rimisp survey.

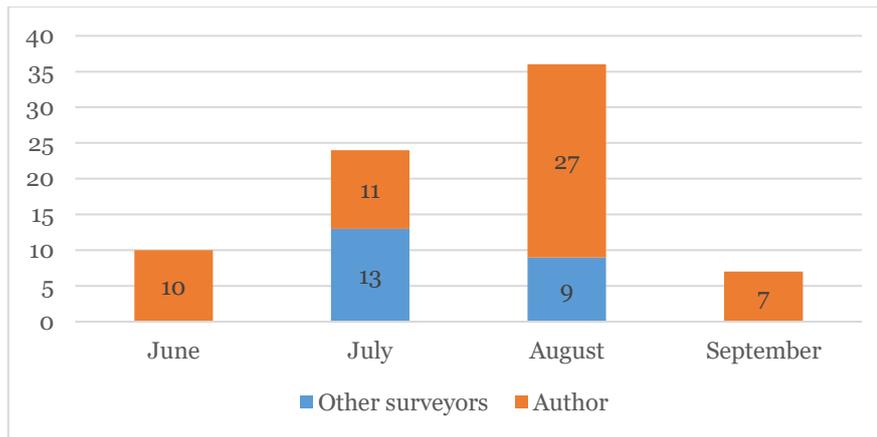


Figure 4: Number of surveys per month and surveyor

Source: Fieldwork

Selection of participants

In concrete, I re-surveyed a random sample of the households included in the Rimisp survey in 2009. I constructed my initial sample to incorporate different 'types of households', according to the economic activities of their members in 2009: Within each rural and urban area, I randomly selected 20 households whose members were only engaged in wage-work, 20 households sustained purely by subsistence activities and 20 households sustained by mixed livelihoods (that is, a combination of wage labour and subsistence activities). I chose this particular sample design under the assumption that the terms of the people's engagement with the local economy were an essential structural element that enabled or constrained their power to react, respond and cope with the effects of the salmon crisis.

Although 120 households comprised the initial sample, different constraints and unforeseen situations during the survey implementation (explained below) led to the final number of households being considerably lower. However, despite the smaller sample size, the randomised selection and the desire to interview a significant number of households in each of the categories mentioned above (urban/rural and the three 'livelihood types') remained a focus throughout the process. As *Table 2* summarises, the survey included 77 households: 56% of them were rural (following the official Chilean definition), 35% had livelihoods that in 2009 were comprised only by

subsistence activities, 30% were comprised only by remunerated activities, and 35% had mixed livelihoods.

Type of Household -according to the 2009 survey and livelihood activities-	Urban		Rural		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Only subsistence activities	11	14.3	16	20.8	27	35.1
Only remunerated activities	11	14.3	12	15.6	23	29.9
Mixed livelihoods	12	15.6	15	19.5	27	35.1
All households	34	44.2	43	55.8	77	100.0

Table 2: Distribution of households included in the 2014 survey, according to area and livelihood type

Source: Fieldwork.

Survey implementation

Due to the long distances involved and lack of addresses in rural areas (the roads have no name, and the houses have no numbers), I initially focused on implementing the rural surveys since it required a car and patience to find the specific households. To implement the urban surveys, I hired three surveyors, and each of them was responsible for surveying a given number of households in a specific period. I individually trained each to apply the survey,²² and I provided them with a list of the addresses of the households to contact. Each household in the list was interviewed if at least one of its members comprised the 2009 household, and the surveyors had to follow a specific protocol before reporting a household as *missing*.²³

²² The training consisted of two days. The first day I would fill the survey with him/her, explaining the objective of each of the questions and showing the right way to fill the answer. The second day, he/she would show me a survey already filled (they had to interview a family member or a friend) and I would answer all of the questions that emerged in this process.

²³ The surveyors were instructed to visit each house at least six times at different days (maximum two times per day and at least one time on a weekend) and different hours (at least two times after 18:00hrs on a weekday) before reporting it as a *missing household*. Also, since it was a survey that aimed to follow households in time, the surveyors had to identify that at least one member from the former household was living in the current household before applying the survey (otherwise, it meant that different people were living in the house, and the household must be reported as *missing*). In total, 22 household were reported as missing

As introduced in the previous section, different constraints and unforeseen situations during the implementation stage meant that the final number of households in my survey was considerably lower than initially intended. First, it was impossible to track many of the selected urban households. After generating the random sample, I found out that some of the maps that would allow me to link households with an exact address were lost (the researchers from Rimisp could not find them) and that only a minority of urban households were linked to an exact address. To minimise this problem, I contacted some local people who participated as surveyors in 2009 and went with them to the urban blocks where those un-addressed households were supposed to be (I did have enough information to link those households with an urban block). Thanks to the excellent memory of some of the former surveyors, I recovered the addresses of a considerable number of urban households. Second, I did not have enough funds to implement a system to supervise the work of the surveyors. Because of the lack of supervision in the field (I could only control their work by phone) and perhaps insufficient wage incentives, most surveyors did not meet their commitments. Not only I had cases in which people decided to stop interviewing because they found a better-remunerated job, but I also had a case where the surveyor deliberately misled me telling me that he was going well with the interviews when –as I found out later- he had not carried out a single one.²⁴ Eventually, I decided to stop implementing rural surveys to redirect my efforts and reach urban households myself. Finally, because of the long distances in rural areas and the nature of this learning experience (more on this in the next section), the number of rural surveys I undertook weekly was lower than initially planned.

Considering all of the above, the attrition rate of my survey (considering the size of my initial sample) was 35.8 per cent (7 per cent per year approximately), which is not so much higher than the rate in longitudinal

and approximately 70% of them (15) were localted in urban areas. See *Table A. 1* in the Appendix, for more information about missing households.

²⁴ He would have been the fourth surveyor.

surveys implemented in the country. For instance, the CASEN Panel, a longitudinal socio-economic survey implemented by the Ministry of Social Development, had an attrition rate of 28.1 per cent after five years, which corresponds to an annual attrition rate of approximately 6 per cent (Neilson et al., 2008). Additionally, following the criteria of data saturation, it is possible to conclude that the number of households interviewed in the survey was optimal. After interviewing 55 households, I felt I had reached a point when no new relevant information for my research interests emerged from the surveys (Given & Saumure, 2008).

A pivotal experience in the research

Although my PhD is mainly a qualitative study, executing the survey had the most significant impact on my research process, both in terms of the experiential knowledge acquired and its impact on reframing my research problem and questions. First, during the implementation process of the survey and through a preliminary analysis of its results, I acquired important contextual information about the local population. By inquiring about their economic activities, I realised that most of the local population have lived throughout their lives in a constant state of vulnerability and that the salmon crisis was one among many adverse events affecting their lives (e.g. natural disasters, health problems that reduced income generation capacity, demographic changes, local natural resource depletion, among others). I also learned about the difficulties of defining the boundaries of a household and a territory in the archipelago. Many households in Central Chiloé shared budgets, and money and people travelled bi-directionally through rural-urban linkages of kinship and family. I learned to see the flexibility of household arrangements as one of the many elements that constituted the coping strategies of the local population.

Second, by directly participating in the implementation of the survey and by entering into people's households and their intimate space, I had the chance to learn more about topics not directly enquired about in the survey but which were helpful to reinterpret and understand the information gathered in

previous and subsequent stages of data generation. For instance, I experienced first-hand the subjective effects that low levels of education had on women and their difficulties to be figures of authority in front of their better-educated children. Similarly, I also began to grasp the extent of the impact that long-term isolation had on specific communities,²⁵ and I also understood the overall assessment that the local population had of the state by actively listening to their comments and paying attention to their non-verbal cues.

Finally, since I approached the fieldwork with a flexible attitude to engage in an iterative process of inquiry and reflection -seeking to find the analysis that best reflected, under my view, the local effects of development thinking and practice-, this data generation stage had a fundamental imprint in my research. My previous experience and academic background and the main body of research on contemporaneous Chiloé led me to think that studying the salmon industry and the coping strategies of the local population to its crisis were the lenses that best fit my research problem. However, through my experience implementing the survey and talking directly with different members of the local population, I arrived at the firm conclusion that, although the industry was fundamental to explain the restructuring of the local economy since the 1990s, it did not provide the best lens to study the overall experience of development in Chiloé. On one side, the salmon crisis seemed to be a topic that was not relevant anymore among the local population (it was not spontaneously mentioned by most of the respondents when talking about their labour history since 2009, and, as I explained above, people reported to have experienced several economic shocks during their lifetime). On the other, when enquiring about the economic activities of the households, I saw first-hand the effects that concepts such as 'the economy' had at the local and subjective level. Many female economic activities (which

²⁵ In particular, I noticed in a certain community that several of its members had difficulties to answer my questionnaire due to mild mental disabilities that I associate to their endogamous relations (many members of the community had the same last-name). I also felt the fear of women when facing their husbands or fathers, which led me to think that practices of intra-household violence were not absent in their everyday lives.

provided income and consumption to the households) were invisible to the socio-economic statistics of the country, and many times its importance diminished by the individuals who undertook them. In other words, through my experience of implementing the survey, I realised that the economy as a dominant concept posed limits on the individual's (particularly on women's) recognition of their activities. The realisation of this subjective effect of the rationality underpinning development set the seed of a reflexive analysis of my role and lenses as a researcher.

Acknowledging the relevance of the subjective effects of development and the rising importance that the microentrepreneurial programmes had among the local population (also something that I learnt through this stage of data generation), I decided to continue my fieldwork by focusing on two main subjects. First, the characterisation that civil servants and the local implementers of the microentrepreneurial programmes had of their target population and participants and the rationalities that underpinned them, and second, the way rural adult women understood their own lives. The reasons why I focused on rural adult women are multiple and presented in Section 3.5 in this chapter.

3.3.4. Second set of interviews with institutional representatives

As mentioned in the previous section, during the implementation and preliminary analysis of the survey, I acquired a better understanding of the public programmes and institutions interacting directly with the local population. During August and September 2014, I arranged meetings and interviewed people that worked in each of these institutions at the local level, with the goals of understanding the rationality underpinning the programmes (in other words, what were the implicit goals of these programmes, and what were the dominant representations supporting them). In concrete, I carried out eight semi-structured interviews with actors involved in implementing development programmes at the local level: six interviews with civil servants and two interviews with private consultants. In addition, during the same months, I also carried out two unstructured interviews that had as their

primary goal to triangulate information previously gathered and acquire a better understanding of particular subjects. In particular, I interviewed a person from the office in charge of auditing and enforcing labour law compliance in Central Chiloé (Labour Law Enforcement Office) and one representative of a local NGO working directly with farmers and rural entrepreneurs (see *Table 3*).

Institutions		Number of interviews
Civil servants involved in the execution of public programmes*	INDAP	2
	FOSIS	1
	SERCOTEC	1
	Oficina de la Mujer**	1
	PRODEMU	1
	Private consultants	2
Subtotal		8
Triangulation/further information interviews	Labour Enforcement Office	1
	NGO	1
Subtotal		2
Total Interviews		10

Table 3: List of participants of the second set of interviews

Source: Author

*: Although two participants belong to the private sector, they are included as civil servants as their jobs consisted of providing services to the state by implementing some of its micro-entrepreneurial programmes.

** : In charge of the implementation of SERNAM programmes within the municipality.

Selection of participants

As mentioned above, the programmes and institutions were selected because they emerged as crucial for the local population in the previous data collection stage (survey). The people interviewed were selected because they were directly working in the implementation of these programmes. When possible (if their contact information was available online or if I got it from a previous interviewee), I arranged a meeting with them through email or phone. When

this was not possible, I went personally to the main local office of the respective programme/institution to introduce myself and my research, and ask the person in charge of working directly with the programme participants for a personal interview (if he/she accepted, a meeting would be arranged).

The Labour Law Enforcement Office interviewee was considered a key informant because of his experiential knowledge of local firms' general labour practices. The local NGO interviewee was selected because different local informers signalled their institution as relevant to local farmers and rural entrepreneurs. The former was contacted in person in the office of Labour Enforcement, and the latter was part of the network of friends and acquaintances that I managed to form while living in Chiloé.

Interview process

Semi-structured interviews. Predetermined but open-ended questions comprised these interviews. Each interview started with an introduction of my research and the purpose of the interview, and by asking permission to use a sound-recorder while assuring them that the data would be anonymised and their names would not appear in the research (for more information on consent, see section 3.7 in this chapter). The main topics discussed were:

1. General functioning and characteristics of the respective programme (description of participants, interventions and goals).
2. Identified problems of the target population.
3. Characteristics of those participants that met the programme's goals and those that did not.
4. Characteristics of female participants (description, problems, and success factors to meet programme's goals) (if they have not emerged spontaneously in the conversation yet).
5. Personal evaluation of the programmes, spaces of improvement, critiques.

The main goal of this set of interviews was to understand the personal viewpoints of the programme implementers, even in cases where they were different to or critical of institutional arrangements and goals (in which case, they generally made it explicit). I assume that they embody the contradictions within development and represent the visible face of development to the local population. Even if they did not participate in the design or the big decisions behind the programmes, they are actors with relevant influence in the subjectivation process occurring through these interventions.

During these interviews, my interventions were limited to offering guidance to cover the interview topics, asking participants to clarify or elaborate on their thoughts when needed, and building a rapport through non-verbal and verbal active listening skills.

Unstructured interviews. This set of interviews comprised open-ended questions, most of which were not predetermined but emerged from the interviewee's direction to the interview. Each interview started by asking permission to use a sound recorder while assuring them that the data would be anonymised and their names would not appear in the research (for more information on consent, see Section 3.7 in this chapter). Then, I posed a general question that set the interview's main topic of interest, and my further interventions were limited to encourage the interviewees to clarify or elaborate on their thoughts, build a rapport, and provide minimum guidance towards my research's topics of interest. Although unstructured methods are particularly useful in the first waves of data generation, they are also used later in the research to obtain greater depth and details about a specific phenomenon and when the interviewee is remarkably articulate and knowledgeable about it (Firmin, 2008). In the case of my interview with the civil servant from the Labour Enforcement Office, I needed to obtain more information about the quality of the jobs generated by local firms, with particular emphasis on salmon firms, and the changes (if any) that they had experienced after the post-crisis restructuring. Although I had read about the salmon labour practices pre-and post-crisis and listened to the experiences of the local population, I wanted to triangulate this information

and get more detailed knowledge about it. In the case of the NGO interviewee, I decided to interview him because I knew that my research would benefit by knowing more about his experiential knowledge of working with local farmers and rural entrepreneurs.

After the respective approval of the interviewees, all semi-structured and unstructured interviews were audio-recorded.

3.3.5. In-depth interviews with women

After implementing the household survey, I undertook eight in-depth interviews with women that had participated in it.²⁶ In this set of interviews, I inquired about how women understood and made sense of their past and present lived experiences.

In particular, this set of interviews followed the methods of inquiry into lived experience commonly used by life story researchers. Women were encouraged to remember aspects of their past and present lives to gather information on their subjective essences (Atkinson, 2012; McAdams, 2008; McAdams & Manczak, 2015; Tagg, 1985). Atkinson defined a life story as "the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another" (Atkinson, 2012, p. 8). As such, life stories have received critiques because they rely on the interviewee's memory, which is fundamentally biased by her present-day construct system. In other words, the informant reconstructs memories through her present mental structure, value system, scripts and life themes, and past events are recalled in a way that makes sense to their present selves (Tagg, 1985). However, although this bias may pose limitations to

²⁶ At the end of each survey, I asked the interviewee if she/he would like to eventually participate further in my research, by answering a second set of questions in the future, and if so, if they would give me their telephone number in case I had to contact them in the future. Everyone gave it to me (and to the other surveyors as well).

researchers who want to analyse the events, people and places characterising the lives in question, it is beneficial to my research topic. The analysis of how women make sense of their past experiences today and how they 'choose' to represent their lives provides information about the subjective meanings they attach to their actions (Ellis & Flaherty, 1992).

Selection of participants

Why rural adult women. The reasons why I chose to focus this stage of data generation on rural adult women are multiple. First, women were the ones that were mainly available to participate in my research. Because of the traditional gender roles in Chiloé, men are usually working outside their homes during the day and less available. Second, I wanted to contribute to the literature by focusing on a population group generally marginalised by development studies in Chile and Chiloé. Marginalisation "is the process through which members of some segments of society find themselves out of the mainstream based on their membership in socially meaningful groups" (van den Hoonard, 2008, p. 1). Being rural, poor, and women constitute local women in Chiloé as a group traditionally disregarded as development agents. Rural women's narratives and their everyday lived experiences –not necessarily as salmon workers- have been largely absent in the academic literature, which has focused mainly on the structural change and negative externalities of the salmon industry and collective action of resistance. Finally, I chose to focus on adult women instead of the female youth for two reasons. First, I wanted to have participants with a similar life context. As the thesis shows, the lives of the youth in Chiloé are very different from their elders. Second, adult women are the direct recipients of development interventions of a social nature. Therefore, they strongly interact with the local state and its micro development interventions (this will be elaborated further in the following chapters).

I selected a sub-group of the women that had participated in the previous stage of data generation to participate in this set of interviews, based on how well we connected during the survey and how open and honest I felt our

interaction was, as I understood that the quality of the interviewer-responder relationship was essential given the topics of the interview (Tagg, 1985). Once I filtered the potential participants for this criteria, I interviewed women with heterogeneous characteristics (given that they were both living in rural or semi-rural territories and older than 20 years of age). Not only did the female participants in this stage live in localities with different position in the rural-urban spectrum, but they were also members of households that had reported different livelihood activities (as well as different livelihood trajectories since the salmon crisis) (see *Table 4*). I interviewed women with and without partners and children and women of different age and educational levels (see *Figure 5*). Finally, seven out of eight women worked for remuneration in 2013, and four were independent workers. Additionally, five women engaged regularly in agricultural activities.

Type of Household -according to the 2009 survey and livelihood activities-	Type of Household -according to 2014 survey and livelihood activities-			Total
	Mixed livelihoods	Only remunerated activities	Only subsistence activities	
Mixed livelihoods	1	2	1	4
Only remunerated activities	1	0	2	3
Only subsistence activities	0	0	1	1
All households	2	2	4	8

Table 4: Livelihood characterisation of households of participants of in-depth interviews in 2014

Source: Fieldwork.

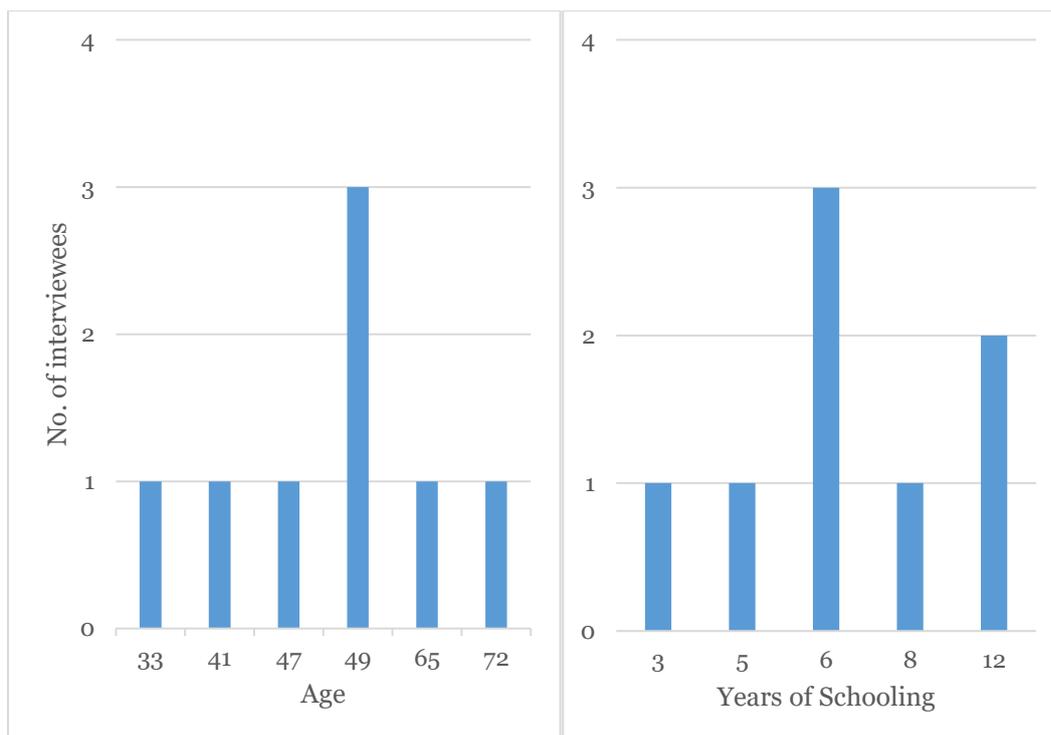


Figure 5: Age and years of schooling of participants of in-depth interviews in 2014

Source: Fieldwork.

Interview process

The in-depth interviews with women consisted of predetermined but open-ended questions. In each interview, I started stating the topics I was interested to hear (see below) and asked permission to use a sound recorder while assuring them that the data would be anonymised and their names would not appear in the research (see section 3.7 in this chapter). The main topics discussed were:

1. The economic activities undertaken throughout their lives and the resources that had facilitated or constrained them.
2. The main changes that their localities and families have experienced throughout their lives.
3. Their life achievements and the goals that they have for their future.

All interviewees were encouraged to talk in-depth about the topics, and questions flowed from previous responses to clarify or probe relevant information, and to guide the conversation when needed (Guion et al., 2011).

All of the interviews occurred within the interviewee's home and were audio-recorded.

3.3.6. Observation and participation

During the eight months that I lived in Chiloé, I kept a diary to keep track of the different stages of data generation and register my impressions, ideas and experiences. I registered my observations, thoughts and phrases of the informal chats held in my everyday activities and the interactions while implementing my research methods. In general, I tried to register all the information that I thought could contribute to my understanding of how people experienced their lives. In addition, I also participated as an observant in meetings and activities organised by social and community local organisations to acquire a deeper understanding of the local culture and the local experiences of development (see pictures below, in *Figure 6* and *Figure 7*). Of particular importance during my time in Chiloé was the association of different local organisations against the project to build a bridge between the archipelago and the Chilean continent. I participated in meetings that gathered local organisations, and I listened to their discussions and arguments and held different informal chats.

Having said the above, it is important to highlight that the women that I interviewed during the household survey and the in-depth interview processes did not engage in collective actions of protest. Therefore, this observational experience only informed my contextual knowledge of the archipelago and was not part of the political responses analysed in the thesis. Through my experience in the field I can state with some confidence that women that participate in collective actions of protests in the archipelago, where mostly urban, part of the rural local elite or of indigenous descends (that is, participating as a member of a particular indigenous group). This observation aligns with the depolitisation process that has affected the peasantry during the last decades as it is elaborated in Section 4.1. in Chapter 4.

Finally, through my extended and mostly uninterrupted stay in the archipelago, I was also able to acquire crucial contextual knowledge through insights gained from my lived experience (Lincoln, 2005).²⁷



Figure 6: Call for a march for "Chiloé's priorities" (Poster)

Source: Consejo de Defensa del Archipiélago de Chiloé

Note: The six priorities on the poster translate as "college campus now!", "high-complexity hospital", "internal connectivity", "no more abandonment to the islands!!", "no to the bridge" and "implementation of (the International Labour Organization's) Convention 169" (the latter refers to the recognition of indigenous peoples' right to self-determination).

²⁷ For instance: I understood the severity of the problems of the health system in the archipelago, when I had to travel to Puerto Montt for routine health analyses (there was not an endocrinologist in the entire archipelago); I experienced first-hand the problems of internal connectivity, when the car I was driving got stuck in the mud because of heavy rain; I understood the time-consuming tasks involved in everyday routines when I had to maintain the fireplace lit every day during the winter as my house -as most houses within the archipelago- lacked good thermal insulation; and I experienced first-hand the 'everyday centralism' that characterises Chile and the desires associated with 'modernity' (for instance, I was more aware of the climate in Santiago than in Chiloé, just by watching the news, and I realised that the realities portrayed in national TV channels are extremely different from the everyday life and activities of the local population).



Figure 7: March for "Chiloé's priorities", August 23th 2014 (pictures)
Note: The messages on the canvases translate as "decent and quality health for the archipelago" and "no more transnational colonisation in the *Chilote* territory."

Source: Photographs taken by the author.

3.3.7. Positionality and ethical concerns

Earlier in this chapter, I addressed how the topic and the general design of the research were shaped by my motivations, experience and academic background. In this section, I reflect on another aspect of my positionality, which also influenced the research process: The impact that my identity, in terms of class, gender, education, and other factors, had on the interactions that I held with the research participants. The researcher's positionality has an impact on the research process indeed "because participants often speak differently to researchers who are members of their cultural group compared to researchers who are members of another cultural group" (Given, 2008, p. 334). However, the analysis of one's position is not a straightforward endeavour. Early academic discussions assumed that the researcher was either an insider or outsider to a particular group under study. During the last decades, this point of view has been challenged by the acknowledgement of the complexities and fluidities among and between these two states (Merriam et al., 2001). Societies and cultures are not monolithic entities, to which one belongs or not, and more realistic approaches call to explore the researcher's status concerning the different characteristics of the particular group of interest in order to unpack the complex power dynamics that coexist in this relation and implement decisions and actions based on mutual respect and reciprocity.

Positionality and dealing with unequal relationships in the field

My position as a Chilean woman, '*de región*' (this is how nationals refer to a person born and raised outside Santiago) and undertaking academic research as a student for a university in London generated different responses from the local population. Most local civil servants and programme implementers were comfortable and even eager to talk to me, as the opportunity represented a possibility for them to express their knowledge of the local reality and their personal opinions in a context of deep-rooted centralism. Frequently, their opinions are not usually heard by somebody with relative power or influence, as they perceived me. On the contrary, my relationship with the local

population was diverse. Although most people I initially contacted agreed to participate in the survey (which, as I mentioned before, was my entry point to the local population), some aspects of my persona emerged as both limitations and advantages during these interactions. Although I always actively showed respect for the interviewee's experience, skills and knowledge, sometimes my education level (in other words, doing a postgraduate thesis) limited a free-flowing conversation with some interviewees. For instance, in one particular case, a woman was visibly ashamed and apologised for 'her lack of words' and her difficulties expressing her thoughts. On another occasion, another woman warned me about her doubts about being a valuable informant for my research. My education was not always an obstacle. On some occasions, I was treated as a distinguished visitor and an example for the younger ones.

Being the same gender as most of my interviewees in a patriarchal society and the fact that I am not originally from Santiago were two enabling factors in constructing a relationship of trust. First, as a woman, I was not seen as a threat or unwanted visitor by men. Second, as a born and partly grown person in a small city, I did not generate the mistrust that *Santiaguinos* (inhabitants of Santiago) often do, especially among rural communities where the lifestyles and built environment are starkly different. As presented in Chapter 4, Chile is a highly centralised country. The geographical and cultural differences between Santiago and the rest of the country are exacerbated by the (perceived and actual) imbalances in public investment and daily topics covered by the media. The level of violence, consumerism and the lifestyles portrayed in the news and soap operas, which mainly show the reality of Santiago and are the primary source of information that people in Chiloé have of the country's capital, do have an impact on the pre-conceived ideas and prejudices that locals have of its inhabitants. Because I was not a *Santiaguina*, people looked at me more horizontally and were willing to cooperate more with my research.

Although most of the participants were happy to let me enter into their private spaces and spend some time talking to me, I was aware that my privileged background and status as a researcher placed me in a more powerful position.

During all my fieldwork encounters, I tried my best not to reinforce any feeling of low self-esteem and diminish the perceived aspects of our differences (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). I conducted my interviews with care, respecting their boundaries of privacy and intimacy, and ensuring participant's dignity by carefully considering my behaviour and appearance.²⁸ For instance, I always dressed clean and tidy, and I consciously chose my clothes not to emphasise imbalances nor stand out from the rest of the community. Similarly, when I drove to the rural communities, I preferred to park outside of the view of the interviewee's house. I did this not to lie about me coming in a car (most of the time, this was obvious), but to show deference.²⁹ Finally, although I knew that their participation in the research ultimately was going to benefit me more than them, I tried to reciprocate their help by showing gratitude, listening actively to what they were telling me, and by hopefully contributing to instilling in them a sense of pride in their work, culture and personal stories.

Informed consent

Once participants agreed to participate in my research, gaining their informed consent was the first aspect of their participation. However, instead of asking for consent through a written form (as advised by the UCL ethics committee), I decided to do it orally for two reasons. First, it was the explicit advice of researchers with experience in Chiloé, who warned me about the negative impact that a written form, regardless of its content, could have on my relationship with locals (both municipal servants and civil society members). Instead of building trust, a written document could have the effect of posing a seed of doubt about my intentions as a researcher. Second, given the high illiteracy rate in Chiloé, there was a big chance that many of the research participants could not read or write, and I did not want to create discomfort or underline our educational differences.

²⁸ During the training, the hired surveyors were also explicitly requested to act in a sensitive and respectful manner during the interviews.

²⁹ I always preferred to use public transport, but most of the times in rural areas this was impossible (as I did not always had a clear idea of where the house was located).

I introduced myself and presented the overall topic and purpose of my research,³⁰ what I expected from his/her participation –to answer the questions of the survey/interview-, the procedures that will be followed with the data -how it will be stored, who will be granted access and how anonymity would be ensured- and the expected output of my investigation (in other words, PhD thesis and academic publications). The potential participants were also explicitly informed that they were free to decide not to participate in my study, and if they accepted to do so, they could withdraw at any time (none of the participants withdrew from the research). Finally, I encouraged the research participants to ask questions about the research at any time they wished, including before, during and after our interaction (I gave each of them my phone number and email address). The hired surveyors also followed the above procedure: They were instructed to provide my name and contact information to every participant, explicitly identifying me as the person responsible for the project.

Anonymity and confidentiality

I do not use their names to protect participants' identities, and I try not to provide any identifiable characteristics in my thesis. In terms of confidentiality, all the fieldnotes, audiotapes, transcripts and scans of the completed questionnaires have been safely stored (both in an online and physical disk with restricted access –personal password-). Since their generation, they have only been accessed by me and used merely for this research. Once the thesis is approved/finished, I will keep only the anonymised transcripts (in word documents) and the anonymised digitalised surveys (in STATA archives).

³⁰ Although I always followed a principle of honesty with the research participants, I only reveal the general focus of my research, in other words, the local effect of the development approach of the Chilean state, and not my specific interest, in other words, processes of structure/agency and subjectivation. One on side, I did not want to influence what the people reported to me, and on the other, they are complex concepts and I thought that people may not be able to make sense of them (Silverman, 2013).

Issues of safety

Although my research did not cover topics that were particularly unsafe to talk about within the local community, I was always cautious not to interview if I felt that I was putting the participant at risk (I asked the hired interviewers to follow this rule). In particular, I always tried to be sensitive to the intra-household power dynamics, and when both husband and wife were in the house, I let them decide which one would participate in my interview. Similarly, I was also cautious of not putting myself or the people assisting me with my research under any unnecessary risk, even though sometimes this went against the efficiency or expediency of my research. For instance, since all of the hired surveyors were women, I was particularly concerned about the risks of sexual violence, mainly because the surveys were undertaken inside people's homes. I instructed them not to enter any house if they felt unsafe or would be alone with a man they did not know (my interviewers were members of the local community). Since I did not know any man of the local society, I followed the first principle, and I was cautious about letting somebody know my plan for the day (I always told a friend the houses I was supposed to contact that day). In addition, knowing my limitations as a driver, the quality of the roads and the climate of the archipelago, I also restrained myself from implementing rural surveys on days where heavy rains were forecast.

3.4. Analysis and writing up

3.4.1. Preparing the data

After the fieldwork, all data was digitised and organised in four main folders: Transcripts of interviews, Survey data, Fieldwork notes and Pictures. The interview transcripts were anonymised or pseudonymised, and they were not translated from Spanish to English to avoid loss of context and meanings (however, quotes inserted in the thesis are in English). The names of the households' members included in the digitised surveys were replaced by unique identifiers.

3.4.2. Qualitative analysis

I conducted three types of qualitative analyses. First, I conducted a thematic analysis of the first set of interviews (both with civil servants and Third Sector representatives), the unstructured interviews (of the second set of interviews) and the fieldnotes in order to identify the themes that were relevant to characterise and analyse the overall development experience of Chiloé since the salmon crisis. Some themes were expected (e.g. the topics of industrial restructuring and the casualisation of work had been already widely covered in the literature), and others emerged through processes of analytic induction (such as the topics of centralism, assistentialism and the local critique to the growth-centred development approach of the country). This analysis contributed to creating a detailed description of my case study's context and an overall view of the implementation and local impact of macro and micro development interventions.

Second, to uncover the contradictions and gaps of the subjectivation process embedded in the implementation of development interventions in Central Chiloé, I conducted a discourse analysis of the first set of interviews with civil servants and the second set of interviews with programme implementers. I focused on how civil servants and private consultants referred to the local population, and I analysed how their narratives were underpinned by a particular meaning of development and specific understandings of the role of individuals in this process. Third, I analysed the in-depth interviews and the initial set of interviews with community leaders using a mix of narrative and thematic analysis techniques. In particular, I analysed how elements of women's narratives and self-representations were linked to dominant discourses of development, placing attention on how women saw and understood the state's goals and its actors and their own tacit and explicit interests when approaching its programmes and interventions. *Table 5* summarises the types of qualitative analyses undertaken and the data included in each of them.

Qualitative Analyses	Data					
	Fieldnotes	1st set of interviews Civil Servants	1st set of interviews Third Sector	2nd set of Interviews Programme implementers	2nd set of Interviews Unstructured interviews	In-depth interviews
Thematic Analysis	●	●	●		●	
Discourse Analysis		●		●		
Narrative/ Thematic Analysis	●		●			●

Table 5: Qualitative analyses and data

Source: Fieldwork

As a tool to analyse the different texts, I used the software ATLAS.ti, which allowed me to apply codes, uncover unexpected topics and visualize meanings and relationship in the large amount of material gathered during fieldwork.

3.4.3. Quantitative analysis

I used different primary and secondary sources of quantitative data to describe the context of my case. To analyse the different quantitative databases, I used the software STATA.

3.4.4. The organisation of the document

To conclude, *Figure 8* shows the organisation of the rest of the thesis. The overall thesis organisation follows a spatial plan -from national to local- and the order of the sub-questions.

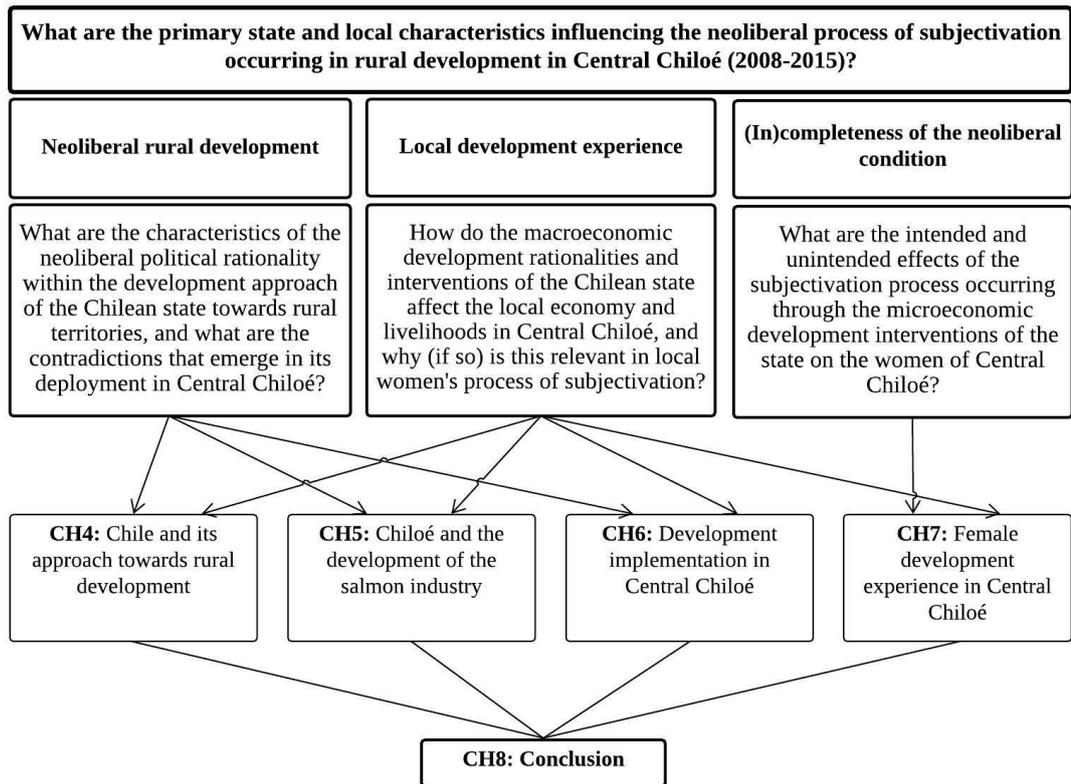


Figure 8: The organisation of the document (Chapters 4 to 8)

Source: Author's elaboration.

However, there is no unique correspondence between (sub)questions and chapters: Chapter 4 to 7 present findings and analyses that sustain the answers to the research sub-questions and core question presented in Chapter 8.

4. Chile and its approach towards rural development

This chapter presents the development approach of the Chilean state towards its rural territories and highlights the increasing use of the neoliberal techniques of individual responsabilisation and depoliticisation in the programmes addressing the rural poor. It begins by presenting the history of rural Chile during the last century, placing particular attention on the ways small farmers and peasants have been understood and treated by the state. The second section offers an overview of the current institutional framework of the Chilean state in rural territories and presents the central development institutions and policies supporting the rural poor. The final section concludes.

4.1. Small farmers and peasants in Chile since the early 20th century

While there is no universally agreed definition of the term 'peasant' in academic literature, most characterisations concentrate on the notions of farm, family, and class (Bryceson, 2000). In general, peasants are understood to be rural inhabitants that engage in a combination of subsistence and commodity production. They differ from capitalist and small entrepreneurial farmers because their internal social organisation is centred on the family and not on wage-labour relationships. The peasant family is not only a unit of production, consumption and reproduction, but it is also the social entity in which both welfare and risks are shared. Peasants are also generally understood to be subjected to external powers through subordination to state

authorities and regional and international markets (Bryceson, 2000). For instance, in rural territories exposed to economic globalisation, the external dependency of peasants is expressed through the constant adjustments of their livelihoods to increasingly higher levels of competition, stricter regulatory schemes, and the growing power of agribusinesses. In other words of Bryceson (2000), peasants are "the historical outcome of an agrarian labour process which is constantly adjusting to surrounding conditions, be it fluctuations of climate, markets, state exactions, political regimes, as well as technological innovations, demographic trends, and environmental changes." (Bryceson, 2000, p. 2).

4.1.1. The invisible role of the peasantry in the 19th century and early 20th century

Since colonial times and during most of the history of Chile as an independent country (until the second half of the 20th century), the *hacienda* was the predominant economic and social system in the countryside (Chonchol, 1994; Salazar & Pinto, 2012). Compared to the rest of the Latin American colonies, Chile had a lower and more widely dispersed indigenous population, which was detrimental to the development of an autonomous peasant economy in the countryside (as was the case in neighbours Peru and Bolivia). In general, after the Spaniard colonisation, indigenous and poor mestizo families in Chile either engaged as temporary workers in large estates owned by wealthy families (*haciendas*) or directly lived within them as subordinate land tenants (*inquilinos*) who received a plot of land to grow their own crops in exchange for their labour or farm production (Radovic, 2012; Salazar & Pinto, 2012). In the first decades of the 20th century, the structure of land property in the country was highly unequal: According to the 1929-1930 rural census, most of the rural land of the country was in the form of vast properties (78% of the land consisted of farms over 1,001 ha) (see *Table 6*). With this land distribution (and the cultural and economic arrangements that underpinned it), the *hacendados* did not have incentives to invest in increasing their productivity, as they could maintain their wealth with minimum expenses on capital goods,

land improvements and remunerations ('rural labour' remained during this time virtually outside of any wage mechanism) (Salazar and Pinto, 2012).

National/ Provincial	0 - 50 Ha	51 - 200 Ha	201 - 1,000 Ha	1,001 to 5,000 Ha	More than 5,000 Ha	Total
<i>Number of land units per segment</i>						
Chile	120,364	16,121	7,139	2,052	568	146,244
Chiloé Province	14,459	1,574	661	179	31	16,904
<i>Land units distribution</i>						
Chile	82%	11%	5%	1%	0%	100%
Chiloé Province	86%	9%	4%	1%	0%	100%
<i>Total hectares per segment</i>						
Chile	1,224,273	1,629,677	3,177,472	4,356,938	16,924,683	27,313,043
Chiloé Province	208,050	162,777	299,445	353,820	656,328	1,680,420
<i>Land size distribution</i>						
Chile	4%	6%	12%	16%	62%	100%
Chiloé Province	12%	10%	18%	21%	39%	100%

Table 6: Rural land distribution in Chile and Chiloé, 1930

Source: Almonacid (2005) with data from Dirección General de Estadística (1933).

In the early 20th century, the Chilean economy was mainly based on commodities exports, primarily minerals and lower-scale agricultural products. In the 1910s, more than 60% of the income of the Chilean state came from nitrate taxes (Salazar and Pinto, 2012). During this period, the state acted with a liberal rationality: All economic activity was left in the hands of the private sector, and there was no public support to firms or producers beyond the state's free trade policy (Kay, 1981, 2002). Although the *haciendas* did incorporate new production techniques (like the selection of seeds, use of fertiliser, and the expansion of irrigation systems), overall, the Chilean countryside's traditional economic and social arrangements remained unchanged throughout the 19th century. Until the middle of the 20th century: *Haciendas* were characterised by a low technification of their production, and their functioning was highly dependent on a semi-servile labour force (Salazar

and Pinto, 2012). During this period, *inquilinos* and peasants living outside of the *haciendas* were invisible to the state and its policymakers and were left subjugated to the social and economic order of the countryside (Almonacid, 2005; Salazar & Pinto, 2012)

4.1.2. Industrialisation and agrarian reform: The political awakening of the peasantry

Different international events contributed to conducting the Chilean state towards a more protectionist and interventionist economic approach in the 1930s.³¹ In concrete, the state began to implement an import-substitution industrialisation development strategy in 1938, which aimed to shift the focus of the Chilean economy towards the national markets, diversify the national production and strengthen the industrial sector. From a passive observer or a collaborator of market forces, the state shifted its nature. It became an active driver and planner of the national economy, implementing protective measures such as subsidies, import taxes, import quotas, price controls and differential exchange rates and providing productive infrastructure (Almonacid, 2005; Kay, 2002). Under the presidency of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1941),³² many social policies and public services were created and strengthened to stimulate the production and internal demand for national products. The creation of the *Corporación para el Fomento de la Producción* (CORFO, Corporation for the Promotion of Production), a relevant institution until today, occurred in this period. In its origins, CORFO aimed to offer economic support to sectors considered strategic for the country and, when no private firms wanted to pursue a specific activity, to directly participate in the productive process (Salazar & Pinto, 2012).

³¹ First, World War I had a negative impact in the external demand of Chilean exports and in the local availability of imported goods; then, the production of artificial nitrate made the Chilean economy to experience a severe crisis in the 1920's; and finally, the world economic crisis of 1929 had a particular negative impact on the export-oriented Chilean economy (Salazar & Pinto, 2012).

³² See *Figure A. 1* in the Appendix, for a timeline of the presidential periods in Chile since the early 20th century.

Under these new development goals, the objective of agriculture and rural territories was to sustain the development of the industry by providing cheap primary goods and labour force. However, although the development of the industrial sector and the intensification of urbanisation processes contributed to expanding its internal demand, the performance of the agrarian sector during this period was disappointing. Between 1930 and 1964, its average yearly growth rate was 1.8%, which was lower than the annual growth rate of the national population. During the same period, agricultural contribution to the national product fell from 15% to 10% (Gwynne & Kay, 1997; Jarvis, 1992; Kay, 1981, 2002). In the middle of the 20th century, Chilean agriculture was still functioning under a system with solid and direct roots in colonial times (Salazar & Pinto, 2012; Valdés & Araujo, 1999; Wright, 1982). As Cristobal Kay (2002) argues, the industrial bias in government policies³³ affected peasants and rural workers the most:

"For example, credit policy almost exclusively favoured landlords and the large capitalist farmers as they received the lion's share of subsidised credits. Small landowners and peasants had to resort to the informal credit system, which frequently charged exorbitantly high interest rates. Taxation policy favoured large landowners far more than the peasantry, as no wealth tax existed and landlords were more adept at tax evasion. Public investment in agriculture, though small, also mainly benefited large farmers as, for example, in the case of irrigation works. Although agricultural price controls affected all producers, large landowners were generally in a better position to obtain higher prices for their products than smallholders. Therefore, instead of talking of a bias against agriculture, as neoclassical economists tend to argue, it is more appropriate to speak of a bias against peasants and in favour of landlords."

(Kay, 2002: 567)

Rural workers and peasants became increasingly aware of their social, economic and political disadvantage concerning the rest of the Chilean society, and they began to organise and mobilise. The participation of small

³³ Although agricultural activities were encouraged through the creation of public institutions and the implementation of different promotion programmes, the development of the national agrarian sector was undermined by keeping its prices low in order to subsidize industrial costs. In addition to price controls, differentiated sectorial exchange rates were implemented to encourage the cheap imports of agricultural goods such as wheat, cattle and dairy products (Gwynne & Kay, 1997; Jarvis, 1992; Kay, 1981, 2002; Murray, 2002).

farmers and peasants in politics was achieved indirectly by general reforms to the electoral systems such as the privacy of the vote in 1941, women suffrage in 1949 and the implementation of a unique identity card in 1958 (which allowed the effective establishment of the 'one vote, one person' rule, and reduced fraud and bribery in the rural world) (Viveros, 2005, 2010). Governments faced an increase in rural unionisation, requests and strikes, and initially, they tried to repress them. For instance, the countryside elite, which had a significant influence on state actions, achieved the banning of further formation of rural unions in 1939, and in 1947 the law of Peasant Unionization (Sindicalización Campesina) was approved to limit the role of the ones that continued to exist. However, in the early 1960s, the state implemented a new institutional strategy, which aimed to re-conduct the economy of the agrarian sector, expand its focus to include small scale producers and peasants and, particularly, plan and implement a process of agrarian reform.³⁴

The agrarian reform was the milestone in the economic and political recognition of peasants by the Chilean state. It started timidly in the government of Arturo Alessandri, but it became fully implemented in the two subsequent governments. President Alessandri (1958-1964) was a moderate conservative politician who supported land reform mainly because of the pressures he received from the USA. However, although there were almost no land expropriation or redistribution under his presidency, he implemented the subsequent reforms' institutional framework (Radovic, 2012). In particular, in 1962, two key institutions were created: The *Corporación de la Reforma Agraria* (Corporation for the Agrarian Reform), which was the institution in charge of the subdivisions of land in this and the two following

³⁴ The modernization of the rural sector in the continent was not only the aim of the Latin American's Left, but it was also propelled by the United States through the Alliance for Progress (Alianza para el Progreso). This programme was signed by President John F. Kennedy in 1961 (and continued to exist until 1970) and its aim was to promote the social and economic transformation of Latin American countries towards agrarian capitalism. The underpinning logic was that the amelioration of poverty and inequality levels in the region, which could be addressed with development programs and land distribution, would appease the growing desires for revolutionary change (Radovic, 2012).

governments, and the *Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario* (INDAP, Institute for Agricultural Development), which had the goal of implementing an intensive plan of training and credit support for small farmers and peasants (Chonchol, 1967; Salazar & Pinto, 2012). President Eduardo Frei (1964-1970), from the Christian Democrat party (the progressive centre of the time), deepened the process of land expropriation started in the previous government and encouraged the unionisation and integration of peasants and rural workers to the cultural and political changes that the country was living. At the end of his presidential period, almost 3.5 million hectares had been expropriated and redistributed to 30,000 families, and landholdings bigger than 80 arable hectares (which were the only ones subjected to expropriation) went from representing 55% of the total agricultural units in 1965 to 17% in 1970 (Kay, 2002; Salazar & Pinto, 2012).

Under the presidency of Frei Montalva, national agricultural production achieved a growth rate three times higher than in the previous two decades (4.6% annual rate between 1965 and 1968) (Salazar and Pinto, 2012; Kay, 2002)). However, regardless of their productive outcome, this second phase of agrarian reform was mainly criticised by the Left because it excluded rural workers and peasants from land distribution's decisions process. Indeed, the *asentamientos* (i.e. the land units formed from the subdivision of expropriated land) were given to cooperatives of peasants and rural workers to manage collectively, but they were ultimately the property of the state (Kay, 2002). Although, in general, rural families that received land through this hybrid agrarian organisation did improve their livelihoods and economic situation, they struggled to achieve independence from a paternalistic state. Moreover, only the former *inquilinos* of the *haciendas* were entitled to participate and vote in the administrative decisions of the *asentamientos*. The rest of the cooperative members (ex-rural workers of the expropriated land that did not cultivate their crops in the respective land) were second-class partners. Furthermore, peasants and rural workers who did not live in the respective *hacienda* were excluded from its subdivision process (Salazar & Pinto, 2012).

At the end of the presidency of Frei Montalva, it is estimated that only 15% of peasant families benefited from land redistribution and over a third of the agricultural workforce was landless (Gwynne & Kay, 1997; Jarvis, 1992; Kay, 1981, 2002; Salazar & Pinto, 2012). Those benefited by the process of land expropriation received, on average, ten 'basic irrigated hectares' (BIH, a unit used for standardising land of differing quality), which was nine times more than what an average small landholder owned. The discontent among peasants and rural workers was growing. The number of agricultural workers participating in labour unions exploded from about 2,000 in 1965 to more than 140,000 in 1970 (more than one-third of agricultural workers), and their demands shifted from better wages and working conditions to the extension and speeding up the process of agrarian reform (Kay, 2002). The differentiation of peasants and the social and political agitation that the country experienced contributed to spontaneous and previously unseen land seizures by those who considered themselves discriminated by the legal reform.

During the presidency of Salvador Allende (1970-1973), the first socialist president democratically elected in the world, agrarian reform was extended and radicalised. Allende gave a radical twist to the agrarian reform and turned it into an almost exclusively social and political issue rather than a productive one. The main aim of his agrarian reform was to eliminate the landlord class by expropriating all farms above 80 BIH, notwithstanding if they were well farmed or not (Kay, 2002). However, peasant agitation did not stop but increased during his period. In the first year, around 1,300 farms were seized, more than double the seized farms during the six years of the previous government. Allende was unwilling to repress peasants and responded by accelerating the process of expropriation. By 1973, the government had expropriated over 4,000 farms, which put an end to the traditional agrarian oligarchy in the country (Kay, 1981, 2002). Although Allende retained significant popular support until the end of his presidency, the opposition to the government had become increasingly violent and, on September 11th 1973, a military coup d'état brought an abrupt end to his government.

4.1.3. Chilean neoliberalism: Efforts to 'modernise' small farmers and peasants

Military rule (1973-1989)

Chile pioneered the implementation of free market and outward-looking economic policies in Latin America and the world in the second half of the 20th century, in a context of authoritarianism and repression, and with little concern for their adverse social consequences. In particular, the agrarian policy during the military-led regime characterised by the agrarian counter-reform, the restitution of market mechanism through economic deregulation, the privatisation of state firms and intense repression of peasant organisations (Kay, 2002; Radovic, 2012). Among the first actions of the military dictatorship was to implement a process of counter-reform: Almost 30% of all the expropriated land returned to their previous owners, and the rest was subdivided into small and medium scale farms that averaged 10 BIH in size, approximately (known as *parcelas*) (Chonchol, 1994; Kay, 2002). Despite these changes, *Table 7*, which presents the distribution of land ownership in the 1965-1986 period, shows that even after the counter-reform, land distribution in the 1970s and 1980s remained less concentrated than in 1965 (before Frei's agrarian reform).

Size categories	1965	1972	1976	1979	1986
Below 5 BIH	9.7	9.7	9.7	13.3	14
5-20 BIH	12.7	13	37.2	29	26
20-80 BIH	22.5	38.9	22.3	36.3	31
Over 80 BIH	55.3	2.9	24.7	16.9	26
Public agencies	0	0	0	4	3
Reformed sector	0	35.5	9.5	0	0
Total	100.2	99.8	103.5	99.5	100.0

Table 7: Chile, land distribution of farms, by size categories, 1965-86 (%)

Note: The physical hectares are transformed into BIH to ensure that farm size measurement is in equivalent land quality units. Columns may not sum to 100 due to rounding errors appearing in original data.

Source: Kay (2002) with data from Jarvis (1992).

The table above also shows that the farms over 80 BIHs increased their land share from 16.9% in 1979 to 26.0% in 1986. This later process of land concentration was the result of the liberalisation of the land market and the end of public support to small-scale farmers (elimination of price controls, credits and subsidies), as several landowners were unable to run their farms profitably and were forced to sell (Jarvis, 1992; Kay, 2002). More than half of the *parceleros* sold their land, and even some old *hacenderos*, who have received all or part of their former land back, had to sell when they could not cope with the new, more competitive scenario (Gómez & Echeñique, 1986; Kay, 2002).

As a result of the counter-reform and the market-led process of land concentration, a new rural entrepreneurial class of medium and large commercial farmers emerged in the country, who were the ones that led the rapidly developing agro-industrial and export-oriented sector of the rural economy under military rule (Gómez & Echeñique, 1986; Kay, 2002). Indeed, during the military dictatorship, the agrarian sector participating in the global economy thrived as never before. Paradoxically and despite the anti-statist discourse of the government, export-oriented rural activities benefited from different state measures, such as the establishment of state-owned agricultural and forestry enterprises and public actions aiming to enhance research and technology in the agrarian sector. Another major support factor was the exchange rate policy of the military regime, which stopped the overvaluation of the local currency and provided incentives to export by increasing the economic returns of participating in the international markets (Hojman, 1990; Kay, 2002).

On the contrary, the dictatorship neglected the agrarian and livestock sectors oriented towards the domestic market. These sectors were affected by the decline in the internal demand that followed the steep fall in real wages and rise of unemployment and the exchange rate policy of the regime, as they imported many of their inputs. Simultaneously, the devaluation of the domestic currency and the opening of the economy forced them to compete with cheap food imports subsidised by exporting countries (such as the USA

and the European Union). This context harmed small capitalist farmers and peasant farmers, and many went bankrupt (Kay, 2002).

Since the first half of the 1980s, the inward-looking agrarian sector started to receive more support from the state, although the help mainly focused on the capitalist farm sector. After the economic crisis of the early 1980s,³⁵ different measures were implemented that sought the 'modernisation' of capitalist farms and, to a lesser extent, of those peasants considered 'viable'. The aim was to support farmers that were considered likely to successfully participate as industrial firms in the global economy by helping them to increase their productivity and market competitiveness. The measures ranged from offering a certain degree of protectionism through the rise of tariff barriers and establishing price bands, to create a state fund to provide income support to viable small farmers and peasants. Under the military regime, economic policies mostly ignored farmers considered 'non-viable', and only a few qualified as recipients of social assistance (Kay, 2002).

Democratic governments (1990 to the present)

The return of democracy to the country in 1990 maintained and strengthened the core macroeconomic policies of the previous period and considerably extended social protection (Tinsman, 2004). The focus on macroeconomic stability was to encourage a favourable climate for foreign investment, and the emphasis on export-led economic growth deepened with the incorporation of the country to different multilateral and bilateral trade agreements. In the first decade of the 21st century, Chile held trade agreements with more than 50 countries globally, representing more than 90% of the world market (ALIDE, 2009; Cox, 1994). The country's food sector benefited particularly from the new trade agreements: Currently, in terms of the monetary value of its exports, food production represents the second most important export-

³⁵ The greatest economic crisis in Chile since 1930 began in 1982. Chile strongly depended on the external market and was highly affected by the world recession of 1980, through the devaluation of its real exchange rate, the doubling of the external debt and the drop in exports (Ffrench-Davis, 1992)

oriented economic sector in the country after mining (see *Table 8*). Since the 1990s, the agrarian export basket has diversified and, at present, it includes a variety of products other than fruits, such as salmon, seafood, wine and livestock products (e.g. milk-derived products and meat), to name a few. At the beginning of the second decade of the 2000s, 10,000 agrarian producers worked for more than 500 agro-exporter firms (INDAP, 2018).

Economic sector	Total FOB Value in 2019 (in millions of USD)	Total share
Mining	36,220.7	51%
Food production	17,562.4	25%
- <i>Fruits</i>	6,669.6	9%
- <i>Fishing and seafood</i>	6,495.7	9%
- <i>Wine</i>	1,934.0	3%
- <i>Other food products</i>	2,463.2	3%
Forestry	5,525.6	8%
Services	1,258.4	2%
Other sectors	10,556.7	15%
Total	71,123.7	100%

Table 8: The monetary value of Chilean exports in 2019 by economic sector

Note: FOB (free on board) value is the value of goods at the export port, excluding carriage, insurance and freight. The exchange rate used in this table and the rest of the thesis (unless stated otherwise) is 600 Chilean pesos (CLP) = 1 US dollar (USD).

Source: Author's elaboration with statistics from the Chilean Central Bank.³⁶

The democratic governments have emphasised improving the incorporation of small farmers into the export boom and, more recently, into the national and local markets. In a process that has been named a 'second wave of agrarian modernisation' (as the first wave incorporated only capitalists and 'viable' farmers) (Sergio Gómez & Klein, 1993), the democratic governments have tried to 'modernise' peasant agriculture by implementing policies to achieve their 'productive reconversion' and transform their productive activities towards more profitable and marketable options (Bravo, 1994; Kay, 2002). The underlying rationality is that fostering peasants' and small

³⁶ Available at <https://www.bcentral.cl/>.

farmers' incorporation into the processes of agricultural modernisation would contribute to the national economy, raise the income of the rural poor and help them get out of poverty. In a way, as Kay (2002) argues, the process of 'peasant reconversion' reflects the dilemmas faced by the democratic governments that wish, on one side, to continue the process of Chile's incorporation into the world economy and support the agro-export capitalist sector, and, on the other side, to diminish rural poverty. Indeed, during the democratic transition, economic policy has been characterised as 'neoliberalism with a human face' or as pursuing 'growth with equity' (Hojman, 1995). However, these characterisations have received critiques because, although poverty levels have significantly declined since the 1990s, inequality has persisted (Kay, 2002; PNUD, 2017; Radovic, 2012).

Indeed, as *Figure 9* shows, although the share of the rural population living in income poverty has experienced a sharp reduction since 1990, it continues to be more than double the percentage of urban poor. The same occurs when examining the share of multidimensional poverty: Although *Figure 10* shows that there has been a decline of more than ten points in the percentage of rural households living under a situation of multidimensional poverty in the 2009-2017 period, there is still more than a quarter of rural households with deficiencies in at least three of the twelve critical indicators included in the measure. Again, the percentage of rural households considered poor under this measure more than doubles the urban share.

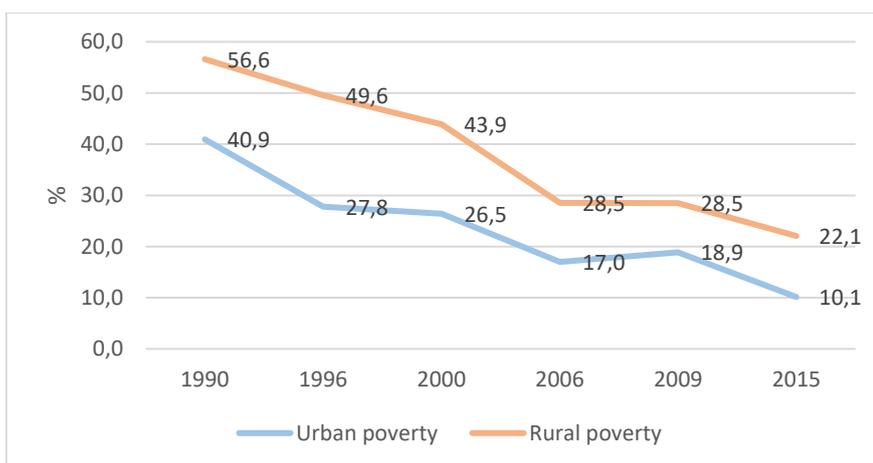


Figure 9: Share of poor population in urban and rural territories in Chile, 1990-2015 (%)

Note: In Chile, a household is considered poor if its total per capita monthly income is below the poverty line, defined as the necessary income to cover its basic food and non-food needs. From 1990 to 2011, the methodology remained unchanged and considered different poverty lines for urban and rural areas (the assumption was that rural households needed less income as they engaged in self-provisioning activities). The new methodology does not differentiate the poverty line among territories, and it incorporates a factor of adjustment to control for economies of scale (related to the size of the household). This graph uses the same poverty line in rural and urban territories (the urban poverty line of the respective year) to maintain comparison, but the adjustment factor is only applied to 2015.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (CASEN series).

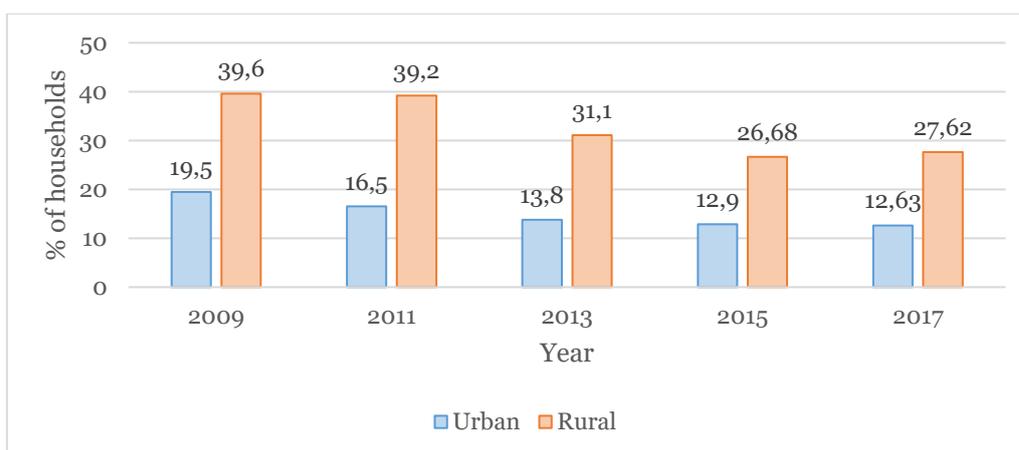


Figure 10: Share of households in the situation of multidimensional poverty in urban and rural areas

Note: The measurement of multidimensional poverty in Chile incorporates five dimensions: (i) education, (ii) health, (iii) work and social security, (iv) housing and local environment, and (v) networks and social cohesion (MDS, 2017).

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from CASEN series.

There is inequality between rural and urban households, but inequality also exists within rural territories. In particular, *Table 9* shows the 2007 National Agrarian Census results. It illustrates the unequal distribution of agrarian land in the country at the beginning of the 21st century, where less than 1% of the total number of farms concentrate 75% of the national agrarian land.

Size categories	Agricultural exploitations	Distribution of exploitations (%)	Total hectares	Distribution of hectares (%)
Below 5 ha	119,671	42.9%	227,725	0.7%
From 5 to less than 20 ha	88,741	31.8%	921,046	3.0%
Sub-total less than 20 ha	208,412	74.8%	1,148,771	3.8%
From 20 to less than 100 ha	51,875	18.6%	2,173,383	7.1%
From 100 to less than 1000 ha	15,870	5.7%	4,272,803	14.0%
More than 1000 ha	2,480	0.9%	22,848,254	75.1%
Total	278,637	100.0%	30,443,211	100.0%

Table 9: Distribution of agricultural land in Chile according to land size, 2007

Source: Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas.³⁷

The gendered experience of economic globalisation

Due to the economic restructuring of the Chilean economy during the last five decades, rural labour markets have created high and middle-skilled jobs attracting professionals from outside the traditional rural world and low-skilled jobs taken generally by the local population. Although rural inhabitants, particularly women, have benefited from the increased availability of jobs, they have also been affected by the simultaneous and associated labour flexibilisation and casualisation processes. Indeed, the new

³⁷ Available at www.ine.cl.

low-skilled rural jobs are mainly temporary, low-paid, and receive low social recognition (PNUD, 2008). According to the 2015 CASEN survey, while 81% of the jobs in urban territories are permanent (in other words, they are carried out regularly throughout the year, as opposed to temporary jobs, which are carried out only at certain times), this percentage is only 64% in rural territories and slightly lower among women (which does not occur in urban centres) (see *Figure 11*).

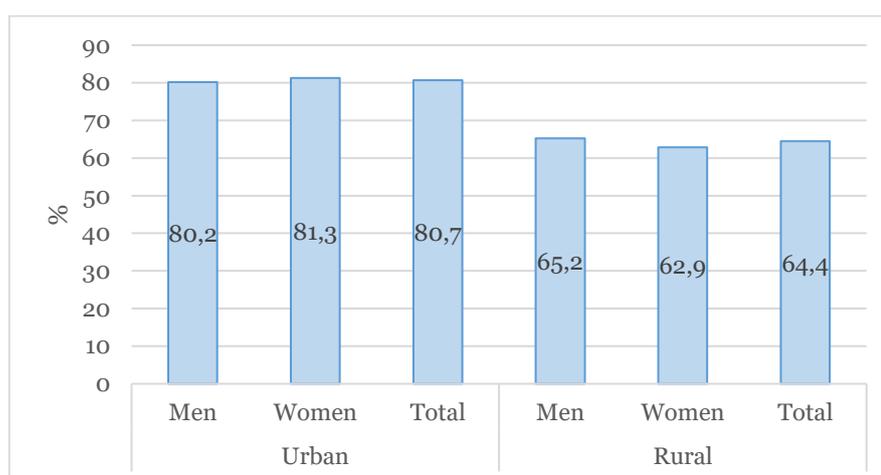


Figure 11: Percentage of permanent jobs by gender in urban and rural territories in Chile, 2015 (%)

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (CASEN), Ministerio de Desarrollo Social.

Moreover, not only urban workers have a higher average income than their rural counterparts, but also the gender pay gap, which is present in both territories (although slightly higher in urban localities), leaves rural women as the population group with the lower average income in the country (see *Figure 12*).³⁸ In other words, although rural women have particularly benefited from the new availability of rural employment, as their labour participation has doubled since 1990 (as shown in *Figure 13*), their incorporation into the modern dynamics of economic globalisation has not been under the same terms as the rest of the country's residents. In short, rural women are more

³⁸ This number includes the formal and informal jobs (that is, those with and without a contract and/or social security, respectively) that are reported in the national socioeconomic survey.

likely to work in more unstable jobs and have lower remunerations than their urban and male counterparts.

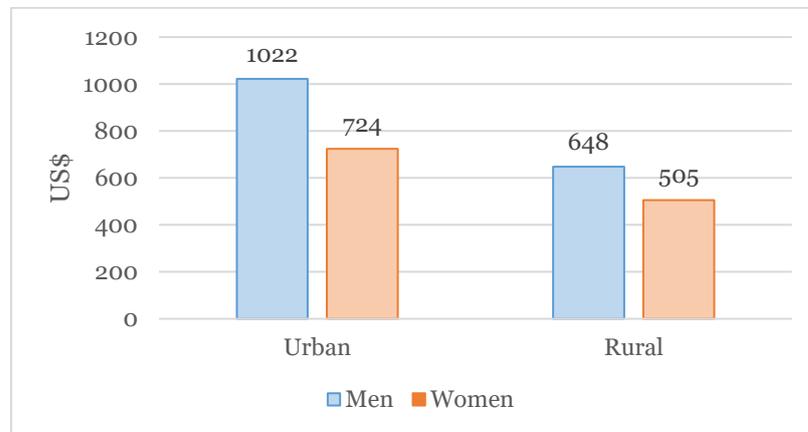


Figure 12: Average employment income by gender in urban and rural territories in Chile, 2015 (USD)

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the CASEN series.

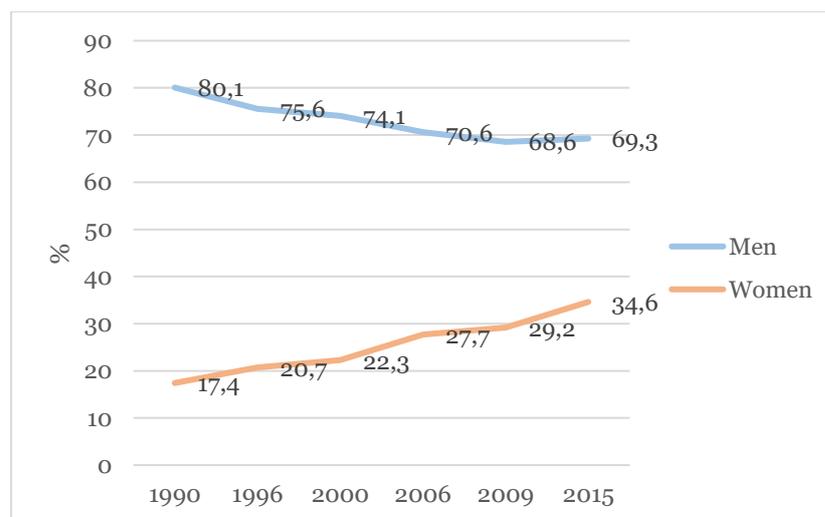


Figure 13: Labour participation of rural men and women in Chile, 1990-2015

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CASEN series.

The above changes align with the different gendered analyses of global value chains at the international level (Bamber and Staritz, 2016; Barrientos, 2001; Barrientos, Bianchi and Berman, 2019). Global value chains are primarily coordinated by multinational companies and are responsible for generating hundreds of millions of jobs in low-income countries and emerging economies. Women represent a significant proportion of these jobs and

constitute the majority of workers in some industries, such as clothing elaboration and food processing, where dexterity and labour costs are important factors (ILO, 2015; Barrientos, 2001). An essential aspect underpinning the feminisation of labour-intensive employment in the global economy is the trend to use flexible work arrangements to drive down production costs. Flexible working has allowed firms to reduce wages and non-wage costs such as social insurance and other social security benefits (Standing, 1989).

The gendered aspect of the global labour force is partly linked to the employers' perceptions of female skills and their portrayal as more compliant and accepting than men regarding precarious forms of employment. Women have traditionally had lower labour participation levels and, therefore, less experience than men in formal work and labour union organisations. Moreover, women have increasingly entered the labour market in a context of poverty and structural adjustments (that is, where households could no longer survive solely on male earnings) while combining productive work with their reproductive responsibilities. The mixture of all these elements results in the preservation of the traditional sexual division of labour, as this division is favourable to the flexible requirements of the global economy. In other words, "it is deemed 'socially acceptable' that women can be drawn into employment for one period, to return to their 'household responsibilities' the rest of the year" (Barrientos, 2001: p.89). While women remain mostly locked into their roles as temporary and low-paid workers within the functioning of global value chains, men benefit from more significant opportunities to upgrade or advance in their work through greater access to training and supervisory and managerial positions.

Having said the above, it is important to underline that the economic changes linked to the globalization of the Chilean economy have been linked to some demographic, cultural and gender transformations (Ascorra, 2012; Castro, 2012; J. Fawaz et al., 2015; J. Fawaz & Soto, 2012; M. J. Fawaz et al., 2018). On average, today's rural households in the country have fewer family members and lower fertility rates than a few decades ago, and rural territories

have increased their female-headed households and unipersonal households (see *Table 10*). These trends are associated with both a rise of female economic autonomy and an increase in single mothers, divorces and separations. Indeed, although studies show that the economic participation of women has had a positive impact on their self-esteem, they also show that it has produced tensions within households used to function under patriarchal values. As Fawaz and Soto observe in the experience of the rural Province of Ñuble in the Bío-Bío region, the new economic role of women "is often resisted by husbands or partners, it is a threat to the family order and a loss of control over women's lives" (J. Fawaz & Soto, 2012, p. 240). However, despite their higher economic independence, domestic and care work continue to be the primary responsibility of women in the country's rural territories (Ximena Valdés, 1992).³⁹

³⁹ In a similar way than women, the young population of the Chilean countryside also embodies the contradictions and tensions of the current process of rural modernization. The greater availability of remunerated work in the Chilean countryside has also given rural youth greater economic independence and has allowed them to leave their parents' home at an earlier age than previous generations did. On the one hand, the youth are members of a society that values familial and community networks. In general, they are part of relationships of support that include not only their family, but also their neighbours and other community members. But, on the other, the youth also live within a capitalist model that promotes individualistic and materialist ideals (Castro, 2012). Gómez (2011) illustrates how tensions and contradictions are ingrained in the new rural social arrangements, when studying the impact of the expansion of the salmon industry in the peasant communities of Chiloé. In particular, the author highlights "the interdependence relations between the 'independent' families formed by the youth and the peasant economy of their parents" (Gómez, 2011, p. 149). He shows how older peasants in Chiloé can continue working in their farms because they have children working in the industry who can provide them with monetary help, and similarly, how the youth can work in non-agricultural activities in urban territories, because they receive help from their parents to complement their income (particularly, land to build their houses and agricultural products to complement their earnings). Gómez's (2011) findings not only illustrate the complexity of today's rurality in the country, where the relations of 'extended peasant communities' reach places that have been traditionally understood as urban, but also pose a cautionary alert of using fixed concepts (such as 'households' or 'rural') to study the rural world.

Rural household characteristics	1990	2015
Average number of household members	4.1	3.1
Average age of household head	48.8	55.4
% of uniparental households	6.3	11.1
% of female-headed households	14.0	29.1

Table 10: Rural household characteristics in 1990 and 2015 in Chile

Source: Own elaboration based on data from CASEN 1990 and 2015.

4.2. The current rural institutional framework in Chile

4.2.1. Highly centralised state administration

The design and implementation of public policies in Chile are mainly defined by the central state and its national ministries. Although the centralised character of the Chilean state has long-term historical roots,⁴⁰ its current nature has its immediate origins in the reforms implemented during the first years of the military dictatorship. Commissioned by the military regime and embodied in different laws enacted between 1974 and 1976, the new political-administrative division implemented in the country structured Chile from the national to the local in regions, provinces, and *comunas* with their respective institutions and authorities.⁴¹ In terms of its explicit objectives, the restructuring of the Chilean state aimed to generate opportunities for the regions to exploit their comparative advantages and attract foreign investment, seeking to promote the development and occupation of the national territory (Bustos-Gallardo, 2014).⁴² The reforms were mainly limited to the decentralisation of the administrative functions of the state and did not represent a political nor a fiscal decentralisation (Boisier, 2000; CONARA, 1974). Although this political-administrative division has had slight changes during democracy -such as the extension of the democratic election of some local authorities and increasing the amount of resources transferred to the

⁴⁰ See Boisier (2000) for an historical review of the centralized character of the Chilean state.

⁴¹ Today, Chile is comprised of 16 regions, 56 provinces and 346 *comunas* (municipalities) (BCN, 2018a).

⁴² In the context of an authoritarian military rule, the socio-economic development of regions and the effective occupation of the country were seen as fundamental aspects to ensure the overall objective of national security (CONARA, 1974).

local level- the political autonomy of the regions and municipalities has remained low (Angell, 1999; Fernández, 2011; OECD, 2009).⁴³

Figure 14 outlines the structure of the current administration of the Chilean state in broad and schematic terms. The President of the Republic concentrates the executive power at the national level. The President nominates the Ministers of State as his or her immediate collaborators in the government and administration of the country. The latter has the responsibility of leading their respective Ministries following the policies and plans of the elected government. The ministries have strategic functions that have local effects, as they are in charge of proposing and monitoring national policies and norms and are also responsible for their execution at the local level through public agencies (*servicios públicos*).⁴⁴ At the regional level, the political power lies in the figure of the *intendente*, an authority appointed by the president to represent her/him in the regional territory and who is advised by the regional representatives of the national ministries (*Secretarios Regionales Ministeriales*, SEREMIs).⁴⁵ In addition, the *intendente* also presides over the regional government comprised of a democratically elected Regional Council. In general, this confluence of roles, in other words, being both the regional representative of central state power and the head of the regional government, is detrimental to the autonomy that the *intendente* has to execute his/her role as a local authority.⁴⁶

⁴³ See Fernández (2011) for a complete list of the reforms on decentralization that occurred in Chile from 1990 to 2010.

⁴⁴ Although, in administrative terms, public agencies depend on national ministries, in practice, most of them have a high degree of autonomy in their field of domain (OECD, 2014).

⁴⁵ It is important to highlight that this description refers to the political-administrative organisation in place during the thesis' period of study. In March 2021, the regional and provincial presidential delegates replaced the figures of the *intendente* and the provincial governor, respectively. In addition, the figure of the regional governor was created, an authority elected by popular vote to preside the regional government for four years.

⁴⁶ Moreover, the two main functions of the regional government, namely (i) the design of a regional development strategy and (ii) the selection of projects to be financed by the National Fund for Regional Development (FNDR), are relatively weak in comparison with the influence of centrally-led interventions. First, the guidelines set by the regional development strategies are not official mandates, but recommendations or 'desires' of the regional authorities that are rarely considered by national policies and investments, and second, the FNDR functions in practice as a fund to finance the immediate needs of the municipalities, rather than as a mechanism to implement a broader development strategy (OECD, 2009, 2014). Acknowledging the difficulties to be both a national delegate and a regional authority,

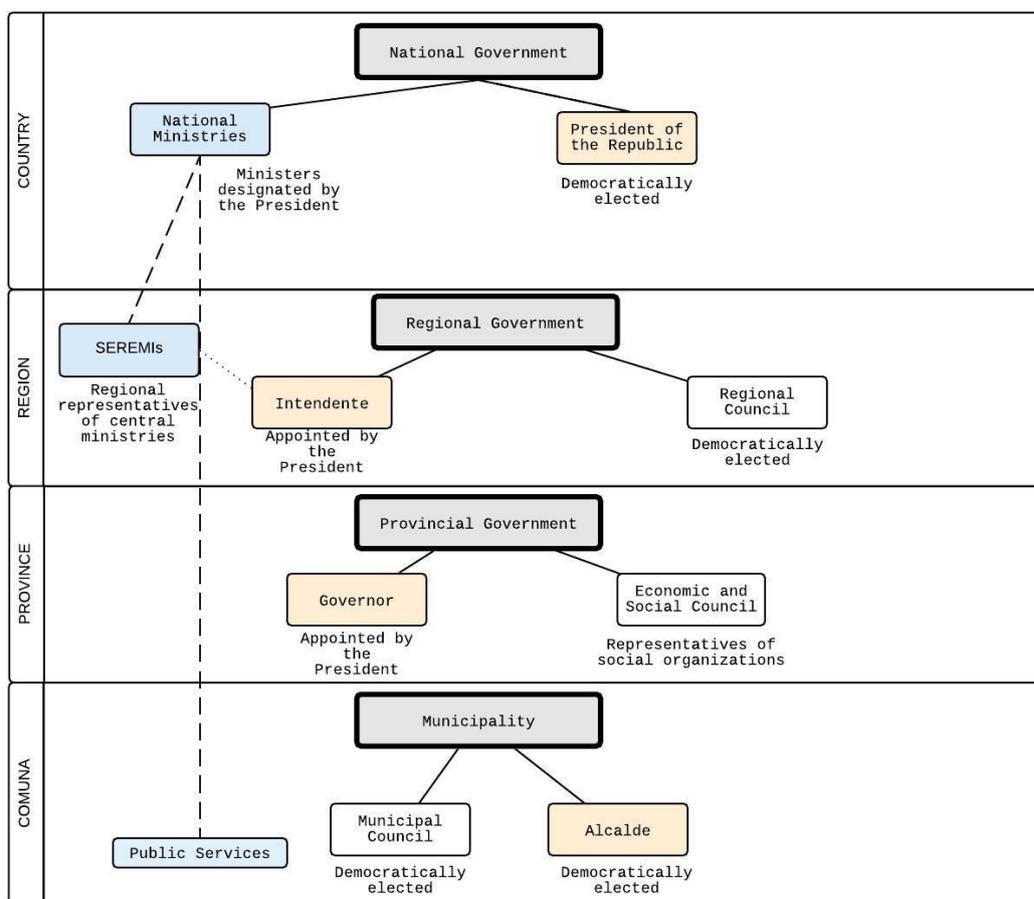


Figure 14: The political-administrative organisation in Chile

Note: This organisation was in place until early 2021, when substantial changes were implemented to allow the elections for regional authorities (see footnote 45).

Source: Author's elaboration.

At the provincial level, the government and administration lie in the corresponding *Gobernación*, headed by the governor, an authority appointed by the Chilean president. The governors exercise their role under the instructions of the respective *intendente* and –when it exists- with the help of an Economic and Social Council, formed with representatives of local organisations. In general, the lack of power of provincial governments results in them being not particularly relevant for the everyday life of the local population. Finally, the administration lies in a democratically elected local

in 2020 the figure of the *intendente* will be replaced by a democratically elected *governador regional* and a regional presidential delegate (BCN, 2018).

government at the municipal level, constituted by a mayor (*alcalde*) and a municipal council.⁴⁷ Although municipalities have relevant social and economic functions (such as fostering community development and ensuring the environmental protection of their localities, among others), in general, they have a limited financial capacity and lack qualified staff. These characteristics, along with the Chilean state's highly centralised and hierarchical organisation, pose significant limitations for their active contribution to local development strategies (Bustos-Gallardo, 2014; Fløysand et al., 2010a; OECD, 2014).

4.2.2. Residual definition of rurality and weak municipal role

Residual definition of rural territories

The official definition of the Chilean state classifies as rural those localities that do not meet the criteria to be considered 'urban'. Specifically, localities are classified as urban if they have 2,000 or more inhabitants or between 1,001 and 2,000 inhabitants with 50% or more of their economically active population engaged in secondary or tertiary activities. Territories are classified as rural if they do not meet these conditions (OECD, 2014).⁴⁸ Therefore, according to this definition, localities in Chile are either urban or rural, and there are no additional categories that incorporate the heterogeneity within these two groups or the eventual overlaps between them. Following the official definition, and according to the 2002 national population census, 13.4% of the country's national population lives in rural areas, which is more than 2,200,000 inhabitants.⁴⁹ *Figure 15* shows that this percentage has experienced a decreasing trend since 1990 when the share of

⁴⁷ The municipalities also receive advice from the Social and Economic Municipal Council (Consejo Económico y Social Comunal), which is constituted by the representatives of the main local organizations (such as neighbours' associations, trade associations, and organizations formed around issues of particular local interest, such as environmental or cultural organizations).

⁴⁸ Exceptionally, tourism centres that have at least 250 clustered dwellings but fail to meet the required population standard may also be classified as urban.

⁴⁹ These figures are 13.1% and 2,171,745 inhabitants according to the 2012 population census, which was discarded due to methodological errors.

the rural population was 17.0%. This decline is explained mainly by both processes of rural-urban migration and the urbanisation of rural localities (that is, the reclassification of rural localities as urban due to increases in their population or changes in their economic activities).

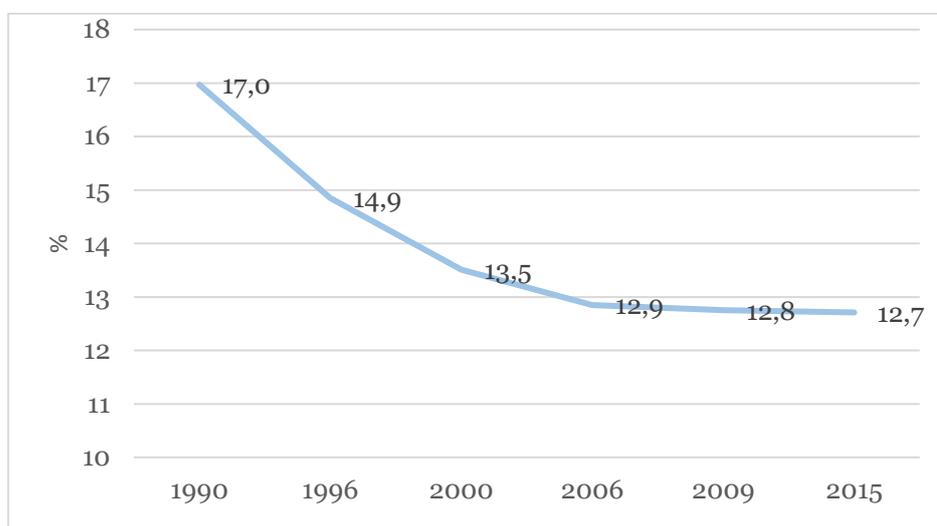


Figure 15: Share of the rural population in Chile, 1990-2015

Source: Own elaboration based on data from CASEN series.

Academics and international organisations have argued that the current rural definition of the country underestimates the size of the rural population and minimises the magnitude of the Chilean rural reality (Gobierno de Chile, 2014). These arguments aligned with more encompassing rural approaches, such as the Rural Territorial Development approach, which underline the need to go beyond agriculture and farm employment when analysing and understanding today's new ruralities, and to take into consideration not only the social heterogeneity and the diverse stakeholders that compose today's rural territories, but also the different urban-rural and intersectoral linkages that participate in the social and economic development of rural territories (Schejtman and Berdegué, 2004).

When using alternative definitions based on criteria such as population density, distance to major urban agglomerations or economic production, the share of the rural population in the country doubles or even trebles the current official estimation (see Table 11).

Rural definition	Percentage of rural population	Criteria
Official national definition	13.4%	- Localities (sub-municipal territorial entities) with less than 1,000 inhabitants. - Localities with 1,001-2,000 inhabitants if more than 50% of the active population engages in primary activities.
OECD – Typology TL3	34.6%	- A municipality is defined as rural if its population density is below 150 inhabitants per km ² - A province is classified as rural if more than 50% of its population lives in rural municipalities - A province classified as rural based on the rule above ceases to be so if it has an urban centre of more than 200,000 inhabitants representing 25% or more of the provincial population.
OECD – FUA	26.8%	- An urban area is defined as a functional economic unit composed of urban cores and hinterland whose labour market is highly integrated with the cores (cores and hinterland areas are defined using community flows information). - The population living outside these Functional Urban Areas (FUAs) is considered rural.
UNDP	45.3%	- Localities are defined as rural if their economic production is predominantly Agriculture, Forestry or Fishing.

Table 11: Share of rural population in Chile according to different measurement criteria

Source: Own elaboration with information from INE (n.d.), OECD (2014) and PNUD (2008). Years of the data used to calculate these percentages.

Weak role of municipal governments

The actions of the Chilean state in rural areas are comprised chiefly by uncoordinated interventions that lack a joint strategy (OECD, 2014).⁵⁰ The

⁵⁰ The first National Policy of Rural Development that had ever existed in the country was approved and signed by a Ministerial Committee in January 2020. Its aim is to promote a new view of rurality (incorporating the typology of the OECD) and to facilitate the coordination of actors and variables that directly affect the development of rural areas.

Ministries of Agriculture and Mining have been the national institutions traditionally considered the most relevant for rural territories (mainly because of the historical dominance of agriculture and mining in the economies of the Chilean countryside). However, other national ministries not seen as fundamentally 'rural' by policymakers (such as the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Social Development and the Ministry of Education, to name a few) do design and implement programmes and policies that have relevant impacts on the lives of the rural population.

Although the central institutions involved in rural territories are both national and sub-national, regional and municipal authorities have limited autonomy and capacity to intervene in the design of rural policies and effectively participate in their localities' development process, which is mainly due to the centralised character of the Chilean state (OECD, 2009, 2014). The Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Defence have a fundamental role in rural areas through their respective impact in the country's agrarian land, natural territories and marine spaces, and local governments do not have a planning role in rural territories. The only planning instrument at the municipal level (namely, the *Plan Regulador Comunal*) is limited to urban areas.⁵¹ For example, in aquaculture concessions, its allocation process does not include the municipalities even if their constituencies are affected by their location. The Chilean Navy, an institution that depends on the Ministry of Defence, takes this decision (Fløysand et al., 2010c; Fløysand & Román, 2008)

A similar situation occurs concerning the promotion of economic development. Although among the functions of the municipalities is the promotion of community and economic development (see *Table 12*), in practice, in a context of an outward-looking economy, the main dynamics affecting the local economies are primarily defined at an extra-territorial level.

⁵¹ The *Plan Regulador Comunal* regulates issues such as the location of housing, industries, green areas, and the setting of urban limits and densities, among others.

In particular, local governments do not effectively participate in the main decision-making processes that shape their local economies. They usually do not participate in the negotiations between the firms and the central state (Fløysand et al., 2010a). Moreover, by law, every municipality has to design a Local Development Plan (PLADECO), but this document does not have any decision-making power. It is not linked to budgetary resources and does not influence the decisions made by the national government, nor has any control in the allocation of firms' investment (Fløysand et al., 2010b; Fuentes et al., 2007; Más Voces, 2005; OECD, 2014; Valenzuela & Rojas, 2012).⁵²

Exclusive functions	Facultative functions (Municipalities may develop these functions, either directly or in collaboration with other state institutions)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Elaboration and modification of the PLADECO. - Urban planning and regulation, through the elaboration of Plan Regulador Municipal. - Promotion of community development. - Implement the regulations on public transport and transit. - Implement the regulations on construction and urbanisation. - Municipal cleaning and ornament. 	<p>Functions related to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture and Education. - Public health and environmental protection. - Social and legal assistance. - Training, and employment and economic promotion. - Tourism, sport and recreation. - Urbanisation and the construction of urban and rural roads, social housing and sewerage. - Public transportation and transit. - The prevention of risks and the provision of aid in emergencies or catastrophes. - Social and situational prevention, implementation of social reintegration plans and assistance to victims, and adoption of measures in the field of public security at the municipal level. - The promotion of equal opportunities between men and women. - The development of activities of common interest at the local level.

Table 12: Exclusive and facultative functions of the municipalities in Chile

Source: Own elaboration with data from Dazarola (2018).

⁵² Moreover, through the analysis of PLADECO documents and interviews with civil servants from 58 different municipalities of the country, Orellana et al. (2016) conclude that local authorities rarely use this planning tool as a guide for their administrations (as they are required to write this document, but not to follow its guidelines).

Correa-Mautz (2018) compares the content of the main planning and execution municipal documents in 20% of the municipalities in Chile (PLADECO and *Cuenta Pública Municipal*, respectively), and he underlines the presence of important differences between both documents. This mismatch originates from (i) different temporal frameworks (while the PLADECO is written on average every 4.6 years, the *Cuenta Pública Municipal* has an annual nature) and from (ii) the relative unpredictability of the funds that the respective municipality will receive from the central government. In practice, the different national programmes executed locally through these collaboration agreements do not always align with the municipal priorities. Assuming that local authorities have better knowledge of their constituencies' needs (which is not necessarily the case in all municipalities), the differences between the intended priorities and the actual execution of funds could entail an inefficient use of the local resources (moreover, because, in general, the collaboration agreements include the municipality commitment to contribute resources).

In general, Correa-Mautz (2018) concludes that the most significant changes in the execution of municipal policies can be explained mainly by the directions provided by the central government through its collaboration agreements. Moreover, he continues, central government policies not only affect directly, through these collaboration agreements, the work of municipalities, but also does it indirectly, through the establishment of particular economic development paradigms (given the importance of the amount of funds received through these collaboration agreements to the work and finances of the different municipalities, moreover the ones in economically disadvantaged territories).

As mentioned above, most local governments have critical financial constraints. Although the national government contributes monetarily to the municipality through the Fondo Común Municipal (FCM) and other transfers of a more contingent nature, the final municipal revenues are generally not enough for poor municipalities (Fløysand et al., 2010b). Depending on their origin, municipal revenues have two primary sources: Their own revenue and

the revenues from the FCM. While the former is generated through the management of their constituencies and directly related to the socio-economic characteristics of its population, the latter is a fund designed to redistribute income from the central state and more affluent municipalities to the poorest ones (Pacheco et al., 2013). *Table 13* shows that, on average, around 40% of the total municipal revenues comes from the municipality's own, permanent sources of income (*Ingresos Propios Permanentes*, IPP) - such as property tax, business licences and circulation permits (which jointly represent 65% of IPP)- and almost 30% comes from the FCM.⁵³ However, these percentages differ according to the size, rurality and general socio-economic development of the municipalities. In particular, in semi-urban and rural municipalities with low socio-economic development (which corresponds to 109 municipalities out of 345 in the country, according to the typology used by the Chilean government to manage its transfers), the average share of IPP in total municipal revenues is less than half of the national average (17%). Moreover, their total annual income is less than 7% of the total income of big metropolitan municipalities (this percentage is 10% for semi-urban and rural municipalities with medium socio-economic development) (Sinim, 2018).

Although semi-urban and rural municipalities serve a lower number of people than big urban municipalities and their financial needs are lower than theirs, there are still critical financial differences between rich and poor municipalities when comparing per capita municipal incomes. In particular, the wealthier municipalities in the country have almost eight times the per capita municipal income of poorer municipalities (Chechilnitzky, 2019). Moreover, and mainly because of the long rural distances and the lack of a 'critical mass' of people to serve (which would decrease the per capita costs of provision), the per capita cost of delivering social services, such as education and health, is higher in rural than in urban territories (Irrázaval, 2001).

⁵³ Other municipal revenues come from other transfers from the central state and from the sale of non-financial municipal assets (e.g. land, buildings and vehicles), among others.

Municipal Category	No.	Total annual municipal revenues	Annual amount of IPP	Annual amount of FCM	Share of IPP (as % of total revenue)	Share of FCM
I. Big metropolitan municipalities, high/medium development	47	81,922	37,312	14,962	46%	18%
II. Big urban municipalities, medium development	37	35,385	15,210	10,303	43%	29%
III. Urban medium-sized municipalities, medium development	56	12,435	3,255	6,090	26%	49%
IV. Semi-urban and rural municipalities, medium development	96	8,187	2,773	3,195	34%	39%
V. Semi-urban and rural municipalities, low development	109	5,715	949	3,278	17%	57%
Total number of municipalities	345	21,057	8,314	6,056	39%	29%

Table 13: Municipal revenues (in thousands of USD) among municipalities by demographic and socio-economic characteristics

Note: The municipal typology in the table corresponds to the one used by the Chilean government in the fund for the Improvement of Municipal Management (*Fondo de Incentivo al Mejoramiento de la Gestión Municipal*).

Source: Sinim (2018), table adapted by the author.

Clientelism and assistentialism

Clientelism –that is, the exchange of favours or resources for electoral support- is an ingrained practice among Chilean municipalities, especially in

the rural world (Durstun, 2012, 2015; Durstun & Duhart, 2003; PNUD, 2008; Ramírez et al., 2011). Since the 1990s, the municipalisation of healthcare and public education during the dictatorship and the significant expansion of social policies have made local authorities key actors to access public services and benefits (more below). The importance of this municipal role, along with the absence of efficient mechanisms of inspection at the subnational level, particularly in rural and isolated communities,⁵⁴ have generated favourable conditions for the rise and strengthening of personalised local authorities, who acquire personal benefits from the discretionary use of the social machinery of the state (Barozet, 2008).

The centralised structure of the Chilean state contributes to expanding the clientelist practices described above to the regional and national level. Given the high degree of fiscal centralisation in the country, local leaders –both from the state and civil society- need to maintain close relations with their regional and national counterparts (*intendentes*, regional directors of public services, and members of parliament, among others) if they want to successfully attract additional funds to their localities. The capacity that regional authorities and members of parliament have to solve problems depends on their ability to act as bridges between the local demands and those in charge of allocating state resources (PNUD, 2008). This vicious circle -in which local leaders obtain things through their relations with national politicians, and the latter satisfy their role by answering to these demands- not only weakens the formal channels of democracy⁵⁵ but also generalise assistentialist bonds (i.e. paternalistic and asymmetric relationships between those that serve as

⁵⁴ The activity of the *alcaldes* is supervised by the municipal council; however, the latter has very few powers to carry out this task, and when the *Alcalde* has a majority of councillors in his favour (for instance, when they share a political party or inclination), this task may simply not be carried out. On the other hand, the radius of influence of the *Contraloría General de la República* (the main institution that controls state administration in the country) is also very small, since an investigation at the municipal level can only be opened when the first instance of control - the municipal council - detects irregularities (Barozet, 2008).

⁵⁵ Even when there are formal conduits to obtain additional resources and solve local needs, having a direct relationship with national political elites seems to offer better results (PNUD, 2008).

intermediaries in the flow of resources and those who receive them) throughout the exercise of the state (PNUD, 2008; Ramírez et al., 2011).

4.2.3. Residual welfare in the rural provision of public services

Because of municipalisation and other constraints, the public provision of critical social services such as health and education has considerably lower quality than the services provided within the private sector. By implementing different policies, such as educational *vouchers* and ISAPRES (more below), the state has transferred the responsibility of providing critical social services to the private sector and transformed social rights to consumption goods that individuals need to guarantee themselves. Following a residual view of social welfare, the state acts only when individuals and communities cannot access social services and meet their basic needs by their means (Farías & Moreno, 2015; Rodríguez, 2013). The following paragraph from the Declaration of Principles of the Chilean Government written in 1974 summarises this rationality:

"The man is the end of all society, and since the latter emanates from human nature, it follows that larger societies are formed to meet the ends that the smaller ones cannot achieve on their own. The human being forms a family to achieve ends that he cannot achieve alone. It then gives life to various forms of broader social grouping to achieve goals that the family cannot achieve independently. Finally, he integrates all these intermediate societies in a state due to the need for a shared order that legally coordinates them and assumes functions that none of them could directly fulfil.

Now, this reality limits the field of action of each larger society concerning the smaller one. If the superior is born to fulfil ends that the inferior cannot achieve alone, if that is its justification, it is evident that the absorption of the field that belongs to the minor, and within which the latter must have sufficient autonomy, is not legitimate. The sphere of competence of the larger society begins where the possibility of good action of the minor ends."

(Junta Militar de Gobierno, 1974)

Although since the return of democracy in 1990, rural territories have benefited considerably from the expansion of public investments in infrastructure and service provision (see *Table 14*), the above residual

approach continues to inform the actions of the Chilean state. Contrary to the idea of a non-interventionist liberal state, social policies and services to the poor have extended in recent decades by strengthening processes of commodification. The privatisation of social services is linked to the delegation of social responsibility to individuals and communities. For instance, as shown below, in cases where the market cannot provide a particular service in rural areas such as water and sanitation, individuals and communities are explicitly encouraged by the state to follow self-help strategies.

% of rural households that...	1990	2015
Only access water by carrying it from an outside source	54.24	4.87
Lack electric power	36.55	1.37
Are not connected to a sewerage system	95.87	83.43

Table 14: Rural household access to basic services in 1990 and 2015 in Chile

Source: Own elaboration based on data from CASEN 1990 and 2015.

Drinking water and sewerage systems

Although in urban areas the provision of drinking water is in charge of private companies (which must guarantee an adequate supply of water, both in terms of quantity and quality, to its clients), the responsibility of water provision in rural territories lies in non-profit committees or cooperatives that residents generally constitute. This system of rural water provision has its origins in 1964, under the presidency of Frei Montalva (1964-1970), and before its implementation, only 6% of the rural population had a supply of drinking water (Schuster, 2017; Schuster & Tapia, 2017). The Inter-American Development Bank initially financed the *Programa de Agua Potable Rural* (Programme of Rural Drinking Water), but since 1994 its financing has been assumed by the Chilean state as its official response to the problem of water provision in territories where private firms do not have financial incentives to operate (Fuenzalida, 2015; Navarro et al., 2007). In general, the programme has two main components: public infrastructure building to produce and distribute drinking water and the creation or strengthening of social

organisations in charge of managing and operating the production and distribution systems (Villarroel, 2012).

Although occurring outside of the scope of the thesis, it is relevant to the thesis to highlight that, in 2017, a new regulation was approved to more clearly define the functions and responsibilities of the water committees and cooperatives and create –within the Ministry of Public Constructions- a new department (*Subdirección de Servicios Sanitarios Rurales*) to support, supervise and inspect their work. This new regulatory framework consolidates the strategy of responsabilisation of rural communities and rural citizens for water provision, who are increasingly encouraged to function in the market domain either as clients or financially savvy providers. While in the past the members of the local water organisations participated voluntarily and did not have formal responsibilities towards the state nor the population they served, after this legislation, "they are transformed into operators and administrators of comprehensive sanitary services, not for profit, but with duties and responsibilities, subjected to supervision and sanction in the event of non-compliance." (Calvès, 2009, n.p.). In concrete, local water committees and cooperatives must be holders of a concession or a licence that allows them to operate the systems of drinking water, sewerage or wastewater treatment, be under the inspection of a public institution that has the ability to fine them, and behave like an enterprise. These new non-profit organisations, which are now called *Operadores de Agua Potable*, must charge a price calculated by the state every five years, self-finance their work, and have a 3-month financial safety fund. Additionally, they are not allowed "to make price reductions or not charging someone," and if someone cannot pay for their services, she "must apply for a Drinking Water Subsidy through the committee, which will present the situation to the municipality" (Pareja, 2017, p. 7). Finally, the new regulation also aims to extend formalisation, as existing organisations had to 'regularise' their infrastructure and water rights, undertake asset valuations and apply for water licenses if they wanted to continue their functioning (Pareja, 2007).

Educational system

Since the country's independence and until the mid-20th century, the provision of education in Chile was segmented and concentrated mainly in urban centres. Most of the rural population remained illiterate (Bellei & Pérez-Navarro, 2016).⁵⁶ In 1965, the Chilean state aimed to democratise access to primary and secondary education, and public education started to be delivered free of charge in both urban and rural territories. However, the expansion of public education was halted in 1980 when the military dictatorship introduced market principles to regulate the provision of education (Bellei, 2015, 2018). Arguing that competition would bring efficiency to the school market, the state stopped privileging public education and started to finance public and private providers equally (through *vouchers*, subsidies per student). The Ministry of Education focused on its role of regulation and supervision, and the municipalities received the responsibility to administrate the provision of public education in their respective localities. These changes debilitated public education, and at the end of the 1980s, student numbers attending public schools decreased by around a quarter, while those in private schools doubled (Bellei, 2018).

During the 1990s and 2000s, the democratic governments implemented modifications to improve the market dynamics in the educational system and complemented them with compensatory actions to correct market failures and help public schools and vulnerable students. These changes allowed an almost universal coverage in primary and secondary education and improved the conditions in the public sector (infrastructure, resources and teacher's remunerations, among other aspects). However, they failed to respond to the structural problems affecting public education (Bellei, 2018; Muñoz & Muñoz, 2013). The enrolment in public schools continued to decrease (relatively to

⁵⁶ The upper and middle classes in urban areas had access to public and private schools and high schools, and then attended university or went to work in managerial positions, and the popular sectors and the working class, who were also concentrated mainly in urban areas, attended primary and trade schools, receiving basic knowledge and job training (Bellei & Pérez-Navarro, 2016).

private schools), and public education became increasingly responsible for the poorer and more challenging students because the private sector was allowed to select students and charge for their service. In concrete, public schools in Chile have more complex challenges and fewer resources than private schools, a situation hardener in rural areas as the subsidy increases with the number of students enrolled (Bellei, 2018; OECD, 2004).⁵⁷

Within this institutional framework (which existed in the country until 2015, when structural changes started to be implemented),⁵⁸ students from rural and small municipalities are disadvantaged. Most of the students in rural and small municipalities go to public schools, while the contrary holds in urban and more populated municipalities, where private schools concentrate students' enrolment (Donoso-Díaz et al., 2012; Donoso-Díaz & Arias-Rojas, 2012, 2013). The lower presence of private schools in rural territories could provide evidence that the subsidy provided by the state is not enough to compensate for the higher costs of providing education in areas of low population density (Sapelli, 2006). Indeed, although the subsidy per rural student doubles the urban subsidy, it is estimated that the cost to provide education in rural areas is four times the amount spent per student in urban municipalities (Donoso-Díaz & Arias-Rojas, 2012). In other words, municipalities with higher educational costs due to their rural nature, scale,

⁵⁷ While in 1995, 60% of the students in the country attended public schools, in 2012 that percentage decreases to 40 (Muñoz & Muñoz, 2013). A central factor contributing to the deterioration of education was the municipalisation of the administration of public schools, “particularly due to the structural inequality between municipalities, the poor professional capacities, the different relevance that education is given by its authorities, the “double dependency” of the establishments (Ministry of Education and municipalities) (Fløysand et al., 2010b), and the problem of “scale” that hurts many, if not most, of the country’s municipalities, for being so small that they do not achieve a critical mass of financial and professional resources to manage education” (Bellei, 2018, p. 29).

⁵⁸ The changes in education were made under the second presidential term of Michelle Bachelet. These changes were possible thanks to a combination of factors, including pressures from social movements, a political majority that supported Bachelet's government programme, and the accumulation of evidence and proposals from the academic and social world (Bellei, 2018). During this period, two key reform packages were enacted. First, the Inclusion Law (Law 20,845), which was implemented in January 2015, and created a unique and centralized admission system, eliminated co-payments and prohibited profit in educational establishments that receive state contributions. And second, a New Public Educational System (Law 21,040), which was approved in November 2017 (with a gradual implementation since 2018) and includes the de-municipalisation of public education in Chile. The private educational sector was left untouched (Bellei, 2018).

and socio-economic situation must contribute proportionally more to managing their residents' education while usually facing significant financial limitations. This territorial inequality, which reflects the weakening of public education as a guaranteed universal right, is also expressed in the technical and pedagogical capacity of the rural municipalities to implement an educational project in their constituencies. Indeed, although municipalities are responsible for the overall functioning of the schools, most small and rural municipalities limit their educational work to administrative and financial issues, to the detriment of pedagogical aspects, which negatively affects the quality of the education provided in rural territories (Muñoz & Muñoz, 2013; Raczynski, 2012).

4.3. The rise of entrepreneurial social policies

The above focus of the Chilean state on market expansion and self-help has also increasingly been used in public policies and programmes to alleviate poverty. This section presents the two main initiatives that help low-income families and individuals in Chile (at the national and rural level, respectively), and it underlines how these programmes encourage the poor to create their sources of employment and help themselves overcome their poverty.

4.3.1. From Chile Solidario to Ingreso Ético Familiar

The implementation of *Chile Solidario* (CHISOL) started in 2002 under the presidency of Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006, Socialist Party), and it was the first set of national, coordinated interventions designed to reduce extreme poverty in the country.⁵⁹ The programme aimed to help families improve their quality of life by connecting them with the range of existing social programmes and offering them counselling and personalised social support (Patricio Navarro et al., 2016). In 2010, with the arrival of the first right-wing government since

⁵⁹ In addition, IEF also serves families in vulnerable conditions: (i) families in situation of poverty with one or more older adults (65 years or older) who live alone or accompanied by only one person, ii) homeless individuals and families and iii) minors whose legally responsible adult is deprived of freedom (prison).

1990, CHISOL was replaced by a new social protection system known as *Ingreso Ético Familiar* (IEF).⁶⁰ IEF maintained specific characteristics of CHISOL and incorporated new aspects. Mainly, IEF is also an inter-sectoral policy that aims to alleviate poverty by offering personalised support and by providing guaranteed or preferred access to a set of public programmes. However, it incorporates new interventions to strengthen the income generation capacity of participants and introduces new conditional and non-conditional cash transfers and mechanisms to adapt the system's interventions to the needs of the different families (Fernández et al., 2016; Larrañaga et al., 2015). Although it does not specially focus on the rural population, it does have a relatively higher rural participation in practice (5.6% of the total rural population in the country participated in either CHISOL or IEF in 2015, versus 3.2% of the country's urban population).⁶¹

In concrete, IEF has a maximum duration of two years and consists of three groups of interventions: (i) direct support programmes, (ii) cash transfers and (iii) articulation with existing programmes (see *Figure 16*).

⁶⁰ The design and parliamentary approval of the IEF took place between 2010 and 2012, and it started to be implemented in 2013. The last cohort of participants from *Chile Solidario* graduated in 2016, therefore, the first government of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) was responsible for operating the two systems simultaneously (Larrañaga et al., 2015).

⁶¹ Data from CASEN (2015).

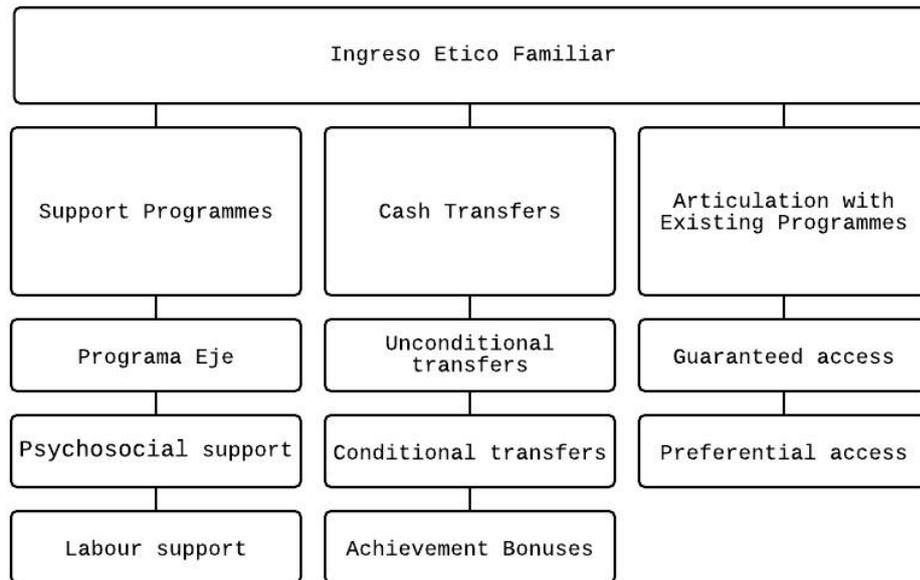


Figure 16: Components and interventions of Ingreso Ético Familiar
 Source: Author's elaboration with information from Navarro et al. (2016).

Support programmes

There are three types of direct support programmes offered exclusively to IEF families and their members: *Programa Eje* (an overall IEF accompaniment), Psychosocial Support and Labour Support. *Programa Eje* accompanies all families through a professional known as *Gestor Familiar*, who is in charge of carrying out a diagnosis of the families and their members, elaborating a tailored intervention plan and monitoring their achievements. After officially accepting to participate in IEF (and agreeing to follow the intervention plan), all families are referred to the Psychosocial Support programme, which offers help to follow the intervention plan by working on self-perception, internal control, social capital and other soft skills. This support is implemented by a professional known as *Apoyo Familiar* (Family support), and it is organised in different sessions held in the household of the respective family (see *Table 15*). Finally, the Labour Support programme focuses on the family members that are not studying and are old enough to work (18 years or older),⁶² and it

⁶² Alternatively, if they are studying, their studies must be compatible with their participation in the Labour Support of the programme.

aims to improve their capacity to generate income autonomously. This support, which is implemented by a professional known as *Apoyo Laboral* (Labour support) and was absent in CHISOL, is organised in individual and group sessions that take place outside of the family household -such as in municipal offices, resident associations centres or schools- and promotes the elaboration and implementation of a Labour Insertion Plan (see *Table 16*).

Psychosocial support	
Phase 1: Knowing our family	
Session 1:	Knowing each other
Session 2:	Our achievements
Session 3:	Our family
Session 4:	What do we have
Phase 2: Family vision	
Session 5:	Our family dreams
Session 6:	Building family goals
Phase 3: Building our family plan	
Session 7:	Ordering our family goals
Session 8-12:	Building our family plan
Phase 4: Achieving our plan	
Session 13-17:	Achieving our plan
Phase 5: Evaluation, projection and closing	
Session 18:	Knowing our achievements and resources
Session 19:	Projecting ourselves as a family

Table 15: List of sessions of IEF's Psychosocial Support

Source: Author's elaboration with information from Navarro et al. (2016).

Labour support	
Phase 1: Elaborating my labour plan	
Session 1:	Knowing each other
Session 2:	What have I done to generate income?
Session 3:	What do I have to work?
Session 4:	Knowing my environment
Session 5:	Working as an employee or as an independent worker
Session 6:	Defining my labour goals
Session 7:	Building my labour plan
Phase 2: Implementing my labour plan	
Session 8-15:	Making my labour plan tangible
Phase 3: Valuing my labour plan	
Session 16:	What have I achieved, and what do I want to achieve now?

Table 16: List of sessions of IEF's Labour Support

Source: Author's elaboration with information from Navarro et al. (2016).

IEF's cash transfers

As shown in *Figure 16*, there are three types of cash transfers offered exclusively to IEF families: (i) unconditional transfers, given to all families to ensure a minimum level of income, (ii) conditional transfers aiming to ensure that children and adolescents have their health checks-ups up to date and minimum school attendance, and (iii) 'achievement bonuses' that recognise labour and educational results. As it in *Table 17*, the monetary value of IEF vary according to the demographic composition of the households, and it is relatively low compared to other CTT programmes in the region. The cash transfers are a secondary aspect of IEF, as its main components are the social and labour support and its function of connecting the poor with other interventions offered by the state (Larrañaga et al., 2015).

The goal of the unconditional transfers is to cover part of the income gap for the family to overcome extreme poverty, and they consist of monthly transfers that decrease in time during the duration of the programme. The conditional transfers serve families that have children and adolescents. They aim to encourage children between 0 to 6 years of age to attend regular health check-

ups and that children and adolescents between 6 and 18 years old comply with minimum school attendance (85% per year). Finally, two types of bonuses recognise achievements: a School Achievement Bonus, directed towards families with members that attend primary or secondary school and are within the 30% of students with best academic performance, and a Women's Work Bonus for dependent and independent female workers between 25 and 59 years.⁶³ By law, women are the preferable receiver of all these transfers. Only in families where no adult woman is either the children's (or adolescents') mother or the (wife of the) head of household, the benefits can go to a male member (head of household) (Larrañaga et al., 2015).

Other IEF (non-exclusive) programmes

Finally, IEF families and participants have guaranteed or preferential access to programmes that are not necessarily exclusive to IEF participants. The selection of programmes assigned to IEF participants depends on the diagnosis at the beginning of *Programa Eje*. After that, an intervention plan establishes whether the family would only benefit from psychosocial support or be better for them to also benefit from labour support. The psychosocial support programme links beneficiaries with existing social programmes and services that address problems related to health access, family dynamics, pre-school education and school retention, among others. *Table A. 2* in the Appendix lists and describes the non-labour related programmes with guaranteed and preferred IEF access. Among all these programmes, Plan AUGE and the *Sistema de Pensiones Solidarias* (the solidary pension scheme of the country) represent the most significant advances in terms of social protection during the last decades in the country.

⁶³ In addition, IEF also helps families to access subsidies that are available to a wider population group, which include subsidies for the payment of drinking water and sewerage services, subsidies to encourage school retention and a subsidy to cover the costs for obtaining an Identity Card (Navarro et al, 2016).

Bonus	Frequency	Description	Amounts
Protection Bonus	Monthly payment over 24 months	Unconditional transfer to all participant families	Month 1 to 6: 25 USD; Month 7 - 12: 19 USD; Month 13 - 18: 13 USD; Month 19 - 24: 16 USD.
Basic Monetary Transfer	Monthly payment over 24 months	Unconditional transfer to all participant families, which varies according to the number of family members.	Its amount corresponds to 85% of the income gap between household income and the national threshold of extreme poverty. It varies from 0 to 35 USD.
Healthy Child Bonus	Monthly payment over 24 months	Conditional transfer to all children younger than 6 years old that have their Healthy Child Control up to date at their respective municipality.	9 USD per month and child
School Assistance Bonus	Monthly payment over 24 months	Conditional transfer to all children between 6 and 18 years old that have a monthly school assistance rate of at least 85%.	9 USD per month and child/adolescent
School Achievement Bonus	Annual payment	Conditional transfer to all students younger than 24 years old that attend primary or secondary school (from 5th grade to 12th grade) are members of a family belonging to the 30% more vulnerable population and are within the 30% of students with the best academic performance of their promotion.	84 USD to the first 15% of students and 50 USD to the second 15%
Women's Work Bonus	Annual or monthly payment (according to circumstances) over four years	Conditional transfer benefiting dependent and independent female workers between 25 and 59 years, who are also members of a family belonging to the 40% more vulnerable population.	Every month that the woman is working, she can receive up to 54 USD and her employer up to 29 USD.

Table 17: Description of monetary transfers exclusive to IEF's participants

Note: The exchange rate used is 1 USD = 642 CLP.

Source: Author's elaboration with information from Vargas et al. (2017).

Plan AUGE offers guaranteed quality health attention (it established maximum waiting time to be attended and treated in a certified institution) and financial protection for a list of health problems considered to have a high sanitary impact (Paraje & Infante, 2014). The solidarity pension scheme was introduced in 2008 to complement the pension system based on individual capitalisation in Chile since the early 1980s. Particularly relevant to rural territories due to the ageing of its population, the solidarity pension scheme includes a guaranteed pension (which varies from 230-280USD, according to the age of the beneficiary) to those men and women –from the age of 65 and 60, respectively- that do not receive any pension from the individual capitalisation scheme and belong to the 60% of the population of lower socio-economic level (Larrañaga et al., 2015).

The labour support programme links family members with programmes that help generate autonomous income through wage employment or independent labour. *Table 18* presents the labour programmes offering preferential or guaranteed access to IEF participants. Among the labour programmes offering preferential access, the most important one -in terms of the number of IEF user that it serves- is the *Programa de Apoyo al Microemprendimiento* (PAME), now called *Yo Emprendo Semilla* (YES). The programme helps participants develop a micro-enterprise or increase their income through self-employment (independent work), offering training, technical advice, and funding.

Type of Programme (main goal)	Programme	Description	Type of Access
Labour Promotion Programmes (focusing on improving employability by developing skills and competences)	Programa de Desarrollo de Competencias Laborales de la Mujer	The programme aims to develop basic skills, job skills and digital literacy among adult women in order to increase their employability.	Preferential
	Yo Trabajo Jóvenes	The programme focuses on young people between 17 and 25 years of age and seeks to develop their job skills through workshops and a labour plan that includes labour intermediation.	Preferential
	Fondo de Inserción Laboral	The fund seeks to improve the employability of IEF participants through personalised plans that include delivery of materials, workshops and individual consultancies whose objective is for users to develop personal and work skills.	Preferential
	Bonificación a la Contratación de Mano de Obra	The programme aims to insert unemployed and low employability adults into wage employment.	Preferential
	Programa de Apoyo al Empleo - Sistema Chile Solidario	The programme seeks to increase the labour insertion of CHISOL and IEF users in wage or independent employment through actions to deliver skills, preferably in the agroforestry area.	Guaranteed
Programmes focusing on work outcomes (to support entrepreneurial and subsistence initiatives and to encourage the hiring of vulnerable population groups)	PAME	The programme promotes microentrepreneurial initiatives through training, technical support and monetary help.	Preferential
	PRODESAL	The programme offers productive and social support to small farmers and peasants.	Preferential
	Programa de Apoyo a Familias para el Autoconsumo	The programme supports self-consumption production by providing access to new technologies for food preparation and preservation, training in the use and maintenance of these technologies, and nutritional counselling to encourage healthy habit formation	Preferential
	Apoyo tu Plan Laboral	The programme, exclusive for IEF's Labour Support participants, includes human capital development, job placement, job application processes, childcare services, and promotion of self-employment. Each individual can access up to three complementary financing lines.	Guaranteed

Table 18: Programmes with preferential or guaranteed access to IEF's Labour Support users

Source: Author's elaboration based on Vargas et al. (2017) and descriptions available on the official webpage of the respective institution.

Although YES supports men and women (18 years old or older), who are either unemployed, looking for work for the first time or with a precarious occupation, more than 90% of its participants are women (Martínez et al., 2018). On a national average, the participants are 36 years old, with low educational levels (31% have only completed primary education) and, according to the national social scorecard, a high degree of economic vulnerability. Concerning the businesses they form, institutional data suggests that they are primarily one-person businesses (the average number of employees is 0.26), informal (only 5% registered in the Tax Office) and diverse. The most common economic sectors are textile and clothing (38%), food (e.g. bakeries and groceries, 21%), and small retail (10%) (Martínez et al., 2018).

4.3.2. INDAP's Programa de Desarrollo Local

INDAP, created just before the agrarian reform, is currently a public service dependent on the Ministry of Agriculture and the primary institution in rural development.⁶⁴ It supported 223,000 small farmers and peasants between 2010 and 2015, representing more than 50% of all farmers and around 70% of small farms in Chile (INDAP, 2018). Considering its rural importance, different public services and ministries channel their support to rural territories and inhabitants through cash transfers and collaboration agreements with INDAP. The service represents an institutional umbrella to reach farmers and rural inhabitants and reflects the overall approach of the Chilean state when dealing with the promotion of development in its rural territories. For instance, some institutions that support rural territories through these agreements are:

- (i) the Ministry of Environment, with specific programmes to procure dry firewood,

⁶⁴ INDAP is the institution with the biggest rural presence in Chile. Currently, it has 15 regional offices and more than 130 local agencies distributed along the country.

- (ii) the National Indigenous Development Corporation (CONADI), with programmes focused exclusively on indigenous groups,
- (iii) the National Tourism Service, with the organisation of traditional fairs and rural tourism projects,
- (iv) the National Women's Service (SERNAM) and the Foundation for the Promotion and Development of Women (PRODEMU), which offer training to improve women's skills.

Additionally, the regional government also directs part of its rural budget to the agricultural service using INDAP as an executing agency.

With the return to democracy in 1990, INDAP's budget and the population it supported were multiplied by four during the first 15 years of democracy: From US\$106 million in 1989 to US\$446 million in 2016, and from 36,000 to 140,000 farmers, respectively (Faiguenbaum, 2017).⁶⁵ The leading institutional goal is still improving the incorporation of small farmers into the global economy. However, it also includes implementing a 'second wave of agrarian modernisation' among farmers ignored in previous processes (Sergio Gómez & Klein, 1993). In particular, the democratic governments have tried to 'modernise' peasant agriculture by implementing policies to achieve productive reconversion. An institutional document that reviews the history of INDAP concludes: "To compete or to die!" [Is] INDAP's strategy (...) in times of democracy and free-market" (Faiguenbaum, 2017, p. 173).

Of particular importance to the segment of farmers assessed as less competitive is the Local Development Programme (*Programa de Desarrollo Local*, PRODESAL). Due to the strengthening of INDAP's goal of overcoming rural poverty, PRODESAL has considerably increased its importance since its implementation in 1997 (Ramírez et al., 2014). Currently, PRODESAL is INDAP's most important programme in terms of its budget and the number of farmers it supports: It served more than 83,000 farmers in 2017,

⁶⁵ The population size supported only includes farmers that received technical assistance.

corresponding to more than 50% of INDAP's total participants that year (INDAP, 2018). PRODESAL has a maximum duration of six years, over which the farmer strengthens the market orientation of her agricultural production. The farmers who successfully engage in commercial agriculture can continue participating in other programmes by INDAP, offering more complex and specialised productive support.⁶⁶ Regarding its participants' gender, the programme is similarly distributed among men and women, and 48% of its users are female farmers. However, when considering the distribution within INDAP's female and male users separately, PRODESAL seems to be particularly relevant among female users: 61% of INDAP's total female participants in 2015 received help from PRODESAL in the 2010-2015 period versus 54% of their male counterparts (INDAP, 2017a).⁶⁷

4.4. Conclusion and further comments

The chapter has presented an overall description of Chile's rural development and a review of the most significant state initiatives supporting the rural poor. First, it showed that uncoordinated policy efforts characterise the country's rural development approach, which is nested within a centralised state structure and an export-oriented economy with increasingly important social-inclusion goals (particularly since 1990). This results, in practice, in a 'bimodal rural development approach', in which public efforts aim, on one side, to strengthen the incorporation of rural territories into the global economy and support the agro-export sector, and on the other, to help peasants and small farmers exit poverty. While poverty-oriented

⁶⁶ Although the programme has a maximum duration of 6 years, the lack of clarity on the exit requirements (e.g. how to evaluate a particular commercial engagement as successful or 'complete') and the technical difficulties to check if the entry requirements are met in practice (which leaves a wide margin of discretion in the hands of those in the municipality and the officers who decide who to include in the programme) result in some beneficiaries staying longer than necessary in the programme (or re-entering after 6 years) (Donoso et al., 2010; Ramírez et al., 2014).

⁶⁷ Since the 1990s, INDAP increasingly incorporates female agricultural producers to its programmes and benefits, by modifying different administrative regulations that made their previous access to the service very difficult. Moreover, after allowing its users to be both farmers and their families, INDAP has also created special programmes focused on specific rural actors, such as women, youth and indigenous communities (INDAP, 2018).

interventions constitute what is usually understood as rural policies in the country (as they are the ones that are locally implemented), macroeconomic programmes and policies have a substantial effect on the development paths of rural territories.

Rural modernisation under the period of neoliberal globalisation has had contradictory effects in rural territories. Although, in general, since the 1990s, rural populations have better access to employment opportunities and social services than before. They continue to be in a position of economic and social disadvantage in comparison to the urban population. The chapter has also shown that techniques of responsabilisation and depoliticisation that are not gender-neutral underpin the treatment that peasants and small farmers have received during the last decades in Chile. In sum, the treatment received by peasants and small farmers during this democratic period -mainly through the actions of INDAP but also, more recently, through the interventions associated with the national system of social protection (IEF)- lacks the political dimension that it had in the years before the dictatorship. Little has been done regarding the extension of workers' rights and, particularly, on strengthening peasants' and rural workers' unionisation (Berg, 2020; Hojman, 1995).

At the macro level, rural development centres on developing the comparative advantages of regions and fostering foreign investment. At the micro-level, on encouraging small farmers and peasants incorporation into the dynamics of export-oriented economic growth. Rural women have particularly embodied the contradictory outcomes of the endeavour to modernise the Chilean countryside. While now, with the growth of agribusinesses under economic globalisation, they have access to a significantly broader set of employment opportunities than in the past, they enter the labour market under adverse terms (Hickey & du Toit, 2013). Furthermore, women have also had to endure an increasing dual burden of work because they remain the primary person responsible for unpaid domestic chores in addition to the workload of income-generating activities (Carrasquer, 2013; Robinson, 2006; Sabater, 2014). In this context, public programmes promoting entrepreneurial initiatives allow

them to combine their domestic and economic responsibilities and are particularly attractive. Notwithstanding that, on average, female rural micro-entrepreneurs earn significantly less than female urban workers and male workers (both urban and rural).

5. The archipelago of Chiloé and the salmon industry

This chapter analyses the experience of the archipelago of Chiloé during recent decades, focusing, in particular, on the development of the salmon industry in its territory. The chapter comprises four main sections: The first section provides a general description of the archipelago and broadly presents the main social and economic changes triggered by the arrival and development of the salmon industry. The second section presents the rapid development of the industry in the country since the 1990s and the contradictory assessments that national and local actors have had of its functioning and local impacts. The following section focuses on the 2008 sanitary crisis that affected salmon production and the state's responses to its economic and social effects at the industrial and local levels. Despite evidence of the questionable labour practices of the salmon firms and the negative environmental externalities of their production processes, the main objective of the central state during the crisis was to help the industry recover. Finally, the fourth section shows that regional and local governments had to face the costs of the crisis without having a say on the industry's future and that, once the crisis ended, they have had to confront new problems by themselves.

The chapter draws from primary and secondary sources of information. In addition to reviewing academic and policy papers, it presents quantitative information obtained by analysing different national and regional surveys and qualitative information obtained from fieldwork interviews. It concludes that the experience of Chiloé during the last decades can be analysed as the local expression of the overall strategy of economic growth of the country, as it

represents the materialisation of an economic process based on the exploitation of natural resources and the active participation of the country in the global market. Chiloé is also an example of how local governments face the costs of a development strategy that poses economic growth as its primary goal, and how local inhabitants end up subsidising (through their labour conditions and restrained access to natural resources) industries that under the neoliberal economic restructuring have become 'too big to fail'.

5.1. The archipelago of Chiloé

5.1.1. General description of the archipelago

As shown in Chapter 3, the archipelago of Chiloé has an area of 9,182 km², and in 2015 it had an estimated population of 185,445 inhabitants (see *Table 19*). In administrative terms, the archipelago belongs to the Province of Chiloé (except for the Deserters Islands that belong to the Province of Palena), one of the four provinces that constitute the Los Lagos region (see *Figure 3* in Chapter 3).⁶⁸ The provincial capital is the city of Castro (situated in the municipality of the same name), and the regional capital is Puerto Montt, situated in the province of Llanquihue.⁶⁹ The archipelago is temperate and moist: On average, its yearly temperatures range between 7 and 15°C, and rainfall occurs throughout the year.

⁶⁸ From north to south, the provinces that constitute Los Lagos region are: Osorno, Llanquihue, Chiloé and Palena.

⁶⁹ From north to south, the municipalities that constitute the province of Chiloé are: Ancud, Quemchi, Dalcahue, Curaco de Vélez, Quinchao, Castro, Chonchi, Queilén and Quellón.

Territory	[1] Municipal Area (km ²)	[2] Est. Municipal population* -2015-	[2]/[1] Population Density	Share of rural population (INE definition) -2002-	Urban localities (INE definition) -2002-	City population -2002-
Castro	473	48,665	102.9	0.26	Castro	29,148
Ancud	1,752	43,978	25.1	0.32	Ancud	27,292
Chonchi	1,362	15,234	11.2	0.64	Chonchi	4,588
C. de Vélez	80	4,167	52.1	1.00		
Dalcahue	1,239	15,316	12.4	0.54	Dalcahue	4,933
Puqueldón	97	4,021	41.5	1.00		
Queilén	332	5,560	16.7	0.63	Queilén	1,912
Quellón	3,244	30,532	9.4	0.37	Quellón	13,656
Quemchi	440	9,091	20.7	0.81	Quemchi	1,665
Quinchao	161	8,881	55.2	0.62	Achao	3,452
Chiloé Province	9,182	185,445	20.2	0.44		

Table 19: Chiloé: Municipal Area and Demographic Information

*The estimation is made by the National Institute of Statistics (INE).

Source: Author's elaboration with data from the National System of Municipal Information (www.sinim.gob.cl) and the 2002 Population Census (INE, 2002).

Chiloé is a rural territory. According to the 2002 population census and the national definition of rurality presented in Chapter 4, 44.0% of its population lives in rural areas (versus 13.4% at the national level). Moreover, although according to the official definition in the country, Chiloé has eight 'cities' in its territory, each of them had under 30,000 inhabitants in 2002 (see *Table 19*), which contrasts with the population of the major urban agglomeration of the country and reflects the heterogeneous realities within the country's urban definition.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the OECD rural typology⁷¹ classifies all the

⁷⁰ The three major urban agglomerations in Chile are the Greater Santiago, Greater Concepción and Greater Valparaíso, which had 5,631,839, 848,023 and 824,006 inhabitants, respectively, according to the 2002 population census.

⁷¹ The OECD rural typology is mainly based on: (i) the population density of each municipality and (ii) the population share living in rural municipalities at the provincial level. See OECD (2014: 31) for more details on the criteria.

municipalities of the archipelago as rural (as their population densities are below 150 inhabitants per km², see *Table 19*) and the entire territory of Chiloé as *predominantly rural* (because more than 50% of its population lives in rural municipalities) (OECD, 2014, p. 31). Similarly, the rural classification used in the UNDP report "2008 Human Development in Rural Chile" (PNUD, 2008) defines rural territories as those where the preponderant economic activity is agriculture, fishing or food production. Given the importance of the aquaculture industry and small scale agriculture in its territory (as shown below), the international institution classifies Chiloé as a rural province.

5.1.2. History of the archipelago

The archipelago of Chiloé has a unique history, partly due to its particular geography and isolation from continental Chile and historical relation with the Chilean state. The early economic, political and social relations between the state and the archipelago –which were in place not only during colonial times but also during the formation and early years of the Chilean republic– contributed to the development of a relatively close and self-sufficient society with unique cultural characteristics and a distinct territorial identity (Mansilla, 2007, 2009; Ramírez, Tartakowsky, & Modrego, 2009). Chiloé was the last colonial stronghold to join the Chilean territory: It remained a Spanish colony for almost three centuries until the surrender of the last garrison in 1826. The archipelago was the most austral territory occupied permanently by the Spaniards in the continent, and it was considered a 'key' territory because of its strategic importance.⁷² The Spaniard and indigenous mix that lay at the core of the local culture during colonial times informs the particular sense of belonging that currently exist among the archipelago's population and remains through its material and immaterial heritage.

⁷² The Panama Canal was officially opened in 1924, but before then, the bulk of sea trade targeted to the west side of the American continent was made by navigating along the southern end of the continent (Torrejón et al., 2004)

During colonial times, the archipelago territory was covered by abundant (and frequently impenetrable) forests and exposed to relatively cold and rainy weather. Its insular geography and natural and climatic conditions help to explain the current concentration patterns of the population (which is concentrated mainly in the east shore of the archipelago's largest island) and the economic and productive activities traditionally undertaken by local inhabitants (Mansilla, 2007; Torrejón et al., 2004).⁷³ The current structure of rural landholding in Chiloé reflects the archipelago's singularity, as it does not have the pattern of concentration present in the rest of the country. Rural land in Chiloé consists mainly of *minifundios* (farms of small extension) owned mainly by peasant families who have lived in their land for many generations unaffected by the national processes of agrarian reform and counter-reform in the 1960s 1970s. While 70% of the rural land in Chile is in the form of large farms (of at least 2,000 Ha), this percentage is less than 15% in Chiloé, where more than half of rural land is in the form of farms of less than 100 Ha (see *Figure 17*).

⁷³ The bio-geographical conditions are also an important factor that explains the unique biodiversity of the archipelago. Indeed, in the territory of Chiloé it is possible to find diverse endemic animals and vegetables, which are either not possible or very difficult to find in the rest of the country (Defensores del Bosque Chileno, 1999; Ramírez et al., 2011).

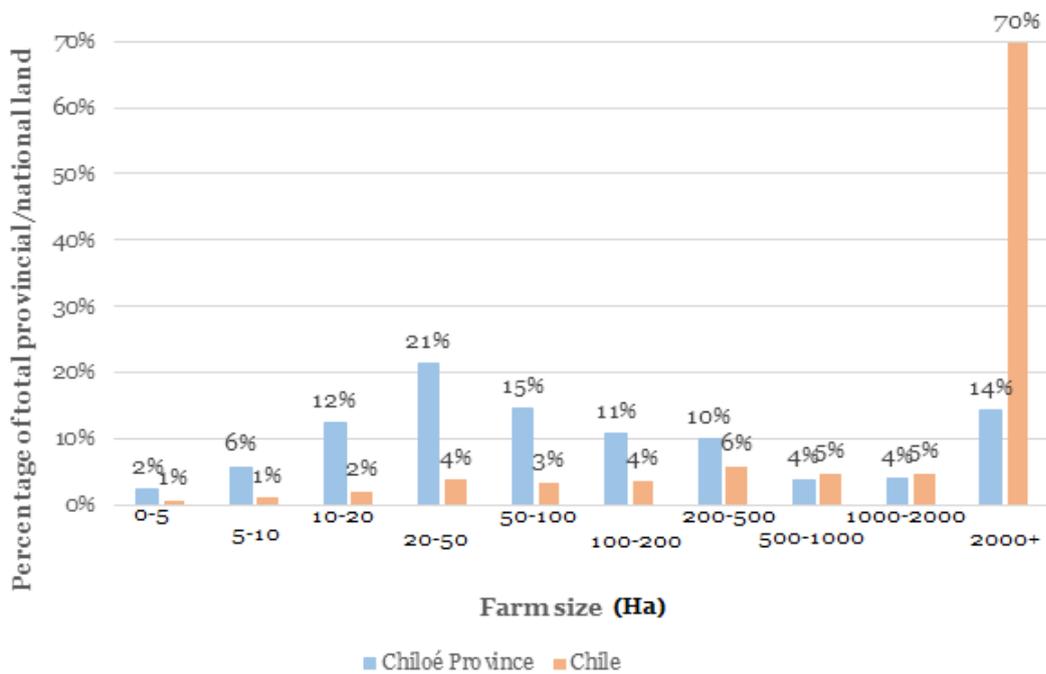


Figure 17: Distribution of agricultural holdings by farm size in Chiloé and Chile

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the 2017 Agrarian Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas).

For centuries the population in Chiloé engaged in a productive system based on a combination of different economic activities, including small-scale agriculture, marine gathering (of algae and seafood), fishing, stockbreeding and forestry, which varied according to the season of the year. This pluriactivity resulted from encountering the practices and knowledge of the Spaniard settlers with those of the native population (Torrejón et al., 2004). Although a small traditional elite did engage in the (national and international) export of products such as potato, wood, wool and –to a lesser extent- cereals and grains, most of the production in Chiloé was related to subsistence activities. Most salaried jobs were outside of the archipelago, and every year, men abandoned Chiloé to work either in the mines of northern Chile, the big southern haciendas (in places such as Osorno, Llanquihue, Magallanes, Coyhaique and Aysén) or the neighbouring country of Argentina (Torrejón et al., 2004).

The temporary migration of adult men affected gender relations and intra-household arrangements in the archipelago. In general, men abandoned

Chiloé in November (after the local harvest of potato) and returned in March every year. During their absence, women were in charge of domestic and care work, that is, intrahousehold tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, and taking care of the children and elderly and more physically demanding activities such as animal care, shellfish and seaweed gathering and cut firewood. Furthermore, especially if men were outside the archipelago for longer than expected, women also engaged in other productive activities, such as the preparation of agricultural land, cultivation and harvesting (Macé et al., 2010). However, all of these activities focused on household consumption and were mostly unremunerated. Women in Chiloé "were 'matriarchs without resources', since they had great cultural and natural capital, but depended on the money that men brought from their migration" (Macé et al., 2010, p. 12).

5.1.3. Broad changes in Chiloé during the last decades

The traditional economy and society in Chiloé began to undergo significant changes with the liberalisation of the national economy in the 1970s. First, the archipelago experienced the development of different fishing industries affected by overexploitation in the 1980s (Schurman, 1996) and, since the 1990s, the arrival and growth of the salmon and mussels industries.⁷⁴ The social and economic effects of the development and rapid expansion of the salmon industry in the 1990s and 2000s were unprecedented in Chiloé (Barton & Murray, 2009; Katz et al., 2011). The expansion of the local labour force, and particularly, the increment of female and youth labour participation, did not only have a positive impact on household income (and on regional poverty levels) but also transformed the traditional social dynamics in the archipelago, changing forms of parenting and childhood socialisation, consumption habits and the degree of monetisation of the local economy (Rebolledo, 2012).

⁷⁴ These developments coincided with a profitability crisis in the agricultural sector due to the lower international price of food, which was functional to the expansion of the new industries by encouraging the participation of impoverished peasants (Amtmann & Blanco, 2001)

Simultaneously, the archipelago has also experienced a substantial transformation of its physical landscape, not only for the infrastructure associated with the industries (see *Figure 18*) but also for a rapid urbanisation process. Indeed, on top of local processes of rural-urban migration, workers from different regions of the country came to Chiloé attracted by the new availability of employment, which accelerated the process of urbanisation through the building of new housing complexes, road infrastructure and the expansion of basic services (Canales, 2006).



Figure 18: Salmon production centres in southern Chile

Source: Bacián (2005, p. 51).

As *Figure 19* illustrates, female participation in the archipelago's labour force increased from 23.2% in 1996 to 44.5% in 2015. Although the gap with local male participation remains significant, the difference with the country's average rate of female participation has reduced significantly. Similarly, the female share of total household income in Chiloé has increased from 21% in 1996 to 39% in 2015 (see *Figure 20*), reflecting the increased economic importance of women in local households. The figures below also show two particular moments in which female labour participation and female household income share have experienced jumps in recent decades: (i) In 2000, which coincides with the expansion and internationalisation of the local

salmon industry (more below) and (ii) in 2015, after recovering from the sanitary crisis (2008-2010).

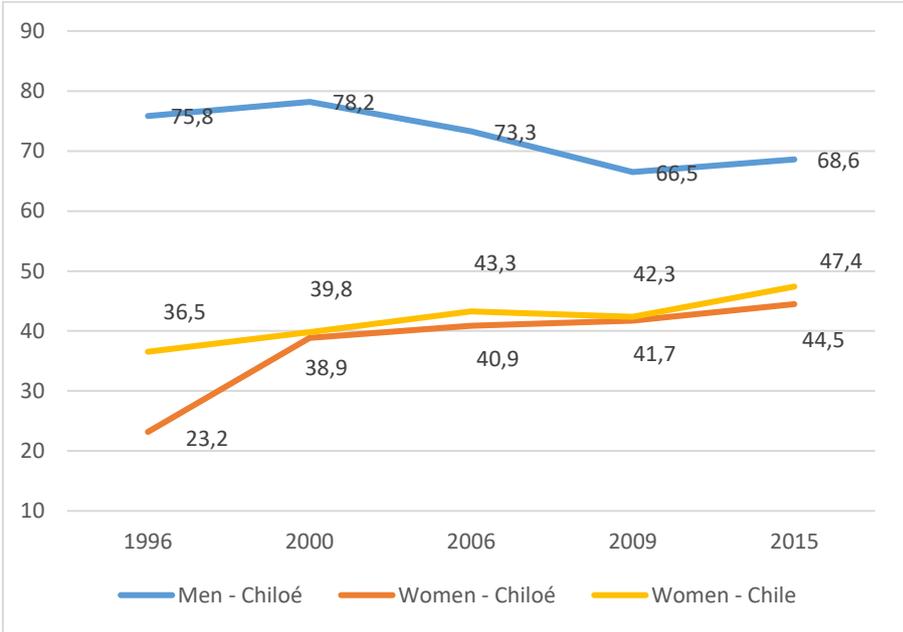


Figure 19: Labour Participation in Chile and Chiloé 1996-2015 (%)
 Source: Author's elaboration with data from CASEN series.

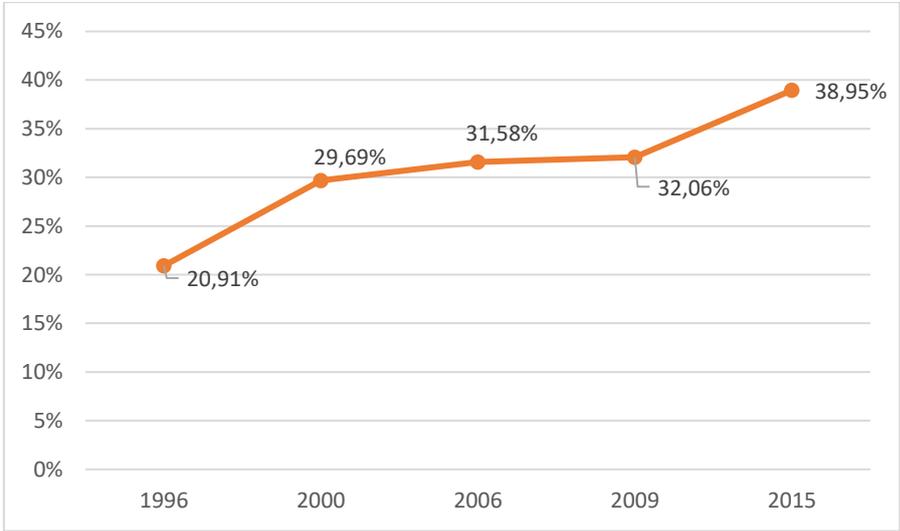


Figure 20: Female share in household monetary income, Chiloé 1996-2015
 Source: Author's elaboration with data from CASEN series.

The 2008 salmon crisis is an essential milestone in the recent history of the archipelago. On the one hand, the Chiloé's (income) poverty rate has increased since 2009, breaking with the decreasing trend experienced since

1990 and surpassing the national poverty rate by almost six percentage points in 2015 (see *Figure 21*). On the other, women's economic role has strengthened compared to men's: Between 2006 and 2015, male labour participation decreased six percentage points, while women's participation increased ten. The recent salmon crisis has also affected household relations. As *Figure 22* shows, both uniparental and female-headed households have sharply increased between 2009 and 2015. Summing up, the arrival and development of the salmon industry in the 1990s and 2000s and its subsequent crisis in 2008 have significantly impacted local economies and communities in Chiloé. These impacts have not been gender-neutral.

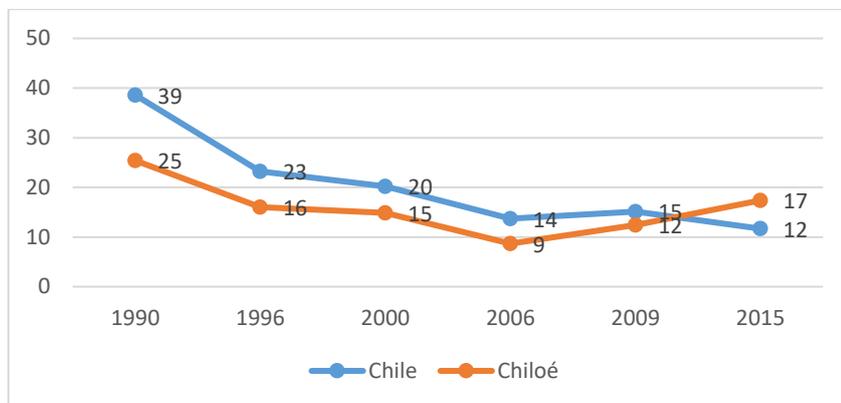


Figure 21: Percentage of poor population (%), Chile and Chiloé, 1990-2015

Source: Author's elaboration with data from CASEN series.

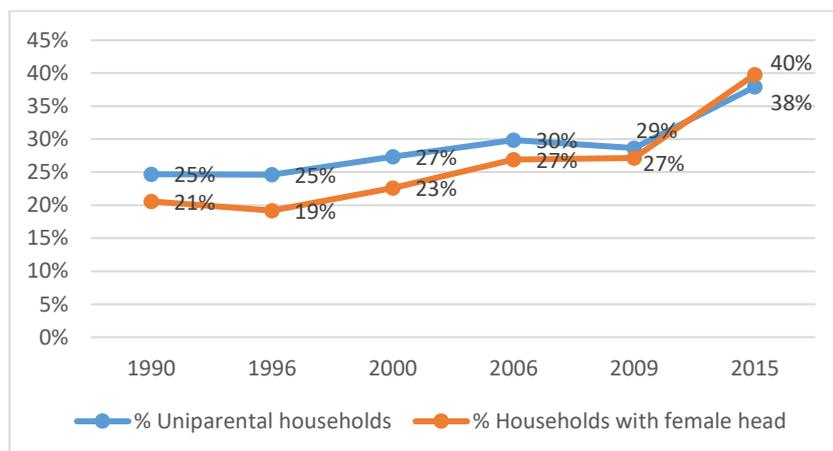


Figure 22: Chiloé: Percentage of uniparental and female-headed households, 1990-2015

Source: Author's elaboration with data from CASEN series.

Note: Uniparental households are households where the head does not have a partner. Female-headed households are households where the person identified as the head of the

household is a woman. The latter could be slightly higher in 2015 due to the geographical arrangements after the crisis. As shown later in the chapter, many men have had to engage in cyclical migration to find work after the crisis recovery.

Before further exploring the processes and changes that the industry and the archipelago society have experienced during the last decades, the rest of this section presents a brief socio-economic characterisation of the households and population in Central Chiloé.

5.1.4. Socio-economic characterisation of households in Central Chiloé

This characterisation is based on representative data gathered by Rimisp in collaboration with Stanford University's Environment and Resources Programme in six municipalities of Central Chiloé in 2009.⁷⁵ Since the analysis focuses on the experience of *Chilotes* -as explained in Chapter 3-the following characterisation excludes the information of *non-Chilotes* individuals and households.⁷⁶

As *Table 20* shows, the ratio of men and women in Central Chiloé is balanced, a fifth of the population belongs to an indigenous ethnic group (primarily *huilliches*),⁷⁷ and the total population is equally distributed between rural and urban territories. In terms of years of formal education, in general, the younger population of the archipelago is better educated than older generations. In particular, the population group that in 2009 were 15 to 29 years old has an average of 11 years of schooling, which is more than two times the average schooling of those who are 60 years or older. The improvement in education access during the last decades is in line with the overall better access to other services in the archipelago: Particularly, as *Table 21* shows,

⁷⁵ The 2009 survey is representative of the total population living in Dalcahue, Castro, Chonchi, Curaco de Vélez, Quinchao and Puqueldón.

⁷⁶ 20.1% of the people interviewed in the 2009 survey were not born in Chiloé, 63% of them arrived to the archipelago after 1990, probably following the salmon boom.

⁷⁷ *Huilliches* are the southern group of the *Mapuche* population in Chile. According to the 2002 population census, Mapuches represent 80% of the indigenous population and 9% of the total population in Chile.

households now have greater access to drinking water, electricity and sewerage system than decades ago. However, although access to these services has more than duplicated in 20 years, the current numbers continue to be relatively low in comparison to the rest of the country (specifically in the share of households with access to drinking water and sewerage system) even when controlling by the urban/rural classification of the territory.⁷⁸ Moreover, the gap between households in rural and urban territories continues to be very wide, specifically in terms of access to a sewerage system, where there has been little or no improvement in rural Chiloé since 1990.

Indicators	Women	Men	Total
Share of total population (%)	49	51	100
Share of indigenous population (%)	20	19	20
Share of rural population (%)	49	51	50
Years of schooling among 15-29 years old	11.0	10.1	10.5
Years of schooling among 30-44 years old	9.1	8.9	9.0
Years of schooling among 45-59 years old	7.3	8.1	7.7
Years of schooling among 60 years or older	4.5	4.8	4.7

Table 20: Characteristics of the population in Central Chiloé, 2009

Source: Author's elaboration with data from the 2009 Rimisp survey.

⁷⁸ Although the research considers Chiloé as a rural territory, this and following tables present data based on the official urban-rural definition in the country as a way to better present the available data.

Share of household with access to (%)	Central Chiloé						Chile		
	1990			2009			2009		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Drinking	4	65	36	30	98	65	92	100	99
Electricity	12	76	45	92	100	96	98	100	100
Sewerage	3	52	28	4	89	48	98	99	99

Table 21: Share of households with access to services in Central Chiloé and Chile (%), 1990 and 2009

Source: Author's elaboration with data from the 2009 Rimisp survey and CASEN 2009.

Despite the increasing importance of wage employment in the archipelago, most households in Central Chiloé complement their monthly income by undertaking traditional subsistence activities to make ends meet. In particular, most households continue to produce consumption-destined goods through small-scale agricultural activities, firewood extraction and marine gathering of algae and seafood (see *Table 22*). Overall, the monetary value of these activities represents more than one-third of the average monetary income of the households (52% and 10% in rural and urban households, respectively).

Indicator	Rural	Urban	Total
% Households that produce goods for household consumption	95	26	59
- Agricultural goods (mainly potatoes, garlic, carrots and vegetables grown in greenhouses) (%)	89	20	54
- Firewood (%)	60	6	32
- Marine products (%)	45	9	27
Monetary valorisation of self-provisioning production*	76USD	283USD	237USD
- As a percentage of total household monetary income (excluding households that do not produce for consumption)	52	10	37

Table 22: Characteristics of self-consumption activities in Central Chiloé in 2009

*: The monetary valorisation is self-reported (question: How much money do you think you would spend monthly to buy these products?), and both the value in USD and the share in total household income shown in the table only considers the households that did engage in self-consumption-led production in the year 2009.

Source: Own elaboration with data from the 2009 Rimisp survey.

Although most households in Central Chiloé engage in subsistence activities (60%), the figure is significantly higher in rural territories (95%). Nevertheless, one-fourth of urban households in Central Chiloé produce goods for household consumption, underlying the links and porous delimitation between rural and urban territories in the archipelago. Moreover, *Table 23* shows that 30% of the urban households in Central Chiloé own rural land (with an average size of 13.5 Ha), and 15% own livestock (cows, oxen) and horses.

Share of households that have	Rural	Urban	Total
Rural land (%)	94	30	61
- Average plot size (Ha)	20.0	13.5	18.7
Forest (%)	56	6	30
- Average forest size (Ha)	19.5	11.2	18.7
Boats (%)	18	5	11
- Average number of boats	2.4	1.9	2.3
Large domesticated animals (%)	69	15	41
- Average number of large animals	6.3	10.6	6.8
Small domesticated animals* (%)	71	9	39
- Average number of small animals	13.6	13.9	13.6

Table 23: Household assets in Central Chiloé, 2009

*: Mainly pigs, sheep, goats, turkeys, chickens, geese and ducks.

Source: Own elaboration with data from the 2009 Rimisp survey.

In 2008, the average household income in Central Chiloé was 642USD per month (slightly lower and higher in rural and urban households, respectively). While most of the income came from wage work, the importance of independent work (self-employment or entrepreneurial activities) was relatively higher in rural than urban areas. Similarly, other sources of income (mostly state subsidies and pensions and remittances) corresponded to one-quarter of the average household income. A source also relatively more important in rural areas (almost one-third of total household income, see *Table 24*).

Share in total income (%)	Rural	Urban	Total
Wage income	36	55	46
Independent income	34	23	28
Other income	30	22	26
Total	100	100	100

Table 24: Composition of household monetary income in Central Chiloé, 2009

Source: Own elaboration with data from the 2009 Rimisp survey.

Finally, although female labour participation is significantly lower than men, the sectoral distribution of those who work is similar among both sex groups (see *Figure 23*). The service sector concentrated most of the employment in the territory, followed by agriculture, livestock and forestry, and the

aquaculture sector. The latter accounted for around a quarter of female and male employment in 2008, and it mainly comprised salmon work, but it also included the work generated by the mussel industry and other directly related activities (such as the elaboration of fish cage nets).⁷⁹ Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that an important fraction of the work generated in the service sector was also indirectly related to the aquaculture industry (e.g. transport, food services, and hotels).

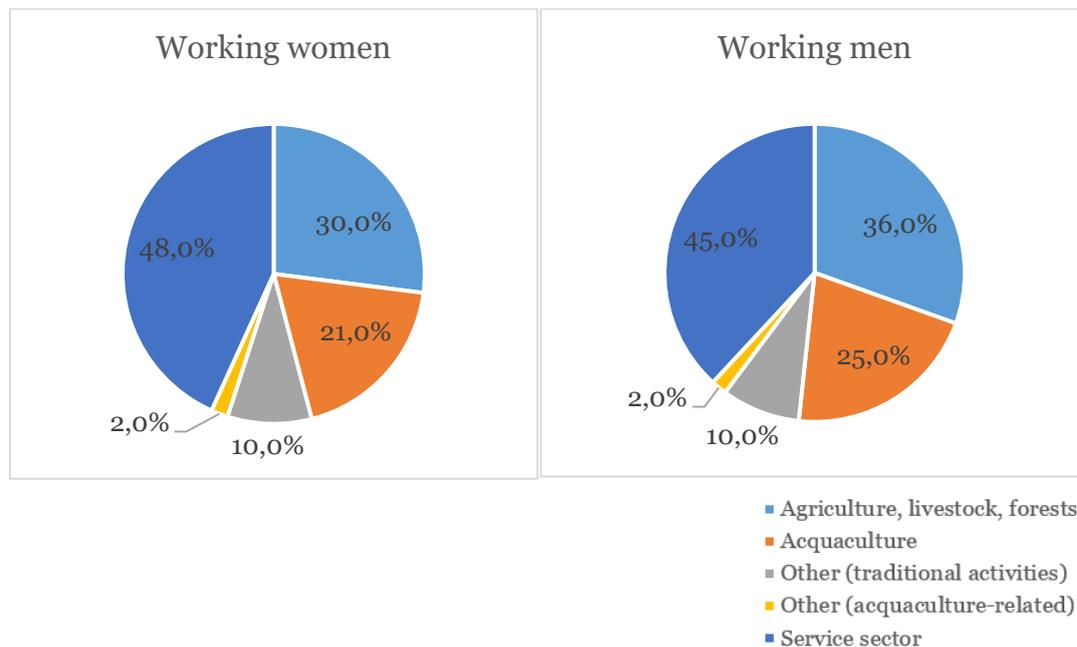


Figure 23: Sectoral distribution of female and male employment in Central Chiloé, 2008

Source: Own elaboration with data from the 2009 Rimisp survey.

5.2. The arrival and fast expansion of the salmon industry

It is impossible to examine the recent history of Chiloé without referring to the arrival and development of the salmon industry in its territory. The traditional economy of the archipelago experienced significantly minor

⁷⁹ Although the survey was undertaken in 2009, some of the questions ask about situations in 2008. In this case, they refer to the main activities that the interviewee and his or her family members undertook in 2008.

changes in most of Chiloé for hundreds of years, until the arrival of the salmon industry in the second half of the 20th century. The entrance and fast expansion of the industry in Chiloé triggered a rapid process of structural transformations in the archipelago, which strongly shaped its economy, society and environment. This section presents the development of the industry before the 2008 crisis and the contradictory assessment that it generated among national and local actors.

5.2.1. Industrial organisation and rapid growth

The growth of the aquaculture industry in the southern territories of the country during the 1990s and 2000s was swift. Before reviewing the industry's rapid growth and the contradictory assessments of its functioning at the national and local level, it is necessary to understand its industrial organisation. As *Figure 24* illustrates, salmon production has three main stages: breeding, growing and processing (Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012). The first stage includes the processes of ova production through the artificial fertilisation of eggs and various stages of freshwater development until the fish are ready to survive in seawater. The stage of growing and fattening occurs in seawater, where the fish grow in net pens (fish cages). Once the fish have reached market weight, they are ready to be harvested and processed. This third stage involves the stunning, bleeding and gutting of the fish, as well as different processing activities that range from primary (in other words, cutting the head and packing) to more value-added processing (e.g. smoked, ready-to-eat salmon) (Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012). These stages are supported by several external services, such as those related to fish health, maintenance of nets, pens and cages, transport and food services, to name a few.

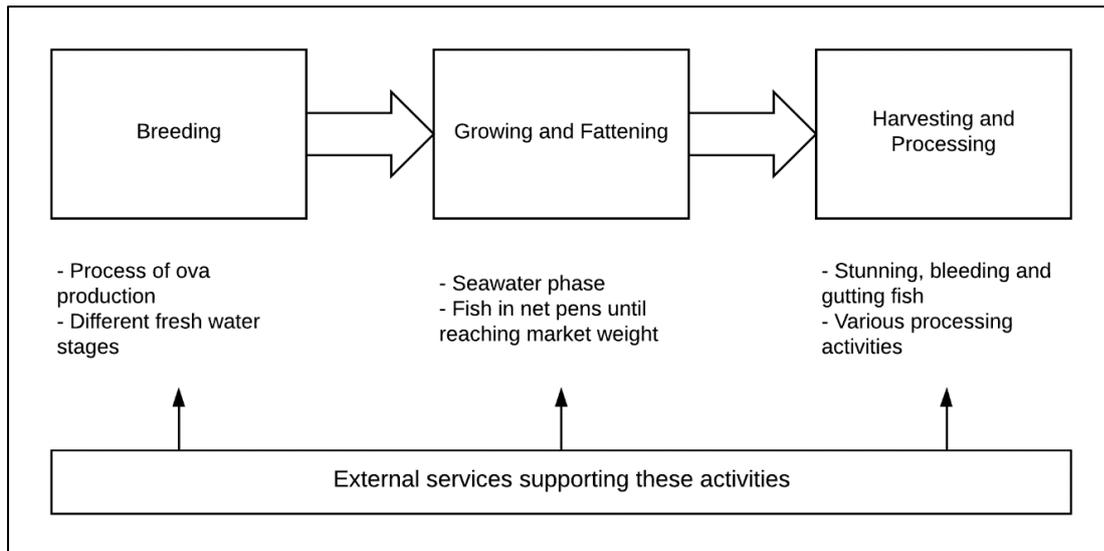


Figure 24: Stages of salmon production

Source: Own elaboration based on (Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012).

In its origins, the Chilean salmon industry was characterised by high levels of vertical disaggregation, in other words, by the presence of different specialised firms working in the various stages of salmon production (Katz, 2006; Tveteras & Kvaløy, 2004). During the late 1990s and early 2000s, the industry experienced vertical integration and large firms incorporated activities of the three main production stages. This period is characterised by the exit of many small firms and the increment of international capitals (particularly Norwegian producers, who were already in contact with Chilean producers through salmon eggs and feed) and a critical industrial reorganisation. The latter not only consisted of actions aiming to increase the mechanisation of the industry (e.g. by installing automatic fish-feeding systems), but also on the implementation of more and bigger net pens, and the increment of its fish density and use of outsourced services and processing activities (Barrett et al., 2002; Katz et al., 2011; Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012). *Figure 25* shows the rapid expansion of the industry in the country, particularly during the first years of the 21st century, which coincides with the concentration, internationalisation and restructuration of the industry just mentioned.

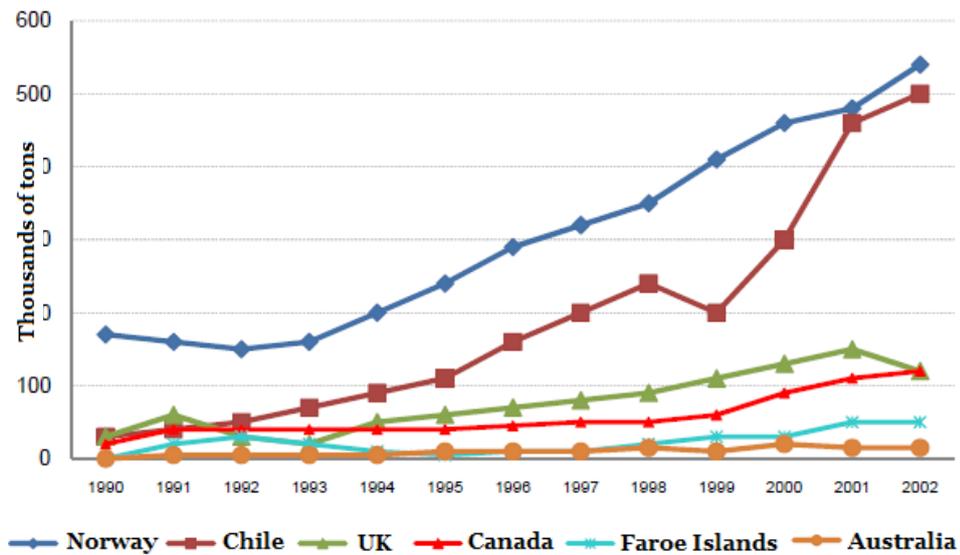


Figure 25: Salmon production in Chile and other producer countries, 1990-2002

Source: Katz et al. (2011)

In terms of its geographical location, the industry concentrates in the Los Lagos region. The province of Llanquihue concentrates most of the freshwater activities (ova production and smolt development). Before the crisis, the provinces of Chiloé and Palena contained most of the activities related to salmon growth and processing (as shown later in the chapter, salmon growth has been moving further south to the regions of Aysén and Magallanes) (Barton & Murray, 2009). In terms of its rural-urban distribution, the breeding-related activities and the processing plants are located in urban centres, while the salmon net pens and the salmon-growth activities mainly occur on the coasts of rural areas (Rebolledo, 2012). In terms of its management, the firms' headquarters and the executive functions are generally in Santiago, the regional management either in Puerto Montt or in the main cities near the production sites, and site management and most workers are in Chiloé, Palena and, more recently, Aysén and Magallanes.

Although there is no consensus regarding the exact magnitude of the employment generated by the industry, the estimations point that, before the crisis, there were 50,000 indirect and direct salmon workers in the country and a significant fraction of them worked in the archipelago of Chiloé (Aravena, 2009). However, it is worth noting that the industry has

increasingly relied on temporary work to adjust its activity to the particular production levels of the season, the different climatic conditions, and production and reduction of costs strategies; therefore, employment figures are variable. Already in 1998, it was estimated that 12% of the aquaculture workers were engaged in the industry temporarily (in other words, they worked on a day to day basis, for a certain period or for the amount of time needed to complete a specific task) (Carrasco et al., 2011), and it is highly likely that this figure increased during the industrial restructuring of the 2000s. In terms of direct employment, Pinto & Kremerman (2005) estimate that 70% of total salmon workers were direct employees before the crisis, and 15% of them worked in the first production stage, 33% in the second and 50% in the processing stage (Maggi, 2006). This latter stage, which generates more direct employment, represents the lower knowledge-intensive stage and concentrates most female salmon workers. Indeed, while around 70% of the labour force working in the growing and fattening of the salmon are men, nearly 80% of the salmon-processing jobs are taken by women (Barrett et al., 2002).

The above aligns with the gendered dimension of global value chains mentioned in section 4.1.3., particularly, with the reliance of multinational firms competing globally in flexible and precarious women's work. This section continues to elaborate further on the disadvantaged inclusion of women in export-oriented industries.

5.2.2. Contradictory assessment of the industry

In general, policymakers in Chile consider the salmon industry as an outstanding experience of economic development in the country, particularly for its effects on employment generation, its positive impact on the local economy (through the strengthening of the service sector) and for being an important source of national exports and foreign exchange (in 2006, 10.8% of national non-mining exports and 23.8% of national food exports came from the salmon industry) (Barton & Fløysand, 2010). This 'model industry' for national development is underlined as a successful example of a natural-

resource industry that became highly dynamic and competitive in the global market by adding value to its production. Concerning Chiloé, as the following quote illustrates, the industry has been often celebrated as the 'saviour' of what used to be an isolated area of the country, a territory that previously did not have any productive capacity and which had been historically neglected by the state (particularly, for the deficit of public investment in basic services and infrastructure) (Barrett et al., 2002).

"Thanks to the development of this industry, poverty rates fell, and schooling, infrastructure and health have improved, and, of course, there was also a sharp fall in unemployment. This industry brought prosperity and progress to these [southern] regions."

Member of Parliament, January 20th 2010 (BCN, 2010, p. 982)

On the contrary, the critiques have centred on the industry's local effects, in other words, on those negative externalities hidden behind macroeconomic figures. While some academics explain the fast growth of the industry by the comparative and competitive advantages of the country and the territory,⁸⁰ others argue that the driving force of this vertiginous development was the liberal framework to assign marine concessions in the country, and the 'social and environmental dumping' linked to the externalisation of many of its costs. In other words, the state's weak environmental and labour regulations and enforcement efforts would be subsidising industrial costs (Barrett et al., 2002; Claude et al., 2000; Iizuka, 2004; Katz, 2006). In particular, concerning the industry's labour conditions, Barret et al. (2002) "find substantial evidence that surplus labour, low wage levels, and poorly enforced or non-existent health and safety standards are conditioning factors in the success of salmon farming in southern Chile" (p.1951). Indeed, the low level of salmon wages compared to those in European or North American salmon farms is a central

⁸⁰ In particular, it is argued that the prominent performance of the industry was allowed by the rugged coastline (which offer sheltered sites), the ideal temperature and salinity of the water and the low levels of water pollution (Bjørndal, 2002). Along with these biological conditions, other factors such as the availability of workforce and the counter-cyclical production of the country (in relation to the production of the main competitors in the northern hemisphere) are also mentioned in the literature analysing the rapid growth of the aquaculture industry in the country (Barton, 1998; Brenner, 1994; Montero, 2004).

aspect of the 'social dumping' complaints against the Chilean industry (Aravena, 2009).

Chilotes, particularly women, are concentrated at the lower end of the job hierarchy within the salmon industry (even site managers are mostly not local). Besides receiving low wages, their jobs generally require no previous knowledge, education or experience, and thus, they are subjected to high labour turn-overs and offer no possibility of promotion (Barrett et al., 2002). Moreover, the industry has received critiques for not transferring skills to local workers:

"To date, the development of a cadre of technicians and the establishment of a career path for unskilled workers have not been priorities. (...) Moreover, producers compete in international markets based on price and cost reductions centred on wage squeezing and inferior employment conditions – the 'low road' to competitiveness – instead of adopting strategies to increase productivity and innovation based on the development of innovative capabilities and a well-trained and skilled workforce –the 'high road' to competitiveness (Porter, 1990). (...) [M]ultinational firms' location decisions appear to be driven by the desire to exploit natural resources and to reduce labour costs, rather than enhancing workers' skills and productivity."

(Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012, p. 801)

On top of its low wages, its reliance on unskilled workers and the tendency to replace permanent with temporary workers (as well as the increasing dismissals related to the incorporation of new labour-saving technology), the industry is also criticised for its health and safety standards, the use of discriminatory practices against workers trying to organise or join unions (such as firings and loss of benefits) and for general 'bad practices'. In particular, processing jobs (primarily undertaken by women) are completed mainly by standing workers (with no seats), with bent postures and arms outstretched frontally for extended periods in cold, wet and unhygienic working conditions (Barrett et al., 2002). Other jobs consist of lifting, lowering and transporting heavy loads many times a day, with workdays that can last from 8 to 10 or more hours (Aravena, 2009). Common work-related illnesses and injuries are neck and lower-back ailments, cuts, tendonitis, fungi on hands, respiratory infections (such as tonsillitis, colds or sinusitis), and

other discomforts such as headaches, mental, physical and visual fatigue, auditory discomfort and anxiety (Apud et al., 2003). On top of this, the industry has also engaged in other harmful practices, such as not offering pauses to perform exercises or rest, imposing restrictions to go to the toilet, and frequently violating labour norms (Aravena, 2009).

Regarding its environmental impact, the critiques have centred on water and seashores pollution with faecal matter and other inputs such as colourants, fishmeal and old buoys (see *Figure 26*), marine ecosystem alterations due to fish escapes and the mechanisms used to defend fish pens (e.g. killing sea lions), and practices of over-production (Aravena, 2009; Barton & Murray, 2009; CEPAL, 2005). Additionally, the critiques have also pointed to the excessive use of antibiotics and the high number of fishes used as fishmeal for the cultivated species (CEPAL, 2005; Pinto, 2008).



Figure 26: Seashore industrial pollution

Fish cage abandoned and carried by the sea current to the seashore of the island of Chaullín, Chiloé.

Source: (Bacián, 2005, p. 8)

Concerning its social impact, the critiques have centred on the industry's negative externalities for local communities. In particular, it is argued that the arrival and expansion of the salmon industry have contributed to the de-capitalisation of the local population, as most local workers have abandoned their land and animals to become salmon workers. De-capitalisation has led to an increase in household vulnerability by leaving a critical mass of

population no longer capable of facing adverse economic scenarios due to the specialisation of their economic activities, in a local context characterised by the low availability of other sources of wage work (Fernández & Miranda, 2012; Terram, 2002). Moreover, with the loss of workforce in the countryside, it is argued that not only the traditional agricultural practices have decreased, but that the channel of oral transmission of local knowledge linked to these practices has also weakened (Ramírez, Tartakowsky, & Módrego, 2009). Similarly, the industry has also been accused of undermining the growth of alternative economic activities (such as tourism) based on the cultural and natural assets of Chiloé (Buschmann & Fortt, 2005; Claude et al., 2000; Fløysand & Román, 2008; Katz et al., 2011; Pinto, 2008; Ramírez, Tartakowsky, & Módrego, 2009; Terram, 2002).

5.2.3. Labour protection for wage workers as a secondary concern of public policies

In general, the public policy focus on labour protection for waged workers has been treated as secondary in Chile compared to the greater importance given relatively recently to fostering the entrepreneurial initiatives of the poor. Indeed, Correa-Mautz (2018) studies the evolution of local economic development policies in 48 Chilean municipalities (20% of the municipalities in the country, approximately) and concludes that the importance of employment programmes has diminished in the 2007-2015 period. Local employment programmes went from being present in 20 municipalities in 2007 to existing only in eight in 2015; municipal jobs programmes went from existing in 15 municipalities at the beginning of the period under analysis to only in five at the end of it; similarly, infrastructure investments (demanding local employment generation) fell from 19 to 11 municipalities during the same period. Most of the disappeared employment initiatives that existed in 2007 were linked to central government programmes that encouraged private hiring through subsidies and the generation of emergency public jobs, which

were later channelled through local governments and were no longer in force in 2015.⁸¹

On the contrary, Correa-Mautz (2018) shows that the entrepreneurial programmes implemented at the municipal level increased their absolute importance during the same period. Of the 15 categories of entrepreneurial programmes, four expanded significantly in terms of the number of municipalities executing them: in order of importance, these are entrepreneurship, temporal fairs, technology and innovation (such as digital literacy programmes), and permanent fairs. The increase in these categories relates to new central government programmes, such as the *Programa Mujer Trabajadora y Jefa de Hogar* implemented through the collaboration agreement with SERNAM. This programme focuses on women and addresses the components that increased their absolute emphasis during the period under analysis. That is, it delivers training in trades and entrepreneurship, offers catch-up courses (*nivelación de estudios*) linked to childcare options (formal education), provides digital literacy training, and connect women's entrepreneurial initiatives to consumer markets.

Under a more structural view, different authors have shown that neoliberal economic globalization in the country is underpinned by decreased labour rights and the increased employment flexibilization. For instance, Pérez-Sepúlveda (2020) analyses the expansion of outsourcing practices in Chile from the military coup to the present. He argues that the productive transformation achieved during the military dictatorship in the country (moving from an industrialisation development strategy to an export-oriented economy) were facilitated by a series of fundamental changes to the national labour law (Echeverría, 2010). In particular, the 1979 Labour Plan introduced a neoliberal re-foundation of work in the country. “Without constituting a mere deregulation, what was imposed had rather a double logic: although flexibility mechanisms were introduced to the labour contract, these were

⁸¹ Among them, is the Programa de Empleo de Emergencia, PMU, Bonificación a la COntратación “Pro-Empleo” and “Mejor Trabajo”.

accompanied by an overregulation of the collective right to unionise” (Pérez-Sepúlveda, 2020: p. 1161). The 1979 Labour Plan was followed by the implementation of the D.L. 2,950 in the same year, which -in the words of José Piñera, Minister of Labour at the time- meant to "clean up" the labour market of a series of “rigidities”, among them, the previous limitations to outsourcing workers, goods and services from an outside supplier (Piñera, 1990). Thus, the process of labour flexibilization in the country was simultaneous to the imbalance of power between labour and capital implemented in the 1980s, which has favoured the latter since then.

The reliance of export-oriented growth on precarious and flexible employment continued during democracy to the present. Although the democratic governments have implemented some reforms to protect workers' rights, they have done it while safeguarding the necessary competitiveness of firms and without extending union rights significantly. Indeed, as Pérez-Sepúlveda (2020) argues, the outsourcing of labour in Chile is subjected to a three-pronged precariousness: (i) a precariousness of employment, that is, to the instability of employment contracts and low wages, (ii) a precariousness of work, that is, to minimal health and safety conditions, as well as limited possibilities for ascending and developing a career and, finally, (iii) a precariousness of organizational and collective representation. Different authors agree with Pérez-Sepúlveda in showing that the productive reconversion of the country and the shift of its development strategy was underpinned by a reduction of labour costs, through methods such as subcontracting and outsourcing, rather than by a process of firm modernisation based on technological innovation (Díaz, 1995; Agacino and Rivas, 1995; Abramo, Montero and Reinecke, 1997).

In Chiloé, in particular, the rapid expansion of aquaculture on the island has been underpinned by many women willing to participate as flexible and low-paid workers in an industry that increasingly relies on outsourcing practices. In particular, the evidence presented by Ramírez and Rubén (2014), when studying female labour participation in the salmon industry in Chiloé, shows that observable characteristics cannot explain the differences between female

and male wages within the industry. In other words, the wage differences among men and women in the salmon industry do not respond to a difference in human capital (such as years of education), but to the presence of discriminatory gendered practices. Among them, (i) a gender-based wage discrimination, (ii) an implicit gender discrimination in job specialization and (iii) wage differences linked to opportunity costs, that is, to women having a lower shadow wage due to their fewer alternatives for wage employment (e.g., men have the alternative to migrate seeking for jobs, while women do not, due to their domestic and care responsibilities).

A recent document by both the (Chilean) National Institute for Human Rights and the Danish Institute for Human Rights reviews the salmon industry in Chile under a human rights perspective (INDH and Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2021). With regards to the labour impact of the salmon industry in the processing plants -where female employment concentrates-, the findings show that project and task-based contracts –both temporal contracts- are widely used for long-term operations. This practice, the document concludes, constitutes a violation of at least three workers' rights: (i) the right to paid holidays, (ii) the right to access physical and mental health treatments, and (iii) the right to unionise. Moreover, those workers under this temporary system are subjected to a payment model based on a basic salary and bonuses, which undermines the workers' future retirement pension. Additionally, the report finds that subcontracting is a widespread practice within the industry, linked to the de-responsibilisation of the primary firm for the subcontractors' working conditions. Thus, the report agrees with what has been argued above, that is, that “[s]ubcontracting [in the Chilean salmon industry] is associated with low quality work, lower wages, and low job stability” (INDH and Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2021: p.153).

Furthermore, many processing plant workers engage in night shifts, which affect sleep and rest and family life, and they do not have the freedom to choose whether to engage in these shifts. Several workers perceive this specific treatment within the industry as particularly undignified. The report underlines that “Chile has not ratified relevant conventions related to working

time and working hours. The Chilean State has not ratified the Forty-Hour Week Convention, 1935 (No. 47), nor the Night Work Convention, 1990 (No. 171), particularly relevant international instruments for a country that has one of the longest working times and where there is no regulation regarding night work” (INDH and Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2021: p.153).

Similarly, the human-right report finds that workers in the processing plants receive poor quality work equipment, which causes discomfort or pain (e.g. boots, ear protectors), and that there is a lack of emphasis on accident prevention, while protocols are incomplete and not widely distributed. Moreover, it is reported that some accidents and occupational diseases are not recognised as such by the employers, which means that workers have to pay for their own recovery processes. Finally, workers report a power imbalance that affects their right to unionise, as there are several cases of union members being blacklisted by different firms.

In particular, regarding the situation of women workers, the document finds important human rights at risk. Among them, (i) the right to health, (ii) the right to equal working conditions and (iii) the right to equality and non-discrimination. In terms of health, some firms control the number of times and the amount of time women spend in the bathroom during their working hours, which could be linked to the problems of cystitis frequently reported among female workers. Additionally, pregnant women are not provided with the time for pregnancy-related medical check-ups and they must deduct this time from their working hours, and many are harassed to resign. There are even reports of companies requesting pregnancy test during hiring processes. Finally, among other inequalities and obstacles faced by women within the industry, the report highlights the difficulties that the shift system impose on workers with children, as they face significant difficulties to find caregivers that adapt to their changing care needs.

Although there is a range of programs and policies that central and local states could implement to address the gender disparity in the salmon industry -such as significantly increasing the availability of safe childcare in the archipelago,

promoting equal pay within the industry, implementing efficient labour inspection with adequate resources, and executing cultural programmes aiming to challenge the traditional sexual division of labour, to name a few-, public efforts to improve local female employment and female workers conditions have clearly not risen to the challenge.

5.3. The salmon crisis and the state response

5.3.1. A broad description of the crisis

Despite warnings from scholars and environmentalists and the evidence available from international experience, which pointed out that production practices such as overproduction, fish overcrowding, and salmon farms' spatial concentration were endangering the industry,⁸² the industry continued to increase the fish density of their tanks during the 2000s. This situation exploded in the second half of the decade with the fast spread of the ISA virus (infectious salmon anaemia virus), which is not harmful to humans but highly lethal to the fish. The first outbreak in Chile occurred on July 30th 2007, when the Norwegian company Marine Harvest reported a case of ISA virus in some of its operations on the coast of Chiloé, and by August 1st, the sanitary authority had detected at least nine infected centres. The National Service of Fisheries (SERNAPESCA) had no other choice but to officially declare it an outbreak (Aqua, 2007), and although it established a series of measures to control it, they proved to be ineffective and by the end of August 2007 over 30 farms were declared officially infected (Bustos-Gallardo, 2013).⁸³ The speed of the outbreak and the absence of ready-to-use vaccines affected the capacity of the industry to react. Reports of SERNAPESCA indicate that the harvest of

⁸² Indeed, the ISA virus is a fairly old and common disease in salmon production and it had already affected Norway in 1984, Canada in 1996, Scotland in 1998, Faroe Islands in 2000, and the United States in 2001 (Mardones et al., 2009).

⁸³ The immediate measures implemented by SERNAPESCA to control the virus were the removal of animals within cages and centres affected by the outbreak, the establishment of bio-security, disinfection measures and standardized procedures defined by technical standards, the prohibition of fish transportation without the permission of the Service, the reporting by each affected farm of the weekly mortality rate from their centre and the prohibition of the use of open boats for transferring the fish.

Atlantic salmon decreased by 44% in September 2009, compared to the same period in 2008, and estimates point that approximately 20,000 workers were dismissed (Pascual, 2010). The spreading virus also made a significant dent in salmon exports, which dropped from 700,000 tonnes in 2007 to 300,000 tonnes in 2010 (Katz et al., 2011).

5.3.2. State responses to the crisis

Once it was evident that the virus affecting the salmon production in southern Chile was a generalised problem compromising the industry's future, the immediate action of the central state was to help the industry recover. By mid-2008, when the financial sector started to reconsider the criteria and requirements to provide loans to salmon firms (due to their higher probability of default), the immediate action of the state was to implement a 'rescue plan', which consisted of 120 million USD aimed at guaranteeing loans and providing financial liquidity to the firms (Bustos-Gallardo, 2013, 2014; Troncoso, 2008). Additionally, in April 2008, the state created a 'salmon task force' (*Mesa del salmón*) intending to coordinate all public agencies involved in monitoring the industry and define new guidelines to redesign the environmental regulations and the public institutions responsible for their enforcement. The task force was chaired by the Minister of Economy and included national state and firm representatives. It did not incorporate salmon workers or local authorities, echoing the centralism of the national state. These discussions led to new legislation to regulate the sector, presented to Congress in January 2009.

A regional task force was formed in October 2009 to deal with the two-digit unemployment that resulted from the crisis in the Los Lagos region and align the existing national and regional social and productive programmes with the needs of the former salmon workers and the local communities affected by the crisis. The regional task force incorporated workers' representatives (union leaders) and regional public institutions, and the Intendente acted as its chair. As a result of these meetings, in April 2009, the national government announced a specific plan to direct help to the region, which consisted of the

injection of additional funds to specific programmes that worked either in areas of labour intermediation, employment generation, entrepreneurship or training (funds and programmes detailed in *Table 25*).

The rest of this subsection provides more details on both of these state responses to the crisis: The legislative changes that transformed the industrial organisation and the palliative actions aimed to deal with the crisis' local effects.

*Legislative changes: Saving the industry to help the workers indirectly*⁸⁴

After a year of intense parliamentary discussion, the legislative changes that redesigned the environmental regulations and enforcement institutions that affected the salmon industry were approved in the first months of 2010, only days before Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014, centre-right coalition) assumed the presidency after the first period of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010, centre-left coalition). In broad terms, the approved measures comprised sanitary and environmental actions and modifications to the system of concessions. The sanitary and environmental regulations included measures related to salmon cultivation (which included fish transport, cleaning and processing), the regulation and control of the use of antibiotics, vaccines and chemicals, and the reduction and control of fish density in the cultivation centres. These actions were widely accepted by the parliament members, who understood them as necessary to assure the industry's sustainability. By contrast, the measures aimed to change the concession system were at the core of the debate. These measures included a wide variety of actions, such as facilitating the process of transfer and relocation of the cultivation centres, setting a temporal limit on marine concessions (as well as conditions to allow their premature ending), and reorganising and aggregating farming centres (marine concessions) in a system of *barrios* (neighbourhoods) with

⁸⁴ This section is mainly based on my review of the parliamentary discussion of the respective bill (BCN, 2010).

coordinated and alternated periods of activity and rest.⁸⁵ The latter, one of the essential components of the bill, was highly debated. Although most parties finally accepted it, different academics raised critiques about the lack of oceanographic studies supporting the specific structure of the system of *barrios*, expressing concerns about the consequences of deepening the monoculture mentality on the marine ecosystem (Bustos-Gallardo, 2013).

Similarly, another issue that, although also finally approved, raised a particularly intense discussion was the possibility that concessions could constitute mortgages to facilitate access to financial loans. Some parliament members argued that this measure deepened sea privatisation, and with it, the state was indirectly subsidising the businesses of a prominent industry (by lowering the rate of their credits). In contrast, others argued that the action provided the legal certainty needed for the industry to access credit, invest and overcome the crisis. Through this particular discussion, it is possible to explicitly see the main reason to justify state help towards the industry. Ultimately, as the following quote illustrates, to provide help to the industry and salmon firms was framed both as a way to help former industrial workers to recover their employment and as an action to impede further job losses in a territory historically marginalised by the expansion of 'development' in the country.

"There have been many efforts to have a bill that creates the conditions for such an important activity to return to southern Chile, where there are no other productive economic sectors able to absorb the existing labour population. Therefore, although the bill has aspects that could be improved, it must be approved to redirect this important activity and reinvigorate job creation. I do not think there is a better way to defend workers than [giving them] the possibility of having a job."

Member of Parliament, January 20th 2010 (BCN, 2010, p. 989)

⁸⁵ Where there were at least three contiguous concessions, owners could request to be declared a *barrio*. As such, they are required to coordinate processes of seeding, harvesting, application of antibiotics or other chemicals, in exchange for being located at a greater distance from other farms (Bustos-Gallardo, 2013).

Indeed, during the year of parliamentary discussion, the industry was constantly portrayed as the primary driver of development in territories that did not have another productive sector capable of providing employment and progress. Similarly, the local population was represented as the primary victims of the industrial crisis, in other words, like the ones that suffered the burden of its social, economic and environmental costs. It was widely argued that salmon worker and local families needed help urgently and that the best way to help them was by saving the industry. The state needed to work towards the industry's recovery, and it needed to do it fast to prevent the industry from leaving to other territories. The critical issue was to re-establish the availability of employment, no matter its conditions or its quality.

Measures related to the industry's working conditions and the state capacity to supervise them, although extensively discussed, were not finally included in the bill. The main reason provided by the executive to justify this omission was that the bill was aiming only at aquaculture entrepreneurs and firms, not at workers. Changes to labour conditions were promised to be included in a special statute for salmon workers that would be written following the bill's approval. A similar treatment received small and medium-sized aquaculture entrepreneurs, who were also promised a special statute to find solutions to their particular problems. However, as was already expected at that time (some members of Parliament made it explicit during the discussions), both statutes were not a priority of the next government, and they never materialised. In sum, state interventions in this bill did not aim to improve working conditions nor help smaller producers, and they focused on reorganising the industry's structure and facilitating the flow of private credit to salmon firms.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ The state did not lend money directly to the industry, but with its actions it lowered the interest rate of the loans that the industry received from the financial system (the financial rescue plan included a state guarantee for up to 60% of the loans -with a cap of US \$8 million per firm- to salmon firms funding sanitary and environmental investments) (Bustos-Gallardo, 2013). Thus, the state did not participate on the decision of which firm was going 'to survive', but it left that decision to the private sector, particularly to the financial sector.

Actions for (former) salmon workers in Los Lagos

As mentioned above, the specific plan to support former salmon workers affected by the crisis in the Los Lagos region had four components: labour intermediation, employment generation, entrepreneurship and training. First, the municipal offices of labour intermediation in the region, which are in charge of connecting workers or unemployed individuals with employment alternatives at the local level, were strengthened by allocating new personnel. Second, to respond to the employment needs of former salmon workers, the plan implemented bonuses to the firms that hired them (in addition to training bonuses in the case of newly-hired workers) and provided additional funds to boost the creation of municipal employment. Third, existing programmes received extra funds to strengthen local entrepreneurship; fourth, additional funds were directed to the National Training and Employment Service (SENCE) to support the unemployed and inactive population. *Table 25* summarises the different initiatives mentioned.

Programmes	Description	Population expected to benefit	Additional regional funds* (1,000 USD)
Employment			
Inversion en la Comunidad	Creation of municipal employment.	250	346
Bonificación a la Contratación de Mano de Obra	A bonus of 40% of the minimum wage during four months to the firms that hired a former salmon worker and a bonus slightly over 80USD for his/her training.** Implemented by SENCE.	250	127
Aprendices	A bonus of 50% of the minimum wage during 12 months to the firms that hired young former salmon workers (up to 25 years old) and a bonus of 775USD for his/her training (total of 400 bonuses). Both implemented by SENCE.	400	563
FRIL Especial	Transfer of funds from the regional government to the municipalities for the implementation of urban infrastructure projects that hire former salmon workers.	2,000	4,000
Subtotal			5,036
Entrepreneurship			
Apoyo al emprendimiento (Capital Semilla)	A national programme that supports first-time micro-entrepreneurs, with a transfer of 1,666 USD max. and technical assistance.	500	1,250
Microemprendimiento	A national programme that supports micro-entrepreneurship and delivers direct support of a maximum of USD833 to each project.	200	167
Subtotal			1,417
Training			
Becas Franquicia Tributaria	Funds for firms to train their workers (firms decide which workers to train and training topics).	1,000	774
Programa Nacional de Jóvenes Bicentenario	Similar training programmes (for wage and independent/entrepreneurial work), implemented by SENCE.	150	162
		150	400
Subtotal			1,607
Total			8,059

Table 25: Special Plan for workers of the Salmon Industry in Los Lagos, 2009

*: The monetary amounts in USD were calculated using the following exchange rates: 600CLP=1USD and 1UTM=46,500CLP. UTM is a 'monthly tax unit', in other words, a unit defined in Chile that corresponds to an amount of money expressed CLP and determined by law, which is permanently updated to consider inflation.

** : In 2010, the minimum wage in Chile was slightly over 285USD.

Source: Own elaboration with data from BCN (2010).

Notwithstanding the effects these interventions had at the local level (analysed in the following chapter), the public response to the crisis that affected the salmon industry in the 2008-2010 period reflects two crucial

aspects of the Chilean state. In particular, the crisis exposed the asymmetric actions of the central state when addressing the industry and the rural population, while at the same time, it showed how detached local authorities are from relevant decision-making processes (Barton & Román, 2016; Bustos-Gallardo, 2017; Modrego et al., 2009; Ramírez, Tartakowsky, & Módrego, 2009). Although the industry functioned mainly in the Los Lagos region, regional and local governments did not participate in the decisions that led to its structural changes, and their role was limited to face the costs of the crisis by administering additional funds.

5.4. Chiloé after the crisis: Local effects of the industrial restructuring

Although the industry was already before the crisis restructuring and investing in automatisation or labour-replacing technologies, these processes were deepened and strengthened after the industrial recovery. The crisis not only contributed to accelerating the process of concentration that had already started in the 2000s,⁸⁷ but it also speeded up the expansion of the industry further south. In concrete, the establishment of coordinated periods of activity and rest within barrios and the requirement to lower fish densities within cages encouraged the industrial expansion of firms to the regions of Aysén and Magallanes as a way to maintain or expand their production (Estay & Chávez, 2015; Niklitschek et al., 2013) (see *Figure 27* to see the expansion in time of marine concessions). This restructuration resulted in a particular 'geographical specialisation' of the production processes: while salmon growth is moving further south, salmon processing has remained concentrated in Los Lagos (Bustos-Gallardo, 2017). The rest of this section further explores the local effects of these structural changes.

⁸⁷ In 1993, there were approximately 100 salmon firms in Chile, whereas in 2018, there were only 18 (among them, ten concentrated two thirds of the exports of the national salmon sector in 2017) (Gonzalez-Poblete et al., 2018).

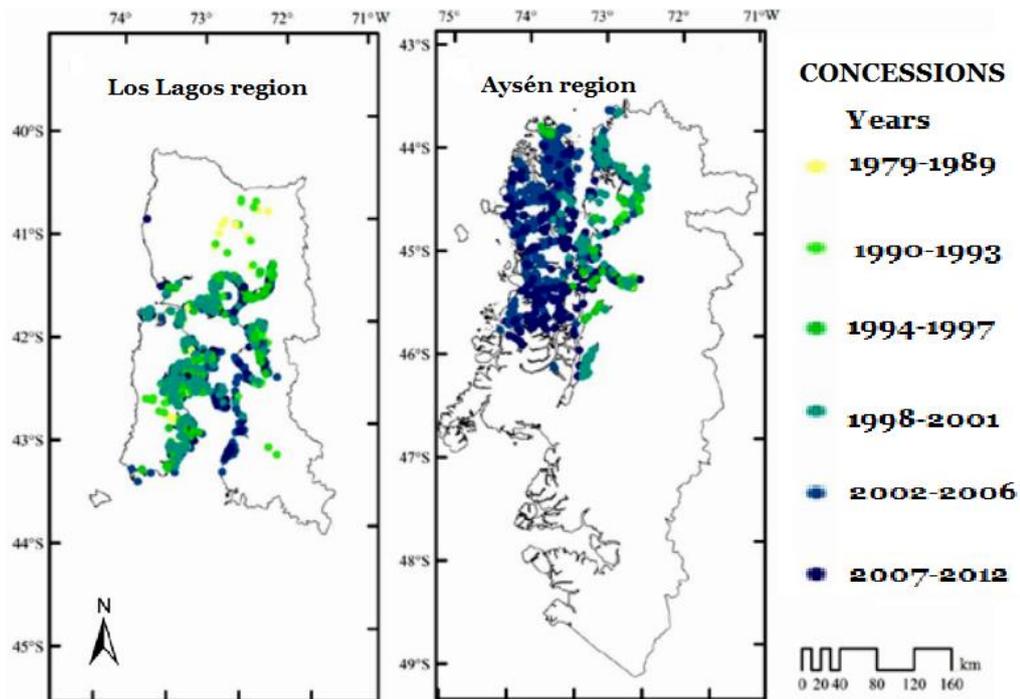


Figure 27: Concession centres in the regions of Los Lagos and Aysén (1979-2012)

Source: Estay & Chávez (2015).

5.4.1. Casualisation of salmon work

The geographical reorganisation of the industry has impacted the everyday life of the local population, mainly through its effects on the local labour market. The technological improvements in the processing plants have continued to affect the number of jobs available locally. Moreover, due to the geographical reallocation of production centres, workers engaging in salmon growth (mainly male workers) have had to move further south to work in shifts (e.g. 20 days on and ten days off), engaging in longer travelling times to reach operational locations (sometimes even 20 hours) (Bustos-Gallardo, 2017). They also have to adapt to intermittent periods of work and inactivity (due to the implementation of *barrios*), which has deepened the pre-crisis trend towards labour outsourcing and the industrial reliance on short-term contracts (Pascual, 2010). In sum, the evidence signals a casualisation and worsening of labour conditions in the salmon industry after its recovery from the crisis (Bustos-Gallardo, 2017).

5.4.2. More difficulties for labour enforcement

Furthermore, the industry's movement further south has increased the difficulty to inspect the labour conditions in growth centres. However, although the industry was known for its poor labour conditions before the crisis (see quote below) and different civil groups underlined the need for more public resources for labour enforcement during the legislative discussions, no significant funds have been added after the crisis.

"There are marine centres that do not have the sanitary infrastructure, nor [have the workers] working clothes, proper labour conditions or resting time. What happens in the salmon cages that are in the middle of the sea? For example, suppose I have a 20x10 shift [20 days on and ten days off], I am a mechanic in that salmon cage, and I have an 8 hour working day. But it turns out that from 6 pm onwards, I am still there, I live there, and I can't refuse to work, I can't disagree with the bosses. No one pays that time as overtime, and there is no other mechanic, there is no other cook, there is no other person in charge of the warehouse, and so on..."

(NGO member, Ancud, Fieldwork interview)

During fieldwork in 2014, the provincial Office of Labour Enforcement had three professionals in charge of inspecting the different economic activities of seven municipalities in Chiloé. On top of the lack of field personnel, enforcement was also affected by the difficulties to reach salmon cages and other industrial infrastructure located far from the seashore. Not only did the office lack its own means of marine transport, but even when it managed to use the boats of other institutions (such as the Navy, for instance), the inspectors faced difficulties to reach centres expeditiously enough (frequently while the enforcement officers are auditing the first centre, other industrial centres 'nearby' are warned that enforcement is in course):

"...maybe if we had a building with a helicopter, then we could have the speed [to audit] seen in developed countries ..."

(Provincial Office of Labour Enforcement, Castro, Fieldwork interview)

Moreover, the location of the salmon growth centres complicates the response of the enforcement office to labour complaints. Not only is not always

apparent to the inspectors nor those denouncing where exactly is the location of the centres in the open sea, but also while the centres can be closer to Chiloé, they could be part of a different jurisdiction and, therefore, the responsibility of a different enforcement office (in other words, of offices from the region of Aysén). In short, the provincial Office of Labour Enforcement does not have the technology nor enough monetary resources to invest in fast boats or hire more person-hours to properly inspect salmon centres and enforce the current labour regulation in the country. For them, it is more cost-efficient to focus on urban centres where they can inspect several firms per day than to travel for hours and face high costs (boat rent and travel allowances) for "only 6 or 7 workers".⁸⁸

5.4.3. Presence of disguised unemployment

Although there is evidence to suggest that employment levels in the province of Chiloé in 2015 were close to their pre-crisis level (see *Figure A.2* in the Appendix), fieldwork data suggest that people in the archipelago are not satisfied with their jobs and would work someplace else if they could. As the following quote illustrates, there is a general impression that those still working in the industry are only doing it because they do not have another employment option.

"[The rate of unemployment] here in the Province of Chiloé is low, less than 2%. This rate is something historic. However, the people are [not necessarily working permanently, but] waiting for the salmon centre to re-start its seasonal operation, or for the arrival of other industries that would offer better labour conditions and better wages."

(Salmon union leader, Ancud, Fieldwork interview)

5.4.4. Local embeddedness of the industry has weakened

After the crisis, the industry has deepened its disconnection from the territory and society in Chiloé. First, many workers are no longer engaging with a

⁸⁸ Provincial Office of Labour Enforcement, Castro, Fieldwork interview.

salmon firm on a full-time basis, and they have had to either complement their work in the industry with other economic activities or jump from one salmon farm to another to remain active during resting times. Second, (mostly male) salmon workers are increasingly not working in the same locality where their families live: They come from other places attracted by the availability of work and have little or no connection with the local community. Third, and more importantly, the conflicts between firms and locals concerning the industry's use of marine space and its environmental impact remain strong and on the rise, while its supply of jobs, what was before the most valued aspect among locals, has weakened. Instead of celebrating its employment generation as was the case in its origins, today the industry is seen by locals as a 'lesser evil' as they have been led to believe that there is no alternative (Bustos-Gallardo, 2017):

"... From the point of view that people have a stable remuneration that allows them to satisfy with some certainty their basic needs, [the salmon industry] is a contribution. However, it is also true that the remunerations are precarious and that the labour conditions are not optimal nor the ones you would like for the people. But then you start to question what is the lesser evil, because, in municipalities that are as isolated as ours, people are not going to be employed in other activities, because there are none in this municipality, there are no other activities besides the construction of the roads."

(Municipal Official, Puqueldón, Fieldwork Interview)

5.5. Conclusion and further comments

Through the analysis of the recent history of Chiloé, particularly of the responses of the Chilean state to the 2008 salmon crisis, the chapter explores the approach of the state towards rural development in practice. In concrete, the state's responses to the salmon crisis expose both the centralism of the Chilean state and its bimodal approach to rural development. While the central state focused on the industry's recovery, local authorities and officials were responsible for facing the crisis' social costs (and the costs of the post-crisis industrial restructuring, as shown in the next chapter). The changes sought after by the central state did not aim to reduce the local dependence

on the industry or improve its relationship with the workers or the local population but focused mainly on maintaining and protecting private investment in the region.

In this sense, the salmon crisis exposed in Chiloé -what Fløysand, Barton, & Román (2010) call- the double hierarchy affecting municipalities in Chile. On the one hand, the municipalities in Chiloé faced the consequences of the state's actions without participating in its decision-making process. While seeking to restore economic growth after the crisis, the central state took decisions with significant local consequences without incorporating local authorities. On the other, municipalities are simultaneously subjected to the decisions of big firms that respond merely to global strategies of economic accumulation and private revenues. In other words, the chapter has illustrated how local governments cannot generate nor implement their own development strategies but have to alleviate with minimum autonomy the local impacts of the decisions made by national state agents and big firms.

More importantly, through the experience of Chiloé, the chapter has also shown how, because of the failure of the state to implement a more socially sustainable development path in the country, it is ultimately the local population who bear the costs of the overall strategy of economic growth in Chile. In particular, the sections show how workers and locals in rural territories have faced the environmental and social costs of an accelerated process of industrialisation based on the exploitation of natural resources and increasing global participation. Building on this idea, the next chapter analyse the increasing importance of entrepreneurial programmes in Chiloé, understanding them as programmes that aim to make the people responsible for their poverty and which result from the failure of the Chilean state to protect the right of their workers and implement a socially and environmentally sustainable development strategy.

6. Rural development in Central Chiloé and the salmon crisis

This chapter studies the implementation of rural development policies in Chile and the rationality (or rationalities) that underpin them. It focuses on the experience of Central Chiloé in the context of the salmon crisis and the immediately following years (2008-2015), and it places its attention on the emergency actions and microeconomic policies implemented by the state during this period. Three sections comprise the chapter. The first one presents the state responses to manage the social effects of the salmon crisis in Chiloé. The second section explores the representations of the population present in the narratives of the local state agents implementing entrepreneurial state interventions. The section shows that the local population is frequently described by their faults and absences and as falling short to be the economic actors that the archipelago needs them to be in order to achieve its development goals. It places its attention on the way women, in particular, are portrayed in these narratives, showing that although they are seen as particularly important for the wellbeing of local communities and families, their economic contributions are generally ignored or seen as secondary to men's. Finally, the third and last section concludes that entrepreneurial programmes have increased their importance in the context of fewer alternatives for wage employment. Through them, *Chilotes* are increasingly encouraged to be independent individuals who do not rely on anybody but themselves to achieve their wellbeing, while traditional gender roles are maintained and strengthened.

6.1. Development implementation in Central Chiloé in the context of the salmon crisis

The previous chapter showed that the immediate response of the central state to face the social and economic impacts of the salmon crisis in the Los Lagos region focused on three main areas: generation of public employment, training, and entrepreneurial support.⁸⁹ The first part of this section explores the local implementation of these and other state actions executed at the local level in 2009 (the year in which local governments received special funds to confront the crisis), and the second part explores the programmes that continued to be relevant once the emergency funds ran out, particularly during the 2010-2015 period.

6.1.1. State responses to the salmon crisis in Central Chiloé in 2019

As shown in Chapter 5, the central state gave more than 8 million USD to the Los Lagos region in 2009 to face the local impact of the salmon crisis. There is no official data about how the additional money was spent in Chiloé. The primary source of the information presented below is the qualitative data collected during the fieldwork and policy and academic papers review.

Besides the three areas of intervention financed with the emergency funds, this subsection also reviews the role of INDAP during the crisis. INDAP was relevant during and after the crisis supporting the agricultural activities of former salmon workers (and those of their families).

Generation of employment

As a result of the plan of the central state to confront the salmon crisis in the Los Lagos region, the different municipalities in Chiloé received additional national and regional funds to implement diverse projects to generate

⁸⁹ In addition, as the previous chapter shows, local labour intermediation agencies were strengthened with the hiring of additional professionals.

emergency jobs. These funds were mainly channelled through the Programa ProEmpleo (ProEmployment Programme, from now on PPE), an employment initiative of the Ministry of Labour that seeks to reduce unemployment and poverty rates by offering temporary employment to people considered to be in situations of economic vulnerability.⁹⁰ The programme was first implemented in 2001 after the 1998-1999 economic crisis,⁹¹ but it arrived in Central Chiloé in 2009. In the archipelago, similarly to the experience of the programme in the rest of the country, the employment projects were materialised in the creation of municipal jobs of low productivity with a minimum duration of one month and a maximum of four (Bravo et al., 2004; Briceño, 2013; Sepúlveda, 2009).

There are no official registers about the local participants of PPE during the salmon crisis. However, from the qualitative data collected in each of the six municipalities of Central Chiloé, it is possible to argue that most of its beneficiaries were women who mainly embarked on jobs of maintenance, cleaning and beautification of green areas and public spaces (e.g. squares, beaches, cemeteries and public buildings and offices). As the following quote illustrates, the PPE was an initiative especially attractive to them because it offered an employment alternative that did not compromise their domestic role within the household.

"The ProEmpleo was comfortable for women. The programme was comfortable for the family because it was a safe income. A low income, but safe. And it also allowed continuing fulfilling the same role you had before in your home."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Puqueldón)

⁹⁰ The implementation of a system of social protection in the early 2000s in Chile expanded the target population of social policies from poor to vulnerable households, the latter defined as all low and middle income households that do not have a stable economic situation and are either poor or in a constant risk of falling into poverty (Larrañaga et al., 2014).

⁹¹ The Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s had a particular negative impact in Chile. Approximately a third of the Chilean exports went to Asia, and the Asian crisis meant a fall of the national GDP of 1.5%, as well as an 11% rate of unemployment in 1999 (Covarrubias, 2002).

Indeed, the quantitative data collected during the fieldwork is in line with official information at the national level during 2009, which signals that around 80% of the PPE's national participants were women (Sepúlveda, 2009).⁹² The national data also shows that more than 50% of those working in emergency jobs in 2009 were aged 40 to 59 years old and that the participants aged between 18 and 29 years did not exceed 17% of total national beneficiaries (Sepúlveda, 2009). These numbers also seem to reflect the experience in Central Chiloé, where the emergency employment created mostly comprised part-time jobs that were functional to women's domestic responsibilities according to the appreciation of local state officials. Just like Briceño (2013) reports in her analysis of the implementation of the PPE in Quellón (southern Chiloé), men in Central Chiloé were not keen to participate in a programme that they saw as "a precarious and devalorising experience" (Briceño, 2013, p. 86) (see quote below).

"There were some people who did not dare to do those [emergency] jobs because they consisted of sweeping the streets, cleaning green areas... People who previously did not do those things felt that their status in the industry, even if they were operators, was different. They were not doing what they had to do now."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Puqueldón).

For men, the *Plan Integral de Gobierno para el Desarrollo de Chiloé* (Comprehensive Government Plan for the Development of Chiloé, commonly known as Chiloé Plan) represented a better source of employment during the crisis. This plan, implemented in the archipelago in 2006, was strengthened with regional funds during 2009 and consisted mainly of infrastructure projects that aimed to improve Chiloé's internal connectivity through the expansion and improvement of its road network. By creating jobs in the construction sector, Chiloé Plan was helpful to mitigate male unemployment during the crisis.

⁹² According to data from the Ministry of Labour (in particular from the Undersecretariat of Labour), of the 25,934 jobs created nationally by the PPE and which were in force in June 2009, 21,000 were occupied by women and only 800 by men (Sepúlveda, 2009).

In addition to the above, two programmes that aimed to encourage employment creation in the archipelago indirectly and which also received additional funds in 2009 were the *Programa de Bonificación a la Contratación de la Mano de Obra* (Programme for the Bonus of Labour Hiring) and the *Programa Aprendices* (Apprentices Programme). Both programmes encouraged firms to hire former salmon workers (the latter exclusively focused on 25-year old workers or younger) by partially subsidising their wages for a certain period and financing their training.⁹³ Notwithstanding that these programmes aimed to favour 650 workers in the region (see Table 25 in Chapter 5), they did not emerge as particularly relevant during the interviews held during my fieldwork. A possible explanation is that these programmes were not relevant in Chiloé because of a lack of firms willing to participate and hire workers. The additional funds directed to these programmes are more likely to have concentrated in Puerto Montt, which was also significantly affected in terms of employment but had more firms that could potentially serve as employers (more firms in economic sectors different from salmon).⁹⁴

Training

The plan to help former salmon workers in the Los Lagos region also channelled special funds to diverse training programmes. These programmes were executed through SENCE, which is nested within the Ministry of Labour. In general, SENCE's programmes consist of two main groups: the Tax Franchise Programme (*Programa de Franquicia Tributaria*), which offers a tax discount to firms that finance training actions for their workers, and a set of other training programmes that aim to benefit men and women considered

⁹³ In order to access these benefits, unemployed workers needed to be registered in the respective municipal office of labour intermediation, which was the office in charge of channelling and orienting labour applications, implementing the training activities (in collaboration with private institutions or firms) and supporting the follow-up once the training process had ended (BCN, 2010; Sepúlveda, 2009).

⁹⁴ (Larrañaga et al., 2011) shows that national beneficiaries of the *Aprendices* and *Bonificación de la Mano de Obra* programmes concentrate in big firms (62% and 52% of the participants in the 2007-2010 period, respectively), which –excluding the salmon industry– are scarce Chiloé.

to live in economically vulnerable situations. In the Tax Franchise Programme, the firm is the entity that decides which workers to train and on what subjects, and SENCE is in charge of oversight and monitoring the correct implementation of the training courses. In the second group of programmes, besides its auditing role in monitoring the correct functioning of the courses, SENCE is also in charge of managing the training projects and selecting the participants and the contents to be delivered.⁹⁵

All of the SENCE's training courses follow a similar model organised in two main lines of work: a teaching phase and a practical phase. The teaching phase develops a particular skill. If the training focuses on developing an independent activity, this phase provides technical assistance to prepare an entrepreneurship project. During the second phase, the people trained in skills oriented towards wage employment are placed in a firm to practice their learnings for a minimum of time (360 working hours), while those with an entrepreneurship project receive technical support and a material contribution (e.g. productive inputs or tools) for its execution (Larrañaga et al., 2011; Sepúlveda, 2009). There is no official registry of the number of participants nor the particular training programmes implemented in Chiloé during the crisis. However, from fieldwork data (and considering the difficulties to execute training programmes following the line of wage work in the contexts of a crisis), it is possible to argue that most of the training projects in Central Chiloé focused on improving self-employment skills.

In interviews with local state officials and civil society members, they usually expressed that local authorities and institutions failed to use the additional training funds during the crisis successfully. Among the complaints was that the training courses were not strategically selected to improve the employability of the local population, particularly, that they did not develop

⁹⁵ The actual training courses are mainly offered by external agencies - *Organismos Técnicos de Capacitación* (Technical Training Organizations, OTEC) - specialized in delivering this service to the public institution (Larrañaga et al., 2011). Universities and institutions that impart tertiary technical education in the country (*Centros de Formación Técnica* and *Institutos Profesionales*) are also allowed to impact SENCE's courses.

skills connected with the demands of the local economy (such as construction skills associated with the Chiloé Plan, see quote below). Most training courses in Central Chiloé targeted basic skills linked to self-employment activities (such as hairdressing, bakery, and basic technological and electrical knowledge), and most of them did not offer a skill certification. Therefore, they did not add any long-term value to the worker when searching for employment in the labour market.

"If the road is made of wood, then you are going to have 1,500 local workers there. But if it is made of concrete, then you will not have any. If you need to assemble metal structures, then you are not going to have people from Chiloé. The Chilotes will place road signals and work in wood, but you will not have them working on heavy duties (...). You have to do a development plan for that, but who does it?"

(Fieldwork interview, NGO member, Ancud).

The critiques above align with the previous analyses of SENCE's programmes at the national level. By analysing quantitative and administrative national data of their participants, an expert committee constituted by the Ministry of Labour to review the functioning of the service concluded that most of its training courses do not contribute to significantly improve the wages nor the employability of their participants in the long-term (Larrañaga et al., 2011).⁹⁶

Entrepreneurial support

Although some of the programmes supporting entrepreneurial and self-employment initiatives in the country existed before the burst of the ISA virus, they became better known among the local population in Chiloé in the context of the salmon crisis (and, as will be shown below, they continued to increase their popularity once the industry had recovered). In particular, there were two programmes strengthened with additional funds in 2009: *Capital Semilla Emprendimiento* (from now on, CSE) and PAME. The former was administered by SERCOTEC, and the latter by FOSIS. In broad terms, the

⁹⁶ Among the reasons for SENCE's deficit of effectiveness in reaching its goals is its poor auditing role and the often low-quality of the courses offered by the OTEC.

institutional objective of SERCOTEC is to help entrepreneurs to improve their economic competitiveness, with the overall aim of enhancing their contribution to economic growth and the process of employment generation in the country, while the main institutional goal of FOSIS is to contribute to the eradication of extreme poverty and to improve the living conditions of the most vulnerable groups in Chile. The differences between both institutional approaches influence the orientation of their respective programmes, with SERCOTEC's CSE having more of a productive focus and FOSIS's PAME functions more as a social programme.

In concrete, CSE comprises two sub-programmes (both created in 2008), *Capital Semilla* and *Capital Abeja* (which is identical to the former but focuses only on women). Both sub-programmes offer funds to co-finance the initiatives of first-time entrepreneurs, technical assistance to develop business and managerial skills⁹⁷ and material support to implement their projects (Reyes et al., 2012). FOSIS' PAME, on the other side, started to be implemented in 2004, although at the time of the 2015 fieldwork, it functioned under the name of *Yo Emprendo Semilla*.⁹⁸ PAME's participation requisites are looser than those of CSE: They focus on the applicants' socioeconomic status and do not ask for elaborate business ideas and plans or co-payments. Although the evidence points out that CSE relaxed some of its more restrictive requisites in 2009 to fully execute the emergency funds.

Both programmes offered technical assistance to elaborate a business plan and funding for its execution during the crisis in Chiloé (STATCOM, 2009). In general, their local evaluation is similar to that of the above programmes: The critiques centre on them being mainly palliative measures lacking a long-term impact on the local economy's functioning. Locals argued that people received entrepreneurial funds too easily and that the funds were ineffective in generating successful businesses that lasted over time. Indeed, many

⁹⁷ Commercialization, information and communication-technology management, leadership and negotiations skills, among others.

⁹⁸ As shown in Chapter 5, YES is the most important programme within FOSIS in terms of funding and participants.

critiques centred on the lack of state support given to the beneficiaries in the various stages of their businesses ("the people were left alone after receiving the money"⁹⁹) and on the homogeneity of the entrepreneurial initiatives funded (which fuelled competition in a context of low innovation). The critiques also centred on beneficiaries of the programme because they used the funds as subsidies to equip their houses and buy goods instead of innovating and differentiate their businesses in time (see quotes below).

"SERCOTEC delivered the Capital Abeja. It was enough to be a woman to apply and receive 1 million pesos [(US\$1,660 approx.)]. Nobody saw if you could actually be an entrepreneur or if you were really going to continue with the business. So, many people saw that million [as a subsidy] for their house. To buy or change the refrigerator, the kitchen, the things that were missing, and they did not see it as a business opportunity."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Puqueldón).

"[The entrepreneurial funds] created many internet cafés. They were not successful because, in order for your business to be attractive in time, you have to innovate, offer new products. In other words, if you have an internet café where your computers are just desktop computers, versus today, where people can have a notebook and wireless signal anywhere... obviously that is going to kill your business. It [(the entrepreneurial support received during the crisis)] was just for the moment. How many internet cafés do you see around today? Almost none."

(Fieldwork interview, Salmon union leader, Ancud).

These critiques align with different national evaluations. Particularly, STATCOM (2009) and WAI (2017) report, for the cases of PAME and CSE respectively, that the programmes generally fail to accompany the participants in the implementation of their business plans and that they function in practice as "a mere transfer of money" (WAI, 2017, p. 5). Moreover, STATCOM (2009) finds that PAME does not significantly impact

⁹⁹ Fieldwork interview, Salmon union leader, Ancud.

its participants' income and occupational status, highlighting the short-term character of the businesses formed under this institutional support.¹⁰⁰

Finally, the findings of different impact evaluations are also in line with the data gathered locally regarding the gender distribution of the programmes' participants. For PAME, Martínez et al. (2018) report that 93% of its national participants were women in 2017, which relates to the increasing importance of women as recipients of entrepreneurial social programmes in the country (83% in the 2004-2007 period). For CSE, it was possible (through a transparency request) to obtain data of the number and gender of its beneficiaries at the municipal level in Chiloé in 2009.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Table 26 shows that more than 90% of the 167 beneficiaries of SERCOTEC's programme in Central Chiloé were women in 2009, almost 30 percentage points higher than the national average for the same year.¹⁰² The big difference between national and local female participation in SERCOTEC's entrepreneurial programme illustrates women's entrepreneurial role in the archipelago during economic distress.

¹⁰⁰ By contrast, in a more recent evaluation, Martínez et al. (2018) find that PAME increased employment and earnings in both the short and long run (nine months and three years after the programme concluded, respectively), but that the latter effect occurred through an increase on wage employment (and not through self-employment, the focus of the programme).

¹⁰¹ Similar information was not possible to obtain from FOSIS's PAME.

¹⁰² Reyes et al. (2012) show that 61% of the national participants of CSE in 2009 were women.

Municipality	Total participants	Male participants	Female participants	Female participation (%)
Castro	77	11	66	85.7
Chonchi	30	1	29	96.7
Curaco de Vélez	18	1	17	94.4
Dalcahue	30	3	27	90
Puqueldón	5	0	5	100
Quinchao	11	0	11	100
Subtotal Central Chiloé	171	16	155	90.6
Ancud	106	15	91	85.8
Quellón	236	7	229	97
Quemchi	8	2	6	75
Queilén	7	1	6	85.7
Total Province	528	41	487	92.2

Table 26: Municipal beneficiaries of SERCOTEC's Capital Semilla by gender in 2009, Province of Chiloé

Source: Author's elaboration with data provided by SERCOTEC.

Agricultural support

Finally, although it did not receive special funds during this period, INDAP was also brought up by public and civil society members as an institution that acquired particular importance during the crisis. As mentioned previously, INDAP is the most relevant institution to the rural population in the country, and this has not been different in Chiloé. According to the survey implemented by Rimisp in 2009, more than half of the *Chilotes'* households (51%) report to have been in contact with at least one institution to access credit and receive entrepreneurial support, and 55% of them mentioned INDAP as the prime institution that helped them (followed by *Banco Estado* –the only commercial, public bank in the country- with 26% of the mentions) (Rimisp, 2009). Specifically, during the crisis, the institution was particularly relevant in Chiloé because it offered support to the people that decided to return to the countryside and focus on their agricultural activities once they

found themselves unemployed. In other words, INDAP was a key institution during the crisis, when "it became necessary to foster agriculture again".¹⁰³

In terms of its coverage, the main programme of INDAP in Chiloé is PRODESAL. The programme started in 199 and, as mentioned in Chapter 5, it has become more relevant during the last decade due to the strengthening of INDAP's institutional goal of overcoming rural poverty (Donoso et al., 2010; Ramírez et al., 2014). PRODESAL focuses on a subset of the population that participates as beneficiaries of INDAP, namely, on farmers and peasants with small holdings of land, and aims "to strengthen their production systems and related activities, seeking to increase their income and quality of life" (Resolución Exenta No. 22831, 2014, p. 1). In general, the programme functions in partnership with local municipalities, which are in charge of managing and complementing the financial resources provided by INDAP, as well as selecting and hiring the professionals that will execute the programme (in other words, those who will be in direct contact with the farmers, and who are called colloquially *técnicos*). The specific assistance and funding offered to the farmers vary according to their market orientation: The *técnicos* (technicians) make a diagnosis of the social and productive characteristics of the farmers that they meet and tailor the interventions to what they identify are their productivity needs (Donoso et al., 2010).

From 2011 to the period of the research fieldwork, INDAP classified its programme programmes in three segments: Segment 1 comprised farmers that engaged with agriculture merely as a subsistence activity, Segment 2 included those subsistence farmers with the potential to engage in the formal market commercially, and Segment 3 incorporated farmers already oriented towards the formal commercialisation of their production (Ramírez et al., 2014). According to the information gathered through interviews with INDAP's local workers and *técnicos*, most of the participants of PRODESAL in Central Chiloé belonged to the first segment. In other words, even though

¹⁰³ Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Castro.

there were cases of commercial agriculture, in general, the farmers in Chiloé engage in agricultural work mainly as a subsistence activity (although selling a few products from time to time). This segment distribution of local farmers is in line with the data available at the national level for 2012, which shows that of the 77,152 farmers participating in PRODESAL, 64.3% were in Segment 1, 19.3% in Segment 2 and 16.4% in Segment 3 (Ramírez et al., 2014).

PRODESAL is the most attractive programme to female farmers within INDAP. Women represented almost 60% of its users in Central Chiloé in 2009 (and also in the province) (see *Table 27*). This share was 48% at the national level in the same year, and the difference could relate to the context of economic distress associated with the salmon industry (more in Chapter 7). Finally, mainly due to the ageing of the rural population and the preference of the youth to work in wage employment, most PRODESAL's participants in Central Chiloé are reported to be older adults, aged 50 or more.

Municipality	Total participants	Male participants	Female participants	Female participation (%)
Castro	209	99	110	52.6
Chonchi	222	89	133	59.9
Curaco de Vélez	231	94	137	59.3
Dalcahue	109	45	64	58.7
Puqueldón	167	37	130	77.8
Quinchao	240	123	117	48.8
Subtotal Central Chiloé	1,178	487	691	58.7
Ancud	315	121	194	61.6
Queilén	236	105	131	55.5
Quellón	233	64	169	72.5
Quemchi	241	157	84	34.9
Total Province	2,203	934	1,269	57.6

Table 27: Municipal beneficiaries of INDAP's PRODESAL by gender in 2009, Province of Chiloé

Source: Own elaboration with data provided by INDAP.

In general, PRODESAL was evaluated positively by their participants and local officials, arguing that its support (mostly infrastructure projects, such as sheds and warehouses, and the purchase of animals) allowed the rural population to continue engaging in agricultural practices, alleviating their poverty and decelerating rural-urban migration (which poses a burden for local urban planners). However, the critiques came from those in charge of implementing the programme itself. While users considered PRODESAL important to their everyday practices, its implementers' critiques centred on the difficulties they usually encounter when trying to shift the farmers' focus from subsistence to commercial agriculture. They argue that most participants do not successfully graduate from the programme and do not strengthen their market orientation due to their participation in PRODESAL. As the quotes below illustrate, strengthening the farmers' market participation is seen as a difficult task to implement, not only because sometimes it is not the actual goal of the farmers, but also because even when it is, it requires interventions that surpass the programme's tools. The implementers of PRODESAL argue that simultaneously to the support provided by the programme, the farmers need other types of help mainly centred on their social needs for which they do not have the training.

"If you ask me what would be missing from these programmes, it would be to be multidisciplinary. Besides having agricultural engineers, agricultural technicians or veterinarians, it is important to work with the social aspect. The social support of a professional is important. It is very important because there are things that we do not know how to handle. We can see that there are indications of alcoholism in a house, signs of abuse to minors or indication of intra-household violence, but we do not have the capacity to address these problems. We pass them on to the colleagues in other municipal departments, but they also do not have many people available to go to those places..."

(Fieldwork interview, Professional in charge of implementing PRODESAL in
Central Chiloé)

The above diagnosis aligns with national impact evaluations. Donoso et al. (2010) conclude that although PRODESAL demonstrated a positive evaluation from their users, there was no evidence of a positive effect in intermediate or final outcomes. In other words, the authors did not find

evidence of effects on the probability of using new production technologies, on the probability of extending the farmers' participation in the local market, nor on outcomes such as the monetary valuation of subsistence production or the average productivity of the farmers (Donoso et al., 2010).¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Ramírez et al. (2014) conclude that PRODESAL¹⁰⁵ has "a deficit both of quality (it is more an "accompaniment" than a type of productive development appropriate to the conditions of these households) and of relevance (it seeks to generate some degree of agricultural development in households whose life strategies are not those of self-employed farmers)" (Ramírez et al., 2014, p. 170).

6.1.2. Post-crisis situation: The rise of entrepreneurial programmes and the economic role of women

In February 2010, a strong earthquake (among the strongest recorded in the country's and world's history) and a tsunami devastated several towns in south-central Chile.¹⁰⁶ The following reconstruction efforts deviated the attention of the newly-elected national government, from Chiloé towards the south-central regions of the country. Therefore, since 2010 no special projects nor funds were destined to mitigate the social and economic effects of the salmon crisis in the archipelago. Since then, the crisis management fell completely on regional and local governments, which faced the crisis with their limited budgets, mainly waiting for the industry to recover (Bustos-Gallardo, 2014). Bustos-Gallardo (2014) analyses different government sources (national and regional budgets and minutes of regional council meetings) and argues that they do not show a significant change in the allocation and implementation of funds to redefine territorial economic

¹⁰⁴ Although, it is important to underline that the evaluation of final results was undertaken in 2009 with the data of participants that entered the programme in 2007, thus, the beneficiaries were still participating in the programme, so it is not an evaluation of the impact of the programme on its graduates (Donoso et al., 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Ramírez et al. (2014) also include other similar programmes within INDAP in their analysis, such as the *Programa de Desarrollo Territorial Indígena*, which is very similar to PRODESAL, but focuses exclusively on indigenous population.

¹⁰⁶ The most affected regions (from North to South) were Valparaíso, the Metropolitan region of Santiago, O'Higgins, Maule, Biobío and La Araucanía, which have in total more than 13 million inhabitants, representing about 80% of the country's population.

strategies, raise data that would strengthen alternatives or develop strategies to contain new crises. In concrete, although there were institutional channels through which local authorities could have acquired additional funds to implement actions aiming to improve the local conditions during and after the economic crisis,¹⁰⁷ they were not activated during the crisis nor in the immediately following years (Bustos-Gallardo, 2014).

The above resulted in unplanned, scattered and assistentialist actions of local municipalities to respond to the crisis, comprised primarily by small cash transfers to meet people's specific and contingent demands (such as repairing roofs before winter). Additionally, although intermittently, some municipalities continued to spend part of their budgets creating employment projects similar to PPE, though in fewer numbers and shorter periods than in 2009 (see quote below).

" - ***[Now that the industry has recovered] does ProEmpleo still exist?***

- Yes, but it is smaller because the municipal funds are scarce. ProEmpleo now is usually for a month, two months at the most. Thus, people work for two months and the rest of the time do nothing. Some people have absolutely no profession or trade, usually women who spend their entire lives dedicated to being housewives and do not know how to do anything else. So, ProEmpleo is beneficial [for them], because they earn some money in a part-time job. It is an easy option to earn money, in that sense. [After the crisis], it has also increased the number of people, both men and women, but mainly women, who are applying to entrepreneurial funds to set up their own business."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Quinchao)

In this context, the entrepreneurial and agricultural programmes introduced above started to acquire greater importance among the local population. Indeed, because the jobs offered by the salmon industry are more precarious than they were before the crisis, the industry has diminished its attractiveness

¹⁰⁷ These additional funds required formal applications from local governments to central institutions.

for *Chilotes*, which in turn has helped to favour the state's entrepreneurial funds, particularly among women. Indeed, as shown in Chapter 7 with greater detail, there have been two milestones in female labour participation (either as wage or independent workers) in Central Chiloé in recent decades. First, the arrival and development of the salmon sector in the archipelago, which represented an important source of direct and indirect employment for women, as they engaged directly in the processing of salmon or indirectly by working in related services, such as cooking, cleaning or elaborating salmon cages' nets. Second, the salmon crisis itself, when women that did not necessarily work in the salmon sector before started to either work in the 'emergency' employment opportunities or engaged with the entrepreneurial programmes of the state to ameliorate the household's loss of income.

Women were the primary users of entrepreneurial state support during the crisis, and the local evidence gathered during the fieldwork points that this situation continued to be so once the industry recovered in 2011.¹⁰⁸ In particular, the entrepreneurial programmes with poverty alleviation goals - which coincidentally are the ones in which women participate the most- have become relatively more important in the archipelago during recent years.¹⁰⁹ For instance, although SERCOTEC's CSE relaxed its requisites in Chiloé to help local livelihoods in 2009, once the institution returned to its regular functioning, its participation requisites were too restrictive for local and national applicants,¹¹⁰ and the institution diminished its local significance. On

¹⁰⁸ In 2011 the industry recovered the production levels that it had before the crisis, in 2008 (FAO FishStat). For more information, see *Figure A. 2* in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁹ By programmes with a social focus, I refer to programmes with a goal of poverty alleviation, which generally do not demand co-financing from their users. Productive programmes, on the contrary, do not include a poverty-alleviation goal and demand, among other requisites, co-financing from their users. The latter group of programmes are generally the ones implemented by SERCOTEC and CORFO in the country.

¹¹⁰ Potential participants of *Capital Semilla* and *Capital Abeja* not only must apply to the programme online with a specific business project and a work plan, but also if pre-selected they must go through different stages of interviews to defend their idea, and once nominated as beneficiaries they must report the initiation of their economic activity (in other words, register their businesses) to the tax service before even receiving the subsidy and, finally, they also have to co-finance 20% of the funds received. These requisites have resulted in that only a small fraction of those who apply to CSE are selected as beneficiaries, generating significant frustration among the candidates (Reyes et al., 2012).

the contrary, programmes aiming to alleviate poverty (such as those offered by FOSIS and INDAP) increased their importance in Chiloé, particularly since 2009 and among the female population.

In general, in Chiloé, women are the household member responsible for approaching the state to seek support at times of economic distress. At present, they are increasingly receiving a particular type of support, which aims to enhance their entrepreneurial skills and, as the following quote shows, integrate them into the labour market without waiting for an employer.

" - We have plenty of second-hand clothing businesses, we have plenty of businesses that sell food, bakeries, stores that have a bit of everything... Women are seen more now (...). Every year the number of people who are applying for these funds that encourage independent work is increasing. These competitive funds encourage people to generate their own business and no longer depend on an employer.

- And before the crisis, these entrepreneurial funds did not exist?

- They did, but back then, the people had not internalised that they could apply to them. They did not know what it meant to form a business yourself because they were coming out of a patronage system. The people were still used to that. [They were used] to have a boss, to have a fixed salary at the end of the month, to get up, go to work and then return home... [They were not used] to be working from Monday to Sunday, thinking, doing paperwork, whatever. [When you are an entrepreneur,] you do not have a fixed schedule, and the monthly salary will depend on how much you work and how the business is doing. Thus, the people were not aware nor knew at that time about that kind of work."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Quinchao)

6.2. The local population, as seen by local state agents

In interviews I held with municipal officials and local programme executors, they frequently described the *Chilote* population in terms of what they were not, in other words, as failing to be the individuals they were supposed and required to be. By analysing 'what the *Chilotes* are not', it is possible to extrapolate the framework used to evaluate them. In other words, it is possible to extrapolate the ideal subject underpinning the development interventions

implemented in Central Chiloé. This section presents 'the shortcomings' of *Chilotes*, placing particular attention on women.

6.2.1. Chilotes: "short-sighted and depending on state help"

During interviews, local state actors frequently described *Chilotes* as *pillos*, a common word used in Chile to refer to people that knows how to turn situations to their advantage. Many shared the narrative that most of the rural population in Chiloé is not poor, that they do have resources to put into work and opportunities to earn income by themselves, but that many prefer to remain or be seen as poor by the state in order to receive help (see quote below). In particular, many state officials argued that people *choose* to earn less income in order to be eligible as recipients of social policies and that others, although earning enough income to classify as non-poor officially, fail to honestly report their socioeconomic information to the authorities in order to continue benefiting from targeted social help.

"... When I see people who have a house, a minimum half a hectare of land, three cows, a lot of sheep, pigs... That person is not poor, maybe he does not know how to work to have more, but he is not poor ... and those are the people who take advantage (...). A while ago, I went to interview families with the girls in charge of filling the Ficha de Protección Social [(social scorecard, see below)] and I saw TVs, refrigerators, microwaves... thus, do not tell me you are poor, at least for me that is not poverty (...) and those people, they still ask and demand [help]."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal official, Achao)

Both strategies are not exclusive to Chiloé. The latter strategy, for example, has been documented to occur in the country with the information gathered through the *Ficha de Protección Social* (FPS), the main instrument used by the Chilean state until 2015 to measure the vulnerability of households and individuals in the country (and thus, to target public programmes and policies). Specifically, Herrera et al. (2010) argue that the FPS overrepresented poverty and vulnerability in the country and that among the most-used strategies of the people to qualify as recipients of state help was 'to hide their husbands'. In concrete, knowing that a household headed by a single woman was considered more vulnerable by the targeting instrument in

the country, women purposely failed to include their husbands when asked about household members in the FPS questionnaire. I was also told of this tactic by some municipal workers in Chiloé, and I experienced it first-hand when undertaking the research survey (when I was most likely seen as a state representative or a person who would report information to the state).

Under the same rationality mentioned above (hiding the actual income to access social help), and as the quote below exemplifies, municipal officials and programme implementers also argued that in Chiloé, many entrepreneurs do not want to formalise their independent activities and businesses because they do not want to make their earnings visible to the state. By remaining within the informal sphere -in other words, renting cottages or selling agricultural and artisanal products, among other income-generating activities, without registering their businesses to the tax service and, thus, avoid paying taxes-, people remain officially within a lower income stratum and, thus, can access targeted social protection policies.

"If there is not a direct benefit, they [(local entrepreneurs)] will not formalise their businesses. [They need] a benefit in their favour. For instance, we tried to implement a programme with the local shipbuilders once. We started to interview them with the consultants. Short story: they are happier charging cash than having their business registered because if they are not paying taxes, they have government support, they have their children with scholarships, they receive 40 lucas a month [(US\$67 approx.)], they obtain different state favours. Thus, if they formalise, what will be their gain? It is a question of assistentialism, and people are 'pillós'.

(Fieldwork interview, CODESSER,¹¹¹ Castro)

A second general critique towards the *Chilotes* is related to their expenditure priorities. Due to the salmon industry's arrival and its impact on the local economy, *Chilotes* have greater access to monetary income than in the past. Although local state actors regard this as positive, they also complain that the

¹¹¹ CODESSER, which stands for Social Development Corporation of the Rural Sector, is a private organization that works with CORFO, the main public institution with a productive focus in the country, as intermediary agents.

local population do not always know how to manage and spend their income. In other words, that they do not know how to establish priorities when spending their money. They criticise local people because they choose to spend their money on things that 'they do not need', such as televisions, cars, stereos, and the like, instead of saving or investing for the future. 'Consumerism' is a word that continuously emerges in diverse interviews to refer to the attitude of those who take short-sighted expenditure decisions instead of more thoughtful ones. The consumerism critique is related to the critique of state-aid dependence, as they are both associated in the narratives of the interviewees with the short-termism of the population, in other words, with the impatience of *Chilotes* and their desires to take the 'easiest path' when it comes to satisfying their needs and access money. *Chilotes*, they argue, are hardworking people but have no ambition and lack the tools to think strategically about the future.

6.2.2. *Chilotes: "a drag to local economic development"*

Overall, local state officials and implementers describe the local population in Chiloé as a drag to development. Many argue that "*a la isla le daría para mucho más*" (the big island of Chiloé could achieve much more),¹¹² but the characteristics of its population constrain it. In other words, they argue that Chiloé lacks *human capital*. In particular, they describe local businesses (such as the selling of firewood, the cultivation of mussels, the extraction of algae to sell to processing plants, having cottages for rent, or the elaboration of artisanal products) as 'basic enterprises' and identify among its main limitations to take-off the lack of capacity of the local population to innovate. Local entrepreneurs prefer to replicate what has proved to work by others and are unwilling to take risks to increase the complexity of their activities, failing to differentiate their businesses from the rest. Because their production is relatively homogeneous, local entrepreneurs lack the power to negotiate their prices with their buyers. For example, an interviewee criticised the local

¹¹² Fieldwork interview, CODESSER, Castro.

mussel industry because all producers scattered along the archipelago shared the same basic technology to cultivate molluscs (which, in broad terms, consists of placing mussel seeds in tubular nets that are positioned vertically in the sea and then letting the mussels grow until they are big enough to be harvested). Vivanco & Donoso (2008) also write about this and argue that because local mussels are relatively homogeneous and easily replaceable, their producers in Chiloé have to accept the price set by the few extra-local firms that have the capital to process the mussels and sell them abroad.

Similarly, during interviews with state officials and programme implementers in the different municipalities of Central Chiloé, local entrepreneurs were also criticised because of their reluctance to associate to gain negotiating power or achieve an optimum scale of production. Indeed, the size of the farmers' land holdings, and the farmers' reluctance to form associations to compensate for it, are seen as the main problems constraining the successful commercialisation of the agrarian production in the archipelago (in other words, the farms are seen as too small to achieve the necessary scale of commercialisation to form a profitable business). The grouping of farmers would produce large volumes of consistent quality products, reduce the transaction costs faced by isolated farmers, facilitate their access to the private credit system, encourage them to extend their market, and improve their negotiating power when facing intermediaries, among other benefits. In short, the critique centres on farmers specialising in basic businesses or subsistence activities, which are seen as unable to achieve economic growth because they lack physical capital (such as working capital and land) and the characteristics of the local population (scattered, unwilling to innovate, lacking strategical thinking).

Notwithstanding the description above, the 'dependence of the local population on state help' is seen by many municipal officials as a cultural characteristic that is slowly declining in the archipelago due to improved education among the youth and the shift in the state's social support, notably, the growing importance of entrepreneurial programmes targeted on the poor. Indeed, in interviews with state officials, it was constantly argued that today,

the local population understands that 'they can do things by themselves' and do not need to rely on the money transfers of the state (see quote below). In this sense, entrepreneurial state programmes are seen as the opposite of unconditional help or unconditional cash transfers because they demand that recipients' make an effort' when receiving state help. Additionally, the entrepreneurial programmes deliver funds to ensure that the money received will be strategically invested in activities that will eventually help them earn independent income in the future. Thus, it is not a monetary help that can be 'wasted' on non-essential goods.

"There are still people who only come here [to the municipality] to receive help, especially people who live in the smaller islands. However, the fact that education is increasing (before you saw people with three or five years of education and now they are already reaching eight or twelve years) means that their cultural level is different. Thus, many people now understand that they can also do things by themselves (...). It is a cultural issue, merely cultural. The other day a woman came by and [she said] 'Oh, I can do it too?'... So it had not even crossed their minds to do anything by themselves. 'Do you knit?', 'yes', 'then knit and sell your products, that is a business', 'Oh, I had not thought about that'. So, that is basically what we do here in the social department, that is, to try to encourage people to do things by themselves and forget about assistentialism, which still exists."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal official, Achao)

6.2.3. Women: "family-oriented and secondary economic agents"

Although women are portrayed as more responsible individuals than men, particularly in money and household management, their economic activities are described as not relevant to achieving the archipelago's economic development. In particular, common thinking among local state agents is that when women have children, they are less likely than men to waste money on non-necessary purchases because they put their children's needs first, and they prioritise the wellbeing of the family. Notwithstanding the acknowledgement of their abilities as administrators of household income, many local state officials do not see women as important income providers. Among the local narrative, women's income and their contribution to the household economy complements the income of others. In other words, when

an adult male household member exists, female economic activities and contributions are seen as *secondary*, and when there are no male household members, women's economic activities are *not enough*. Single mothers, for instance, are frequently highlighted as particularly vulnerable and often referred to as the most affected group during the crisis and the ones that need state help the most.

The above characterisation surpasses the domestic sphere and extends to the sphere of economic development. Notably, in interviews with local implementers of entrepreneurial programmes with a productive focus and without an explicit goal of poverty alleviation, women's activities did not spontaneously emerge in the conversation. When explicitly enquiring about them, their activities were mostly referred to as mainly *household things*, implicitly stating that the activities that had the real potential to be motors of local development were undertaken by men (see quote below). In a nutshell, although women are essential contributors to reducing local poverty and the overall wellbeing of local families and households, they are not recognised as relevant actors for local economic development.

"[Local entrepreneurs] are mostly men, and there are nice cases of women that are worthy of mention, but they are mostly men (...). In fishing activities, you rarely see women either selling or in the sea, but they also exist in some sectors. In forestry, evidently, the majority are men. In mussel farming, mostly men... "

(Fieldwork interview, intermediary state agent, Castro)

In particular, in the case of agriculture - an activity mainly undertaken by women daily, as the following chapter shows- female activities are constantly referred to as *precarious*. Although state officials and implementers acknowledge agriculture as the main activity that helped the local population endure the economic costs of the crisis, they underline that it is *still based on subsistence* and incapable of generating enough income to maintain the lives of those that work on it:

"... Here, the economy is still based on agriculture. It is a subsistence economy with a minimum surplus sale that allows... I mean, it cannot be

considered as an important income for families. It is like a small help, but it is not that they live on the profits generated by agriculture, but rather, it is agriculture that they consume and that they sell on a tiny scale."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal official, Puqueldón).

The overall representation of women's economic involvement as 'secondary' or 'not enough' has also influenced how women see themselves and build their identity (as elaborated in the following chapter). When interviewing local implementers of entrepreneurial programmes or interventions that serve mainly or exclusively women, it was constantly argued that women struggle to recognise themselves as workers. Thus, self-valuation and other soft skills, such as the ability to approach and talk with new people, are tackled during the different phases of technical assistance when working with women, as these are seen as crucial features to develop to be successful entrepreneurs (see quote below). In other words, in parallel to creating a business, the entrepreneurial programmes also seek to achieve intangible outcomes among women, which are understood to be vital to their entrepreneurial success.

"When a woman comes here [to the municipal Women's Office] to register, she is very timid. She does not know why she is coming, and she does not feel capable of anything. Some even say that they are useless (...). However, when you see the end of the programme, once she goes through the entire trajectory of the programme, you see an empowered woman (...). You see her constantly saying, "I'm going to do this, I have to plan it", it totally changes the woman's profile. It is rewarding to see that they can go and get a job, start a business on their own, know where the networks are and where they can apply for projects. So, the before and after are very different. It is impressive."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal official, Castro).

6.3. Conclusion and further comments

This chapter has reviewed the main local rural development policies in Central Chiloé in the context of the salmon crisis and the immediately following years and the representations of *Chilotes* that underpinned them. It aimed to analyse the subjectivation process embedded in the approach of the Chilean

state towards rural development and the contradictions and gaps that characterise it at the local level.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the state efforts to mitigate the social and economic effects of the crisis in Central Chiloé. It shows, on one side, that because of the lack of structural measures to encourage the creation of new sources of wage employment in the archipelago, most of the central state help was materialised on the creation of temporary municipal and precarious employment and on strengthening state interventions encouraging the development of micro-entrepreneurial initiatives among the poor. On the other side, it also shows that the subnational state was mainly restricted to administering the emergency funds received and made no additional efforts to improve the situation of the archipelago in the medium or long term. In sum, the first part of this chapter shows that, in general, local state actors mainly waited for the industry to recover and get back 'to business as usual'.

As the previous chapter anticipated, after the crisis, the industry accelerated the restructuring process that was already taking place in previous years. Notably, the industry increased its levels of economic concentration, accelerated its expansion further south and increased the mechanisation of its practices. These phenomena, combined with the new system of coordinated industrial activity, led –once the industrial crisis ended- to decrease the industrial supply of jobs and increased casualisation and flexibilisation of the archipelago's local labour market. In this sense, the effects of the industrial restructuring in Chiloé coincide with the global trend under the current process of neoliberal economic globalisation, where job casualisation, instability and insecurity are increasingly part of the everyday life of people in the developing world (Aristizabal et al., 2019; Lee, 2016; K. M. Muñoz & Medina, 2020; Stecher & Sisto, 2019; Vicent, 2018; Wilson, 2020). In this unstable context, entrepreneurial programmes (programmes that support the development of independent work or small-scale enterprises among the poor) have emerged as increasingly relevant policies to confront poverty and deprivation in the Global South (Esquivel, 2012; Rankin, 2001). Remarkably, this chapter shows that it is mainly in this moment of crisis and

restructuring when these programmes have increased their relevance in Chiloé. In other words, in a context where the labour market is not generating enough (quality) employment for the local population, the Chilean welfare policies, particularly in Central Chiloé, have changed their scope from promoting skills for wage employment to those considered relevant to be an entrepreneur. In sum, social policies have changed their scope towards promoting self-employment in a context where macroeconomic policies and private firms fail to generate jobs.

The programmes that promote entrepreneurial skills among the poor are embedded in the shift from a state-led to a market-led development approach and relate to the devolution of responsibility for securing economic opportunity from the state to the individuals (Rankin, 2001). In the particular case of Central Chiloé, through the rise of entrepreneurial social programmes, the poor are made responsible for the failure of the state to plan a socially (and environmentally) sustainable development strategy. In other words, the poor are made responsible for the failure of the state to reduce the economic dependency of the archipelago to the salmon industry and for the failure of the state to improve the generation and quality of industrial jobs with stricter regulations and better audit fiscal capacity. Additionally, while the people in Central Chiloé are encouraged to 'be their own bosses', they are also facing the ultimate costs of the highly-centralised character of the Chilean state, that is, having local authorities with few means and little initiative and autonomy to ensure minimum wellbeing for their population.

The second section of the chapter engages with the representations of the local population underpinning the entrepreneurial programmes in Central Chiloé. It does so by presenting the dominant representations of the *Chilote* population by local state officials and programme implementers. As relevant actors executing these programmes, they contain the (implicit and explicit) ideals sought through these interventions. As the chapter has shown, they criticise *Chilotes* for being extremely dependent on state help. In this context, the entrepreneurial social programmes are seen as contrary to the traditional logic of the welfare state because they encourage people to 'make an effort'

and change their previous condition as passive recipients of benefits. In this sense, this new political rationality changes the ideological construction of the beneficiaries of development from citizens with social rights to self-reliant clients (Rankin, 2001). Ideally, *Chilotes* should be independent individuals who do not rely on anybody but themselves to improve their wellbeing. For this, they are encouraged to be economically savvy, think strategically about their future (not indulge in impatient and irrational consumption, but invest their income in themselves and their businesses) and behave as maximising agents (be ambitious, want more). When engaging in independent activities, they shall see themselves and behave as businessmen and women: Innovate to expand their venture and successfully compete in the market. In sum, as part of a governmental strategy, the entrepreneurial social programmes attempt to transform *Chilotes* in ways consistent with neoliberal political rationality.

Additionally, and similarly to the general trend in Latin America, the rise of the above self-help approach to microeconomic development in Chiloé has coincided with the increasing participation of women as recipients of social policies (Esquivel, 2012). Indeed, within this neoliberal development rationality, the new agents of progress are invariably gendered. Although it is not always explicitly argued, women are the preferred social recipients because of their traditional association with the domestic sphere and their cultural propensity to invest and look after their families and communities (Rankin & Shakya, 2007). In this way, the entrepreneurial social programmes implemented in the archipelago are a development tool that encourages the creation of functional subjects to the neoliberal agenda and strengthens traditional gender roles among the local society. Therefore, the state is not only transferring its responsibility of social support to the local population in Central Chiloé by encouraging an entrepreneurial mentality and promoting resilient subjects but also these transfers of duty are increasingly feminised, as more and more women are held accountable not only for their wellbeing but for the wellbeing of their family members and communities. In short, female empowerment is promoted as a tool for poverty alleviation.

However, despite all of the above, development, as a vehicle of the current neoliberal political rationality, articulates with local history and social and cultural arrangements, and thus, its outcomes are complex, unintended, and often contradictory. In particular, it would be wrong to reduce the outcome of the entrepreneurial social programmes in Central Chiloé to the instrumental subjection of individuals to the dynamics and restructuring of the neoliberal economy. In their local articulation, development programmes and interventions can generate new opportunities and possibilities. The following chapter analyses the gendered subjectivation embedded in the rural development approach of the Chilean state among women and deepens in the intended and unintended outcomes of development in Central Chiloé.

7. The development experience of women in Central Chiloé

This chapter studies the development experience of women in Central Chiloé in recent decades, particularly since the arrival and development of the salmon industry in the archipelago. It explores the effects of both the structural transformation of the local economy and the increasing entrepreneurial orientation of poverty-alleviation programmes in how women see themselves and relate to others. The chapter has four main sections. The first section explores the rearrangements of local livelihoods and gender dynamics in Central Chiloé due to economic globalisation. The second and third sections explore women's lives through their narratives, particularly their economic role and relationship with the state. Finally, the fourth section analyses the completeness or incompleteness of the subjectivation process occurring in this context.

7.1. Neoliberal globalisation in the Chiloé

7.1.1. Changes and continuities in gender roles

The arrival and development of the salmon industry in the 1990s and 2000s triggered a drastic process of structural transformation in Chiloé, which reshaped the traditional social and cultural arrangements of local livelihoods. In particular, although at present agriculture continues to be one of the most important economic sectors in Central Chiloé in terms of remunerated

employment, it was displaced towards a second position by the aquaculture industry in the early 2000s (see *Figure 28*).

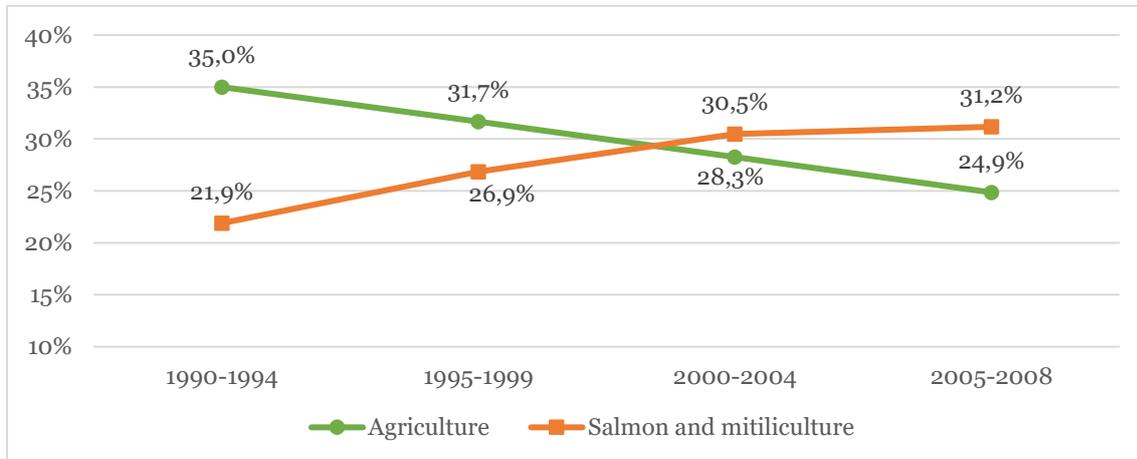


Figure 28: Share of total employment in agriculture and aquaculture in Central Chiloé (4-5-year periods between 1990 and 2008, %)

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Labour History module in the 2009 Rimisp survey.

The growth of the aquaculture industry (comprised mainly of salmon and, more recently, mussel firms) has affected the gender composition of the local labour force. In particular, as *Table 28* shows, the share of working women in Central Chiloé, either in salaried or independent jobs, increased more than 15 per cent in almost 20 years. The increase in female participation contrasts with the male trend. Indeed, while the ratio of working men dropped five percentage points during the period that immediately preceded the official outbreak of the ISA virus (2005-2008),¹¹³ female labour participation continued to show a positive trend during these years.

¹¹³ According to data from the CASEN series, male labour participation in Chiloé dropped from 75.7% to 71.5% between 2000 and 2006 in Chiloé, while the national male participation rate increased from 66.3% to 68.3%. Both female participation in Chiloé and Chile increased during this period. A possible explanation worth exploring further is that the salmon industry labour-saving technologies implemented during the 2000s concentrated on male-dominated salmon production stages.

% of working age population that work	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2008
Women	36.9	38.8	41.5	42.5
Men	78.9	79.9	77.5	72.6

Table 28: Percentage of active working-age population (16 years or older) by gender, in Central Chiloé (4-5-year sub-periods within the 1990-2008 period)

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from Labour History module in the 2009 Rimisp survey.

The increased labour participation of women has had a meaningful impact on men and women's everyday lives. However, the current intra-household organisation among families in Central Chiloé is still strongly influenced by the archipelago's historical gender roles: The primary responsibility of male heads of households towards their family is to bring income. Despite their increased labour participation, women continue to be the primary (and sometimes the sole) people responsible for direct and indirect care work. The sexual division of domestic work shapes the characteristics of female and male labour participation. While men tend to have more stable labour participation, women's participation is characterised by more periods of inactivity or unemployment.

When analysing women's labour history in Central Chiloé between 1990 and 2008, the evidence presented in *Table 29* shows that more than half of the women (who were 21 years or older in 2009) had worked at least once. This share is more than ten percentage points higher than the highest participation rate showed in *Table 28*. Although this situation also occurs when analysing male labour trajectories, the increase in male participation is more moderate than that of their female counterparts, signalling the more stable character of their incorporation.

% that worked at least one time (>=21 years old in 2009)	1990-2008	Comparison with the highest participation rate shown in Table 28	
		Percentage increase (%)	Increase in percentage points
Women	53.2	25.0	10.6
Men	83.9	5.1	4.1

Table 29: Percentage of active (working-age) population by sex, in Central Chiloé (1990-2008 period)

Note: Data does not control the duration of work. However, the survey asks to describe the *main jobs* that family members have had since the 1990s. Therefore, it is expected that only significant work experiences are recorded (in terms of duration, salary or another variable rendered significant for the respondent).

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Labour History module in the 2009 Rimisp survey.

Additionally, male and female labour participation exhibit different trends in time. *Figure 29: Percentage of women and men participating in the labour market by age-range in Central Chiloé (2008)* shows that men and women tend to concentrate their labour participation between 26 and 55 years of age. However, their participation rates within this period differ. While men's rate reaches an average of approximately 90% and is relatively stable, women's participation is almost half that of men's and shows a sharper decrease in time.

A more detailed comparison provides a hint of the reasons behind the different trends and points particularly to the different impact of having a spouse and children on male and female labour participation. Specifically, while men tend to increase their labour participation when having children (whether he has a spouse or not), having both children and a partner decreases women's probability of participating in the labour market.¹¹⁴ In

¹¹⁴ See the results of the probit model estimation in *Figure A. 3* in the Appendix.

other words, when women have children and are not single mothers, they tend to engage less in the labour market, favouring their domestic roles.

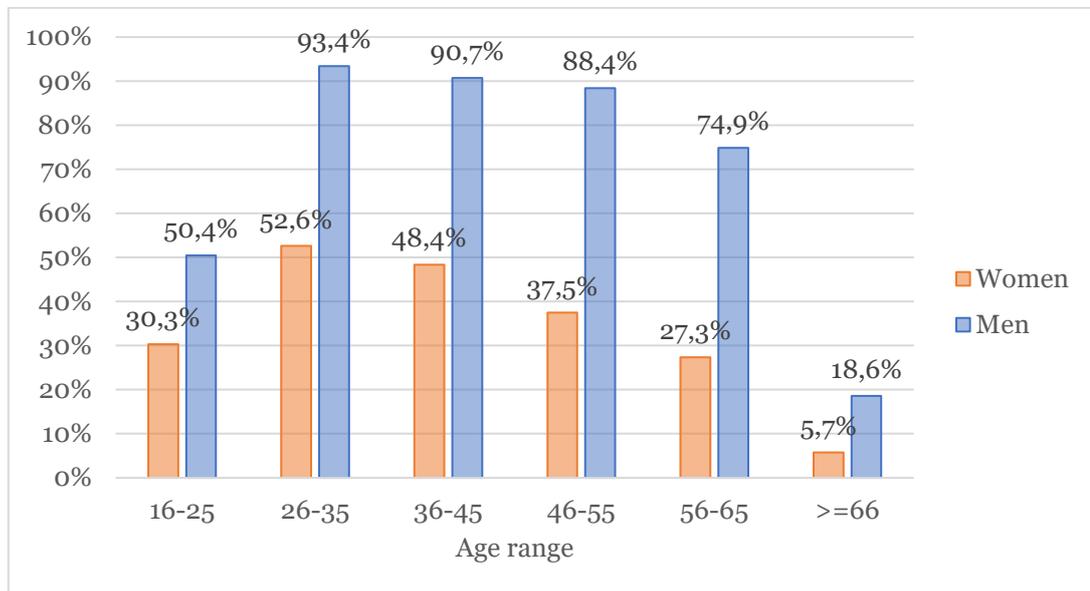


Figure 29: Percentage of women and men participating in the labour market by age-range in Central Chiloé (2008)

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the 2009 Rimisp survey. Data from the Labour History module.

The following story illustrates the process of workforce casualisation in the archipelago and the cost that care and domestic work mean to women, particularly in the labour market. It presents the life of Carmen, a married woman who stopped working for an income to take care of her two kids.¹¹⁵

Carmen's story

Carmen (33) lives with her two children (11 and 2) in Natri, a rural locality situated in the municipality of Chonchi. Her husband, Francisco (42), stays with them on weekends because, during the week, he works per day and without a contract as a barge operator in a salmon firm in Quellón (50km approx. from Natri). Francisco permanently worked in the salmon industry

¹¹⁵ This and the following life stories are real, but names are fictitious. They present the lives of women as told by them in 2014. Therefore, characteristics of a contingent nature (such as age and employment situation) reflect realities in 2014.

(since 1998), but he was dismissed in 2012 due to post-crisis rearrangements. After a couple of years of unemployment, when he engaged in occasional jobs in agriculture and other fishing firms, he returned to work on a salmon farm, but since 2014 he has not found a job posting closer to home. Besides the income that Francisco makes as a salmon worker, the family lives from subsidies from the state due to their economic situation and indigenous heritage. At present, Carmen does not have nor seeks a remunerated job because she does not have the energy to engage in any job apart from taking care of her kids and the household: "Right now I don't have a (vegetable) garden because with my little ones I don't have the energy to work". In total, Carmen and her family have enough income to cover their basic needs (mainly food, kids clothing and school supplies) and occasional unexpected expenses, but they barely can save for extra spendings: "My daughter got sick not long ago... the medications! There goes what little we can save."

Carmen was born in a small rural locality on the island of Puqueldón. Despite her desire to continue studying, she had to stop attending school after completing six years of primary education because her local school did not offer higher levels. Indeed, only one of her sibling (out of ten) was able to continue her studies beyond 6th grade: "I remember that (the school in) Aldachildo had up to 8th grade and my sister was enrolled there. When my sister returned from school, I cried because I also wanted to study." At 13, Carmen started to work per day cleaning houses and taking small agricultural jobs to buy her "things and collaborate in the household". When she was 18, she started to work in a local salmon firm during the harvesting seasons and, at 21, moved to the Castro. Her initial intention was to search for a job and stay in the city for a couple of years, but Carmen soon met Francisco, and they moved to Natri, his hometown, to form a family. For a while, Carmen combined her work in the salmon industry with services as a childcare to local families but stopped working altogether when she realised her son's grades were falling and she did not have the time to help him with schoolwork.

Education has been, indeed, a fundamental goal in the lives of Carmen and her family. Although her husband left school without completing primary

education, in recent years, he has been studying on his own to obtain a certificate for the rest of his primary and secondary years.¹¹⁶ He aims to complete secondary education to be promoted as a supervisor in his work and continue studying to become a diving teacher. Carmen would also want to continue her studies someday, but now, she says, her focus is on her children. Indeed, despite the difficulty that she had during our interview to find the words to express her thoughts and feelings ("One only knows the most basic words"), her voice was raised with emotion and pride when she talked about her children and what she wanted for their future. "They [my parents] did not give me studies, but I will give them to my children. Anyhow, if there is any job available, I will work anywhere, for what? To give studies to my children (...), so that someday they will be professionals, and not be like me or their aunts and uncles."

As we see from the experience of Carmen, the fact that women with partners and children decline their labour participation in the market as they age does not necessarily mean that their workload diminishes. On top of being the primary person responsible for domestic and care tasks (e.g. cooking, cleaning and taking care of children and elders), women are generally the principal administrators of the households' income. This latter duty has historical roots that can be traced back to when men used to engage in temporary migration seeking employment outside of the archipelago, and women stayed in the archipelago taking care of the household and the family. Moreover, and as it is exposed later in this chapter, women also play an essential role in the economic stability of households at times of shock or special needs. For instance, in the particular case of Carmen, although she was not working at the time of the interview, she was keen to do so in the future when continuing the education of her children would require more extraordinary expenses. Lying at the core of the culture in Chiloé, there is the general idea that if money is not enough, the women will find a way to maintain the household's

¹¹⁶ The Ministry of Education allows people over 18 years of age to certificate primary and secondary studies (*exámenes libres*). The certification is free and valid to continue higher education and for any procedure that requires certification of studies (information provided by the Ministry of Education through the official website).

livelihood and ensure minimum wellbeing for their children because "a mother will never let her children lack any".¹¹⁷

Female-headed households represented 40% of the households in the archipelago in 2015, an almost 13-percentage-point-increase concerning 2009 (See *Figure 30*).¹¹⁸ The increase of female-headed households since 1990 could be linked to several factors, such as a rise of single mothers in the archipelago, the ageing of the local population (and the fact that women tend to outlive their male partners), and the intentional misreport of families that aim to qualify for state support (as mentioned in the previous chapter). However, the sharp increase of female-headed households from 2006 or 2009 to the post-crisis situation in 2015 suggests an additional factor contributing to the latest rise. In particular, from the qualitative evidence gathered, it is possible to conclude that the arrangement that Carmen and her husband had after the crisis (in which she stayed with their children and he lived most of the time somewhere else, closer to his job) was not unusual among families that lost their primary source of income during and after the salmon crisis:

"[My husband] now works in Puerto Montt, we see each other on weekends ... One gets used to it, but before ... I think that it happened to many families, that the man had to go seek [a job] elsewhere and the women [were left] alone with the children, it was complicated."

(Fieldwork interview, Municipal Official, Puqueldón)

¹¹⁷ Fieldwork in-depth interview, Chonchi.

¹¹⁸ This increase is explained by a rise of both uniparental female-headed households (households where the female head does not have a partner living under the same roof) and biparental female-headed households (households where the female head has a partner living under the same roof).

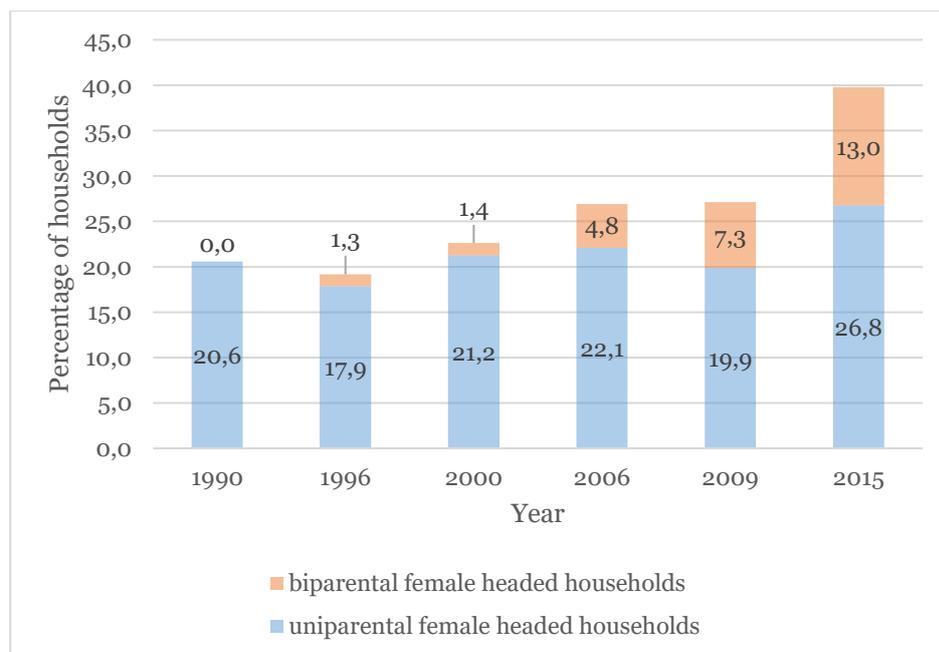


Figure 30: Percentage of biparental and uniparental female-headed households in Chiloé, 1990-2015

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from CASEN series.

Single mothers are particularly vulnerable within female-headed households, as they do not count with an additional source of income and constantly struggle to combine domestic and economic responsibilities throughout their lives. As we see in the story below, although generally receiving support from their close family, single mothers in the archipelago work as soon as they can and until they can do so, placing their own needs on hold to provide for their children.¹¹⁹

Violeta's story

Violeta (47) is a single mother of four and lives with her two younger sons (20 and 10) in Matao, a rural locality south of Quinchao Island. She works on her farm and, seasonally, sowing and harvesting in the mussel industry. She has worked since she was ten years old: First, helping her father in their farm, and

¹¹⁹ This is particularly true for single mothers in cases where the father is completely absent. Although abandoning children is illegal in Chile (as the father has a legal duty to provide economic support to his children), according to my fieldwork interviews with municipal officials, it is not an unusual practice among men in the archipelago.

then, in other people's land, either sowing potatoes or preparing the land for agriculture: "I was 12 years old when I started to take tremendous logs out of the ground!" Indeed, thanks to her work uprooting and preparing the land for agriculture, she was able to buy her first shoes "because I grew barefoot".

Violeta has lived most of her life in the same locality. Although in her early 20s she lived in Achao with a family that hired her to take care of their daughter, she returned to the countryside two years later, when she got pregnant with her first child. At that time, her father gave her part of his land (0.5ha) to help her build her household, and since then, she has lived there, next to her father, engaging in agriculture (growing carrots, potatoes, lettuce and beetroot) and small husbandry (mainly pigs).

Once all of her children were old enough to attend the *internado*,¹²⁰ she began to work in a firm that manufactured nets for the salmon industry:

"I spent three years working from Monday to Friday sewing nets near Ancud. I [only] came home to sleep (...). [The bus] picked me up at 5am to be there [at work] at 8am (...). [My children] arrived on Friday afternoon, and I was with them on Friday and Saturday. They left on Sunday, and Monday, I started work again."

In 2010, when the firm shut down due to the salmon crisis, Violeta began to work in a local mussel firm. She worked informally and per day, but in 2013 she started to have seasonal contracts (5-month contracts). Since the crisis, Violeta has also worked in municipal jobs, mainly cleaning public spaces, and in other salmon firms (for 3-months seasons), but has trouble remembering the exact month or year when these jobs started and ended: "Once I exit from

¹²⁰ Among the alternatives that rural families have to ensuring the continuity of studies of their sons and daughters, is to send them to *internados* (boarding schools) or other similar modalities that provide accommodation and food. They depend on the JUNAEB (National Board of School Aid and Scholarships) (in the case of Student Housing), run by the respective municipality (in the case of *internados*, which are next to their assigned municipal schools, or *hogares*, which are not physically on the school premises, but have been assigned to a municipal establishment) or by private entrepreneurs. They are all financed by a fiscal subsidy and are free to students. Applicants must be students who come from a rural locality located more than 3 km away from the nearest educational establishment (information provided by the institutions' official webpage).

one place, I enter another". Since the crisis, Violeta has also received occasional monetary help from PRODESAL, which she has used to buy fertilisers or other agricultural inputs.

Violeta describes her life as a struggle, a constant fight to provide for her children. In that sense, she feels relief that most of them are already grown up and "working for themselves" (two in the salmon industry and another in a school in Puerto Montt). However, she remains worried about her youngest son, for whom she "will fight until I can".

7.1.2. The two sides of local industrialisation and modernisation

Besides the rise of local female employment and industrial jobs, the archipelago has experienced other social and economic transformations. These changes have created an atmosphere of 'constant transformations' among local society and contributed to expanding the idea that modernity, with all its contradictions, has finally arrived in the archipelago.

The decline of farm-based production

A significant transformation in recent decades relates to the decline of agricultural production, particularly among younger generations. In general, the young do not want to engage in farm work as their parents do or did in the past but prefer to work independently or receive a wage in other economic sectors seen as 'more modern'. The general idea among locals is that on top of agriculture being an activity that is both harder and dirtier than other economic activities,¹²¹ it does not offer enough income nor stability to live a calm life. In short, it is common knowledge among locals that agriculture *ya no da* (it no longer provides enough to live). On top of being susceptible to weather and environmental shocks –which are becoming increasingly

¹²¹ "[Young people do not want to work in agriculture] because it really is a harder job. Even if it gives results, it is more demanding and filthier. When working in the land you cannot imagine how the clothes get, when they take out the potatoes in summer, all the dust..." (Fieldwork in-depth interview, Chonchi).

frequent due to climate change (FAO, 2017)-, the agrarian sector in the archipelago does not offer stable work, but mainly *changas*, the local word used to refer to informal and mainly task-specific jobs paid by the day.

Additionally, salaried jobs -that is, jobs that pay a consistent salary or wage, as opposed to self-employment or independent activities- are associated among the rural youth to attain greater independence from their parents. In particular, to have a salary as a worker in the service or industrial sectors allows young rural women and men to have their own income and house, without the need to be subjected to their parents' rules. Similarly, in rural areas of difficult access or relatively isolated from more populated centres, the option of working outside the family land provides the young with the opportunity to expand their social circles.

The predilection of the young for salaried jobs, particularly in the aquaculture sector,¹²² in detriment of agricultural jobs is consistent with the quantitative data gathered in Central Chiloé. In particular, *Table 30* shows that the share of individuals working in farm-related activities (agriculture, animal husbandry, forest management) increases with age, while the participation in the aquaculture sector decreases the older is the individual. Both trends are also present in the fieldwork data gathered in 2014 (which reflected the labour situation of the family members in 2013).

¹²² The share of salaried work in the agricultural sector is substantially lower than in aquaculture. According to the 2008 Rimisp survey in Central Chiloé, 22% of farm-related job were salaried jobs, while this share was 83% for the aquaculture sector in the same year.

Age range	Farm-related activities		Aquaculture sector	
	2008	2013	2008	2013
15-34	15.2	10.7	36.4	25.0
35-54	34.2	36.1	24.0	18.1
>=55	56.3	48.3	8.0	3.5
% salaried workers	21.9	20.9	82.3	95.2

Table 30: Share of individuals, by age range, that works in the sectors of agriculture and aquaculture in Central Chiloé (2008 and 2013) (%)

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Labour Register module in the 2009 Rimisp survey and fieldwork survey in 2014 in Central Chiloé.

The shortage of people willing to engage in farm-based work and the new availability of salaried jobs in the archipelago have pushed up agrarian wages. Which, along with the incorporation of fertilisers in local agriculture and the implementation of stricter regulations to access formal markets as sellers of agricultural and livestock products (e.g. the imposition of health and sanitary certifications), have contributed to increasing the costs of agrarian production in a context where international competition has depressed output prices. The increased costs of agricultural activity and the low output prices are constraints that are frequently mentioned by those who would like to expand their farm production beyond subsistence levels (see quote below). Although the arrival of new technology (such as tractors and vehicles) facilitates the production and commercialisation of agricultural products, it has not been enough to shift the downward tendency of agricultural and livestock production in Chiloé.¹²³

"... we are still going through [a] crisis [in the countryside] because currently, it is impossible to sell animals. Before, one sold the animals to intermediaries. However, even with them now, there is no business. The potato is not selling either. It is only self-consumption. (...) As much as we sow and have our products, we do not have a way to increase our income.

¹²³ Particularly, the arrival of the tractor to the archipelago is frequently mentioned as a substitute to the hiring of labour, however, to buy a tractor or rent its services have prohibitive prices for many local small-scale farmers.

(...) Now many products come from abroad. That makes things cheaper. The exports from outside are coming all here, but there are no sales from here to there (...). Then, one remains with the [unsold] products."

(Fieldwork interview, Head of Neighbourhood Association, Curaco de Vélez)

Sharp changes in the span of one generation

Not only have younger generations in Chiloé had better access to remunerated jobs within the archipelago, but they have also had improved access to education, and generally, they have not been forced to collaborate with the family economy. Most localities have better roads, transport services and school facilities than in the recent past, which has positively impact school attendance and encouraged parents to privilege education over child labour.¹²⁴ Younger generations are also more aware of their rights, and they are more willing to actively and explicitly reject violent or forced labour practices at home. Moreover, in general, younger generations have lived lives with fewer material constraints. The arrival of the salmon industry and the consequent development of the service sector have improved overall consumption levels for the local population.

However, despite the predominant idea that older generations had to endure harsher situations than younger ones, locals acknowledged that modernity has brought new needs and problems. In particular, most areas in Central Chiloé have experienced the extension of new services, such as electricity, internet and schooling. Although these services have improved the quality of life, they have deepened the monetisation of local economies. In concrete, as the following quote illustrates, modernisation has increased the need for money in previously semi-subsistence economies:

¹²⁴ Children of previous generations were usually forced to engage in agricultural activities in their farms or, in the case of women, to work as carers or housekeepers for wealthier families).

"Now we are like the city. We have electric light, transport, drinking water... the thing is that you have monthly payments (...) and that is where you have to get creative to bring in the cash."

(Fieldwork interview, Head of Neighbourhood Association, Dalcahue)

Increased post-crisis instability

Agricultural work has become increasingly volatile in the archipelago due to climate change and the global participation of the Chilean economy. Moreover, salaried work has also become an increasingly unstable activity, particularly the one offered by the salmon sector after the 2009 crisis. In its origins, locals appreciated the salmon industry as a source of stable income that alleviated the need to engage in temporary migration outside of the archipelago. However, after the recent crisis and the subsequent industrial restructuring, the industry's appreciation has changed. Not only, as the previous chapter has shown, there is evidence that the post-crisis industry continues to implement precarious forms of employment, but also –mainly because of the coordinated phases of rest and activity, and the mechanisation of its processes- current salmon jobs are more unstable than the ones offered in the past.

The salmon crisis of the late 2000s left an imprint of uncertainty among the local population, not only because of the instability mentioned above but also because there have been constant episodes of salmon virus reappearance (Miranda, 2014). These re-occurrences (although controlled) have generated the impression that a similar shock to their livelihoods can occur again at any time.¹²⁵ Besides, locals do not see the possibility to develop a stable and long-term career within the industry because of its physical demands activities and negative externalities for the health of long-term workers. Overall, the

¹²⁵ For instance, in 2015 Chiloé experienced another environmental shock. The archipelago was affected by a toxic 'red tide' that had important negative impacts on the local livelihoods (particularly, through its impact on fishing and marine gathering), and which has been associated to the rise of water temperature due to climate change and the bad environmental practices of the salmon industry (Franklin, 2016).

precariousness of the salmon work and the constant uncertainty and instability have led the industry to become a place where people work while waiting to find another job with better working conditions. In short, workers lack a sense of loyalty towards a particular salmon firm or the industry as a whole. The idea of commitment towards the industry is absent because the opposite does not hold: Salmon firms are not seen as loyal to the population, as they are ultimately not seen as providers of stable work.

7.2. The economic role of women in Central Chiloé

7.2.1. Women's triple economic role

Women in Central Chiloé have a triple-economic role. First, as shown in the previous section, women continue to hold the primary responsibility for domestic work despite the structural changes in recent decades. These domestic responsibilities include essential tasks for the reproduction of the family unit, such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of children and the elderly, and administering household income. *Table 31*, with data from the 2014 fieldwork survey, shows the stark difference between men and women regarding housekeeping tasks.¹²⁶ While 40% of the women aged 17 or older were in charge of housekeeping, this percentage was 0 (null) for their male counterparts. Second, women have been increasingly participating in the local labour market as wage workers since the arrival and development of the aquaculture industry. In other words, on top of their domestic responsibilities, women have strengthened their role as income providers within the household. *Table 31* shows that 60% of the women surveyed during the fieldwork had worked for an income in 2013. This share is higher than the share of female labour participation in 2015 (45%, shown in *Figure 13*) mainly because, when enquiring about the activities of each household member, the

¹²⁶ The 2014 survey enquired about the activities that each household member undertook the previous year (i.e. in 2013), and it incorporated the possibility to report as many categories as the respondent desired. In this sense, the fieldwork survey applied a more flexible approach than the 2009 Rimisp survey to measure the activities of family members, as in the latter respondents were asked to identify themselves and their household members only in the category that best accounted for what they *mainly* did during the previous year.

fieldwork survey allowed to report as many categories as the respondent desired, and not necessarily the one regarded as the most important. This twist with the 2009 Rimisp survey allowed women to name secondary activities that they usually do not regard as the most important ones but complement and contribute economically to the household livelihood.

Category	Year 2013			
	Number		%	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Student	12	8	11	8
Worker	68	82	60	85
Non-remunerated family work	20	13	18	13
Job Seeker	3	4	3	4
Housekeeper	45	0	40	0
Inactive	2	1	2	1
Pensioner	11	4	10	4
Total	113*	97*	100*	100*

Table 31: Working status of women and men aged 17 or older in Central Chiloé in 2013

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the 2014 survey in Central Chiloé.

*: There are 113 and 97 women and men aged 17 or older in the 2013 survey, respectively. However, because the survey offered the possibility to self-identify in different categories simultaneously, each total does not correspond to the sum of the respective column.

Third, because the young are not interested in agricultural work and adult men usually work outside the household, women are today the main actors in small-scale agricultural production in the archipelago. *Table 31* captures some of this gendered responsibility by showing that non-remunerated family work, which according to the survey data relates mainly to small-scale agriculture or small animal husbandry, is done by more women than men.

In total, when jointly considering the categories of 'worker', 'housekeeper' and 'non-remunerated family work', 77% of the women included in the fieldwork survey actively contributed to the reproduction of their households in 2013. Moreover, both surveys show that, on average, women contribute around two-

fifths of total household income (39% and 45% of the household income in 2008 and 2013, respectively). Furthermore, when assigning a monetary value to the household subsistence production,¹²⁷ it is estimated that it represents around 10% of the monthly household income. Nevertheless, despite the evidence pointing to their multiple economic activities and their substantial economic contribution to local households, local state representatives usually describe female economic activities as secondary, marginal and precarious, as shown in the previous chapter.

7.2.2. Women as historical and spontaneous microentrepreneurs

This section further explores women's economic contribution by focusing on how they understand and make sense of their own lives. Before exploring further the argument that women in the archipelago are and have traditionally been *spontaneous micro-entrepreneurs* throughout their lives, the section begins by presenting the life stories of three local women.

Isabel's story

Isabel (49) lives with her husband (49) and her son (18) in Huyar Alto, a rural locality in the municipality of Curaco de Vélez (on the island of Quinchao). Her husband and son work in the mussel industry, jumping "from one firm to the other", while Isabel works in agriculture and –since one year before the interview- in managing water provision in her locality. She is the president of a farmers' group that supplies weekly vegetables to the local *internado* school. Her work in the Water Committee (*Comité de Agua*) consists of collecting water consumption information and distributing monthly water bills and receipts to over 100 households in her locality. Besides, she goes daily to the creek where the locality obtains the water to keep the dam clean.

¹²⁷ The monetary value is assigned by the survey respondent, and refers to the amount of money that would be spent if purchasing the goods that are produced to be consumed within the household.

Isabel has been working in agriculture for more than 30 years. When she was 12, she already had her own garden and knew how to grow vegetables independently. She has been working her entire life on agriculture, mostly on her own: "I have worked alone all my life, now (that I am old) my husband helps me, but before I worked alone." When she was 17, her mother died, and she took her place taking care of her siblings and undertaking different chores in their house and farm, while her dad was working: "I had to cook and then wash the dishes, I had to gather straw or whatever to make organic fertiliser..." At that time, she also launched a small retail business at home, selling products like cigarettes and sugar to contribute to the household livelihood. Isabel enjoys working, and she has embarked on different activities throughout her life ("I have done everything").

She is well-connected to the local municipality and its officials. Although the Water Committee is a civil organisation,¹²⁸ she receives her wage from municipal funds (the community is soon organising the payment). Before this job, Isabel also worked for two and a half years assisting the social worker of *Programa Puente* in her visits to the different local households. Moreover, Isabel also receives occasional requests from municipal officials to bake traditional food for special events of public and private character. She jokes with her daughter, who works in the municipal hospital and was visiting her at the time of our interview: "All the hospital jobs are for her and the municipal are mine... it is because we are very responsible people." Indeed, she sees herself as different from most *chilotes* because –she argues- they do not take care of their jobs as well as they should.

Isabel also has a long-term history as a participant in INDAP's programmes. She has two relatively big greenhouses (120m² and 80m²), and she built one of them with support from INDAP. Also, around 15 years ago, she took her first one in a series of loans offered by the institution, which helped her kick-start her commercial enterprise:

¹²⁸ More information on the Water Committee and the provision of rural water in Chapter 4.

"[The local representative of] PRODESAL told me 'you have a loan of 500 thousand pesos (US\$833) to buy cows.' With that yo me armé (I built myself), I bought three cows and that fridge. And then, I got used to it and started to take out loans through INDAP, which was a good help (...). I invested [the loan] and used profits to pay it back. For example, my three cows gave birth, and with the three calves, I paid the loan and got to keep the cows."

Eventually, Isabel sold the cows acquired thanks to INDAP's loans and bought a van to distribute her agricultural production: "I sell (my production) all over the town of Curaco, and sometimes I go to the hospital in Achao, and I sell to them too." Similarly to her relationship with the local municipality, Isabel also has a close long-term relationship with INDAP. On top of the credits she received in her 30s, the farmer group she presides for was formed by an institutional initiative more than ten years ago. Last year, she received an award from the rural institution as 'the best producer of vegetables of the sector': "The other people sow very little, the one who sows the most is me... In other words, everything I produce, I sell it, and I can't even meet the demand."

Notwithstanding the above, Isabel is not interested in participating in programmes that focus on larger-scale farmers: "[INDAP consultants] had told me that I could apply to more [programmes], [to sell] with an invoice, and I said no. I'm used to [selling] door-to-door, and people who don't plant or have no land still buy from me." In other words, she is not interested in expanding her production and formalising her agricultural business: "I'm tired already, it has been a lot, my waist hurts a lot when I pick up the vegetables, and there has been leg exhaustion...". Indeed, when talking about her future, she says that she would like to stop working sooner rather than later, to be able to take holidays and rest.

In the short term, however, Isabel is focused on saving to improve her household situation. The house where she was living at the moment of the interview had a termite infestation, and she and her family were planning to move within the next year to a new subsidised house ("They [the municipality] gave me a house"). During the last few years, she has been saving to expand the new house before moving in. Indeed, the earnings from her work have

been either re-invested in her agriculture production or saved for the household: "Now I no longer [ask for loans], I already buy the *guano* (organic fertiliser) with my money, and I keep my profit for buying guano and planting the next year. I buy all my things, and the rest goes inside [my pocket] (i.e. it is saved)."

Isabel is proud of herself and what her family has achieved thanks to her work: "Everything we have, we have achieved it with my work in agriculture (...). What my husband earns is purely to eat, pay electricity bills... we don't save nothing from there, nothing." However, she is worried about the future of agriculture in her locality, mainly within her family: "I am the only one at home who likes farming (...). My three children, none of them like agriculture, one likes to work in the hospital, the other works as a domestic worker and the other works in a mussels firm. Neither will take a *gualato* (traditional tool, see *Figure 31*) and work in the garden or in the greenhouse. (...) I stop working, and agriculture finishes here. Nothing will be planted (...). That is the worst change there has been [in the countryside]."



Figure 31: The gualato: A traditional tool that continues to be used

Note: The *gualato* is a tool known in southern Chile, especially on the archipelago of Chiloé, where it has been used for centuries. It is used on the farm (for cleaning the land, potato harvesting and any activity related to the removal of soil) and at the seaside (in the collection of shellfish) (Rojas, 2012).

Source: Instagram (@elhuertodechiloe)

Marta's story

Marta (49) lives with her husband (43) and her younger son (9) in her birthplace, Huillinco, a rural settlement close to Chonchi. She works in agriculture and owns, with her husband, a micro-enterprise that offers transport services to a salmon firm. Additionally, Marta works driving children to school, and her husband works as a taxi driver.

Marta had "to grow up fast". When she was 10, her father left the household, and her mother was suddenly on her own in charge of three children (Marta and her two younger brothers): "[Before] women were very subjected to the husband because he was the only one who earned money and brought it home. The woman had to stay at home, take care of the children, make food, wash clothes... My mother lived under this regime, and when my father left with another woman and left her with three children, everything was very hard for her." Marta saw how her mother engaged in diverse activities to sustain the household and educate her children. Seeing her inner strength was a pivotal experience in her life: "I looked at my mother who made such a great effort, she worked in her garden, sold vegetables, sold chickens, raised turkeys and sold them, went to town and brought us flour, brought us milk, (bought us the) vegetables that were not grown at that time in the farm... She showed such fortitude. She never faltered."

In order to help her mother, Marta worked throughout her secondary studies. She started to work at 13, selling home-baked pastries in the morning and going to school in the afternoon while living with her aunt in Castro. At 14, Marta started to work as a domestic worker living with her employers for three years. The first year, she stopped her studies, but the following years she managed to complete her second and third year of secondary education while continuing to work almost full time: "The lady (her boss) allowed me to continue studying. So I would ask my classmates for their old notebooks and rewrote all the classes. (...) Once a week, she gave me a free day, or two days every 15 days. It was very hard. It was very hard." After the nuns awarded her

a scholarship, she finished her last year of secondary education in a catholic boarding school recently arrived in Castro.

After finishing her secondary education, she worked for a couple of years as a school inspector in the catholic school and then returned to Huillinco to work with her mother and help her raise money for her brothers' education. They received help from INDAP, which they used to buy cattle and sheep: "My mom applied here and there, and she got (a loan to buy) cattle and sheep. With that, *nos fuimos afirmando* (we put ourselves together). (...) We raised the sheep, the lambs, we sold them, my mother spun (wool), I helped her sell the yarns, she made sweaters, stockings, and we sold things from the farm... So then, my brothers could also study, and then they worked, and life changed."

Marta also received help from INDAP once she started her own family. After a couple of years, in which she also worked in a nursery school, she participated in PRODESAL as a member of a farmers group that received technical assistance in agriculture and animal husbandry. With that help, Marta built two greenhouses "of 160m² each, where there was lettuce, coriander, chard, parsley, and chive... everything you could put on". Her production expanded considerably, and she got a loan through the institution to buy a second-hand van to distribute and sell her agricultural production: "It was a 'link loan',¹²⁹ and I cancelled it with all kinds of interests, but at the time, it was salvation." She and her husband used the van to sell their products around Chiloé. "We went to Quellón in the morning, about two or three times a week, with the truck with 18 bags of potatoes. And we were selling them all day, street by street, house by house...".

Simultaneously, Marta worked in a nursery school, and her husband worked as a taxi driver in a rented car. After calculating their incomes and the money they spent renting the taxi, they decided to take a credit to buy their car, but they did not have the capital needed for the credit application. Thanks to a

¹²⁹ Link loans or "*créditos de enlace*" are short-term bridging loans giving liquidity to an individual or entity until a new, longer-term loan is agreed.

loan from a friend, they could obtain credit from a bank to buy their taxi. "And from then on *nos sacamos la mugre* (we worked hard), because I still worked in the nursery at that time, and my husband had to pay the car fee, which was very expensive, and we also set aside \$50,000 (US\$83) to pay our friend's loan every month (...). We paid off our debts, we paid the car and then *nos fuimos armando* (we started to build ourselves)."

After some years, when their daughter entered school in 2000, they saw the need for families to transport their children to school and sold the van bought through INDAP to purchase a minibus to offer a school transport service. In 2011, when they heard that Marine Harvest was looking to externalise its transport service, Marta and her husband decided to extend their business: "Some acquaintances who work at the company told us 'Marine Harvest needs a van because they are going to transport people (to work)', so we presented the documents (to apply for the job). My husband and I had the legal permit to drive minibuses. But due to those things in life, our van was in my name (...), so I became the legal representative of our micro-enterprise...".

Today, on top of the taxi car, Marta and her husband own three minibuses: One, mainly driven by Marta, is used to transport school kids; another, driven by her husband, is used for special trips; and the third one, driven by a hired worker -the only employee of their microenterprise-, is used to transport salmon workers. "Our driver works six days a week, and I replace him one day, either Friday or Saturday, because I cannot do it another day. It cannot be during the week because of (my work for) the schools, it would involve hiring another driver, and we cannot afford that."

Notwithstanding their growing business, Marta has never stopped working in farming, her preferred activity and what really makes her happy: "[Our transport business] is something extra, but for me, my strength has always been my farm, agriculture." Because she is a well known agricultural producer in her locality, she does not have to sell her production door-to-door as in the past. Customers either come directly to her house and buy vegetables, "many

times cooperating, washing lettuces, making bunches of coriander, packing the potatoes...", or they call to schedule home deliveries.

Moreover, during the summer, Marta sells her products in Las Marias, a collective space built in 2000 by the farmers' group formed initially by PRODESAL. Once the farmers stopped receiving technical and commercial support from INDAP, they applied to a municipal project to build a space where each farmer could sell individually. Although at the beginning of their association, they offered products as a group to schools and firms, the products were different in quality, and they decided to switch their collaborative strategy: "We applied for a project to build an infrastructure that would function as a warehouse and as a fair. We were selected, and the municipality gave us a certain amount of money. The labour was all our labour, with *mingas*. (...) There we were, women and husbands, preparing food, cutting wood boards, collaborating in everything we could...". At present, the centre not only works as a space to sell raw vegetables but also as a restaurant: "We take our lettuces, carrots, peas, beans, potatoes. We sell a certain quantity, and the rest is for cooking. One cooks what one produces."

Marta states that her most significant achievement is the tranquillity with which she looks at the future. She understands that this is an accomplishment that they, as a family, had reached with personal sacrifices: "There have been times when we had to go into debt, and we have had to tighten our consumption significantly, but the four of us have done it. We have discussed the issue as a family, and we have come out ahead." While her ultimate goal is to provide stability to their children and to be able to educate them, in the short run, she would like to have more time to rest and take holidays: "It's just that sometimes you feel tired, but you keep fighting, fighting, fighting (...). There are no resources for people to replace you. We have to do everything ourselves. We cannot afford to go on vacation."

Maria's story

Maria (41) lives with her husband (30) and her two children (7 and 2) in (urban) Chonchi. Her husband works as an informal and occasional labourer in agriculture and construction since 2012 when he was dismissed from a salmon firm. Maria works part-time as a nursery assistant while studying for a technical degree as a preschool teacher. In her free time, she makes handicrafts and bakes traditional local food to earn additional money: "We are always on the edge of our wages, but I do things to sell, my crafts and now I am making *empanadas*, and when I sell them we have (money) to indulge ourselves." She evaluates positively the entrepreneurial programmes and workshops offered by FOSIS and the municipality because they have allowed her to connect with other local entrepreneurs, learn how they price their products and sell her work at the different customs fairs in the summer.

Maria started to work when she was 12. Every summer, during her school years, she worked as a child-carer for a family that came to spend their holidays in Chiloé. "I used to earn money in January and February. Which then I used in March to buy my study supplies, which was a relief for my mother." When she finished her secondary studies, she continued to work as a childcarer in a local nursery after finding out about the job through a family friend. Four years later, the nursery closed, and she started to work in the packaging process of a salmon firm in 1995. She did not like to be a salmon worker: "I suffered from those fishes! We had to open them and remove the intestines just as if we had been in a butcher's shop. The fish measured about one meter each! (...) I used to think, 'why am I here if what I want is to work with children?'" However, she stayed working in the salmon industry for four or five years. She finally resigned when she promoted as a supervisor, and her boss requested her to treat workers in ways she did not find acceptable:

"I did not yell at them to hurry up, I spoke to them (...), because above all I am human, I first think of people, because I would not like to be shouted at and challenged at work, much less that they did that to my mom or my siblings."

She did not have an alternative job before her resignation, but instead of returning to another salmon firm -as those were the jobs more available at

that time-, she started to grow agricultural products in her backyard and to raise pigs to sell their meat ("I have always been an entrepreneur"). After some time, she was able to find a job again as a nursery assistant and stayed there for three to four years, until she decided to pursue a degree in preschool education ("The goal that I have always had is to study, to study, to study"). Maria enrolled in a technical college in Castro and started to work as a cashier in a supermarket, a job that offered the flexibility she needed to study: "I worked shifts from 9am to 1pm, and then came back at 5pm and worked until 9pm. During this time, from 1pm to 5pm, I would go to Castro to try to find all my materials, talk to my classmates, make photocopies, try to talk to the teachers, and then go back to work."

However, she soon had to interrupt her studies to take care of her parents. Her father had a work-related accident and was interned in Puerto Montt for a while. Not much later, her mother suffered a thrombosis. She spent years dedicated to taking care of them: "My mom was in a vegetative state. I changed her diapers, I exercised with her, made her walk, and gave her food. She had to learn to do everything again, everything, everything, everything (...). My dad also had therapies and things. I was disconnected (from my life) for about two or three years or so." During that time, she baked empanadas and other traditional specialities on top of her work in the supermarket to raise money for their medical treatments.

While working at the supermarket, Maria met her now-husband, who worked as a guard. When their daughter was born, Maria quit her job at the supermarket because her boss did not offer her the flexibility that she needed as a new mother:

"I quit because the lady (her boss) was not very human. She goes to church, but the words she says are very hurtful. She does not care if the person is next to her. She comes and says (whatever she wants), because she has money, she has not lacked anything in her life (...). She used to say to me, 'why didn't you come to work today? It's because of your girl, your girl' (with an insulting tone). I didn't like how she was referring to my daughter. (One day) I said, 'she is not my girl. She is my daughter'. I was still protected by

the fuero maternal,¹³⁰ but I told her, 'you know what? You are going to need that money more than me. I will be very happy because I will see my daughter grow, give her food, and see her first steps. So I am leaving. I am grateful for the work you gave me and for the patience you had for me', and I left."

Without a job, Maria started to bake traditional food again. She contacted a neighbour to sell the food while she stayed at home with her baby. "I paid her (transportation) expenses, and she would also charge me Ch\$5,000 (US\$8.3) per day. I used to bake ten dozen (*empanadas*, stuffed potatoes or *milcaos*) and she would sell them from nine in the morning." Realising that with the money made from her initiative, she was able to pay rent was the "most satisfying moment in her life": "One comprehends the things that you are capable of."

In 2009, when her daughter was two years old, Maria returned to work as a nursery assistant in Integra, a national foundation that offers preschool education to low-income families. She still worked at Integra at the time of our interview, and the institution had awarded her with a scholarship to continue her studies. Maria feels proud of herself because only a few workers received the award among a national pool of applicants. She is also happy that her work is recognised and valued, not only by her colleagues and employers but also by the kids she had taken care of during all these years: "I think that I have been doing my (life) path well. I now meet the children who came out of the nursery, who are young. 'Hello *tía*',¹³¹ they say, 'hello' I say... but they have grown up! They are big men. Some are finishing school!"

Maria is aware that her life has not been easy, but she has learnt from her experiences, good and bad, and has confidence in herself ("The goals I have set for myself, I always achieve them"). In the short term, her goal is to finish her studies and become a full-time teacher. In the long term, she wants to live

¹³⁰ The *fuero maternal* protects the female worker from the beginning of her pregnancy and up to one year after the end of her legal postnatal (6 months). During this period, the employer cannot terminate her employment contract.

¹³¹ *Tía* (aunt in Spanish) is a colloquial and affectionate term used by children to refer to female adults or teachers in Chile.

in her own house (she rents at present) and give her children stability and education. She hopes that her children become professionals one day and that they contribute to their community while doing what they like the most: "I would like my daughter to study something that she likes. I always say to her, 'it can be painting, it can be architecture, it can be... If I can give it to you, I will.' Whatever she likes, because that is the way to be happy."

'Entrepreneurship' as a traditional female activity

As shown in the stories above, in general, local women have worked since they were very young to contribute to their families livelihoods. Some of them were forced to work and interrupt their studies against their will, while others voluntarily did it to alleviate their parents' economic burden. Their early contributions to the household economy, which includes helping in everyday domestic work (something not expected from boys), are seen as an ordinary situation in the past, although harsh and not ideal. The figure of 'the mother' frequently emerges in local narratives (not only in the interviews held during fieldwork but also in my different encounters with locals), an example of someone who was constantly fighting for their wellbeing. The mother is the person who took care of the family when the situations were complicated. When the family did not have enough income, mothers engaged in a diverse set of activities, such as commercialise farm products or sell craftwork, to meet their families basic needs. In short, the maternal model is that of a resourceful woman who knows how to put their diverse skills at play to make the most of their limited assets.

The legacy of the maternal figure as an actor that showed her strengths at times of economic distress is present in the counter-cyclical character of female engagement with the local economy. As well as in the diverse (and often traditionally-based) ways contemporary local women make ends meet. Like their mothers (or the equivalent maternal figure), local women still engage in the selling of traditional food, artisanal handicrafts and farm products. Due to the sexual distribution of work in the archipelago, female-generated income is an 'extra' used to consume or experience things that they

cannot usually afford ("to indulge themselves"), to save for future disbursements -such as housing, schooling or medical expenditures- or to complement male income in moments of economic distress.

Needs-based, flexible and intermittent businesses

The entrepreneurial initiatives and the productive associations of local women are flexible and have an intermittent character. First, women engage in the production of a particular product responding to a specific demand or need. For instance, as we see in the stories above, women bake for weddings, prepare traditional food for tourists during the summer and winter seasons or knit clothes for craft fairs when they take place. In general, women do not engage in the same entrepreneurial activity all year round but adapt their production –in terms of the type of product offered and its quantity- to seasonal changes in demand, to specific requests and to what they have available (and can produce) at a particular time of need. Second, the commercial associations in which women choose to participate are also flexible and adapt to particular requirements and constraints. For instance, when she was a new mother and needed to stay home, Maria (informally) hired her neighbour to sell the pastries she baked daily after quitting her job. Here, we see how two women participate in a short-term business (Maria eventually returned to work in a nursery) that offers one of them a stable daily income and the other enough profits to pay her monthly rent. It was a rewarding business association meant to last only for a particular time of need. In the case of the Las Marias collective (in which Marta participates as a member), the original initiative provided products to schools and firms every month, but then, it adapted its nature to the constraints encountered on the way. Due to the difficulty of providing homogenous products, Las Marias became an association of farmers that manages a building where each can sell their products every summer. Las Marias was flexible to change its collaboration strategy (from a collective provision of products to the collective building and administration of an infrastructural project) and its temporality (from an annual to a seasonal business).

Stability as a life goal

In line with previous research (Deli, 2011; Poschke, 2013; Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016; Williams, 2007), the evidence in this study points out that the goals of the commercial enterprises of women in Central Chiloé are different from those usually associated with capitalist entrepreneurs. Most of the female micro-entrepreneurs in Central Chiloé do not aim for a constant expansion of their businesses, but their main goal is the wellbeing of their families and achieving economic stability. The latter has been absent in women's lives: In general, they describe their life stories as a sequence of struggles and adversities that they have had to fight to overcome. Indeed, the expression 'to fight for...' constantly appears when they talk about their lives, and it is usually associated with their role as caregivers within the household (e.g. "I am going to fight for my children, [so] they do not lack anything", "I am going to fight for my son as far as I can").¹³²

For women in Chiloé, life is a struggle to meet the needs of the next generations. In general, women have engaged in a diverse set of activities throughout their lives in order to maintain the wellbeing of their families in the contexts of recurrent shocks (e.g. illnesses, unemployment of family members, bad weather or environmental conditions for agricultural or marine production, challenging market conditions, absent partners, among others). Therefore, when thinking about their future, their main desire is to stop working at some point and rest. This desire is implicit when they mention more concrete goals, such as investing in the comfort of their homes (e.g. having a warmer house for the winter and better access to drinking water) and taking holidays. These are things that they have not usually been able to do or have during their lives, as they have preferred to invest their money in productive assets (e.g. animals, vehicles, fertilisers) or spend it on more urgent needs.

¹³² Carmen and Violeta, Fieldwork in-depth interview, Chonchi and Quinchao, respectively.

"[The goal of] the local population is to live well. That means having a job, having money to eat and getting dressed, and hopefully taking holidays, which we still do not do in Chiloé. The people of the centre [of Chile] take holidays, the people of Santiago come to Chiloé for their holidays, [but] the people of Chiloé do not go out much. They are working. In the rural sector, people are still very attached to seasonal work and lived within an economic development where they have to be available for the firm."

(Fieldwork interview, Head of Neighbours Association, Castro)

Women's desire for stability is explicit when discussing their life goals and achievements, mainly when referring to their offsprings' education. Indeed, providing better education to their children is an explicit goal that continuously emerges in women's discourses, where higher education is associated with better employment opportunities, higher income, and the possibility to have a stable life. For many adult women, education is a goal that they could not reach in their own lives. They either lacked their parents' support or faced other restrictions that further impeded them from continuing their studies. In short, education is a truncated desire that women extend and fulfil through their children: They want to give them what they could not or did not have in their own lives. Prioritising children's education over domestic, care and farming responsibilities, they expect them to live a different life from theirs, with lower sacrifices and greater economic stability.¹³³ In short, in a life of constant struggles and uncertainties, education (either of oneself or one's children) is local women's permanent goal.

7.3. Women's relation with the state

7.3.1. An overall negative assessment of the functioning of the local state

In general, the local population interviewed in Central Chiloé has a negative view of local authorities and state officials because they see them as unable to protect their interests and demands vis-a-vis the national state. Local

¹³³ Many want that their children to be different from their rural and relatively isolated environment, where they see frequent problems related with alcohol-abuse and poverty.

authorities are seen as having their own personal agendas, disconnected from the problems that occur in their constituencies (see quote below). Similarly, women argue that local state officials are not really interested in generating results or innovating but in managing and taking care of their jobs. In short, the local population are aware of the centralism that permeates the state and of its adverse effects on the state's capacity to incorporate the local and territorial experience in its programmes and interventions.

Moreover, although the expansion of social services under democratic governments is acknowledged and appreciated, people criticise their uneven spatial distribution and the concentration of critical social services in regional and provincial capitals. For instance, regarding healthcare, on top of the waiting time that characterises the public system in general, another recurrent complaint of the local population is the absence of specialists within the local public system. Indeed, most people in need of a particular treatment not delivered by primary healthcare either have to pay the high fees of a local specialist attending privately (if there is one) or travel to mainland Chile at their costs to access the public system. A similar situation happens with the students that want to continue their education after secondary school. Indeed, as the following quote illustrates, the improvement of public education and public healthcare are the two most important demands of the local population in Central Chiloé:

"In recent years, the greatest demonstrations that have taken place in Chiloé are (...) demanding health and education. That is, they demand the state to guarantee minimum rights. Health and education must be guaranteed in Chiloé at all costs because it is a minimum right in a region that has been robbed by companies that pocket billions, billions!"¹³⁴

Finally, another recurrent critique heard during fieldwork points to the clientelist behaviour of the local state and to the many times discretionary criteria followed to target social aid. Although with some caution and mistrust,

¹³⁴ Eduardo Mondaca, Centro de Estudios Sociales de Chiloé in a local radio debate on the construction of the bridge in the Chacao Canal (Radio Chiloé, May 31, 2014).

the local population constantly argued that to be heard by local officials or benefit from public help, it was necessary to know the right people. Phrases such as "job posts in the public sector are *escogidos a dedo*"¹³⁵ and "always the same people benefit from public programmes"¹³⁶ were often said, with a mix of anger and resignation, when I enquired about their opinion on the performance of politicians and authorities.

7.3.2. The social protection role of local communities

Although *chilotes* do not see municipalities and their officials as relevant actors that could eventually provide concrete solutions to structural demands such as health and education, they represent the visible face of the state. Thus, locals expect the local state to provide minimum support at times of particular need: If a community does not have the means nor the capacity to offer help to a family or an individual that is going through a particularly challenging economic situation, it is common for them to approach the local state for help:

"What can be solved by us (the neighbours association), we solve it. However, what we cannot solve, we direct it to the municipality or the local government (...). Because we are capable of solving an isolated problem, but beyond that, we cannot. We have to intervene in our public goods.

- ***What problems do people have in your locality, for example?***

In my case, I have a neighbour with an illness who has been waiting for a year or two to undergo surgery. This person worked on a salmon farm, was a diver, but his health does not allow him to continue working now, no matter how much they offer him. We have tried to organise a local campaign to help him because he has a young son. We have tried to help him financially because a 5-year-old boy asks [for things], he is not going to say, "oh, I don't have milk, but my dad doesn't work". A child does not care whether or not his dad works. So we have tried to help that neighbour, but if other situations arise that we cannot solve, we send them to the municipality."

(Fieldwork interview, residents' organisation leader)

¹³⁵ *Seleccionar a dedo* (to be selected by finger) is a colloquial expression that refers to choosing without going through a democratic process.

¹³⁶ Both phrases from the fieldwork notes taken during the surveying process.

The quote above exemplifies the critical role of community organisations as local social protection providers. In a context where most of the population live in situations of economic vulnerability and on the edge of poverty, it is common for communities to organise *solidarity bingos* or other similar activities to help meet the immediate needs of families in distress.

7.4. The incompleteness of the neoliberal subject: Intended and unintended effects of entrepreneurial programmes

7.4.1. Women as necessity entrepreneurs

Women who have participated in the public programmes offering entrepreneurial support in Central Chiloé have a positive evaluation of their help. These programmes have helped them with credit access and productive inputs and to improve their livelihoods. However, in general, women do not want to escalate their production to serve broader and more complex markets, as is the programmes' ultimate goal. In other words, women's goals when approaching this type of public help respond to necessity instead of opportunity entrepreneurs.

The above distinction arose in the 2000s and centred on the different motivation of the entrepreneurs to start their business, specifically, to differentiate between those starting a venture to pursue an opportunity from others more need-based (Block & Wagner, 2010; Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016). In general, necessity entrepreneurs have more constrained socio-economic characteristics and lower education than opportunity entrepreneurs (Poschke, 2013). They are often pushed into entrepreneurship by negative factors such as dissatisfaction with existing employment, loss of employment or fallen wages (Deli, 2011; Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016). Need-based entrepreneurs generally run smaller businesses and expect their firms to grow less than opportunity entrepreneurs. Despite the common idea that only the most profitable businesses endure, the ventures of necessity entrepreneurs tend to last. Possible explanations refer to diversified

livelihoods that make attractive activities yielding low returns and to the deficiencies of other employment options or challenging macroeconomic contexts (Deli, 2011; Poschke, 2013).

As previously mentioned, most female entrepreneurial activities in Chiloé are intermittent and align with women's domestic and care work. Thus, in general, local female micro-entrepreneurs do not produce on a large scale, and they can usually sell their products informally among their existing social and community networks. Most women in Central Chiloé do not want to commercialise their products on a full-time basis, mainly because it requires formalising their activities and increasing their paperwork, accountability work, and costs.

"They told me that I could apply to programmes where you need to give an invoice [i.e. programmes that require to formalise your activity], and I said no. I am used to selling door-to-door, and the people who do not have land and do not grow [their agricultural products], they still buy from me."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Isabel)

Given the above, it is possible to state that women in Central Chiloé have an instrumental use of the entrepreneurial social programmes of the Chilean state. In other words, they envision approaching the state for help as one option to fulfil their role of protecting the family's wellbeing. The local economy of the archipelago has become increasingly monetised, and the expenditure needed to cover the 'new basic needs' of modern life is more significant than before. Simultaneously, local wage work has become increasingly unstable and precarious (undermining the traditional role of men as income providers), and women have expanded their economic role, which includes approaching the state for help. Notably, and due to the strengthening of the entrepreneurial focus of social policies in recent decades, women have been increasingly participating in the state's programmes as microentrepreneurs. In short, adult women in Central Chiloé make use of the state's entrepreneurial help within the framework of their historical gender role: They mainly use the monetary help to embark on small-scale and intermittent commercial activities aligned with their traditional domestic role

within the household and with their responsibility to complement income in times of economic distress. For instance, as the following quote illustrates, many women use the entrepreneurial programmes to buy machines or assets that have a double function, that is, that are useful to their commercial activities (e.g. lodgers at home) while directly contributing to the wellbeing of the family (e.g. improve the condition of the household).

"The entrepreneurial programmes help a lot. They have at least helped me come out with two projects that have helped me a lot (...). I received [support from programmes of] SERNAM and FOSIS.

- ***What use did you give to SERNAM's contribution?***

It helped me with the lodging, but other people here have used it for crafts, greenhouses, machines to plough (...).

- ***And the support of FOSIS?***

The same. Some ladies were doing artisanal crafts, others sold chicken, and another gentleman produced smoked salmon, another jam, another lady worked as a seamstress... All those things.

- ***All that help came out after the salmon crisis?***

No, [they came out] now... this was last year [(2013)]. Last year in December, I received [the support of] FOSIS, and I bought an industrial oven to sell bread and make empanadas for the summer (...). With SERNAM, it was the same: I had only one bathroom, and I did another bathroom on the second floor, and I changed the mattresses [for the lodger] (...). So I have had a lot of help (...). I also received, I think last year, [support from] a project from INDAP and from there, I bought all my furniture...."

(Fieldwork interview, Head of Neighbourhood Association, Dalcahue)

7.4.2. Consequences of women's participation in entrepreneurial programmes

Purely instrumental interpretations of the process of subjectivation in development might characterise the entrepreneurial social programmes in the country as part of a neoliberal technique that aligns the personal goals of individuals with the country's macro-economic objectives (instead of placing the specific needs of the local population at the core of public interventions). However, this is only a partial understanding of the programmes' impact, as

in their encounter with the population, they serve contradictory outcomes, and unintended progressive possibilities can emerge. In other words, the programmes do not function in a cultural vacuum or an ahistorical setting, but they articulate with the local culture and history, opening new possibilities for alternative futures (Rankin, 2001; Rankin & Shakya, 2007). This section further explores the articulation of Chile's entrepreneurial social programmes with the female population of Central Chiloé and analyses the progressive and regressive outcomes that arise in this process.

Responsibilisation

Entrepreneurial state programmes function in practice as conditional cash (or input) transfers. They are conditioned to the participant's willingness to *behave as entrepreneurs* and *invest* the money wisely to get out of poverty. Underpinning this narrative is an implicit association between poverty and the inability to make good choices. This discourse frequently emerged during the fieldwork in conversations with municipal officials (referring to the chilote population) and exchanges with the local population themselves. Some women mentioned that today there are plenty of new opportunities to prevent one from falling into poverty or staying in a deprivation status for too long. In other words, that if the people were poor is because they have not been proactive to find these new opportunities and adequately benefit from them.

The view above makes people responsible for their poverty and renders invisible the structural constraints to access, participate or derive revenues from these new opportunities. For instance, it ignores the fact that the new employment opportunities are unevenly distributed geographically within the archipelago and that not everybody can access them. Additionally, it ignores the situations in which domestic responsibilities are not compatible with wage or independent work (as was the case of Carmen), the fact that commercial agricultural production faces stark competition under the current global economic arrangement of the country or the fact that the level of local wages leaves people on a constant state of economic vulnerability. Moreover, this view ignores or normalises the local population's struggles to maintain their

livelihoods daily, marginalising care work and the reproductive economy. In short, this view is in line with the self-reliance promoted by neoliberal governmentality, in the sense that it depoliticises the roots of the social, economic and gender obstacles that the people and women confront in their everyday life. In concrete, the neoliberal notion of poverty makes the local population responsible for themselves in a context in which the opportunities of wage employment available to them are deficient, in terms of quality, career prospects and remuneration, and where past forms of livelihood strategies cannot be maintained or do not offer enough to live a satisfactory existence.

As responsabilisation is a core element of the neoliberal subject underpinning the entrepreneurial programmes of the state (Andreucci & Kallis, 2017; Chandler, 2014; Meltzer, 2013; Sanyal, 2007; Summerville et al., 2008; Watts, 2003), it is not a coincidence that the women with better incorporation to these programmes have incorporated in their narratives the notion that links poverty with laziness. For instance, when Isabel talks about improved access to education in her community, she spontaneously adds: "So, the mother that does not work is because she is lazy because she is without her children all day. There are jobs here. It is just that people do not want to work." Similarly, when Marta remembers how she and her husband used to drive several times a week to Quellón and sell their farm production door-to-door all day, she states: "I think that if you have land and don't work it, it's because you are lazy unless you are sick. Because people who have land are not poor, poor are those who do not want to work."

Although both Isabel and Marta have indeed worked hard throughout their lives and their efforts have paid off, it is also the case that they have received substantial support from the state, mainly through INDAP and the respective local municipality (in the case of Isabel). Not all of the population in the archipelago has received this help or could make the most of it. It has not been because they are not hard workers, but they face significant constraints that impede them from moving out of their precarious situation. For instance, it is certainly not true that Carmen has not worked hard throughout her life to support her children: She has put her own needs on hold to raise them, give

them the best life she can, and combine her farm work with different salaried jobs. Although she has also received entrepreneurial support from INDAP and CONADI, she has not substantially increased her production to commercial levels or overcome her family's precarious situation. In particular, the fact that she is a single mother and lives far from any urban centre, where employment opportunities and public services are mainly centred, is undoubtedly more critical than her attitude towards work or lack of trying.

Greater sense of self-valuation

Another consequence of the participation of women in the programmes and interventions that foster entrepreneurial activities in the archipelago is an improved ability to value, price and sell their products. These are complex tasks that demand changes in the way transactions have traditionally occurred within the community ("the people were not used to you selling what you produce, [before] you gave it away")¹³⁷ and require a minimum knowledge of accounting and skills linked to mathematics, strategic thinking and social interaction—many of them lacking in vulnerable contexts poorly served-. The entrepreneurial programmes try to provide knowledge and skills through short processes of training, and when serving women, they sometimes address issues such as empowerment and the unequal distribution of domestic work:

"Our programmes are quite comprehensive because, first, there is an empowerment stage. There are 8-10 sessions where we firmly address gender issues, such as family co-responsibility, empowerment, help them know themselves, and value themselves. It is super important that they learn to value themselves as people, as human beings, and learn to talk with their partners, with their children, to tell them that everyone has to do domestic work within the home. They also have to learn to diversify [their activities], to not only be housewives. This week, the women participating in a programme called Improving my Business [were filling a form], and in the form said 'occupation', they still wrote 'housewife'! I mean, okay, okay, I know that they will be housewives all their lives, but write craftswoman, horticulturist, you know? It is still difficult for them to recognise themselves as workers."

(Fieldwork interview, programme implementer)

¹³⁷Fieldwork in-depth interview, Marta.

Although aiming to empower women and redistribute domestic work, the exclusion of men or family members leaves the responsibility to negotiate intra-household arrangements only to women. They assume that women will achieve greater power to negotiate fairer distributions of care and domestic work through economic empowerment. By choosing not to act in 'private matters', these programmes redirect the responsibility of ensuring gender equality solely to women. Similarly, entrepreneurial programmes seeking to alleviate poverty try to develop women's confidence for them to be able to monetise old and new transactions and negotiate with others who might have more market knowledge (e.g. have more experience negotiating products and participating in the market as buyers and sellers):

"To have a business, you have to have personality because if you do not, buyers fool you, and you stick just with the price that they offer you."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Marta)

Few female participants succeed in becoming capitalist entrepreneurs or capitalist farmers. However, the programmes have contributed to broadening the acknowledgement of the economic value of women's traditional reproductive role by monetising and rendering visible activities that women have been undertaking for generations to maintain the wellbeing of their children and families. Through the rise of these programmes, not only family members and state actors have started to recognise the economic contribution of women in Central Chiloé, but also themselves:

"You learn to value yourself as a person because you value your work, you value your time. It's a lot of time [dedicated to your production]."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Marta)

"That was the most satisfying thing in my life. I never counted [what I earned selling traditional food], but I kept saving it and saving it. And the day we had to pay the rent, I took my money. My husband said to me, 'let's go to pay our rent' (...), and I said, 'I am going to pay the rent this month'. He was laughing, laughing. He couldn't believe that I paid the rent."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Maria)

Opening of new alternatives

Sometimes the participation of women in the entrepreneurial programmes offering training or credit support to a particular business or activity ends up benefiting other economic endeavours over time. For instance, Marta and her husband bought a van to distribute their agricultural production with loan credit they received from PRODESAL. Years later, they sold the van to buy a minibus to offer a school transport service. The money they received to grow their agricultural microenterprise was directed later to an activity in the service sector that aligned better with their current situation. Additionally, by helping women to earn money from activities that they have traditionally done in their household and communities (raising animals, growing vegetables, spinning wool and knitting, among others), another unintended consequence of the programmes is to provide greater freedom for them to choose the way they want to participate in the labour market. In other words, they are supporting *opting-out* strategies of women to face the global economy: Through the monetisation and support offered to women's independent activities, the entrepreneurial programmes of the state are unintentionally helping them disengage from labour relations in which they do not feel comfortable or recognised. For instance, in the case of Maria, micro-entrepreneurial activities, such as raising pigs in her backyard and selling traditional local food, allowed her to disengage from jobs that she did not like or where she did not feel recognised and valued.

7.4.3. Women's critiques to development

Neoliberalism in the context of rural development aims to create a rational economic woman, that is, a woman who acts efficiently in the domain of the

market and assumes the responsibility for her and her family's wellbeing without questioning the structural and political roots of their situation. However, this process is not complete (Gupta, 2012; Hart, 2004; O'Malley et al., 1997). Women have agency: they can contest neoliberal ideals and government techniques, and they express political critiques in their everyday lives. Because their socio-economic situations are vulnerable and their livelihoods partly depend on their relations with the state and their market-related activities, rural women in Chiloé manifest subtle critiques while evading to compromise these ties.

In the previous sections, we saw how women defy the desired behaviour of the state, and instead of becoming growth-centred entrepreneurs, they adapt the interventions and benefits of the programmes to fit their purposes. In concrete, as shown above, most women in Chiloé reject the mandate to grow their microenterprise and specialise their activities by imposing their desire to have a quiet and stable life. The latter is an essential desire for them, which clashes with the programmes' goals and highlights the flaws in its diagnoses and interventions.

In some cases, women also voice critiques within their relations with the labour market. For instance, Maria decided to leave her job at a salmon firm to stick to her social values. Although she did not like her job since the start, she only quit several years later, when promoted, because her new position required –in her view- to treat her subordinates with disrespect. Similarly, although her employer could not legally dismiss her for one year after her postnatal period, Maria resigned earlier to her job at the supermarket to show disagreement with the way her boss referred to her daughter. Maria employs the word *human* to refer to the lack of respect and recognition she sensed from her employer and underline where she draws the line. She is human and has an essence that cannot break. The importance of maintaining close-knit community ties is at the core of the traditional culture in Chiloé. For instance, when talking about their achievements in life, a female interviewee underlines the fact that she is proud of herself because she has not changed how she treats others: "I am proud (...) because I continue to be the way I am. I have always

been like this. I am still the same with my friends".¹³⁸ The community and family values among peasants in Central Chiloé has deep roots handed down from generation to generation.

Women also express critiques of modern consumption patterns when describing their relations with the young population. Notably, another traditional value that constantly arose in the interviews with local women was the value of austerity. In particular, women frequently criticised younger generations and their spending habits, mainly because they liked to spend on goods and services that they do not strictly need:

"My mother always told me: 'If you know how to organise, you will always have [what you need], but if you get out of control and buy what you should not buy...' She referred to luxury and elegance because there are people who are constantly buying and buying, like the youth today...."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Chonchi)

In sum, it is possible to argue that local women in Central Chiloé express their critiques of modernisation by choosing to live their lives following the knowledge and values they would like to pass on to the next generations. This statement is also in line with the fact that many times women decide to continue with their farm work and traditional crafts, not only because of financial reasons –such as the need to have a secondary income or a diversified livelihood-, but also because they get personal satisfaction from these activities:

"I think that someone who works hard [the field] will generate [income]. She would sow because 'it is time' or because she has to. (...) However, when you work because, apart from knowing that it will generate an income for you, when you work with affection, with dedication, for me it is different."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Marta)

"Despite everything that has happened to me, I am happy, because I like working with children, I like doing activities like my artisanal crafts and I

¹³⁸ Fieldwork in-depth interview, Chonchi.

also do them. When I set myself a goal, I do it somehow, but always in a good way. I am satisfied: I do not have greatness nor possess many things, but we are happy."

(Fieldwork in-depth interview, Maria)

Because of their economic conditions, not all women can choose to detach themselves from a precarious or abusive labour relation (that is the case of Carmen, for instance, who does not have the same freedom as a married woman to reject a source of income). However, when they can, some choose to do it to express their needs and desires to feel valued, respected and recognised as they are: that is, as individuals who value their community and family relations highly, do not need (or do not want) to have a life characterised by high levels of consumption, and want to have a quiet life doing the things that have meaning for them. In short, women express their agency by demanding to be recognised as individuals with the right to have a place in society just as they are.

7.5. Conclusion and further comments

This chapter shows that despite the increasing labour participation of women during the last few decades, the gendered responsibilities within the household have remained mainly untouched. Moreover, the evidence shows that traditional intra-household arrangements shape women's participation in the labour market. As soon as women have children, their economic engagement adjusts to their domestic and care responsibilities. If the woman is married, she will most likely engage in income-generating or subsistence activities within her household or farm, which she will likely combine with occasional jobs to complement their spouse's income. Indeed, although not always captured by the official socio-economic statistics, women in Central Chiloé engage in different economic character activities throughout their lives, and they significantly contribute monetarily and in-kind to their household livelihoods. However, female labour participation is more intermittent, diverse, and contingency-related than men's and often occurs in the margins or outside the formal economy.

The chapter has also shown that Central Chiloé's population live in a constant state of change, instability and uncertainty. People engage in multiple activities throughout their lives, taking the different opportunities open to them with the primary goal to build economic stability for themselves and their families. In general, female economic engagement in the archipelago has an anti-cyclical character, as they tend to increase their economic involvement in moments of economic distress and when other sources of income are not enough. In this sense, the increased monetisation and growing uncertainty and instability of the local economy are important factors underpinning female labour participation in the archipelago during the last decades. Within the set of alternatives that women have at their disposal to conform to this economic role -to bring income or consumption goods to the household in times of distress- is to approach the state for help. More precisely, and due to the increasing entrepreneurial focus of the state's social policies, an alternative that women increasingly have today to contribute economically to their households is to participate in microentrepreneurial programmes. In other words, women participate in these public programmes within the framework of their gendered responsibilities: They aim to smooth their household's level of consumption and meet their family's basic needs.

Although the programmes fail to encourage the rise of growth-centred microentrepreneurs among the local population, they do have other powerful intended and non-intended consequences. Similarly to previous authors that have studied the process of neoliberal subjectivation in the context of development (Rankin, 2001, 2002, 2008; Rankin & Shakya, 2007; Shakya & Rankin, 2008), the thesis finds that the process of subject creation occurring through entrepreneurial social programmes in Central Chiloé is an endeavour with contradictory outcomes. The evidence suggests that the responsabilisation associated with the neoliberal subject has gained terrain among local women in Central Chiloé. In particular, some women - particularly those with more significant interaction with local bureaucrats- describe the poor in their communities as not proactive enough to find and take advantage of the opportunities available locally for wage and independent employment. This vision imputes shame on those struggling

economically and makes the poor responsible for his/her poverty while rendering invisible the structural and cultural constraints in their lives. In other words, the neoliberal devolution of social responsibility from the state to the local population aligns in Central Chiloé with the depoliticisation of local poverty.

Despite the above, and aligning with previous works (Garmany, 2016, 2017; Gibson, 2001; Shakya & Rankin, 2008), the research findings suggest that the subjectivation process is incomplete. In particular, most local women do not want to participate in a path of constant income expansion nor create capitalist enterprises aiming to expand their market participation continuously. They instead have an instrumental approach to the programmes. While public loans and training initiatives aim to diminish the 'welfare dependency' of the local population, the evidence suggests that women continue to use state help to satisfy their immediate needs. However, this does not entail that the funds and training received are not helpful. On the contrary, many women affirm that public programmes have helped them maintain their farm work, learn how to monetise their products and generate secondary sources of income. In sum, the state's entrepreneurial programmes have supported the monetisation of women's traditional activities while maintaining their traditional responsibilities and activities within the household.

Finally, the research findings also show that while teaching women to price their products, the entrepreneurial programmes of the state place the seed of a virtuous cycle in women's lives: Through valuing their production, they learn to value their time and work, and ultimately they learn to value themselves. Although this aligns with a liberal understanding of empowerment, in the sense that it is a self-validation that occurs in the context of the market and through individual actions (Sardenberg, 2016), it is an essential step in the patriarchal context of Chiloé. It could represent the beginning of a journey for broader and more profound processes of autonomy. Although women in Chiloé have historically contributed with income and products to their household livelihoods, their contribution is often invisible, and they struggle

to acknowledge it under economic terms. While the local evidence does not necessarily suggest that the programmes have had effects on intra-household gender relations or, more particularly, on women's subordination in the domestic sphere, as Naila Kabeer (2005) argues, this self-validation could contribute to broader female recognition:

"These [gender inequalities] are not structures that can be changed overnight. Instead, the process of transformation may need to begin more modestly with the constraints that prevent women from exercising their individual agency on a practical everyday basis. In any case, there may be many women for whom the desirability of this larger agenda of change, if they have thought about it at all, is likely to be overshadowed by the daily struggles for survival. Prioritising strategic gender interests over their everyday practical needs may not only fail to reflect their own order of priorities, it may actively discourage their participation.

However, the two do not need be in opposition to each other. Meeting the daily practical needs of poor women in ways that transform the conditions in which they exercise their agency can be seen as part of the process by which they are empowered to take on some of the more deeply entrenched aspects of their subordination."

(Kabeer, 2005, p. 4710).

In short, although the female empowerment promoted through the entrepreneurial social programmes of the Chilean state does not address core aspects of the patriarchal structure of power in Chiloé, it does contribute to strengthen and render visible women's economic role within the household, which could represent the first step to broader and deeper cultural transformations.

8. Conclusion

The research explores the process of subjectivation occurring in the context of rural development in Chile. In particular, it aims to answer the following question: What are the leading state and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)?

The analysis focuses on different aspects of the process of subjectivation, which are in turn associated with different sub-questions, namely,

- (i) What are the characteristics of the neoliberal political rationality within the development approach of the Chilean state towards rural territories?
- (ii) How do the macroeconomic development rationalities and interventions of the Chilean state affect the local economy and livelihoods in Central Chiloé, and why (if so) is this relevant in local women's process of subjectivation?
- (iii) What are the intended and unintended effects of the subjectivation process occurring through the microeconomic development interventions of the state on the women of Central Chiloé?

This thesis aims to contribute to the analysis of neoliberal governmentality in development by analysing its particular features and contradictions within the

Chilean state and the role that economic vulnerability and gender have in its rural process of subjectivation. It also acknowledges that what development intends to do is not necessarily what it does and achieves in practice, as there are different forces at the national and local level that deviate it from its explicit goals (Ferguson, 1990; Furlong & Marsh, 2010; Garmany, 2016, 2017; Gibson, 2001; Hart, 2004; Kitchin & Tate, 2013; Li, 1999; O'Malley et al., 1997; Rankin, 2008, 2001; Rankin & Shakya, 2007; Roy, 2010). Different goals, interests, and dynamics coexist within the state and shape neoliberalism at the national and local level. Furthermore, people have the agency (although often limited by material and cultural constraints) to critique and shape the condition fostered through neoliberal subjectivation and elaborate political critiques to development from their experience and standpoints (Shakya & Rankin, 2008; Sukarieh, 2016; Weidner, 2009).

This concluding chapter summarises the central findings of the thesis and answers its research questions. It comprises four sections. The first section starts by answering the research question, and the second section discusses how the research findings relate to the state of knowledge of the main topics of this research presented in Chapter 2. The third section addresses the study's limitations and potential avenues for further research, and the final section reflects on the overall significance of the study and its subject.

8.1. Main research findings

The main question that the PhD tries to answer is: What are the leading state and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)? The research approaches this question through three sub-questions. This section starts by answering each sub-question and finishes by engaging with its central inquiry.

8.1.1. Characteristics of the neoliberal political rationality in the approach of the Chilean state towards rural development

Under democratic governments, rural development policies in Chile have focused on two goals. First, to encourage economic growth by promoting

export-oriented economic activities and creating favourable conditions for foreign investment. Second, alleviate rural poverty by extending social protection policies and services and encouraging the productive reconversion of small farmers and peasants towards more commercial activities (see *Table 32*). These goals align with the rise of the Human Development approach among international development institutions in the last quarter of the 20th century and, particularly, with the incorporation of poverty alleviation to complement economic growth (Chandler, 2013a, 2013b; Sanyal, 2007).

Because of its immediate comparative advantages, Chile participates in the global market as an exporter of raw materials and natural-resource based products (Corbo et al., 2018; Gwynne & Kay, 1997; Rehner et al., 2014; Schurman, 1996). The state's pursuit of economic growth in Chile follows the supply-side economics rationality that understands that by helping businesses grow, society will benefit. Extending the liberal trickle-down theory (Aghion & Bolton, 1997), the current neoliberal approach argues in favour of not only minimising taxes and regulations to boost firms' investment but also directly supporting market creation and strengthening. Since the 1990s, the Chilean state has focused on ensuring macroeconomic stability, ratifying bilateral and multilateral economic trade agreements, and privatising the country's natural assets (such as rural land and seawater). Moreover, as shown for the case of the salmon sector, state actions have also comprised direct support to strategic firms in times of distress, and indirect actions such as maintaining poor labour and environmental regulations and enforcement, to maintain industrial costs low (Apud et al., 2003; Aravena, 2009; Barrett et al., 2002; Barton & Murray, 2009; CEPAL, 2005; Claude et al., 2000; Iizuka, 2004; Katz, 2006; Pinto, 2008; Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012).

State goals	In which ways are these goals pursued in rural territories?	Measures
Economic growth	Creation of a favourable environment for foreign investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Macroeconomic stability • Bilateral and multilateral economic trade agreements
	Promotion of natural-based export-oriented economic activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Privatisation (rural land, marine concessions) • Direct support to agro-export capitalist sectors and firms • Deficient labour and environmental regulations and enforcement
Poverty alleviation	Provision of social services and targeted social protection following a residual welfare approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extension of water and sanitation, electricity, housing, education and health services (among others). • Conditional and unconditional cash transfers. • Programmes to strengthen subsistence activities and the income generation capacity of poor individuals. • Programmes and interventions that benefit specific population groups, such as the support offered through IEF and the solidarity pillar of the pension system.
	Productive reconversion of small farmers and peasants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of cognitive and non-cognitive skills to encourage wage work. • Development of cognitive and non-cognitive skills to encourage independent work/entrepreneurial initiatives. • Extension of the credit system

Table 32: Summary of development goals, mechanisms and interventions in rural Chile in 2008-2015 period

Source: Author's elaboration.

Regarding its approach to solving poverty, the Chilean state follows a residual welfare approach that limits state social responsibility only when people cannot sustain themselves. In recent decades, this principle has increasingly relied on neoliberal techniques of individualisation and responsabilisation. In Central Chiloé, through its efforts aimed at the economic reconversion of the rural poor, the Chilean state encourages them to function in the domain of the market as financially savvy and responsible individuals while ignoring or downgrading other aspects influencing their vulnerable situations. In particular, through the entrepreneurial programmes of the state, the rural population are encouraged to strengthen their subsistence activities and

secondary sources of income while not having access to decent wages, safe conditions nor the adequate provision of public services and social protection. The thesis shows a contradiction between the development goals of the Chilean state in rural territories (pursued through economic growth and the promotion of export-oriented firms and economic sectors) and those of poverty alleviation (pursued through social policies and interventions at the local level). While the development interventions that aim to alleviate poverty rely on empowering the poor and strengthening their independent sources of income, the actions aiming towards economic growth rely on a different subjectivity. In particular, the state's actions to support the salmon industry during its crisis in the late 2000s were underpinned by representations of the local population as individuals that needed the state to reactivate the industry, individuals in need of jobs, no matter how precarious or low-paid.

Additionally, the analysis of development in Central Chiloé shows that the neoliberal technique of depoliticisation operates not only on the local population but also on the state itself (Ferguson, 1990; Li, 1999). State centralism limits the political autonomy of local governments, both *de facto* and *de jure*. As we saw in the context of the economic crisis that affected Chiloé in the late 2000s, in general, local authorities do not act nor think strategically about their role in regional development but function mainly as administrators of nationally designed policies. The combination of high levels of state centralism with a clientelist and paternalistic relation with the local population results in local governments only expressing their limited autonomy through uncoordinated and assistentialist actions (Arriagada, 2013; Barozet, 2008; Durston, 2012; Durston, 2015; Kay, 1981; Pérez & Luján, 2018; PNUD, 2008; Ramírez et al., 2011). In Central Chiloé, besides the administration of national policies, local governments usually contributed to poverty alleviation in their constituencies during the crisis and its immediate aftermath through cash transfers (that responded to people's specific demands) and the creation of short-term unskilled municipal jobs.

In the discourses of national and local state actors, it is possible to unveil the limits of what development can do. For instance, although it is part of the

official discourse that a crucial constraint to local producers' market orientation is their little or null capacity to negotiate prices due to scale questions (Vivanco & Donoso, 2008), the solutions envisioned are always within the sphere of the producers and do not incorporate structural change. The state interventions encourage small farmers and microentrepreneurs to associate, differentiate their products and reduce their costs. However, they do not regulate monopsonies¹³⁹ or address structural constraints blocking the growth of small producers or micro-entrepreneurs, such as the rise of big businesses and the concentration of capital under globalisation (Barrett et al., 2002; Estay & Chávez, 2015; S Gómez & Echeñique, 1986; Jarvis, 1992; Katz et al., 2011; Cristóbal Kay, 2002; Niklitschek et al., 2013; Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012). Similarly, female-oriented programmes aim to empower women economically but do not engage in intra-household negotiations to transform the sexual division of non-remunerated domestic and care work (Benería et al., 2015; Calkin, 2018; Chant, 2016; Dominelli, 2016). Moreover, in geographically isolated territories within Central Chiloé, many times the productive goals sought after by the state in local producers are undermined by the absence of public services to address their immediately urgent development needs (local police, health and educational institutions, public infrastructure, social service support to address intra-household problems such as violence or alcoholism, among others).

The functioning of the Chilean state deepens the neoliberal technique of responsabilisation and depoliticisation of the local population in Central Chiloé. Ultimately, the state made the poor in the archipelago responsible for their poverty while failing to act as guarantor of social and economic rights (such as the right to work, the right to education and health services, the right to social protection in moments of economic distress, and the right to an adequate standard of living). The superposition of neoliberal entrepreneurialism with long-term paternalistic relations between the state and the small farmers and peasants (Salazar & Pinto, 2012) generates

¹³⁹ Monopsonies are situations in which a single employer or buyer substantially controls the market.

contradictions or gaps in the subjectivation process (Furlong & Marsh, 2010; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson, 2001; Kitchin & Tate, 2013; Li, 1999; Radovic, 2012; Rankin, 2008; Walker et al., 2008). While programmes demand women to empower and believe in themselves, most local state officials see them through the framework of what they are not (capitalist entrepreneurs) or what they lack (poor individuals in need of social assistance).

The strategies of responsabilisation and depoliticisation have shaped the relationship between the state and rural women. The latter are increasingly encouraged by the macro and microeconomic development policies and interventions of the state to engage in the labour market as rational economic individuals in a patriarchal disciplinary order, encouraged to better and empower themselves for their wellbeing and the wellbeing of their family. As shown in chapters 4 and 6 (at the national and local level, respectively), women in rural territories are increasingly encouraged by the state to become entrepreneurs (identifying potential markets, bringing together resources and overcoming obstacles to start and maintain a business) while simultaneously assuming the responsibility for the health and education of younger generations within their household. Rather than questioning the gendered character of intra-household arrangements and alleviate the domestic burden on women, the state uses them as policy conduits, instrumentalising female care responsibilities to deliver public benefits to children and adolescents (Ahumada et al., 2016; Batliwala, 2007; Benería et al., 2015; Bruni et al., 2004; Calkin, 2018; Chant, 2016; Cornwall, 2018; Gupta, 2001; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011; Rebolledo, 2012; Sardenberg, 2016; Tabbush, 2010).

The search for female empowerment within a patriarchal economy that undermines women's contribution to economic development and benefits from the invisibilisation and unequal distribution of care costs generates contradictions in the process of neoliberal subjectivation in Central Chiloé. While the state's micro-entrepreneurial programmes favour channelling social help to those willing to work and invest to achieve economic autonomy and empower themselves, they also see women as the preferred target of social policies due to their 'natural' inclination to care and prioritise others' needs

and as secondary contributors to economic development. In sum, in its search for female empowerment, neoliberal rural development in Chile deepens the women's workload while pushing and pulling them to become necessity entrepreneurs (Block & Wagner, 2010; Deli, 2011; Poschke, 2013; Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016).

8.1.2. The development experience in Central Chiloé

With the arrival of the salmon industry to the archipelago and the structural transformation of local work, significant economic, demographic and cultural changes started to unravel in Chiloé (Barton & Murray, 2009; Katz et al., 2011; Rebolledo, 2012). The rise of industrial employment and the decline of farm-based production intertwine with local processes of rural-urban migration, economic globalisation and inter-generational change. New agriculture regulations and the difficulty to find farmworkers (due to rural-urban migration and the rise of wage work), along with changes in the agriculture production (such as the use of the tractor, remunerated workers and, in some cases, chemical fertilisers), have increased agriculture's costs of production. Simultaneously, the globalisation of local markets has lowered its final prices.

Local, scattered small farmers face critical difficulties to compete in the market with imported or industrial products sold in small stores and supermarkets (Amtmann & Blanco, 2001). Some small farmers manage to organise and supply institutions, such as local schools and hospitals, but most engage in subsistence production with occasional sales. Since the development of the salmon industry in Chiloé, rural households have increasingly complemented their farm activities with non-farm work, mainly in the aquaculture and service sectors. Simultaneously, the industry experienced the rapid expansion, concentration and internationalisation of its capital while relying on precarious jobs to maintain production costs low. Low wages, unsafe working conditions (concerning health and security) and increasingly flexible labour conditions, that is, a lack of decent work (ILO, 1999), characterise the local organisation of the salmon industry (Barrett et

al., 2002; Bustos-Gallardo, 2017; Pascual, 2010; Rainbird & Ramirez, 2012; Rebolledo, 2012).

In short, the development goal of economic growth does not create quality employment in Chiloé, and the Chilean state does not implement any strategy to ensure it. During the crisis, it relied on the creation of unskilled emergency jobs, microentrepreneurial support and targeted monetary transfers, waiting for the industry to recover. Overall, it is possible to state that Chile has followed a "low road to development" where decreasing wages fuel competitiveness and growth (Pastore, 2020; Paus, 2012). Chile does not ensure its rural citizens quality education, health, and training, implicitly instrumentalising them by keeping their wages low to reach macroeconomic goals (Sanyal, 2007) and the state has diluted its social responsibilities (decent work creation and provision of quality public services). All this contributes to the rural population living in constant vulnerability and uncertainty. This situation has increased lately in Chiloé due to the industrial implementation of labour-saving technologies, the interruption of industrial work during rest phases and the recurrence of virus reappearances.

Local women in Central Chiloé have increased their labour participation in recent decades, but they have experienced "adverse incorporation" into the local dynamics of economic globalisation (Hickey & du Toit, 2013). They have joined the local labour force in low-skilled and low-remunerated salmon processing and service jobs (Barrett et al., 2002). Following their traditional economic and cultural role within their households, women complement their wage jobs with the occasional selling of traditional farming and handicraft products. The state's social programmes have fostered these activities through its efforts to boost rural micro-entrepreneurship. Local women participate in these entrepreneurial programmes from their traditional gender role, that is, as individuals responsible for the care and domestic work in their households and communities and as economic actors in charge of complementing the primary income generated by men, especially in moments of economic distress. In Central Chiloé, economic globalisation has deepened female double burden of work.

Due to all of the above, many women in Central Chiloé have developed a dependent relationship with the Chilean state's programmes. They need their help to make ends meet. Because they rely on the state's help, they are not willing to take the risk of overtly criticise its interventions and goals. They express their agency and development critiques subtly, avoiding compromising their programme participation or their relationship with the state. In concrete, the increasingly important entrepreneurial social programmes function in practice as subsidies that nudge women to generate money without neglecting their domestic and care responsibilities to ensure the reproduction of local society, particularly workers.

8.1.3. Intended and unintended effects of the subjectivation process on the women of Central Chiloé

Most women in Central Chiloé do not want to build growth-centred and formal enterprises when participating in the programmes seeking financial self-sufficiency among the poor. In general, they aspire to a quiet life: To achieve economic stability, make ends meet and provide a better future for their children. Rural women in Central Chiloé have not had easy lives and have faced different economic struggles since childhood. They have grown contributing to the reproductive economy within their households, often in vulnerable circumstances and at the edge of poverty. In this context, they participate in the entrepreneurial programmes of the state within their traditional role in the archipelago and use their help to support their traditional activities. In other words, the programmes that encourage the marketisation of the independent activities of women in Central Chiloé do not fundamentally change what women have been doing historically in the archipelago, that is, contribute to the reproductive economy through subsistence activities and the occasional commercialisation of their farm and artisanal products.

Notwithstanding the above, by rendering visible and strengthening the marketisation of the traditional economic activities of women, the

programmes have had a positive effect on the recognition of female economic activities, not only by their family members but also by themselves. The entrepreneurial programmes contribute to a virtuous cycle in women's lives: In learning how to put a price on their production, they learn to value their work and value themselves in a different light. Also, the programmes provide economic relief to women and their families, which sometimes extends their ability to choose and create alternative scenarios (for instance, through investments that benefit other economic activities in the future). In this sense, the programmes contribute to the liberal empowerment of women or female empowerment *à la WID* (Dominelli, 2016). They promote the integration of women into the economy without transforming intra-household gender relations nor reducing female subordination in the domestic sphere, and with no reference to the intersections between gender inequality with other social, economic and power imbalances. Moreover, the neoliberal techniques of responsabilisation and depoliticisation have affected how local women see and make sense of their lives and how they see and relate to others. In particular, women who have managed to strengthen the commercialisation of their products tend to ignore or diminish the importance of the obstacles faced by others to follow their exact paths.

Having said the above, the PhD also shows that the subjectivation process is not complete. Not only have women maintained their personal goals when participating in the programmes –in other words, they have embraced the programmes to adapt them to their needs-, but they also contest the responsabilisation and depoliticisation techniques of neoliberal development with their actions and discourses in their everyday lives. Women in Central Chiloé express subtle critiques to the local effects of globalisation, workforce precarity and the deficient role of the state by opting out of jobs where they feel unrecognised and defying individualisation and modern consumption ideals, choosing to maintain networks, activities, values and knowledge for reasons other than just economic ones. Moreover, in their constrained ways, by continuing to value stability and austerity while working for their families' wellbeing, women limit the expansion of the neoliberal individual and growth-

centred rationalities in their lives while continuing, however, to follow traditional gender roles.

8.1.4. State and local characteristics influencing the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé (2008-2015)

The thesis shows that neoliberalism is the governmental rationality underpinning the approach of the Chilean state towards its rural territories (see *Figure 32*). It materialises within the Chilean state through three forms of knowledge: (i) a patriarchal notion of the economy, which marginalises the value and costs of care and treats women as policy conducts; (ii) a neoliberal supply-side economics approach, which relies on direct and indirect actions to support businesses and expand markets; and (iii) a residual welfare approach that limits the social responsibilities of the state. Additionally, the research finds that the leading state characteristics shaping the neoliberal process of subjectivation in rural Chile are its historically rooted centralism and paternalist relationship with the rural poor. Both characteristics deepen the neoliberal techniques of responsabilisation and depoliticisation in Central Chiloé by shaping the state's capacities to strategically improve local livelihoods and fostering clientelist and assistentialist relationships with the local population.

Economic globalisation has expanded in Chiloé through the concentration and internationalisation of capital, the monetisation of local economies and the generation of precarious employment. In this context, local development interventions in Chiloé have focused mainly on targeted social protection with an increasingly entrepreneurial scope and low-quality public services based on market mechanisms and self-help. Simultaneously, the country has experienced a significant expansion of social policies since the 1990s. Because of their traditional gender role, women are the preferred target of the state's social policies, which sees them as policy conducts to benefit children and families. Additionally, during recent decades, the state has increasingly encouraged women to become micro-entrepreneurs and empower themselves in the market.

Overall, rural women participate in development on adverse terms: They join local labour markets as precarious workers, and their individual needs are ignored by a state that not only not contributes to an equal distribution of non-remunerated work within household and communities but instrumentalises women because of their traditional care and domestic role. Women have the agency to criticise and mould the state's approach to rural development, but their vulnerable and unstable situations constrain them. Their livelihoods benefit from state programmes and interventions, and they are not willing to jeopardise this support. Thus, they express their agency in subtle and tactical ways to avoid deteriorating their constraining situations and adapt the programmes to their needs and goals.

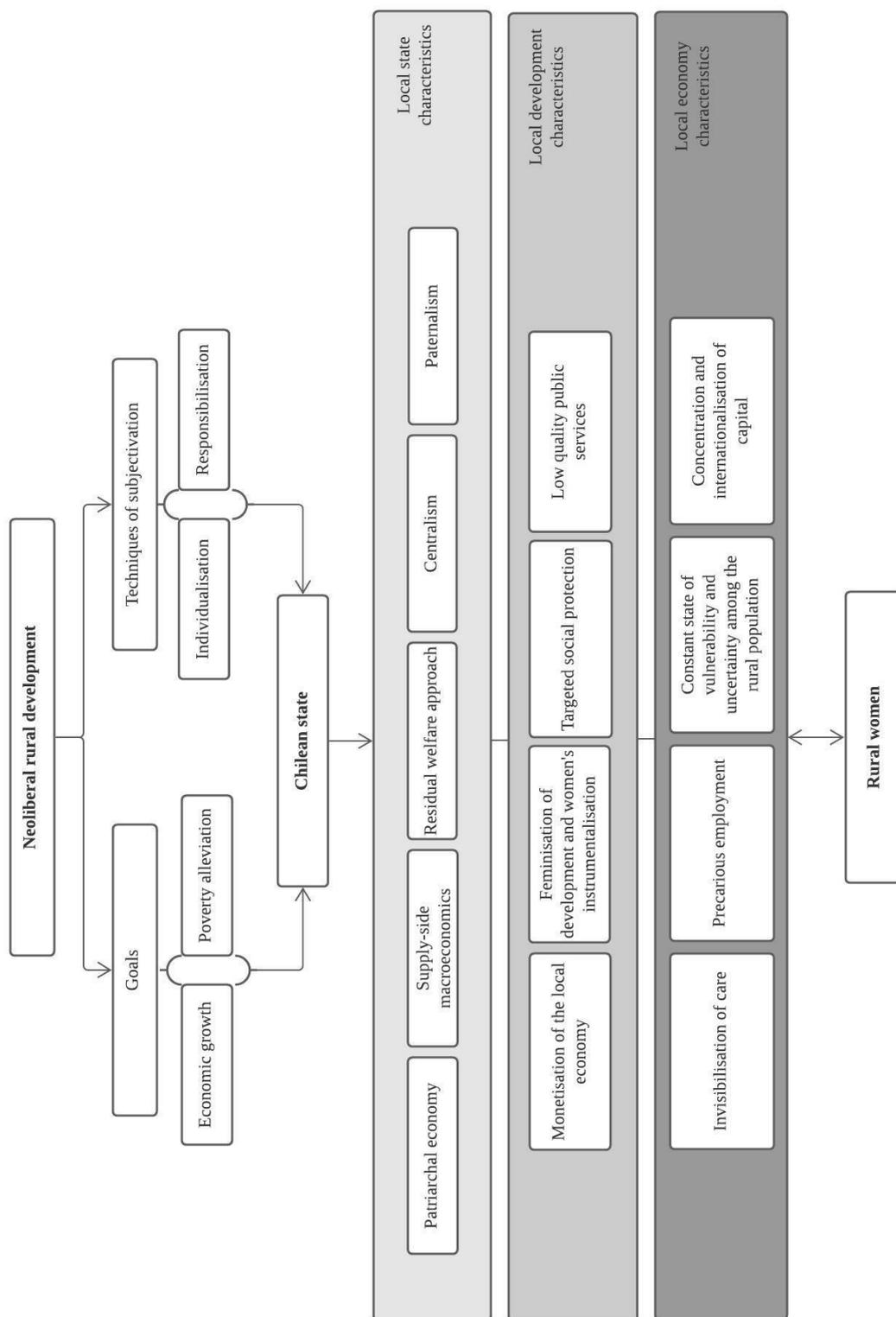


Figure 32: Characteristics of neoliberal rural development in Central Chileo

Source: Author's elaboration.

8.2. Theoretical implications

The thesis agrees with previous literature highlighting the heterogeneity within neoliberalism. Although neoliberalism is the dominant political rationality shaping the Chilean state's development approach towards rural territories and its relation with the rural population, it is shaped and contested by the contradictions and differences coexisting in national and local state's dynamics and people's agency (Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016; Garmany, 2017; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson, 2001; Gupta, 2001; Li, 1999; Mckee, 2009; Moore, 1999; Radovic, 2012; Rebolledo, 2012; Sletto & Nygren, 2015). On the one hand, the main goal of neoliberal rural development in Chile is to achieve economic growth by expanding and strengthening national and local markets and international trade. This goal is actively sought after by the state through regulations, international agreements and direct support to export-oriented firms and sectors, which differs from the traditional liberal approach of *laissez-faire* (Foucault, 1982, 2007, 2008). Simultaneously, the state relies on the governmental techniques of individual responsabilisation and depoliticisation while increasingly promoting the neoliberal ideal of the entrepreneur. By diluting the state's social responsibilities and focusing on individuals' choices and efforts to improve their lives, the research shows that rural development in Chile is increasingly becoming an individual quest for self-improvement (Chandler, 2013a, 2013b; Chandler & Reid, 2016).

However, the research highlights the importance of widening the scope to analyse neoliberal governmentality and subjectivation in development and incorporate aspects such as gender, intra-state dynamic, class, and local agency -even in constrained situations- to study how neoliberalism materialises differently in place (Chandler, 2013b; Garmany, 2017; Joseph, 2012; Li, 1999; Moore, 1999; Rankin, 2001; Shakya & Rankin, 2008; Sigalla & Carney, 2012; Sletto & Nygren, 2015; Sukarieh, 2016). In particular, besides its focus on entrepreneurial subjectivities and promoting practices of self-investment, neoliberal development relies on a particular notion of the economy that marginalises care and domestic work (Ahumada et al., 2016;

Altan-Olcay, 2014, 2016; Batliwala, 2007; Benería et al., 2015; Bruni et al., 2004; Chant, 2016; Cornwall, 2018; Gupta, 2001; Li, 2007; Molyneux & Thomson, 2011; Rankin, 2001, 2002; Rebolledo, 2012; Sardenberg, 2016). In this context, women increasingly participate in the processes of economic globalisation as precarious and flexible workers and, in development, as rational economic women, that is, good mothers and economically empowered, disciplined individuals. Development's instrumentalisation of women to achieve household wellbeing without recognising the (economic and labour) costs of care nor its social value stains its search for female empowerment. Chilean rural development ignores women's needs and desires, reproducing and deepening gender inequalities and women's double burden of work under neoliberal globalisation (Giron, 2009)

Moreover, the thesis finds that the centralised organisation of the Chilean state contributes to the country's geographical inequality and fuels local vulnerability. Overall, the state does not evaluate, design, and implement a strategic plan to address rural household and individuals' particular social and economic needs, nor promotes regulations, knowledge, and skills that could contribute to endogenous development processes. This absence of state action at the local level undermines the agency of the population through the worsening of their material conditions. Moreover, because multiple actors with different objectives and interests comprise nation-states, state development interventions are characterised by "messy processes of implementation" that affect what development does and achieves in practice (as opposed to what it intends to do). In Central Chiloé, in particular, rural local states are characterised by historically rooted relations of paternalism and assistentialism that influence the power relationship between local governments and rural individuals and, therefore, shape local processes of subjectivation.

Finally, the thesis shows that despite their vulnerable situations and dependence on both the state and the market, poor rural women can (and do) express critiques of the state and its development approach. However, because they live in vulnerable and unstable situations, they do it in subtle

and tactical ways to avoid deteriorating their constraining situations. On one side, local women adapt state interventions to their needs and desires and detach from the norms, roles, and values, encouraging them to expand their production constantly. They embrace the entrepreneurial state help but contest the neoliberal condition by choosing to maintain diversified livelihoods and aspiring to a quiet and stable life characterised by material sufficiency instead of abundance and specialisation. On the other side, women also contest their characterisation as flexible and unskilled industrial workers by choosing to opt-out of jobs that do not recognise the value of their work. With their actions, women directly challenge the neoliberal notion that individuals can satisfy all their needs and desires through the market. In concrete, poor rural women in Central Chiloé find ways to elaborate relevant critiques to rural development, highlighting the value of local culture, knowledge and care to the social reproduction in their communities. Although these critiques are not necessarily collective responses to neoliberal globalisation, they are political because they are concerned with self-determination and emancipation from external ideals and the search and defence of personal truth (Foucault, 1982).

8.3. Avenues for future research

The research aims to analyse governmentality and subjectivation in the context of contemporary rural development in Chile and places particular attention on the lives of poor or economically vulnerable women. There are three limitations in this analysis, which in turn signal avenues for future research. First, the study does not incorporate men. Thus, it fails to accurately depict the ways neoliberal development relies on traditional gender roles because it ignores men's experiences and renders invisible intra-household dynamics (Gutmann, 2003; Gutmann & Viveros, 2005; Kimmel et al., 2004). Second, the research does not incorporate women who continued to participate as salmon workers after the crisis, either because they did not have the freedom to opt out or remain in the industry. Greater insight into their experiences and political critiques would enrich the theoretical discussion around gendered subjectivation in Chiloé. Finally, by not gathering data

during women's programme participation (for instance, by attending training sessions or local meetings between the state and programme participants), the thesis fails to explore in greater detail the way women relate and make use of the gaps and contradictions within the state to further their interest and impose their goals.

Another aspect worth investigating in-depth is the effect that the neoliberal process of subjectivation has on community relations. Indeed, although the research shows that women are relevant and active in the defence and preservation of community values at the local level (Trevilla & Peña, 2020), it also shows that the neoliberal technique of responsabilisation has been relatively successful in creating an association between poverty and unwillingness to work. Since the thesis shows that community's support is a significant help at times of economic distress, it would be interesting to explore if neoliberalism is in practice contributing to deepening the isolation and precariousness of the poorest by furthering their exclusion of local circuits of support. Finally, the thesis focused on the development experience of adult women in Central Chiloé. An exciting avenue for further research would be to explore how neoliberal governmentality and its process of subjectivation materialises in other population groups, such as young women, to explore similarities and differences.

8.4. Overall contributions of the research

The research analyses governmentality and subjectivation in rural development in Central Chiloé, focusing on the experience of poor or economically vulnerable women. It contributes to localising governmental rural development analysis in Chile by exploring its local nuances, often marginalised from grand development narratives and national economic figures. It also renders visible the development experience of individuals traditionally disregarded as agents in the context of rural Chile. Finally, the thesis contributes to the body of knowledge of governmentality and subjectivation in the context of development, first, by treating development as a contested space that assumes different forms depending on the

characteristics of the local context and, second, by adding other variables, such as class, gender and the functioning of the local economy to the analysis of its subjectivation process.

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Appendix

No. of missing households	Reason
11	Previous residents moved to an unknown address
4	Residents did not want to participate in the survey
1	The person keeps the house but works elsewhere
1	Death
5	Residents impossible to contact (six attempts)
22	Total

Table A. 1: Missing households in fieldwork survey

Source: Fieldwork

Note: Among the people who did not want to participate in the interview, two argued they did not have time, one that she had had “bad experiences when answering surveys” and another that she only answers municipality surveys.



Figure A. 1: Timeline of presidential periods in Chile since the mid-20th century

Source: Author’s elaboration with information from the Biblioteca Congreso Nacional (National Congress Library).

Note: The research acknowledges that Pinochet’s rule was not a democratically elected presidential period. He functioned as president de facto between December 17, 1974 and March 10, 1981, and with constitutional rank between March 11, 1981 and March 11, 1990.

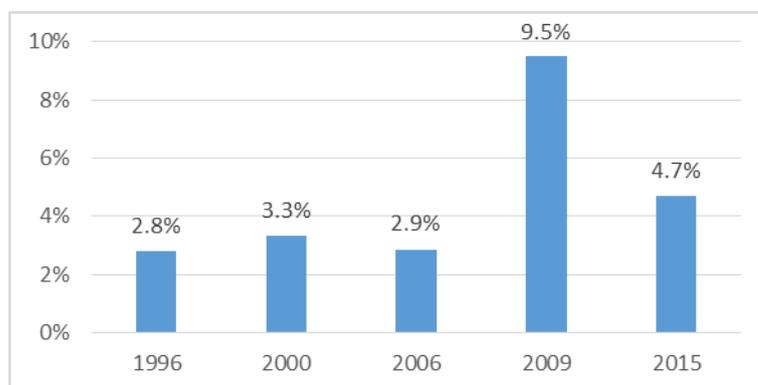


Figure A. 2: Percentage of unemployed population in the Province of Chiloé (1996-2015)

Source: Author’s elaboration with data from CASEN series.

Programme	Institution	Description	Access
<i>Habilidades para la vida</i> (Skills for life)	Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas	School programme that promotes healthy behaviour and early detection and prevention of mental health risk factors	Preferential
Oral health	Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas	Oral health programme that targets students (up to 8th grade of primary education), who are either enrolled in municipal schools or in private-subsidized schools that are subscribed to the programme	Preferential
Plan AUGE	Ministerio de Salud	Access to free treatment for more than 80 pathologies in public and private health systems.	Guaranteed (universal)
Sistema Chile Crece Contigo	Ministerio de Salud	System that provides support and healthcare to pregnant mothers and children under 6 years of age.	Guaranteed
Technical support	Servicio Nacional de la Discapacidad	Total or partial financing for the acquisition of technical support for people with disabilities.	Preferential
<i>Apoyo a la dinámica familiar</i> (Support for family dynamic)	PRODEMU	Training and workshops for 20 participants, during a period of 2 to 4 months. The contents of the sessions are related to personal and social skills, domestic violence prevention, children's education and entrepreneurial networks. It aims to contribute to the psychosocial wellbeing of children and families, strengthening the parenting skills of parents and adults in charge of their upbringing.	Preferential
Pre-school education	Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles (JUNJI)	Three programmes: 1. 'Childhood Improvement': National community programme for vulnerable children under 6 years without access to pre-school education. 2. 'Know your Son': Support offered to parents with children under 6 years of age in rural areas without access to pre-school education. 3. 'Cultural Educational Centres for Children': Educational workshops aimed at children between 2 and 6 years of age, which include families and community organizations. Its objective is to promote the development and learning of children through creative expression, art and culture.	Preferential
Salas cunas, jardines infantiles y extensión horaria	Fundación INTEGRA / Ministerio de Educación	Three components: 1. Nursery: attending infants from 85 days to 1 year and 11 months of age, from Monday to Friday from 08:30 to 16:30. 2. Kindergarten: attending children from 2 to 4 years and 11 months of age, from Monday to Friday from 08:30 to 16:30 3. Time extension: provides a reception space to children who need to stay later than 16:30 because their mother is working or seeking employment, or because the child lives in conditions of poverty and social vulnerability.	Preferential
School alimentation	Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas	It provides daily food intakes to children and adolescents according to the vulnerability of their families and their nutritional needs.	Guaranteed
Beca de Apoyo a Retención Escolar	Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas	Scholarship that aims to reduce school dropout among vulnerable young people in secondary education.	Guaranteed
Subvención Pro Retención	Ministerio de Educación	A subsidy that aims to guarantee compliance with the 12 years of compulsory education among the most vulnerable youth.	Preferential
Subvención Escolar Preferencial	Ministerio de Educación	A subsidy that aims to finance the highest cost of educating vulnerable youth (supply and demand subsidy scheme).	Preferential
Regularización de títulos de dominio	Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales	The purpose of the programme is to regularize titles of domain among families benefiting from CHS and IEF, in order to open new opportunity for them to apply to other benefits of the Social Protection	Regular
Vive tu Huerto	Ministerio de Desarrollo Social	It promotes healthy eating by implementing school gardens aiming to generate and strengthen the agricultural knowledge and capacities of students, teachers and parents.	Preferential
Habitabilidad Chile Solidario	FOSIS - municipalities	It provides families with goods and/or services that allow them to improve their habits of use and care of the household.	Guaranteed
Apoyo a Familias para el Autoconsumo	FOSIS - municipalities	It supports families to implement new technologies of production, processing, preparation or preservation of food (both plant-based and animal-based).	Guaranteed
Sistema de Pensiones Solidarias	Superintendencia de Pensiones	Access to a guaranteed pension system to improve economic security in old age and disability	Guaranteed

Table A. 2: Non-labour related programmes with guaranteed and preferred IEF access

Source: Author's elaboration with information from Vargas et al (2017).

```

. probit ocupados edad08_rl t_hijos t_conyuge hijos_conyuge if sexo==0

Iteration 0:  log likelihood = -748.68858
Iteration 1:  log likelihood = -722.20178
Iteration 2:  log likelihood = -722.10234
Iteration 3:  log likelihood = -722.10234

Probit regression                               Number of obs   =    1090
                                                LR chi2(4)      =    53.17
                                                Prob > chi2     =    0.0000
Log likelihood = -722.10234                    Pseudo R2      =    0.0355

```

ocupados	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
edad08_rl	-.0101795	.0022233	-4.58	0.000	-.0145371	-.0058218
t_hijos	.6144804	.1085692	5.66	0.000	.4016887	.8272721
t_conyuge	.5557594	.1550096	3.59	0.000	.2519462	.8595725
hijos_conyuge	-.7848136	.1857782	-4.22	0.000	-1.148932	-.420695
_cons	-.0462761	.1228846	-0.38	0.706	-.2871254	.1945733

```

. probit ocupados edad08_rl t_hijos t_conyuge hijos_conyuge if sexo==1

Iteration 0:  log likelihood = -693.26403
Iteration 1:  log likelihood = -686.83614
Iteration 2:  log likelihood = -686.83441
Iteration 3:  log likelihood = -686.83441

Probit regression                               Number of obs   =    1081
                                                LR chi2(4)      =    12.86
                                                Prob > chi2     =    0.0120
Log likelihood = -686.83441                    Pseudo R2      =    0.0093

```

ocupados	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
edad08_rl	.0000315	.0023739	0.01	0.989	-.0046212	.0046841
t_hijos	.2496457	.0874309	2.86	0.004	.0782843	.4210071
t_conyuge	.3729157	.3531459	1.06	0.291	-.3192376	1.065069
hijos_conyuge	-.2621291	.3761277	-0.70	0.486	-.9993258	.4750676
_cons	.2485763	.1096207	2.27	0.023	.0337236	.463429

Figure A. 3: Factors that affect the probability to participate in the labour market (by gender, year 2008), Probit Model Estimation Results

Source: Own estimation using data from the 'Labour Register' module of the 2009 Rimisp survey.

Note: sexo equals 0 if the person is a woman or 1 if he is a man; ocupados is 0 if the person is employed and 1 if not; edad_08_rl is the age; t_hijos is 1 if the person has children and 0 if not; t_conyuge is 1 if the person has a partner/spouse and 0 if not; hijos_conyuge is a combined variable that is 1 if the person has children and a partner/spouse and 0 if otherwise; _cons is the constant. The estimations only incorporate the working-age population in 2008.