“Hijas de la Lucha”: Social Studies Education and Gender/Political Subjectification in the Chilean High School Feminist Movement

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Abstract

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Over the past years, particularly during 2018, Chilean society has experienced a robust feminist movement led by high school students. At the same time, mainstream society and researchers claim that Chile is experiencing a youth civic and citizenship education crisis, particularly among young women. I address this apparent contradiction by challenging the futuristic approach in citizenship education taken in the country and exploring how young women are currently politically engaged and challenge gender oppression within their high schools and their activist spaces. I have used a post-human and post-colonial feminist theoretical framework to answer the following research question, How do female public high school students in Chile who identify as feminist or politically active produce their gender/political subjectivities in the 2018 context of contentious feminist politics? And, sub questions; How do they do this while engaging with feminist discourses and practices in and outside of school? How do they do this while engaging with historical narratives? Finally, how do they do this while engaging with formal political education in school? A context of contentious feminist politics will be understood as a

¹ Means “daughters of the struggle”. Lucha and its derivatives will be used in Spanish in this dissertation because it is not completely translatable. It means fight, struggle, but in a political sense. When a Chilean person says “seguiré luchando” usually refers to political struggle and it is not the same as saying “seguiré peleando” that could mean fight off anything. Nevertheless, in English they are both translated as the same sentence “I will keep on fighting”. This is why I will maintain this word in Spanish.
context where feminism is prevalent in public discourse, which forces people—in this case students—to take a stance concerning this subject.

To answer the research questions, I conducted a critical ethnography, observing classes and other activities at Edelbina González High School, a Chilean all-female public high school with an active group of high school feminists. During my fieldwork, I invited six 12th-grade participants to be my focal group of observation and to take part in individual testimonios interviews and collective art-based testimonios workshops. Through these methods, I produced fieldnotes of observations, transcriptions and audio-recordings of the interviews and workshops, and photographs of the school space and students’ art pieces. I analyzed the data through a three-layer process using thematic coding analysis, narrative structural and content analysis, visual analysis, and “plugging in with theory” analysis (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

This study engages with lengthy discussion regarding education and reproduction of gender regimes; it explores how oppressive systems transform but remain, particularly in regards to citizenship and formal political education through neoliberal discourses of girl empowerment. It also shows how feminist female high school students communally and creatively respond, theorize, and re-imagine political engagement within these frames, providing insights into what is, and what can be education for democratic citizenship and gender justice. The Feminist students in this study produced themselves as nomadic mestiza bodies engaging with pre-existing political frameworks but at the same time built something more. The students assembled themselves within an antagonistic us/them framework within the Chilean Student Movement, which considers the state and school as adversaries attempting to oppress them. Their high school attempted to reproduce them as
feminine, successful, conflict-free neoliberal girls. Regardless, the feminist students
displaced both the antagonistic and neoliberal model producing their gender/political
subjectivities as nomadic, ever-shifting, vulnerable and strong, and connecting themselves
with collective memories and historical narratives. The production of the feminist students’
gender/political subjectivities through “affectivism,” resistance, and political caring
rendered the participants as nomadic mestiza bodies, always becoming, collectively
connected and empowered by one another to produce political change.

Keywords: High school students, subjectivity, gender, political, feminism, activism, social
movement, sexuality, Chile
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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to all feminist students, you *Luchadoras* are changing Chile and the world.
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Problem Statement

Youth-led social movements in Chile have vigorously resurfaced since the 80s. Different grassroots political communities have engaged in activism to reject structural inequality through communitarian action. For one part, since 2006, Chilean university and high school students have been leading one of the most effective social movements in the country; the Chilean Student Movement (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Bellei, Cabalin & Orellana, 2018; Donoso, 2013; Somma, 2012). The students have employed different types of political actions to challenge the neo-liberalization of the state and formal education, improve public school, and obtain free higher education for everyone with relative success (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Bellei, Cabalin & Orellana, 2018). More recently –during the past five years– feminist activism has also regained strength in the country. It has been taken up mainly by young women -both high schoolers and college students- who discursively connect it with the pre-democracy radical women’s movements that fought Pinochet’s dictatorship, and the student movement (Follegati Montenegro, 2016). Feminism has become so popular that 2016 was called “the year that Chile became feminist” (Mulsow García, January 16th, 2017), while almost 43% of Chilean women declare themselves feminists (Orellana, October 19th, 2016). High school student-led feminist collectives and organizations have increased. Within the student movement, students started to engage in political actions devoted to end gender and sexual-orientation based violence and discrimination in educational settings. These students have been mainly focused on ending female and LGBTQI discrimination and oppression. 2018, the year of this dissertation study, was a particularly active year in terms of youth political feminist engagement.
Between 2016 and 2018 the feminist movement had been slowly building momentum, and in 2018 the cause gain immense popularity due to particular events of sexual abuse from professors at a college level. These events detonated several actions and protests that spread throughout Chile. May 2018 was denominated “Feminist May,” feminist issues passed to be continuously debated, while political figures had to include feminist demands in their work. University and High school students across the country demanded gender justice and the end of gender violence, engaging in school occupations, strikes, and marches (Zerán, 2018; Cea, et al., 2018).

Despite these active youth-led social movements, civic education has become a public concern in Chile because of a perceived crisis of youth civic engagement. Reports on Chilean democracy (PNUD Chile, 2014) and Chilean electoral participation (PNUD Chile, 2017) indicate that voting-age youth is now less inclined to participate in formal political processes (e.g., Voting, subscribing to political parties) by analyzing data concerning voting rates and political parties’ inscriptions. Another more recent report, based on the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study of 2016 (ICCE) -a study that surveys 8th-graders in several countries- concluded that 57% of Chilean eighth-graders would support a dictatorship if it brought socio-economic prosperity (Schulz, Ainley, Cox & Friedman, 2017). These reports have different target populations but the concerns expressed are similar: both while in High School and after graduation, young people from age 14 to age 24 do not support democratic formal political processes. These fears have been echoed by social science researchers (e.g., Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox & Bascopé, 2014; García & Flores, 2011) who claim that youth are “disinterested” in politics and political participation.
The reports and other researchers also identify a crisis in women’s political engagement, as well as a grave problem of gender inequality in the country and Latin America (Pachón, Peña & Wills, 2012; PNUD Chile, 2014; Ranaboldo & Solana, 2008). According to studies, women vote at similar rates than men during elections. Regardless, they are more susceptible than men to become non-voters and believe that their vote will not affect things. These issues are accentuated in the youngest age group of voters (18-24) (PNUD Chile, 2017). Women in Chile are also grossly underrepresented in all positions of political power (PNUD Chile, 2014; PNUD Chile, 2017), which is ironic in a country that has elected two times a woman president. Chilean women experience economic and social discrimination and inequality, and gender and sexual violence constantly in their lives (PNUD Chile, 2014). Femicides or the murder of women for gender reasons have increased every year (Red Chilena Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres, 2009). Street sexual harassment of women, as well as sexual harassment in schools and workplaces, are pervasive and have only recently been addressed as social problems. The intersection of gender age, race, ethnic background, sexual orientation, as well as social context, accentuates these problems for some women in Chile.

Formal education has been considered one of the causes of these problems, as well as the possible solution to gender inequality and youth civic disengagement. Chilean educational researchers have established that the current state of youth civic disengagement and political indifference requires special attention into formal citizenship education (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox & Bascopé, 2014; Castillo Peña, 2016; García & Flores, 2011; Muñoz Labraña, Vásquez Lara & Reyes Jedlicki, 2010; Redon Pantoja, 2010). This perceived crisis has been echoed by politicians and public opinion so much that
a mandatory civic education plan has been developed, and in High Schools certain number of hours have been devoted to this topic by law since 2016 (Ministerio de Educación, n.d.). The hope is that the improved quality of civic education will result in students developing engaged public identities and participate in formal political activities in the future. The desired Chilean citizen produced in legal curricular documents has “an autonomous individual identity, is capable of coexisting in a society respecting difference, is ethical and capable of interacting under principles of respect, transparency, cooperation, and freedom, and is an economically productive member of society.” (Ministerio de Educación, 2016, p.3).

Concerning gender inequality and education, Chilean researchers recognize that females have achieved full access to education, similar enrollment rates, related or even higher graduation rates, equal literacy rates, similar dropout rates, and years of schooling. Nonetheless, they still argue that gender equality is far from being achieved (Avalos, 2003; Castillo, 2011; Reveco, 2011; Valdés, 2013; Guerrero, Valdés & Provoste, 2006; Poblete, 2011). They describe achievement gaps, students’ and teachers’ gender-based discrimination and stereotyping gendered dropout reasons, and gendered vocational tracking, leading to unequally paid positions. Even though these scholars explore how these problems in education negatively affect the status of women in Chile, they still argue that it is through education that researchers, teachers, and policymakers need to address the problem of gender inequality. Through education, girls could be “empowered” to become productive workers and engaged political actors in the future.

High school students and female youth have been engaging in a broad range of political actions for social justice, all while Chilean scholars and mainstream media have
claimed that Chile is experiencing a youth civic crisis. Researchers and mainstream media have failed to qualify these actions as desired political engagements or even democratic engagement. Educational scholars and institutional actors focus so much on how to motivate the youngest voters to participate in formal political processes that research on citizenship political engagement at High School level has been centered on how and what to reform in citizenship education to promote this motivation. Even though, in the field of social movements, there are few studies on the matter of youth-led civic engagement (e.g., Chapter two), in Chilean educational research there has been close to no researchers that question political engagement and disengagement and attempts to describe what sort of citizenship engagements we can observe in High Schoolers today. Being so focused on fixing a perceived problem and getting a desired result has made it difficult for researchers to question these ideas in the first place. There is close to no research on the new feminist movement led by Chilean feminist high school and college students (Cabello in Zerán, 2018), and only emerging studies connecting high school student-led activism and formal social studies and civic education (Figueroa & Cavieres, 2018; Mayorga, 2018; Mayorga, 2020). It seems that the knowledge regarding civic engagement and challenging gender oppression developed by these youth is not being paid sufficient attention.

1.2. Research Questions and Goals

My study addresses this gap; I challenge both the futurism and consensus-oriented spirit of Chilean formal civic education (Mayorga, 2017a, 2017b) and explore how young people are being engaged citizens today while addressing the narrow notions of what counts as citizenship and what is considered a desirable gender/political subjectivity for high school female students. I explore how Chilean female public high school students
produce their gender/political subjectivities in the context of contentious feminist politics in 2018. I have researched the ways in which these students construct their gender/political subjectivities in schools where they bring their knowledges and encounter formal political education. I also observed how these young ‘women’s interactions in activist spaces are connected to the highly regulated space of formal political education and gender subjectification in schools and vice versa. Finally, I also analyzed how students use history to produce their own gender/political subjectivities. In this dissertation, I have answered the following research question: How do female public high school students in Chile who identify as feminist or politically active produce their gender/political subjectivities in the 2018 context of contentious feminist politics? This question is composed of these three sub-questions: How do they do this while engaging with feminist discourses and practices in and outside of school? How do they do this while engaging with historical narratives? And, how do they do this while engaging with formal political education in school? I will define a context of contentious feminist politics as a context and a time when feminism becomes so common place that a series of processes make topics related to feminism highly controversial, forcing people to take a stance concerning them.

1.3. Significance

By answering these research questions, I have focused this dissertation into the actual ways in which young women are working to end oppression and are politically engaged today, instead of becoming fixed on a desired empowered girl citizen in the future. State institutions, schools, teachers, and society, in general, do a poor job in recognizing the potential value of feminist student politics to change both education and society radically. Particularly in a context where state and public actors are appalled by the lack of youth
civic engagement and citizenship education has again won a space in formal curricula, there is still no attempt to consider the nuances of the relation between context-place-bodies which allow students to produce themselves as political actors. On the contrary, the state continually tries to shut down the political systems within politically engaged schools and the Student Movement. Instead of focusing on how to end civic disengagement and gender inequality in the future, I attempted to draw knowledges created by “feminist girls” that are currently politically devoted to end gender and sexual-orientation based discrimination and violence both within their educational spaces and society in general. Through this research, I have learned from the students' knowledge, and attempted to create strategies that could benefit political education, education for gender justice and open a debate regarding what it means to be politically engaged, what it means to develop an active civic identity, and how people can participate and struggle for social justice. The current Chilean social uprising, which started in October 2019, against the neoliberal system and the crisis of the political, economic, and social model in the country demands our attention on youth political engagement. Politicians continue to be baffled by the desire of Chileans -in particular young ones- to have a more significant stake in democratic processes, influence the construction of the social, economic, and cultural project of the country, and their constant political engagement in the form of protest. Still, there is an inherent resistance to democratize political processes and engage in structural reforms from the government. This incomprehension is one of the many reasons why the issues addressed in this dissertation continue to be an urgent matter in the Chilean context.
1.4. Theoretical Framework

This section will explore the theoretical framework constructed for this dissertation and the main theoretical concepts and tools I used to produce my data and analysis. I will first explore oppressive systems that constitute gendered/political subjects. Then I will argue that these systems have particularities in the Latin American context. Finally, I will analyze post-colonial and post-structural feminist proposals to dismantle and challenge these systems of oppression. During the whole research process, I have considered the production of gendered subjects as being part of the processes to produce political subjects. This means that the ways current systems produce subjects as part of political communities are gendered and vice versa. This is why throughout my dissertation, I have used the concept of gender/political subjectivities understanding the production of these as intertwined.

Gender and sexual differences and other types of variations exist in the world, but these differences are produced not just as ‘variations’. Braidotti (2011) argues that western societies have particular systems of meaning, ruled by what she calls “phallogocentrism” or the “masculine as a self-regulating rational agency” (p. 96), where there is a center against which everything else is measured. This center encompasses the masculine, white, heterosexual, able-bodied, and the logocentric (rational) logics that rule how people should live, think, and feel. In this system, what is different from the phallogocentric center is reduced to an inferior ‘other’:

(…) “difference” has historically been colonized by power relations that reduce it to inferiority. Furthermore, it has resulted in passing off such differences as “natural,”
which then made entire categories of beings into devalued and therefore disposable entities. (Braidotti 2011, p. 96)

Those named different are meant to become abject bodies, and this devalued position is supposed to be understood as something that comes naturally from their difference. The ‘naturally’ inferior ‘other’ plays a crucial role in the dominant position of the ones in the center: “it organizes difference in a hierarchical scale that allows for the management and governability of all gradations of social differences.” (Braidotti 2011, p. 97). In other words, the center needs the devaluated different-from-them in order to maintain the position of power it currently holds. Braidotti analyzes femininity as one of these inherently devaluated ‘others’. She explains:

(...) the association of femininity with monstrosity points to a system of pejoration that is implicit in the binary logic of opposition that characterizes the phallogocentric discursive order (...) It follows that the misogyny of discourse is not an irrational exception but rather a tightly constructed economy that requires difference as pejoration in order to erect the positivity of the norm. In this respect, misogyny is not a hazard, but rather the structural necessity of a system that can only represent ‘otherness’ as negativity. (Braidotti 2011, p. 225)

In the phallogocentric system, femininity is the pale deformed reflection in the broken mirror of the masculine center. These binary differences, make the feminine body into “[t]he monstrous body, which makes a living spectacle of itself, [and] is eminently disposable.” (Braidotti 2011, p. 216). Erasure, silence, violence, and even death, are part of the discursive essence of this ‘other’ body. Anzaldúa (2007) argues that this is not only the case with femininity, but also with homosexuality. She explains that in most cultures,
LGBTQI individuals or anyone that deviates from the sexual common have been violently treated and also killed. According to the Latina author, “the queer are the mirror reflecting the heterosexual tribe’s fear: being different, being other and therefore lesser, therefore sub-human, in-human, non-human.” (p. 40). Following Braidotti’s assessment of femininity, Anzaldúa reflects on the use of the different to work as an inferior other that props up the “normal,” and that can be used as a scapegoat.

Concerning pejorative difference, Butler (2011) argues that gender and sexual difference can be understood within normative discursive realms that produce the different from the norm as inferior in a dialectic manner. She explains that bodies are produced by discourse and that “(…) materiality is bound up with signification from the start” (Butler 2011, p. 30). This discursivity does not mean the body is just a linguistic effect, but that is loaded with linguistic significance that produces it and is, at the same time, an ongoing project (Butler 2011, p. 68). Language and names are continually producing the body within a discursive context that marks the different-from the norm as inferior. Butler says, “(…) naming is at once the setting of a boundary, and also the repeated inculcation of a norm.” (2011, p.8). Similarly, Anzaldúa (2007) considers identity categories, and the process of subjectification as the marking of a “border” which is used “to distinguish us from them (…) a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge.” (p. 25). In this exclusionary system, we name what-is and at the same time mark what-is-not, and “[t]his marking off will have some normative force and, indeed, some violence, for it can construct only through erasing (…)” (Butler 2011, p. 11). The process of naming or ‘marking what is’ reproduces exclusionary terms for recognizability:
there are certain things that can be included in the name, but there are others that are excluded. The desire to be recognized under such a label produces disidentification and disappointment because of its erasure of anything that transgresses the boundaries of the label (Butler, 2011, p.90, p.158).

Disidentification is then an “experience of misrecognition, this uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does and does not belong” (Butler, 2011, p. 166).

For some, the constitution of the phallogocentric system is not just a discursive turn but a process that gave origin to actual material realities. Some bodies are the product of the modernity and the colonial project – e.g., those taken from home and sold as slaves, those born out of the rape of conquest - and even though working through the discursive issues that affect them could be beneficial, their material experiences still need special attention. Latin American feminist scholars (Femenías, 2007; Gargallo, 2004, 2007; Paredes, 2014) agree that there is a system that colonizes difference as inferiority and that everything is measured against this model or center, but they add that the evaluation of the problem of difference for ‘women’ in Latin America includes other elements. The history of Latin American conquest and colonialism is hugely relevant in the constitution of the phallogocentric system in the region:

The superiority of men is then part of a complex cultural construction in all dominated countries (…). This construction has similar characteristics to the racism of conquest and enslavement of the defeated, this way, the gender system, and war, and the gender system and colonialism accompany and reinforce each other because they have a standard hierarchical system at the base. (Gargallo, 2007, p. 24, own translation)
The discursive and material violence that women’s bodies suffer in this context is related to the history of internalized violence that Latin American bodies have endured. Gargallo (2007) argues that the same system that oppresses women’s bodies is the one that oppresses conquered and colonized bodies. The ‘center’ is not just a male, white, able, heterosexual body, but also the body of the colonizer, the conquistador, and the neoliberal capitalist.

Denying the positive value of difference and the imposition of a singular model for being is at the base of a pernicious hierarchy that maintains the colonized world in an inferior material, and discursive position, just like women are in relation to men, or some women to other women (Gargallo 2007, p. 30). In Latin American countries, western feminism has been accused of normalizing a kind of woman that is perceived as white, economically active, and upper class (Gargallo, 2007). Both Femenías and Gargallo argue that it is impossible to dissociate Patriarchy or phallogocentric system in Latin America from the racism and classism of the colonial and capitalist model: they work as a unit to place in an inferior position all that is different, and to create a hierarchical order that includes sexism, racism, classism, individualism and heterosexism (Gargallo, 2007, p. 32; Femenías, 2007, pp. 12-13). Adding to these ideas, Paredes (2014) argues that division and classification processes, central in the colonial project, serve to constitute subjects in opposition to each other, always considering difference as negative. These classificatory practices serve to create a symbolic hierarchy which no longer needs to be forcefully imposed:

The grim legacy of colonial invasion, -including among other scourges: exclusion, contempt, machismo, and racism toward the indigenous- has resulted in an internal colonialism that no longer needs the white invader to rule as viceroy (Paredes, 2014, p. 52)
In practice, this means Latin America women would not need the colonial invader to position them in inferior power positions, but they are sometimes engaging in internal colonialism, which marks their bodies as less than.

In the neoliberal phallogocentric order, the category woman has experienced some transformations. Women and even girls (Harris, 2004a) are expected to be the perfect responsible and obedient citizens, and the laborers of the global economic market. Fraser (2009) argues that during the neoliberal period in the so-called ‘third-world’ countries, second-wave feminism was used to reinvent capitalism (p. 109), being reinterpreted to fit neoliberal discursive practices by subordinating the socio-economic struggles to the struggles for recognition and inclusion (pp. 108-109). Women’s inclusion in the labor market without the redistribution of unpaid reproductive labor between men and women fits the neoliberal agenda and the ideology of the free market without really changing what it means to be women. Similarly, Schild (2013) argues that in this new project of neoliberal governmentality, ‘women’ and their inclusion became a symbol of social advancement, without really challenging oppressive structures that subject them. Paredes (2014), explores this constitution of woman in the Latin American context, and also relates it to neoliberalism and neocolonialism, arguing that “western feminism arrived hand in hand with neoliberalism. (…)” (p. 63). In Latin America “women are essential to neoliberal restructuring as band-aids and cheap labor force for structural reforms” (Paredes, 2014, p. 57) and “have been the ones charged with meeting social necessities” (Paredes, 2014, p. 55). In this context, to fit in the ideal norm of what it means to be ‘woman’ still implies to be in an oppressed situation.
Analyzing the structural inequality problems present in the world, political philosopher Chantal Mouffe (1997, 2002, 2013) makes the distinction between “the political” and “Politics. The political for Mouffe is “the dimension of antagonism that is inherent in all human society, antagonism that can take many different forms and can emerge in diverse social relations” (Mouffe, 1997, p. 385) while on the other hand Politics is a product of society and hegemonic power. It “refers to the ensemble of practices, discourses, and institutions that seek to establish a certain order and to organize human coexistence in conditions that are always potentially conflictual because they are affected by the dimension of ‘the political’.” (Mouffe, 1997, p. 385). The philosopher argues that in liberal and neoliberal frameworks, “Politics” can be characterized as a scenario [which] presupposes that political actors are only driven by what they see as their rational self-advantage. Passions are erased from the realm of politics, which is reduced to a neutral field of competing interests. Completely missing from such an approach is [the] various dimensions of antagonism (...) [which] “political liberalism” is at pains to eliminate. It offers us a picture of the well-ordered society as one from which antagonism, violence, power, and repression have disappeared. (Mouffe, 1997, p. 392)

Mouffe rejects this erasure of passion and antagonism, and the presupposition of neutrality and “stresses the contingent character of the hegemonic politico-economic articulations which determine the specific configuration of a society at a given moment.” (Mouffe, 2013, p. 319). She states that one of the “main tenets of (...) liberalism is the rationalist belief in the availability of a universal consensus based on reason.” (Mouffe, 2013, p. 315). The forced liberal consensus, according to the philosopher, erases differences and those
different than or assimilates them recognizing only superficial differences. In the author’s view, this superficial assimilation “would mean establishing a ‘we’ that would not have a corresponding ‘them,’ which (...) is impossible” (Mouffe, 1997, p. 386). The belief that difference can be managed without conflict, according to Mouffe, is mistaken, and reflects “the shallowness of the consensual dream.” (2002, p. 615, e.g., new world wave of fascism).

The phallogocentric system described by these queer and feminist theorists cannot be understood as a static structure. Even though it seems to be all-powerful, it still represents the present conditions of bondage (Braidotti, 2018), a polaroid of a system that is continuously changing and becoming something else. Even though the present conditions of bondage are relevant for the material conditions of those established as “other” or “different” subjects, they still can be identified and worked in different ways. The phallogocentric system seems powerful and immovable, but feminist philosophers and activists have identified ways and positions from which we can challenge oppression and work to construct anti-oppressive gender/political subjectivities.

Mouffe (1997, 2002, 2013) develops a political theory to engage with the problems generated by oppressive hegemonic forces in neoliberal “politics”. She proposes to solve these issues by acknowledging and grasping “the dynamics of constitution of those antagonisms instead of wishing them away with pious declarations.” (2002, p. 615), and attempting to acknowledge the “we/them discrimination in a way that is compatible with pluralist democracy.” (Mouffe, 1997, p. 386). She proposes to include passions and desires into the discussion of a pluralist democracy instead of acting as if they do not exist.

SØndergaard (2005) explains desires as:
not something that can be fixed and confined to someone’s interior. It is constituted through the interaction between the individual and the context, mediated by narratives and metaphors. Desire is created through discursive practices, and does at the same time become a basis for further formation of those practices. This does not, however, imply that desire will be experienced less emotionally, or that its seriousness or vital importance will be diminished for the people who live it. Desire is a form of will to live, a focusing of the will to exist, formed and reproduced through sociocultural interaction. (pp. 299-300)

Desires then are forces that cannot be eliminated or swept under the rug. The philosopher’s perspective on conforming a “Politics” system which acknowledges the existence of hegemonic social structures, and strives for justice, relies on considering constant antagonism present in the us/them political model and considering desires (or passions) as relevant forces within political struggles and interactions in society. She explains that “Politics” should be pluralistic:

such a pluralism is anchored in the recognition of the multiplicity within oneself and of the contradictory positions that this multiplicity entails. Its acceptance of the other does not merely consist in tolerating differences, but in positively celebrating them, because it acknowledges that, without alterity and otherness, no identity could ever assert itself. It is also a pluralism that valorizes diversity and dissensus, recognizing in them the very condition of the possibility of a striving democratic life. (Mouffe, 1997, p. 388).
Many of Mouffe’s ideas correlate with social movements’ theories regarding the conformation of political communities and producing antagonists, and also the political use of affects and passions (Benford, 2002; Davis, 2002; Fine, 2002).

Even though Mouffe’s proposal to solve the problems established by hegemonic neoliberal societies is interesting, Butler, Braidotti, Anzaldúa, and Paredes amplify her notion of antagonism and the production of non-oppressive subjectivities. For example, Butler (2011) locates the power of exclusionary norms in the performativity or citational practice of these norms, recognizing these are opened up by their “persistence and instability” (p. 9). What comes to be understood or recognized as ‘naturally’ woman extracts its power from a history of performing woman, from infinite citational practices that mimic over and over what she is, and at the same time what she is not. That same citational practice is the source of change; we can visualize the power of the reiterative norms, but also the fracture for critique and the norm as a human design. Butler (2011) recognizes that even though this process is constrained by threats, it is not predetermined in advance. Performativity has an inherent margin of ‘error’: there is no perfect imitation, there is no perfect citation, even in the most conforming of the performances, something is changing (p. 95). Butler’s project to challenge the phallogocentric regime is then connected to this open/closed space where there needs to be compliance to the norms (in consideration of the risks inherent in not being recognized), but where the imperfect mimic fractures the apparent tight boundaries of the norm. Subjectivity is produced in the iterability of the norm but, in this same constrained citational practice, the embodied subject can feel that the terms by which she is recognized are unacceptable and the fracture grows bigger. This fracture is a momentum for critique, a space for an imperfect citation.
that will appeal to the ritualistic repetition of the norm, but is somehow a sacrilege, familiar and unfamiliar. The productive desire to belong, to be recognized, but at the same time, to be happy fuels this change:

Indeed, it may be precisely through practices which underscore disidentification with those regulatory norms by which sexual difference is materialized that both feminist and queer politics are mobilized. Such collective disidentifications can facilitate a reconceptualization of which bodies matter, and which bodies are yet to emerge as critical matters of concern. (Butler, 2011, pp. xiii-xiv)

Engaging in ‘failed’ citational practices could be an opportunity for sacrilege “to work the mobilizing power of injury” (Butler, 2011, p. 123). The ‘bad performances’ can be part of conscious acts of resistance. Butler calls these moments “disidentification” processes.

On her part, Braidotti (2011) proposes to challenge the exclusionary and inherently unequal phallogocentric ethics of representation through a nomadic consciousness project that rejects and resists “hegemonic, fixed, unitary, and exclusionary views of subjectivity” (p.58), aims to reach an awareness of subjectivity as a never finished project or a becoming (p. 64, 66, 93), and reclams difference as a positive foundation (p. 150). She, “rejects dualistic oppositions and posits all subjects as differential modulations of a common matter. This political vision rejects the dialectics that pitches self- versus-other.” (Braidotti, 2018, p.221). This idea would challenge and amplify Mouffe’s political project, moving away from the belief that subjectification necessarily brings forth binaries and discrimination.

Braidotti proposes engaging in this project by exploring sexual difference through the embodied experiences of women (Braidotti, 2011, p. 154). She explains, “embodied accounts illuminate and transform our knowledge about ourselves and of the world”
Embodied memory and imagination are vital components in this political project of disruption and never-ending elucidation. According to Braidotti (2011) memory is an indispensable tool in the process of challenging dominant assumptions:

The nomadic consciousness (…) is akin to what Foucault called countermemory, it is a form of resisting assimilation or homologation into dominant ways of representing the self. The feminist (…) are those who have peripheral consciousness and have forgotten to forget injustice and symbolic poverty: their memory is activated against the stream; they enact a rebellion of subjugated knowledges.

(Braidotti 2011, p. 60)

The nomadic subject has to reach into what has always been left out: affects, her personal memory, and imagination, her lived experience as a peripheral consciousness (Braidotti, 2011, p. 105). Engaging in this embodied memory and imagination would lead to nomadic “becomings”. Braidotti (2011) draws on Deleuze and Guattari’s work regarding lines of flight and becoming, and argues that “nomadic becoming is neither reproduction nor just imitation, but rather emphatic proximity, intensive interconnectedness.” (p. 27).

Braidotti’s political project, which aims to challenge the unequal position of the ‘other,’ cannot be reduced to describe discursive norms. It moves beyond that and calls forth a participation in an ever unfinished and embodied nomadic becoming. She combines nomadic consciousness and “becomings” with “ethics of joy.” The author describes ethics of joy by explaining how it “does not deny the reality of pain, trauma and violence” but is based on “the belief that negative relations and passions can be transformed through an engagement in collective practices of change”, which would imply “a dynamic view of
passions and affects, even those that freeze us in pain, horror or mourning.” (Braidotti, 2018, p.222). She identifies several steps to address issues and not just describe them:

The first step consists in reaching an adequate cartography of the conditions of bondage. The ethics of joy proposes an alternative way of extracting knowledge from pain, that starts with and is conveyed by the quest for an adequate understanding of power. (...) The second step consists in mobilizing a subject’s ontological desire (...) by reframing it in disruptive directions capable of resisting codes and powers. (...). The third step is to create a laboratory of the new. (...) [Finally,] an ethics of joy entails sustaining processes of subject-formation that do not comply with the dominant norms. (Braidotti, 2018, p. 223)

For her, an ethics of joy would be a collective nomadic process of becoming, and this nomadic becoming necessarily has to engage with nomadic consciousness to be able to create new practices. Subjects that engage in this ethic of joy describe and understand cartographies of power, mobilize their desires to disrupt and resists norms and powers, create new spaces and practices to challenge the conditions of bondage, and engage in the production of subjectivities that go against dominant norms. I have argued across this dissertation that feminist students engage in an ethics of joy while they produce their gender/political subjectivities

In the Latin American context, this resistance to rigid terms for recognizability, and nomadic consciousness have not only been tools for the struggle against oppressive structures (Gargallo, 2004) but key in the survival of women. Latin American women have never fitted neatly in the colonial phallogocentric models available for them. Femenías (2007) argues that the mestiza racial and cultural condition of Latin America is
uncomfortable for the western phallogocentric order: something mestiza is a little bit of both worlds, it is unsettled and predicates on fluidity and change to exist as a possibility. In other words, the mestiza has the potential to disrupt the established order by fluidly moving through its hierarchy. The phallogocentric system resolves this problem by creating the pure/impure dichotomy (Femenías 2007, pp. 17-19), but still does not erase its potential. According to Anzaldúa (2007), the mestiza is in “a constant state of mental nepantilism, an Aztec word meaning torn between ways, la mestiza is a product of the transfers of the cultural and spiritual values of one group to another.” (p. 100). The mestiza seems to coincide with the nomadic subject. Without fitting neatly in any established norm, the mestiza lives in the borderlands which are; “a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary, a constant state of transition” (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 25), going beyond the confines of the ‘normal’. The mestiza survives by “developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity.” (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 101). By having unclassifiable bodies, the mestiza has to start the work to survive in the colonial and neocolonial context from her experiences in the flesh (Benmayor, 2012; Paredes, 2014). Paredes (2014) argues that “our bodies are the form of our being (...) [and] place us in the world and in the social relations that the world constructed before we arrived into it”, but they are also a place of resistance and creativity (pp. 98-99). This conceptualization of subjectivities concerning their bodies also seems to coincide with embodied nomadism. Latin American feminists argue that women have to continue engaging in this ambiguity from the flesh consciously to end the colonial modernity classificatory project:

To decolonize and return to the sensual experience of the body, we must first decolonize the schizophrenic idea of the body and soul as separate. This is what
colonialism established. We start from the body as an integral corporeality that includes everything from the biogenetic to the energetic, from affectivity to sensibility, feelings, eroticism, spirituality, sensuality, and finally, creativity. (Paredes, 2014, p. 100)

For the Latin American feminist, bodies “have at the same time an individual and collective existence and unfold in three spheres: daily life, our individual biographies, and the history of our communities.” (Paredes, 2014, p. 99). The body is part of the community, its history, and the material contexts of life (e.g., the land people live in). Bodies need to be understood in a three-folded way to reach their transformative potential. The Latina and Latin American feminists seek to challenge the phallologocentric rational order by connecting the universal and the personal, the enfleshed experiences, in dialogical communitarian constructions of knowledge (Pañuelos en Rebeldía, 2007, p. 72). This way, there is a chance to expose and challenge the patriarchal, capitalistic, Eurocentric, and racist system that affects Latin American women and creates new forms of being (Pañuelos en Rebeldía, 2007, p. 4).

In my dissertation, I have used Butler’s (2011) and Braidotti’s (2011) theories in regards to oppressive gender and political systems to help me understand the processes of subject formation from the part of the institutional power at schools. I also used Mouffe’s ideas on antagonism and us/them political systems to analyze the feminist and student Chilean social movements. I employed Butler’s “disidentification” (2011), Braidotti’s “nomadic becomings” and “ethics of joy” (2011, 2018), Anzaldúa’s mestiza concept and Paredes three-fold “embodiment” to engage with the collective and personal processes by
which the female students that participated in this research produced their gender/political subjectivities and pushed the patriarchal system to create something more.

1.5. Focus and Dissertation Organization

This dissertation has a particular focus. For one part, my research context is in Santiago, Chile’s capital, and particularly in the center communes of Santiago, being the Municipality of Santiago and Providencia. This context has specific characteristics -as a large number of well-known and politically active high schools- which limits the scope of this research project. Some of the situations are too specific to this Chilean context to be translated to other places, but I still argue this is useful in two ways. As I have explained before, there is not much research concerning these topics in the country. Also, there are themes, topics, and implications that can still guide reflection around citizenship and gender education in general, without having to curate this dissertation for an exclusively northern hemisphere public.

Second, my focus during this research project has been guided by my research question, so I have selected six participants that match the description of female public high school students in Chile who identify as feminist or politically active. Even though those six students were my primary research focus, I still observed and recorded other female public high school students in Chile in the context of contentious feminist politics, to also expand a bit the scope of this query into how regular female students were affected by the Chilean feminist context and feminism popularity in 2018. Male high school students are entirely outside the focus of my research question, and also teachers, both male, and female are only relevant actors in this dissertation in the moments in which they are attempting to produce the students’ gender/political subjectivities. This research is focused on students, what they
do, what they say, how they interact with their communities, and contexts. In general, other actors who are not relevant to this focus are excluded.

Finally, this is a post-qualitative research project, which excludes in general post-positive methodological orientations and analysis. The aim of it is not to draw generalizable conclusions but to produce snippets that can lead to question gender and political subectification educative processes. I have elaborated “implications” in the concluding chapter in this sense. I will not attempt to demonstrate that the chosen six participants are scientifically representative, but explore how their particular circumstances and their processes of gender/political subjectification can open avenues to think and create in the field of gender and citizenship education.

This dissertation has eight chapters, in which this is chapter one. Chapter two is a literature review of relevant research for this dissertation, chapter three is about the methodological research approach, chapter four explores relevant contextual information to fully understand data analysis in chapters five, six and seven. The dissertation is closed by chapter eight in which I do a recount of the main findings and arguments in this work, and close with implications for both gender and political subjectification and education processes in a global context of neoliberal crisis.
Chapter 2: Girl Studies, Gendered Citizenship, “Being-Made” and “Self-Making”

In this chapter, I will summarize some of the literature relevant to this project. I will first explain the current gender and political norms for femininity, particularly for the category 'girl.' I will argue that in the current neoliberal order, the desired performances for 'girl' have changed, but still position the subjects that are or want to be recognized as such in an oppressed situation. Then I will briefly explain the different processes by which gender/political subjectivities can be made in schools. The following section will explore how youth and students participate in their gender/political subjectification processes. I will also explain the different ways in which youth engage in gender/political self-making by creating communities and organizing political action. Finally, I will explore the gaps in the literature and how to address these. Throughout this chapter, I will use Ong's (1996) concept of "being-made" and "self-making" as processes that indicate interactions between institutionalized powers ("being-made") and individual or communitarian processes ("self-making") of gender/political subjectification.

2.1 “Girls” the New Normative Gendered Citizens

For years, feminists have critiqued the gendered and oppressive conceptualization of citizenship within the modernist project. Feminists have argued that, the conception of citizenship, based on the idea that the universal individual citizen who sustains it corresponds to the prototype of the white male property-owner, a figure that has been preserved since the revolutions of the late eighteenth century. (Somogyi, 2016, p.32)
In this traditional feminist approach, the ideal and model citizen would correspond to a white adult male. These arguments also critique the separation between the private and public sphere that would negatively impact those subjects identified as female:

Feminist analyses of citizenship generally argue that women were excluded from it to the extent that they symbolized an alterity linked to the corporal and the domestic, considering themselves incompatible with the autonomy, independence, and freedom that were associated with the masculine in the public space. (Somogyi, 2016, p.36)

The association of femaleness with embodiment and domesticity would signify that women are not capable of being ideal citizens because they do not have the freedom to participate in the public sphere fully. Other feminists have enlarged this citizenship critique. Within a neoliberal model, and the cooptation of specific feminist issues, the coordinates of ideal citizenship have changed. The idea that women "can do it all" without really dismantling the production of women in association with embodiment and domesticity has had an impact on the production of the ideal gendered citizens.

The literature on gender and political education identifies 'girls' as the new gendered citizens and future flexible consumers/workers, individually equipped to uplift themselves. At the same time, 'girls' are constructed as passive beings that need to receive special education to be able to transform into successful citizens of the world. 'Girls' are turned into the simultaneously successful future citizen and the "at-risk" subjects that need rescuing. They are individually given the responsibility of improving their position in society, and also improving society in general, while all structural conditions and redistributive issues are ignored (Harris, 2004a).
Researchers have studied how neoliberalism has expanded its discursive repertoire to fit the ever-evolving needs of the global market. Dagnino (2007) argues that in neoliberal democracies, some aspects of social justice discourses are used to expand the labor market, promote ideologies of consumerism, and construct an individually responsible citizen. According to some authors, liberal feminism (Fraser, 2009; Gill & Favaro, 2019; Ramos, 2016; Schild, 2012) and liberal multiculturalism (García, 2005; Gustafson, 2009; Hale, 2002) have been used by neoliberal democracies to promote the access of women, and ethnic minorities into the labor and consumer market. This frantic 'inclusion' of usually excluded subjects does not address redistribution issues that still affect women and minorities. Both Fraser (2009) and Schild (2012) argue states use feminism to prompt recognition rights to the forefront and give exclusive responsibility to improve their condition to women, minorities and working-class while erasing redistribution issues and the consequences of centuries of material inequality (see also, Budgeon, 2001). As Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar (1998) explain, in the current neoliberal climate citizens "should pull themselves up by their private bootstraps" (p.1).

This appropriation of certain aspects of feminism and multiculturalism has resulted in the configuration of a new model citizen. Harris (2004a, 2004b) claims that in the current world, 'girls' have been made into the ideal consumer citizens. By deploying discourses that invoke 'girl power,' 'girls' are (re)produced as the promise of the flexible consumer/worker citizen in the global market (2004a, p.2). In a confluence between liberal feminism and neoliberal economic politics, young people that identify as 'women' are (re)produced as the promise of tomorrow, and the way to be an active citizen in an era of state retrenchment (Harris, 2004b, p.163, see also Gonick, et al., 2009; Renold & Ringrose, 2008). Ullman
(2012) agrees that neoliberal discourse has replaced the social realm with consumerism and participation in the global market as a flexible worker and consumer, and Ringrose (2007) points out that this 'model citizen' discourse affects schools, and impacts the production of the successful female student. The production of the category 'girl' in schools contains contradictions and an overwhelming number of 'positive' characteristics that have to be taken up individually. The author explains that "girls are to be both 'bright and beautiful,' 'hetero-feminine/desirable and successful learner,' 'aggressor and nurturer,' among other highly contradictory subject locations enlivened through the discourses of successful girls" (p.485).

This ambivalence also relates to different temporal conditions. Taft (2007, 2014) argues in her research on teenage female activists that even though 'girls' are (re)produced as the promise of neoliberal citizenship, this is understood as a promise: 'girls' need to be made into 'empowered women.' This aspect is reflected in Wilkins's (2012) research of British schools. He argues that in schools, 'girls' are (re)produced as thoughtful choice makers and fierce competitors in the future global market. This 'girl power' discourse coexists with public anxiety regarding young women's disengagement from formal politics. Young people that identify as 'woman' are made into both a risk and an opportunity for the future through media, policy, marketing, and education (Harris, 2004a). The future 'girl' ideal citizen is a passive political subject in the present (Arnot & Swartz, 2012; DeJaeghere, 2014; Taft, 2015). In her research on an entrepreneurial education program in Tanzania, DeJaeghere (2014) argues that "citizenship education curriculum often sends an implicit message that young people are not 'full citizens' as they cannot claim their rights to political or economic participation until reaching a legal age of adulthood." (p.229). Both 'boys' and
'girls' are socialized to think about political participation as something that is not for the present (also see Taft, 2015; Mayorga, 2017b).

The gendered citizen needs a particular ‘empowering’ education to be able to reach the promised potential of the "can-do girl" (Harris, 2004a). Also, the literature suggests that neoliberal driven educational agendas (re)produce unequal national belonging conditions, perpetuating poverty and colonialism to make particular gendered citizens that fit within the needs of the global market (García, 2005; Gustafson, 2009; Khoja-Moolji, 2014; Lappalainen, 2006, 2014; Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012; Szulc, 2009; Ringrose, 2007).

In her research on an NGO sponsored summer camp called Women Leaders of Tomorrow (WLT) implemented in Pakistan, Khoja-Moolji (2014) explores how human rights education intersects with discourses of 'girl power' to produce particular subjects in ‘third-world’ countries. The author argues that even though the researched program did emphasize forming relationships and building solidarity, the center was still empowering the individual ‘girl’:

> The responsibility to produce change rested on her. She was to acquire particular kinds of knowledges, learn particular skills, and then produce change for herself, her family and community. (...) Accordingly, we [leaders of the program] transformed the violation of women’s rights into a personal issue – if girls knew about their rights, they could ensure that these rights are protected (pp.111-112).

The result of the production of the ideal gendered citizen would be an informed and active individual that responds to challenges, which in another time would have been addressed by the now diminished state or political community as a whole.
The literature on neoliberalism and its intersection with gender and educational issues reveals that the ideal gendered/political subject in many neoliberal countries is individually agentic and self-reliant regardless of her context. This subject is usually constructed as an empowered 'girl,' whose political engagement is reduced to becoming a flexible worker, informed consumer, and creating the possibilities for her advancement. The discourse of the new ideal citizen, embodied in 'girls,' has taken hold in educational spaces, which work to (re)produce these norms. In the following section, I will refer to the mechanisms implemented in schools to achieve desired gender/political projects.

2.2. Institutional Mechanisms of Gender/Political Subjectification

The literature identifies different problematic and oppressive subjectification processes by which students' gender/political subjectivities are "being made" (Ong, 1996) in schools: naturalization and biologization of gender (class/race) differences, erasure and silencing practices, school-sanctioned gender and political participation rites, curriculum and curricular documents' exclusive and oppressive knowledge, and discipline and policing practices.

Researchers analyze the naturalization or biologization of gender in schools and other educational spaces (Chikkatur, 2012; Cullen, 2013; Lesko & McCall, 2014). In her research of urban public high schools in the US, Chikkatur (2012) analyzes how teachers naturalize and construct gender and racial differences as biological (pp.88-89). The process of biologization of gender and race differences is so robust that the author argues that categories are reproduced in school with minimal resistance or variation (Chikkatur, 2012, p.97). For their part, in their research about new "neurosexism," Lesko and McCall (2014) argue that particular 'scientific' jargon intends to neutralize the politically charged debate
about differences between genders and the unequal characteristics that are 'biologically' assigned to these constructs, such as associating male brains with scientific thinking and female brains with social abilities. Interactions between the institutional power and students are tainted by beliefs of 'innate' expected performances.

A second way by which gendered/political subjects are made in schools is by silences, the promotion of ignorance regarding specific topics, and erasure of particular subjectivities. In her article Flores (2010) argues that schools curtail and curate sexual information for young people creating ignorance and silence of specific topics and possible regimes of truth, under which other types of gender and sexuality can be recognized. García (2009) researches how these silences and intended ignorance are deployed to construct lesbian and heterosexual Latinas bodies. Her participants’ experiences of sex education reflected how they were kept in the dark about some issues, and how that affected how teachers, students, and themselves reproduced oppressive gender, race, and sexuality categories.

Third, students in schools are being made by ritualized heteronormativity that constructs gendered/political subjects (Pascoe, 2011; Rodriguez-Navarro, García-Monge & Rubio-Campos, 2014; Jackson, 2003; Renold, 2006; Thorne, 1993; Vásquez Bernal, 2012; Shirazi, 2012). In their research of immigrant newcomers integrated into a Spanish elementary school, and the production of gender in US elementary schools, Rodriguez-Navarro, García-Monge and Rubio-Campos (2014), and Thorne (1993) present their participants as subjects that are being made by previously imposed gender structures that norm interaction and performances represented in ritualized games and events in school. Differences between genders are produced as dualities in constant opposition (Thorne,
From rituals such as forming lines according to gender to go into class to the establishment of unique school instances where females have one role, and males other, school rituals work to construct this binary. In her book about the production of masculinity in US high schools, Pascoe (2011) explores not only the ritualized heteronormativity and the creation of gender binaries but also how ritualized masculinities need an abject other – 'girls' or 'fags' – to uphold the category through time and space (p.166). The researcher shows how public enactments of dominance are necessarily ritualized in school activities, as the homecoming shows, school dances, and gendered classrooms. School sanctioned rites are central for the reinforcement of the opposition (and therefore difference) between the binaries: a particular act of dominance that represents the superiority and power of one of the parts over the other.

Similarly, Vásquez Bernal (2012) researches how ritualized traditional street games developed by schools in Colombia reproduce athletic boys and delicate girls. The author argues that there is an androcentric construction of the games and educational experiences and that students and teachers discursively turn female students that transgress the gender rules in some games into "different" thus inferior subjects (p.389). In a different context, Shirazi (2012) analyzes how ritualized heteronormativity and heterosexuality construct gendered citizens in a Jordan school. The author narrates daily civic (nationalistic and religious) rituals of singing and marching that reproduce masculinities as gendered citizens (p.78). The 'boys' called "Knights of Change" symbolized an obedient but active masculine political subject.

A fourth way in which gender/political subjectivities are ‘being made’ in schools is through the knowledges deployed in curricula. Some researchers understand curricular
knowledge as elements within oppressive structures which undermine the position and possibilities of women, LGBTQ population and traditionally excluded subjects, and construct a binary of normal/abnormal subjects (Aoumer, 2014; Caro & Palma, 2008; Cisterna Cabrera, 2004; Commeyras, 1996; Crocco, 2011; Errázuriz, 2017; Hall, 2000; Schmeichel, 2014; Schoeman, 2009; Schrader & Wotipka, 2011; Serrano, 2011; Sørensen, 2008; Temple, 2005; Woyshner, 2006; Woyshner & Schocker, 2015; Wright, 1995). For example, Hawkey (2015) argues that in social studies education, the knowledge of the powerful and a particular kind of political engagements are reproduced:

School history has traditionally aimed to develop a sense of national identity, and this being regarded as an essential means to providing social cohesion in society.

(…) It includes the history of the victors, an established canonical body of knowledge, which reflects the ‘knowledge of the powerful’ (p.188)

The need for social cohesion subjugates other types of knowledges and histories, reducing what is considered as legitimate ways to interact with institutionalized power. Curricular knowledge can also be displayed in spaces. O’Donaghue (2006) analyses how space constructs gendered subjects by (re)producing spatial knowledges regarding particular types of masculinities. Watts (2006) also argues that the curriculum reproduces a narrow perspective on gendered citizenship and political participation. The author explains that "[y]oung people may consider themselves to be active citizens. However, both the issues and the forms of participation that they consider to be important and relevant to their lives may put them outside the participatory framework of the citizenship curriculum.” (p.94).

Watts claims that the discursive narrowing down of political participation and active citizenship might render other types of participation and ‘being’ gendered citizens,
unrecognizable. This discourse then works as a self-containment artifact of oppression that makes students police themselves, perpetuating the hegemonic social order (Mellor, 2007). Bickmore (2002) explains that:

Within the formal social studies curriculum, the seemingly neutral language used in textbook narratives and graphics carries a gendered and sexualized point of view, all the more powerful where unremarked upon. (p.200)

Schmidt (2012) goes a step further, arguing that the history curriculum and curricular documents can work as an identity behavior handbook (p. 721). Curricular documents could potentially be powerful tools of subjectification to (re)produce the conditions for recognizability as gendered citizens and politically engaged subjects. In Schmidt's research, 'women' and 'women's political participation were curated to promote an orderly model configured imitating the struggles of white women to achieve voting rights. Similarly, in my research on Chilean curricular documents (Errázuriz, 2017), I found 'ideal' 'women,' which were constructed as respectful of the law, patriotic, and flexible workers/consumers. These findings correlate Harris' conceptualization of the "can-do girl" (2004a), and the alignment of neoliberal policies, and liberal feminism (Fraser, 2009, Schild, 2012).

A fifth way in which gendered subjects are made is through discipline and policing practices taken against the bodies of particular female or non-conforming students (Boldt, 1996; Jackson, 2003; Migdalek, 2016; Renold, 2006). In their research, Blake, Butler, Lewis & Darenbourg (2010), and Lei (2003), show how black female students are being constructed by pre-existing discourse about them, and how that translates into being disciplined continuously. The power of teachers, administrators, and sometimes students over these kinds of bodies is constructed on "practices and discourse that define normality
in advance" (Lei, 2003, p.179). Any characteristics considered deviant from middle-class white femininity—for example, being perceived as loud, visible, aggressive, or having a lot of attitude (Lei, 2003, p.162)–are disciplined. Loud and assertive black girls are turned into the problem. Instead of reviewing the oppressive norms of femininity (silences, erasure, 'ladylike' behavior), black girls are made into dangerous subjects (Blake, Butler, Lewis & Darenbourg, 2010). Assertiveness, a quality praised in white male bodies, is turned into problematic aggressiveness in black females. This kind of research shows how disciplinary technology and "serious speech acts" (Lei, 2003, p.179) constitute gender and raced students and ways to participate in the public sphere.

Something similar happens with Latina students. Cammarota (2004) and Rolón-Dow (2004), write about Latina students and what sort of "serious speech acts" and disciplinary technologies they encounter. Teachers, administrators, and even sometimes, students reproduced Latina students as too sexual and policed them accordingly. Latina students are perceived as hypersexual and in constant danger of getting pregnant or failing in school (Cammarota, 2004, p.62). Rolón-Down (2004) explains:

images and representations created by and about Puerto Rican girls powerfully influence their educational experiences (…) images used to describe Puerto Rican girls at school focus on their sexuality and are cast in opposition to cultural productions of what educated or educable girls should be. (p.8).

Latina girls are made into non-educable subjects because of their sexuality. In practice, this will translate into disciplining their bodies (how they show them, or what spaces they occupy), and also into less positive attention to help them learn and develop their potential.
In their ethnography about gender and political education in schools, both in England and Finland, Gordon (2006) and Gordon, Holland & Lahelma (2000) argue that “[s]chool students are habituated in the time-space paths of the school; they are taught to take correct steps in correct places. However, they are also encouraged to take responsibility for their actions, to work out the correct steps, and to personalize their styles, albeit in a way that fits the official agenda.” (p.192). The gendered citizen is produced in the conditions of possibility created within school, and by policing and disciplinary techniques employed in those who deviate. 'Girls' are policed for acting too opinionated or speaking, while 'boys' are allowed to share their ideas freely.

The gendered citizen is produced in such a way that for some embodied subjects is automatically accessible, and for others becomes an (im)possible paradox. Youth is tasked with a neoliberal duty to individually improve their conditions, always within the privileged system of political action (flexible employment, and consumerism). However, at the same time, individuals that wish to be recognized as 'girls' have to achieve these goals without disturbing the privileged position of other subjectivities. In the following section, I will explore the different ways in which students take up, reject, resist, and create their gender/political subjectivities.

2.3. Gender/Political Subjectification "Self-Making"; Reproduction, Resistance, and Communitarian Organizing

Youth processes of gender/political "self-making" (Ong, 1996) have been explored in different ways. First, researchers identify the processes by which youth reproduces mostly oppressive discourses by performing their subjectivities in accordance with those rules. Scholars argue that this is a complicated position, that has to consider the livable
conditions of the context, and attractive neoliberal discourses of self-reliance and success. Second, the literature identifies the process of self-making as resisting/negotiating, which can be done in four different ways: engaging in education and constructing and educable self, mastering multiple contexts and rules of being, creating new meaning individually, and altogether rejecting the terms of engagement. Finally, some researchers analyze how students construct their gender/political subjectivities by resisting schools and other institutions' oppressive practices and organizing communitarian political action in the present.

Raby (2005) studied the concept of resistance in several social research articles and philosophy work. She argues that resistance "is rarely used outside of sociological, cultural studies, activist projects, and psychoanalysis to describe the activities of teenagers" (p.157), but that the concept continues to be valuable "relevant and useful" (p.151). She explains that even though resistance can happen in different terrains and forms, it can be "recognized as resistance, particularly when linked to a wider class (or gender) system." (Raby, 2005, p.158). Raby explores how researchers distinguish between "thick and thin oppositions," where the first one is a more organized challenge to structural power, and the second one is every day, maybe non-conscious micro-practices (2005, p.158). Resistance researchers and thinkers also recognize that resistance might not be "necessarily linked to progressive actions," and they distinguish "resistant intentions from effects" arguing that "resistant (or contesting)" might lead to either (re)production, or maybe creating new forms of engagement (Raby, 2005, p.160). The production of resistance is useful to understand the classification of the literature in this section of the chapter. I organized the literature in a continuum from individual, sometimes unconscious, everyday micro-practices resistance
that leads to reproduction, to communitarian, conscious structural resistance that leads to
the production of gender/political subjectivities that challenge contextual social orders.

2.3.1. Reproduction

"Self-making" (Ong, 1996) is a performative task that requires youth to engage with
the terms for recognizability and respond to them. When engaging in (re)production, youth
have to work on stylizing their performances so that they match the restricted models they
encounter in schools and other educational spaces. There is a considerable amount of
research that analyzes the ways students engage in this type of subjectification (Abiala &
Hernwall, 2013; Arizpe, 2001; Benjamin, 2002; Cairns, 2014; Chikkatur, 2012; Demerath,
Lynch & Davidson, 2008; Davies, et al., 2001; Gordon, 2006; Hicks, 2005; Jonsson, 2014;
Kimmel, 2016; Lahelma, 2002; Madero, 2011; Norquay, 1999; Pascoe, 2011; Rodriguez-
Navarro, García-Monge & Rubio-Campos, 2014; Rolón-Dow, 2004; Sensoy, 2011;
Teixeira, Villani & Nascimento, 2008; Taylor, 2007; Thorne, 1993; Ullman, 2012; Vásquez
Bernal, 2012; Willett, 2008; Winkler & Cueto, 2004). According to the authors, some
subjects grapple and have a conflicting relation with the narrow terms by which they can be
identified as valuable beings, but others reproduce these terms because they allow them to
maintain or access higher positions of power. These subject positions are slippery, and
many times subjects move from one to the other.

The strenuous relationship of the first group of subjects with the terms of
recognizability relates to the desire to be included and accepted by others as a deserving
human being. Self-stylization and subjectification works in nuanced ways in the bodies of
subjects. Davies and her research colleagues (2001) in their work about their processes of
subjectification as 'school girls' in Australia, reflect on their "passionate desire to be
appropriate, recognizable, valued subjects, and at the same time how painful, and how
tenuous our grasp was on being those subjects." (p.168). They analyze their desires to be
recognized as viable subjects as one of the forces that worked through them to reproduce
and submit to particular performances. They conclude that the subject has to engage in
reproduction, so the submission to the terms for recognizability is never absolute (p.181).
Taylor (2007) recounts similar findings in her research of working-class 'women' that
identify as lesbians and that narrate their experiences in high school. According to the
memories recollected by these 'women' agency for them was troubled, and the marginal
space occupied by them in school was a place where an 'impossible no' lead them to
construct their subjectivities in affectively charged ways. The interviewed women had
painful memories about their possibilities: "There was a careful path to negotiate, between
the good/bad girl and un/deserving poor but 'advantage' was sometimes accrued through
accepting 'patronizing' help" (p. 359, see also Ringrose & Renold, 2012). These subjects in
the marginal space had engaged in self-making within thinkable possibilities in order to
survive.

In her research of the playful-harassment interactions between 'boys' and 'girls' in a
high school in Helsinki, Lahelma (2002) finds something similar to Gordon (2009), Pascoe
(2011), Ringrose and Renold (2010), and Thorne (1993). She observes that harassment
performed by 'boys' on the bodies of 'girls' and not masculine enough 'boys' contributes to
(re)produce their masculine subjectivities. On the other hand, 'girls' and not masculine
enough 'boys' also engage in the (re)production of their gender and sexual subjectivities by
the performance of submission to this harassment either by "giggling" (Pascoe, 2011, pp.
176 & 182), "squealing" (Pascoe, 2011, p. 159), being ‘cool’ and taking this harassment
passively (Gordon, 2009), or as just joking around (Lahelma, 2002, p.302). The consequences for those subjectivities in a precarious position of power that forces them to reproduce oppressive self-stylization processes are harmful. These subjectivities erase parts of their desires and affects in their efforts to be recognized as valuable beings.

Some subjectivities are not in a constraint position, and reproduce oppressive or narrow gender terms for recognizability because they desire to maintain a particular position of power or access new resources. In their research focused on female youth and neoliberal discourse, Cairns (2014) and Willett (2008) find that 'girls' engage in self-making by reproducing the 'you can do it' model. Cairns (2014) explores how Canadian 'rural' girls' construct future narratives. The author argues that these 'girls' reproduce rural femininities and neoliberal can-do girl discourses by imagining a future where they both can stay in their rural homes and make it as flexible, successful business-like workers in the world. The author argues that these imaginations of the self are part of a project of subjectification based on individuality and the belief that anything can be achieved if you really want it (like these incongruent life choices). Willett (2008) presents similar findings in her research of British female tweens in middle school and their play with doll dressing online. She argues that in their 'girl' talk, students reproduce neoliberal fashion and body images. The students construct themselves as being 'empowered' to choose healthy options and self-improve their bodies and fashion choices to be successful (pp.428-429). They also engage in oppressive "fantasies" where they incorporate the consumption discourses of choice and self-stylization (p.430, see also Ringrose & Renold, 2012). Willet concludes that the research subjects (re)produce “'girl power' discourses – the power to buy what they like and express their identity through consumerism.” (p.432). In the process of playing or
imagining their futures, these 'girls' are engaging in self-making that not only refers to their
gender expressions but also the futures they will/want-to have in their engagement with
political institutions.

The slipperiness between engaging in reproduction to become a recognizable
subject and engaging in reproduction to access resources and power positions is
process of a group of "special educational needs" (SNE) 'girls' in a British School. The
author not only shows how schools employ institutional practices to (re)produce the SNE
'girl' subject but also how the 'girls' categorized in this way reproduced these labels,
sometimes using them for their advantage. Students labeled this way play with their
performances to obtain extra help or other resources such as getting more time to finish an
evaluation or being able to get away with things that other students would not (p.285).
These oppressive labels are sometimes used for their benefit. Reproducing the narrow terms
for recognizability in self-stylization processes can sometimes have devastating
consequences for subjectivities forced to engage, but it can also work to grant access to
positions of power and resources. The problem in this latter case is that it maintains the
oppressive structures that violently exclude some.

2.3.2. Individual Resistance/Negotiation

Reproduction is not the only way in which subjects can respond to institutionalized
processes of gender/political subjectification. Some researchers have devoted their work to
understand how subjects resist or negotiate oppressive forces that shape their subjectivities
(Ames, 2013; Bondy, 2016; Cammarota, 2004; Cousins, 1999; Cruz, 2013; Curnow, 2013;
Davidson, 2009; DeJaeghere, 2014; Ek, 2009; Ferguson, 2001; Fernández, 2002; Fonseca,
According to the revised research, youth can self-make by resisting or negotiating in four different ways: engaging in education, mastering multiple contexts, creating new meaning, and saying 'no' to the terms for recognizability.

Engaging in education refers to the effort that some traditionally excluded subjectivities participate in to prove that they are not less educable but equally capable (Ames, 2013; Bondy, 2016; Cammarota, 2004; García, 2009; Joseph, 2006). It is also how students engage in meaningful transformative and liberatory education (Bickmore, 2002; Catalano, 2013; Cruz, 2013; Diorio, 2011; Edwards, 2012; Hantzopoulos, 2015; Keddie, 2013; Kwon, 2008; Levstik & Groth, 2002; McCully, 2012; Norton, 2011; Peck, 2010; Sensoy, 2011; Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012; Winkler & Cueto, 2004). In their research Bondy (2016), Cammarota (2004), and Joseph (2006) show how their subjects embrace education as a way to challenge constructions about themselves. Cammarota (2004) argues that Latina students

are now, on the whole, higher achievers than Latinos. (….) working-class and minority females use school success to resist societal constructions that attempt to render them inferior to males [and upper class] and thus reinforce their subordinate social status. (p.53)

The 'girls' in his research resisted the label of less-educable and engaged in self-making by transforming themselves into 'successful students.' Bondy's (2016) findings show similar conclusions. She argues that "as gendered members of a racialized group, Latina youth experience politicization at an early age, negotiating institutions and negative stereotypes
that can be hostile to their well-being" (Bondy, 2016, p.215). In that process of negotiation, the author shows how Latinas embrace education, to resist the stereotypical representation of themselves. They want to be perceived as valuable members of the community and future citizens that will protect and work for their adoptive nation. These 'girls' do not cultivate themselves just to be perceived as individually successful, but also as part of a sense of responsibility for their immigrant communities and also their receiving country. Bondy (2013) expresses certain concern for this type of resistance and self-making:

Linking notions of worthiness with academic success and credentials potentially marginalizes Latina youth for whom educational access and success are more elusive, blaming them for failing to meet the same goals as their ideal counterparts. Moreover, in drawing upon education and respectability, adolescent Latinas maintain their claims to moral dignity as good, orderly subjects. This claim symbolically separates the good from the bad Latina youth, thereby legitimizing the virgin/whore dichotomy and suggesting that adolescent Latinas who exhibit non-normative behavior, morality, and sexuality are dangerous, excessive subjects. (p.230)

Similarly to the ‘can-do’ and ‘at-risk’ girl discourse identified by Harris (2004a), the danger of resisting by engaging in education could reinforce individualistic perceptions of the problem, instead of targeting it from a structural perspective.

The desire to be recognized as something else and the subsequent engagement in education to achieve this can also lead to transformative practices and subversion of oppressive gender/political subjectivities. Norton (2011) claims in her research of a Hip-hop poetry workshop for black and Latinx children, that young 'girls' resist the label of
ignorant or unknowledgeable children. They write and perform poetry that shows their embodied experiences regarding sexism and sexuality. These young 'girls' engaged in self-making in an educational space that allowed them to drop the 'pure innocent children' or the 'less educable' label and explore their own knowledges. Norton shows how one of the young poets writes about teenage pregnancy linking it "to the obstacles and social stigmas etched into being a female" (p.448). This girl is not only engaging in education, and self-making, but also articulating an elaborate critique of the structural conditions that oppress her impoverished neighborhood and particularly her gendered future. Engaging in education seems to be a double-edged sword when working to reject oppressive subjectivity categories and construct new ones. For one part, it can be a way to individually challenge structural oppression, and even point out oppressive structures, but it could work to reinforce the individualistic discourse of creating your own opportunities.

There is another group of research that has focused on how students/youth engages in resistance self-making of their gendered/political subjectivities by mastering the required performances in different (cultural) contexts (Cousins, 1999; Curnow, 2013; Davidson, 2009; Ek, 2009; Shirazi, 2012). In his research of a poor high school in the U.S. and the oppressive structures that construct the education of young black males, Cousins (1999) shows how some students managed to negotiate multiple selves, to resist being made only as dangerous others, or sell-outs:

Mack and his peers went back and forth between dispositions that reflect the toughness of his under- and working-class neighborhood, on the one hand, and the middle-class, but still black, academic practices that allowed him to graduate at the top of his class, on the other. (p.295)
In mastering different performances for different contexts and public, these students were able to engage in self-making and resist oppressive mainstream discourses about black masculinities. Similarly, Ek (2009), in her research of a Guatemalan American teenager construction of her ethnic and gender self, finds that this 'girl' juggles multiple contexts successfully engaging in self-making. Ek argues that Amalia could negotiate the ethnic and gender rules imposed by her church, school, and family, by mastering the type of 'girl' she needs to be in each cultural context. Davidson (2009) researches the life stories of three gender-bending Latinos and how they remember negotiating their subjectivities in high school. In his research, the 'boys' explain how they performed gender-quiet, gender-bending, and gender-passing in different contexts according to the requirements of each of the terms for recognizability as viable beings. The Latino males analyzed the spaces and made informed decisions on how to self-make their subjectivities.

Even though these negotiation practices and mastering of different contexts do help the engaged subjectivities to resist being made in oppressive ways, they do not challenge structural oppression as something systemic and rely on individual agency to attain desired recognition and redistribution rights.

Another way to resist and engage in self-making of the gendered/political self is through ascribing new meaning to oppressive discourses and subverting them (Fonseca, Araújo & Santos 2012; Khoja-Moolji, 2014; Khurshid, 2016). Fonseca, Araújo & Santos (2012) research Portuguese teenage sexuality and pregnancy as part of 'girls' sexual citizenship. In her research, she argues that teenaged pregnant 'girls' resist the oppressive label of the pitiful other by ascribing their teenage pregnancies with happy meanings. Both Khoja-Moolji (2014) and Khurshid (2016) research 'girl power' educational camps in
Pakistan. They found that the 'girls' in these programs did not automatically absorb the colonial knowledge taught, but gained extra discursive resources to engage in the making of their gender, ethnic, and political subjectivities, and mixed them with their knowledges. Even in a disadvantaged position of power, they managed to re-interpret these knowledges. Nevertheless, a highly circulated discourse supported by economic power tends to overshadow and erase discourses that conflict with it. It seems that even though subverting and ascribing new meaning to oppressive discourses could eventually lead to transformative practices, taking this task alone requires much more work and could have a less lasting impact.

Finally, some researchers contemplate resistance as directly rejecting negotiation with powerful terms for recognizability. Juelskjær's (2008) research explores how a male student (Ryan) constitutes his masculinity and 'studentness' in the new space of a progressive school in Denmark (ruled by a neoliberal managerial and non-traditional gender regime). The author shows how Ryan, who had engaged in self-making as dominant masculinity and was perceived like that in his old school, encounters new terms for gender and academic recognizability in the alternative school he decides to attend. Ryan seems to start by negotiating his old and new understanding of who gets to be in a position of power, but later on, he flat-out rejects the dominant discourse of his new social world and tries to go back to his old self-making and performance of masculinity. This action translates into isolation and his classmates’ rejection of his deployment of masculinity as absurd and not 'cool.' Even though Ryan does his own thing and rejects the new rules of engagement, his rebellion makes him a social pariah.
Fernández (2002), in his research of one young Latino (Pablo), argues that Latinx youth resist racist education by choosing to skip it and engage in more meaningful activities, like work or fun. According to the author, they reject being-made into the less educable student and all other racist discourses in schools about black and brown bodies by self-making as productive members of their families and communities (Fernández, 2002, p.45). Fernández (2002) also argues that "Pablo's narrative reveals that although his classmates may not have consciously realized the racist practices that victimized them, they understood to some extent that the school was not serving them adequately or equitably." (p. 58). Most of Pablo's Latino classmates that used to skip school were now working minimum wage jobs. In Learning to Labor, Willis (1981) explores how, by resisting their second-class education and citizenship position, students were reproducing that same position for themselves in society. This reproduction is similar to what Fernández (2002) and Juelskjær (2008) are reflecting: even though there is self-stylization, resisting by altogether rejecting the terms of engagement is a problematic choice that still does little to challenge systemic oppression. Ryan, Pablo's classmates, and Willis' Lads managed to do what they wanted, resist what felt was oppressive, and engage in activities they enjoyed, but they did not change their position in society.

Youth engages in their gender/political subjectification by resisting and negotiating the terms by which they can be recognized in different ways, but this mostly individually based efforts do little to address their oppression from a systemic perspective. The following and final section analyzes how youth engage in their gender/political subjectification through communitarian organizing and activism for systemic change.
2.3.3. Communitarian Organizing

Within the literature that explores youth communitarian and creative resistance to gender and political oppression, some scholars focus their research on teenage activism. For them, adultism, adulthood centered studies on youth, and the concern for the future needs to be reframed as research on how youth are competent political actors in their own right (Best, 2007, see also Bhimji, 2007; Coe & Vandergriff, 2015; Coe, et al., 2015). For example, in their research about youth's opinions on 'adultism' in political education, Gordon & Taft (2011) argue that young people not only are not disengaged but are already crafting political selves in different youth-led types of activism and organizations. The authors found that youth are critical of the traditional political socialization models, arguing that they are not sufficient to challenge systemic oppression. These young people argue that they learn from their peers more than they learn in school. They also engage in self-making by challenging the notion that there is such a thing as youth political disengagement, and arguing that activist teenagers are by no means an exception (p.1507). For her part, Bellino (2015) researches how Guatemalan students re-construct citizenship and themselves as active citizens (p.121). The community of young people redefine being a democratic citizen, and themselves as active citizens by engaging in road blocking and graffiti painting, arguing that they are less likely to be violently repressed because of their age and sometimes gender (i.e., female protesters are supposedly treated better) (See also the Venezuela example in Vandergriff, 2015).

Some Chilean scholars explore teenaged activism. In his analysis of democracy in Chile in the second centennial of the republic, Salazar (2010) argues that teenaged youth in Chile has reshaped the meaning of citizenship, belonging and democratic political action,
by organizing a social movement and massive political protests against neoliberalism in education and other aspects of Chilean social life. Donoso (2013) also researches the "Penguin" Chilean student movement of 2006 and shows how effective the students were in self-making as important political actors and valuable interlocutors to institutional power. Other researchers of the Chilean Student Movement, Cárdenas Neira (2014) and Figueroa-Farfán and Cavieres-Fernández (2017) argue that citizenship discourses in education in the country are adult-centric (Cárdenas Neira, 2014, p.59) and that teachers and researchers should promote learning civic engagement from the social movement (Figueroa-Farfán & Cavieres-Fernández, 2017, p.19). Mayorga (2017b) takes a step further. In his ethnographic study of student activists, he argues that, even though Chilean schools promote a developmental discourse regarding citizenship education, there are still students that transform this "space of 'democratic training' into one of 'democratic action'" (p.14). Even though schools and adults impose developmental notions of citizenship over them, these studies illustrate that, either inside or outside schools, young people produce themselves as politically active and effective subjects.

Other scholars explore youth communitarian and creative resistance to gender and political oppression in digital spaces. These researchers believe that the young women that create communities through digital social media are also crafting less oppressed gender/political subjectivities for themselves, and “changing the meaning of justice by allowing (…) new social practices of informal justice” (Powell, 2015, p.573, see also Baer, 2016; Friedman, 2005; Nuñez Puente, 2011; Thrift, 2014). Harris (2004b, see also Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2007; Harris, 2008) and Zafra (2011) explore how young women have created virtual spaces on the Internet – "third spaces" or a "digital room of her own" – to
challenge or "jam" individualistic notions of neoliberal self-responsibility, and 'girl power.' Similarly, Fernández and Wilding (2003) argue that feminism in its digital form has opened "the contested territory of the Internet for (...) new feminist political campaigns, education, critique, tactical interventions, activist alliances, and all manner of collaborations (...)" (p.27, see also Schuster, 2013). According to Fileborn (2014), Keller, Mendes, and Ringrose (2016), Rentschler (2014), and Wånggren (2016), the use of storytelling and spreading feminist narratives through social media can be understood as part of the feminist testimonial tradition. The digital space serves young feminists as both a safe and exposed place where they put forward their political agendas, and even though it leaves them open to more instant experiences of victimization, it holds immense political potential (Fileborn, 2014, pp.46-47, see also Horeck, 2014; Jackson, 2018, Sills, et al., 2016). These subjects are; creating an educative space and forum (Fileborn, 2014, Keller, Mendes & Ringrose, 2016), constructing sexual harassment as a systemic problem instead of a personal problem (Rentschler, 2014), and spreading feminist pedagogical practices and narratives telling stories of gender or sexual oppression in the digital world (Wånggren, 2016; Kim & Ringrose, 2018; see also Errázuriz, 2019). All of these researchers illustrate how youth in social movements have been able to incorporate digital social media in their communitarian organizing and their gender/political self-making.

Finally, the literature on gender/political communitarian and creative self-making includes some scholars who explore these processes in organized groups of girls in the physical world. Tokunaga (2016) researched Asian American girls in a high school in the U.S. and how they constructed, with other students, a borderland community. In her research, she found that these students resisted oppressive discourses that shaped their
subjectivities by creating an alternative space where they could engage in what they felt was more authentic self-making. Tokunaga found this group led by Asian American girls that formed a community in the literal borderlands of the school (the basement). In this space, during recess, these students were able to challenge the imposed constructions of Asian 'girls' – quiet, calm, feminine, in need of protection – and also the strict racial divisions of their school (pp.1091-1094), while fostering a community of practice that engaged in pleasurable activities, like singing, gaming, and joking around, and were Asian, Black and Latinos got to hang out together (p.1087). The author points out that this celebration of difference employed by the 'girls' to discursively construct their alternative space resonates with neoliberal multiculturalism. She argues that even though the actual construction of this borderland community could be construed as a powerful political act, the 'girls' did not engage in critiques of systemic oppression, but only searched for a pleasurable place to just "be" (pp.1094-1095).

In his research, Akom (2003) analyzes how a group of teenaged black girls in a poor urban high school use the ideologies of the Nation of Islam (NOI), to create a community within their school, resist racial and gender oppression, and organize action against this oppression. These 'girls' acted to pass from "the burden of acting white, to the honor of being black" (p.313), and engaged in several activities to ensure their community's academic success against all the odds – like creating study groups or sharing their materials. They also felt backed up by their group to engage in oppositional behaviors with teachers and administrators. They took this type of action because they felt mistreated on the basis of race, gender, class, and religion, and also because they felt school was not providing them with all they needed to pursue their political goals (p.317). The NOI 'girls'
acted as a unified group with a clear political goal: to uplift the black community. The
author argues that all their studying and engaging in education cannot be understood as just
resistance or assimilation, but as collective political action aimed to get a better education
as a means to an end: be influential members of society to challenge racism. By taking this
action, they displaced the discursive racial and gender regime that oppressed them and
constructed more powerful subjectivities.

of 'girls' across the Americas, and their activism. She argues that politically active 'girls'
construct their citizen selves under "political consciousness understood as an awareness of
the power relations present in one's life and community, involving the making of
connections between the public and private spheres." (2006, p.332). She shows how
'activist girls' dispute 'girl power' discourses when self-making their subjectivities. She
writes that 'empowerment' discourses propose "solutions [that] are primarily oriented
toward improving girls' individual ability to cope with problems, rather than removing or
changing the problems themselves." (2011, p.29). 'Activist girls' do not share that kind of
politics but seek systemic change through action in the present. Other researchers focused
on young women's activism in Latin America present similar arguments. Chen (2014), in
her research of young women feminist activism, explains the importance of community and
communitarian goals in the production of the participants' gender/political subjectivities.
Coe (2015), in her study of youth gender justice activism in Perú and Ecuador, explains
how her participants politicized the personal, and produced the inequalities in the home and
other private spaces as structural issues that needed structural solutions. These actions
meant that they produced their gender/political subjectivities in opposition to individualistic
notions of 'girl' power. Finally, 'girl' scholars Retallack, Ringrose, and Lawrence (2016) study "the complex dynamics through which girls are taking up, negotiating and performing on and offline feminism in and around school" (p.85). This research study explores the interaction between girl's feminist activism and communitarian organizing, and schools. The authors conclude that the students produce their gender/political subjectivities in opposition to the neoliberal and marketized school environment using online spaces to achieve their political goals.

By organizing to challenge systemic oppression, youth is engaging in subjectification processes that craft less oppressed and more powerful gender/political positionality. This self-making is purposefully attending to structural issues, striving not only for recognition but also for redistribution rights. It would be interesting to know more about the relation of these young activists or communitarian organizers with the institutional regimes of truth in schools.

2.4. Discussion

This literature review shows the differences between neoliberal conceptualizations of gender equality and citizenship and collective and structural notions of gender equity and political participation. By marking this difference, research shows the dissimilar projects of the political community that these notions implicate. Planning to bring someone into an established social order with null or minimal change to it would require radically different pedagogical strategies than helping a community challenge the experienced oppressive social/political structures so that these be in constant flux, improvement, and search for social justice. Another critical issue that this literature review brings forth is the construction of political engagement and citizenship in education as something for the
future. This research points out that teenaged students are already engaging in political struggles.

There are some gaps in the literature, particularly in the Chilean research context. First, even though the neoliberal national project has been analyzed by social-science researchers in Chile (e.g., Schild, 2012), there is little to no research regarding the gender neoliberal citizen in Chilean educational discourse. Second, in the Chilean educational research context, there is almost no research from a critical gender perspective that considers how students’ gender/political subjectivities are produced in schools and other educational settings, and how students take up these processes. A large number of Chilean researchers insist that the focus of education for gender equity should be eliminating “stereotypes” – defined as unfair generalizations of false information that originates out of individual ignorance or prejudice – from curricular knowledge (Castillo, 2011; Valdés, 2013). There is also an apparent disconnect between what Chilean female high school students are experiencing as organizers of social movements, and what researchers and educational experts report as a crisis of civic disengagement in political education (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox & Bascopé, 2014, García & Flores, 2011).

Finally, there is a third gap under-researched not only in the Chilean and Latin American contexts but also in the U.S. context. There is little research on how students engage in communitarian transformative gender/political self-making. Tokunaga (2016) argues that "[f]ew scholars have focused on the sites of belonging and power that these young women construct and maintain" (p.1087). Even those who have research on how students are creating communities of practice to challenge systemic oppression have been focus on the integration of students/youth in organizations or spaces started by adults.
Focusing on girl's organizations could help educators, administrators, and policymakers reformulate their understanding of gender justice, and democratic citizenship, and create educational opportunities that work in favor, and not against these teenagers' gender/political subjectivities and organization. Research could also help youth learn from the practices of their peers, and the discursive contexts they encounter in education. There is also little to no research that tries to understand how student-led political organizing interacts with formal political education (e.g., Mayorga, 2018; Mayorga, 2020; Retallack, Ringrose & Lawrence, 2016), and how these different modes of “being-made” and “self-making” impact youth political/gendered selves. My dissertation aims to address these gaps and contribute to the literature on gender and civic education by learning from the students involved in these processes.
Chapter 3: Research Methodology

In this chapter, I will describe and analyze the methods I used to produce the data and analysis for this dissertation and the theoretical underpinnings of these methods. The theoretical framework I have worked with can be condensed into these methodological principles: witnessing and creating a cartography of the current conditions of bondage, connecting the structural and the personal, centering research on embodied experiences of participants, and dialogical communitarian construction of knowledge. I have used the theoretical framework not just to orient the analysis but also to produce a set of methods that would align with these principles. Each section of this chapter will address a method and its theoretical roots.

Within a feminist post-colonial and post-structural framework, I understand "data" not as something independent and neutral, but as something that is produced in the interaction between me as a researcher, the material world I have approached and the data I produced from that approach, "I actually call data into existence" (Koro-Ljungberg, 2013, p.277). I will speak of data under this perspective: the data used in this dissertation is a product of my interactions with its material reality, and my analysis comes from the interaction between me and such “data” (MacLure, 2013).

The first section of this chapter will address the methods used in data collection production: critical ethnography, testimonios, and collective art-based testimonios. The second section will address my analysis/interaction with the data, and the third section will explore my positionality during this research and dissertation production process. Finally, I will explain how this dissertation is structured, and why have I decided to produce this particular organization of “data” and “analysis.
3.1. Data Production: Critical Ethnography

In 2018 I conducted a critical ethnography at Edelbina González High School. This research project was planned to answer the following research question: How do female public high school students in Chile who identify as feminists or politically active produce their gender/political subjectivities in the context of contentious feminist politics? This question was composed of these three sub-questions: how do they do this while engaging with feminist discourses and practices in and outside of school? How do they do this while engaging with historical narratives? And, how do they do this while engaging with formal political education in school? To answer these questions, I used traditional sources – such as participant observation – and other methods that complemented these sources. These other methods were individual testimonios interviews and art-based collective testimonios workshops.

Ethnography is defined as “writing about groups of people” or “writing about the culture of groups of people.” (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p.24). Doing an ethnography would align with the understanding of bodies having a collective existence (Paredes, 2014), and focusing on interactions in their context to challenge oppression. The focus on the concept of “culture” is relevant: in this project, I understand the enfleshed experiences and the co-construction of gender/political subjectivities as cultural processes, where bodies and a particular community engage together in creating a performative space in order to be recognized as valuable subjects.

Ethnography, from a post-colonial perspective, is not so much focused on establishing exactly how things are, but more as "witnessing" in the flesh (Behar, 1997) how bodies and communities are already contradictions, dwellers of the borderlands

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(Anzaldúa, 2007). In the case of this research project, the focus on; female, minors, students, activists, feminists, passive, and politically active already contains several categories that in perfect performance would exclude one another. Ethnography allows the observer to explore how different bodies and communities in their contexts are "already involved in making change in everyday life" (Dyrness, 2008, p.27), by their contradictory existence and performances. This witnessing in the flesh can be dangerous because it "can threaten, in a good sense, the certainties and dominance of performativity" (Frankham & Smears, 2012, p.361). A critical ethnography (Lather, 2007) can take this witnessing one step further. Critical ethnography is a research method that, on the one hand,

has grown out of dissatisfaction with social accounts of ‘structures’ (...) in which real human actors never appear. On the other hand, it has grown out of dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors in which broad structural constraints (...) never appear. (Anderson, 1989, p.249)

As a research method, critical ethnography proposes to consider both the structural constraints and the embodied experiences and contextual interactions of people. To negate the first would mean denying the powerful constraints that affect the lives of people; to deny the second would mean that once a structure has been identified, it is pointless and redundant to witness human actions within it. Critical ethnography considers multiple levels of analysis – i.e., the local, the institutions, the macro level, the personal (Anderson, 1989, p.259). This method is centered in oppressive social structures, but at the same time explores how subjects in their embodied experiences can and already are challenging the violent terms by which they can be recognized as valuable subjects. The multilevel focus is aligned with Paredes’ ideas (2014) to understand bodies as connected to their groups, their
memory, history, and their physical context, as well as the structures that existed before those bodies arrived.

Critical ethnography is openly ideological research (Lather, 2007) because it accepts the existence of oppressive social structures that mainly affect certain groups of people. Anderson (1989) argues that "for the critical ethnographer, the cultural construction of meaning is inherently a matter of political and economic interests." (Anderson 1989, p.254). Critical ethnographers function within a framework that recognizes and works this into their research. The political dimension of critical ethnography means that research "can never be innocent, nor neutral, since it is embedded in a political and moral process" (Miled, 2017, p.2). Critical ethnographers design their research to challenge structural oppression – in the case of this project, neocolonial phallogocentrism – and work with the affected subjects. Both Lather (2007) and Miled (2017) argue that critical ethnography breaks with traditional anthropological practices of remoteness because its focus is to collaborate with the researched groups from the start. Post-colonial and post-structural researchers argue that this practice, which "explicitly aims to support social change efforts—is possible, theoretically defensible, and ethically necessary." (Dyrness, 2008, p.23). Politically involved ethnography can help expose and improve the oppressive conditions experienced by many (Villenas, 2012, p.14).

Even though in critical ethnography, it is accepted and encouraged to engage in traditional qualitative practices of validity from a post-representational perspective – i.e., triangulation of data, member checking – its proponents suggest there needs to be extra validity practices. Lather (2007) proposed a new form of conducting this process: "transgressive validity" (p.120). This type of validity is defined as "a space of constructed
visibility of the practices of methodology" and "counter practices of authority grounded in crisis of representation" (Lather, 2007, p.120). Validity, in this case, means disrupting and visualizing methodologies and relationships of the researcher with research and participants, rather than with correspondence or correlation of data with 'reality.'

3.1.1. Site and Population

“Edelbina González High School for Girls” was the primary site of my critical ethnography. This is an “all-female” public school of more than one hundred years old. It is located in the center commune of Santiago, where many high schools have had central roles in Chilean social movements. Edelbina González High School had during 2017 and 2018 an active student government concerned with feminist issues and education.

Even though in the past the school managed to enroll as many as two thousand and five hundred students, the constant school occupations and strikes during the most conflicted years of the Chilean Student Movement has made the school lose many students. Two years ago, it was at risk of being closed for low school enrollment rates, but it has recovered, and currently has more than six hundred students from 7th to 12th-grade and more than forty teachers. This institution started as a school for middle and upper-class girls, but its population has slowly changed over the decades. Currently, the student population comes mostly from low-income families, which currently includes several immigrant students.

In Chile, there is an index used to prioritize per-student funding for public schooling based on socio-economic necessity. This tool is called the "vulnerability index." JUNAEB

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2 All personal names and the name of the institution are pseudonyms.
3 In Chile 3,8% of public school are all-female, or all-male High Schools.
(National Board of School Assistance and Scholarships) uses the National Equity Allocation System (SINAЕ) to measure school vulnerability in preschool, primary, and secondary education. The system classifies students into three levels called "priorities," according to the conditions of poverty and risk of school failure. The first priority corresponds to students in conditions of extreme poverty, while the second and third priorities are built on metrics of risk of school failure (JUNAEB, n.d.). Approximately 74% of Edelbina González High School students are considered “first priority” and receive meals and other benefits in their school (JUNAEB, 2019).

This high school is housed in an enormous 1950s building. The building is not well maintained; the municipality had not provided funds to repair the school properly. Despite its conditions, the school building is still grand and evokes a time in Chile where the importance of education was reflected in public spending. It has a large patio, a theater, a library, broad hallways, multiple classrooms, and even a small museum of the school’s history. The High School is located in a busy neighborhood, near a large park, museums, a public hospital, and large residential and commercial areas. The people that live in the area are mostly middle and lower-income families. Some students live in the area, but the majority come from different municipalities in the periphery of the city.

I knew of this school through my pilot study. In my Pilot, I analyzed “the convergence between the Chilean feminist and student movements through the use of public Facebook feminist webpages by feminist students” (Errázuriz, 2019). The purpose was to explore how feminist Chilean high school students produced and reproduced their gender/political subjectivities while participating and interacting with others in their digital...
spaces⁴. Through that initial exploration, I discovered several schools that could be good sites for my dissertation project. Commonly, High Schools in the central communes of Santiago have students who collectively engage in activism of some sort. This means that there were several feminist students' communities I could have observed (Errázuriz, 2019).

Through contacts in the History Institute of my undergraduate University, I secured access to two schools that I had already analyzed in my Pilot. My contacts were developing historical archives programs in schools and agreed to use me as their liaison in whichever school I chose. I ended up choosing Edelbina González High School, instead of the other possible High School for several reasons. First, Edelbina González is a less-known school at a national level; on the contrary, the other High School is famous; it appears in news clips, and is recognizable for every Chilean. It would have been hard to keep that High School anonymized in the research. Second, even though both high schools have feminist students engaged in political activism, Edelbina González is one of the least politically engaged high schools of the ones located in the central communes of Santiago, which makes it less of an exception. My other option is exceptionally well organized and active in feminist methods, and even institutional actors support and produce this organizing. This is a rare case, even in the Chilean context. Finally, the second option is an extremely coveted school for its academic excellence; the number of applicants always supersede the number of enrollment spots. The selection processes in this school skew the student population, which is mostly middle class. As previously discussed, this is not the case of Edelbina

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⁴ The Pilot study argued that digital spaces allow the “dialogic construction of emerging feminist-student social movement narratives, and the production of transformative yet disputed gender/political subjectivities” by using already existing historical narratives and structures in dialectical and horizontal interactions. The narratives produce the students as bodies subjected to violence but aware of structural oppression and enactors of change. This configuration is contested by some adults who position them as incapable vulnerable girls. To see more, Errázuriz, 2019.
González High School. My selected site is a middle-to-low performing High School in national standardized tests (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2019) with low enrollment problems and a variety of students from every place in Santiago city. I thought that this would make this site more relatable from a multiple context perspective.

In December 2017, I had a meeting -coordinated by my contacts- with the principal of Edelbina González High School and her team, and another meeting with a representative of the Direction of Education in Santiago municipality. Both authorized me to be present in the school as a researcher in the 2018 academic year (starting March). Through the archives program, I received the contact information of two history teachers at Edelbina González High School: Marcela and Paula. I talked and met with them at the beginning of 2018. Marcela became my friend and teacher informant, and Paula agreed to be observed by me.

Once I arrived at the high school in March, Marcela recommended me to approach Milka, a literature teacher who was identified by school authorities as feminist. Chatting with Milka, she told me to observe a 12th-grade cohort group that, according to her, had several feminist students in it. In Chile, cohorts are divided into cohort groups that stay together for almost all their school trajectory. Cohort groups are usually around 35 to 45 students, but in the case of this school, cohort groups are around 27 students or even less. Paula taught civics in that cohort group and introduced me to Diego, their history teacher who also agreed to let me observe his classes. Because I had the permission of the principal, I was also allowed to observe other citizenship and gendered education moments such as the inauguration ceremony, or national day celebration festivities. Milka also specified that I should directly approach Camila and Violeta, two students in the 12th-grade cohort group that had been part of the 2017 Edelbina González Student Government, which continued
working until the end of May 2018. Camila was the 2017 student government president. Milka told me that they were particularly interested in feminism.

With those names and access, I approached 12th-grade students at the selected cohort group to be participants in this study. I defined the boundaries (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p.156) of the population I studied in the following terms; first, they had to be female high school students in Chile. Second, they had to be in a cohort group that had history and social studies classes devoted to Chilean history and citizenship education. I was able to observe the participants in their civic and history classes after getting full access granted by the teachers. Third, the research participants had to participate in feminist activism in some form (e.g., going to meetings, marching, participating in workshops, organizing related activities.), which I was able to identify through observation in the school, self-report of the participants and teachers’ recommendations. I focused mainly on the subjects that followed these criteria but also included the non-activist students that participated in the cohort group’s civic and history classes because they were necessary to describe the interactions happening in those spaces and provided valuable information regarding the gender/political subjectification processes experienced by the focus group.

As recommended by Milka, I approached Camila and Violeta, and later on that year, I met Mati through them. They agreed to participate in the activities of my research project. In Paula's civic classes and Diego's history classes, I met Ana, Adeyadelis, and Yocelyn. Because of the topics they discussed in class and during breaks, I chose to ask them if they wanted to participate in my research-related activities, and they agreed. These are the six central participants in this research. All these students identify as women (even though Mati identified as a man for a period), five are Chilean, and one is not. Adeyadelis considers
herself attracted to both males and females, and was dating a female student from another cohort during the study. The other five students have or had only male boyfriends. Camila, Violeta, and Mati are close friends, and active feminists engaged in marches. In 2017 they also were part of the student government and organized many feminist activities up until May 2018. Camila lived with her mother and her mother's boyfriend in an apartment in the commune of Santiago. Violeta lived with her mother and her brother in the periphery of the city. Mati also lived in the periphery of the city in a house with her mother, father, brother, and little sister. Ana, Adeyadelis, and Yocelyn shared some history and friendship but were not close. Ana lived with her mother, her father, and two sisters. She is a musician - violinist- and in 2018 started participating in feminist marches and informing herself through feminist websites. Adeyadelis recently migrated from a Spanish speaking South American country and lived with her mother, her mother's boyfriend, and her two little brothers. Her Chilean girlfriend introduced her to the Student Movement and LGBTQI activism. Yocelyn lived with her mother, her mother’s wife, and her little brother. She had been part of a leftist youth organization very active in the student movement but left it because of gender discrimination and violence. She continued considering herself as active politically but outside political organizations.

To protect my research participants I; gave them a comprehensive and easily read description of the study, its purpose, the description of the risks and benefits of participating, and my contact information, asked for their personal and parental consent to participate in this research and assured them that they could refuse to participate without

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5 A summary table of the participants, other subjects mentioned in the dissertation as well as their characteristics available in appendix A
6 Available in appendix B
consequences\textsuperscript{7}, only wrote about them in notes using pseudonyms, kept all private and identifiable information in confidentiality, stored information in a password-protected computer and document, and made some participants into composites if they were too recognizable (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, pp.307-308). Because I observed the focus group of participants in their cohort group, I also gave the cohort group consent forms and asked if they wanted to participate. I received my focus group, and the cohort group's informed consent signed and uploaded the required amount to my IRB platform.

3.1.2. Observations

To produce my data, I employed participant observation, understood as experiencing, enquiring, examining (Wolcott, 2008, pp.46-50), and witnessing (Behar, 1997). In my critical ethnography, the purpose of these observations was to; witness and record oppressive hegemonic structures related to gender, sexuality, citizenship in school, activist spaces, and how participants produced their gender/political subjectivity. Observations also served to explore and experience how subjects in their embodied interactions were challenging oppression and creatively constructing ways to resist and be witness. It also allowed me to observe how participants used history or collective memory, and record the meanings of the observed events getting feedback from the participants informally.

The target of the observations was the selected 12th-grade cohort group, particularly their history and civics classes. I also hung out with the participants in the focal group during some of their breaks after classes, their history, or civic related school activities – e.g., the national holiday celebrations- and activist events. I chose to observe the history

\footnote{Available in appendix C}
and civics classes because, in the Chilean national curriculum, students are supposed to learn about political membership and active citizenship in those courses. I observed civic and history classes (usually 7 hours a week) from March to November 2018, but mostly during the first academic semester (March to July 2018); some formal school events related to civic and history during the school year (March 2018 to November 2018); and the focal group's participation in feminist and student politics activities both within and outside school (March 2018 to November 2018). These feminist activities usually consisted of collective attendance to marches, preparation of material for these street protest, gender, and sexuality-related workshops and panels, pop-up manifestations like the "Transvestite Student Day," meeting with other activist groups, concerts, art, or any other activity related to gender and sexuality issues, like strikes.

During the formal occasion, like civic classes and the general school events I limited myself to only observe and not participate unless the school authorities directly asked me to do so. During the more informal occasions, such as breaks, or student-run feminist activities I developed a more participative type of observation. I revealed myself to the focal group participants as a feminist activist in a popular Chilean feminist organization -Red Chilena contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres- Furthermore, I offered help in any form they wanted. This feminist organization is nationally known, and student-run feminist organizations usually ask for our help with workshops in their schools. I offered these tools and was asked by students to participate in the two feminist reflexive strikes in the school providing workshops.

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8 [http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/](http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/)
I wrote and transcribed 50 field notes from these observations, and took more than 360 photographs of spaces and art pieces displayed in the school. These notes and photos allowed me to describe the physical settings of the school, interaction patterns, meanings, beliefs, expressed emotions, the school activities that used history or had a civic component, and the feminist student-led events. I examined particular field notes with some participants, as part of a reflexive debriefing.

3.1.3. Individual Testimonios Interviews

In my dissertation, I used “testimonios” as data sources and methods. Testimonio as “a key form of approaching and transforming reality” (Behar, 1997, p.27) was a mechanism used in Latin America to expose social injustice and constant human rights violations during the 70s dictatorships (Behar, 1997; Bernal, Burciaga & Carmona, 2012; Reyes & Rodriguez, 2012). Testimonios are also used by Latin American indigenous women to produce consciousness-raising among oppressed populations and “motivate listeners to participate in the struggle against injustice.” (Behar, 1997, p.27). As a practice, it has “deep roots in oral cultures” of Latin America, and in work, Chicanas and Latinas have done to expose brutality, and build solidarity among them (Bernal, Burciaga & Carmona, 2012, p.363).

Testimonios are different from oral history and autobiography because they involve the telling of experiences concerning sociopolitical context (Bernal, Burciaga & Carmona, 2012, p.364). Testimonio can be defined as collective telling and listening to stories related to some structural oppression to create change centered in the marginalized (Bernal, Burciaga & Carmona, 2012, p.364). The affected are the ones who name oppression and position themselves as aware survivors. Testimonios are accounts done by one person, but
they represent the voices of many who have experienced similar struggles (Reyes & Rodriguez, 2012, p.528), and they are meant to be collectively listened to or read (Benmayor, 2012, p.507). A testimonio has the objective of consciousness-raising and motivating listeners to participate in the struggle against injustice. In this sense, testimonio can be an activist tool as well as a research method; it can provide essential insights into how marginalized people evaluate their position and the social structures that affect them.

An essential element in testimonios is the reclaiming of memory and history done by the teller of the story, and the reinterpretation of their lived experiences. Reyes and Rodriguez (2012) explain that even though some "scholars argue that memory may recast the experiences in less than absolute truth" the main point of reclaiming memory in testimonios does not relate to the "truth" of the related episodes but with the capacity of human being "to recast their memory to accentuate their experiences as merciful vignettes allowing them redemption." (p.527). Testimonios, as a research tool, allow the listener to glimpse how participants reconfigure the past and their experiences to give them meaning, constructing their subjectivities in the process. From a transformative research perspective, the reclaiming of memory and history to interpret lived experiences also provides the teller and the listeners previously existing tools that can be employed in their work against oppression. Testimonios dislocate time and space and involve the reenactment of past affective memories. They are part of a collective, interactive process that involves embodied memories, imaginations, and the reinterpretation of the past.

Testimonios is also a methodology that stems from the body, the enfleshed experiences of people, and their interaction in their lived context. Testimonios unify the mind and the body in experiences, the universal and the personal in the reclamation of an
injustice, as well as the teller of the story, the characters referred to in it, and the listeners that are moved to action:

as the narrator tells her story, she breaks the silence, negotiates contradictions, and recreates new identities beyond the fragmentation, shame, and betrayal brought about by oppression, colonization, and patriarchy (…) testimonios allow us to put the scattered pieces together of a painful experience in a new way that generates wisdom and consciousness (Cervantes-Soon, 2012, p.374)

The contradictory pieces, fragmentation, and pain are tied together; the teller uses the story to expose the complexities experienced by some bodies that inhabit the borderlands. In this way, the storyteller engages with the collective oppression experienced by others like her (Espino, Vega, Rendón, Ranero & Muñiz, 2012, p.446).

During my research, I used these theoretical principles to create interview protocols that fitted the testimonios traditions. I called them testimonios personal interviews. The purpose of these interviews was to recollect in-depth knowledge and personal histories from the six selected feminist and activist students, as well as to analyze these experiences concerning gender and sexuality structural oppression. I attempted to interview individually each participant two times during the academic year, but some were interviewed only one time because of their time constraints. Some of the interviews were conducted in the school and some in nearby coffee shops. In these interviews, I conducted in-depth life history questions (Risseman, 2008) always about structural inequality for one to two hours approximately, inquiring into the participants' different stages of life, their gender/political

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9 To read the original interview and workshops protocols see appendix D
10 To see a summary table of how many interviews each participant attended, the dates, places, and the duration of each one, as well as to see a summary table of the participants, places, dates, and duration of the workshops see appendix E
subjectivities, and experiences in and out of school, and their imagined futures. The questions were open-ended, and their primary purpose was to prompt the students to tell their testimonios concerning gender/political subjectification processes. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes to two and a half hours. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed into a password protected NVIVO document.

3.1.4. Art-based Collective Testimonios Workshops

The telling of testimonios is usually done in oral and written format, but it is not the only way in which the embodied experiences can be accessed and theorized from the flesh. In this research project, I elicited testimonios as verbal accounts motivated by explicitly political inquiries, but also as artistic accounts elicited through art-based research methods (e.g., Pérez-Bustos, Tobar-Roa & Márquez-Gutiérrez, 2016; Renold, 2018). Art-based research emerged, from one part, as a questioning of traditional and hegemonic methodologies that seek to make reality "talk," and for another, as a way to use artistic media to elicit phenomena and experiences (Hernández, 2008, p.87). As Cahnmann-Taylor (2008) argues, every research methodology is a way of seeing and not seeing (p.4), and arts-based research is devoted to engage with the “geographies of human experience that were hidden under the layers of objectivism, and to question what can be research.” (Hernández, 2008, p.89). Art-based research is defined as

A type of qualitative investigation that uses artistic procedures (...) to explore and interpret experiences in which different subjects (...) reveal aspects of these experiences that would not be visible in other types of investigation. (...) [it] seeks to find different ways to observe and represent reality, (...) and reveal things that are not spoken of (Hernández, 2008, pp.92-94)
The exploration of experiences through art-based procedures renders ambiguous, vernacular, affective, and aesthetic accounts of these experiences as well as grounding them in their context of production (Cahmann-Taylor, 2008, p.8), which is coherent with testimonios. In other words, eliciting testimonios not only through verbal accounts but through the “arts can enhance the direction and breadth of data representation” (Sullivan, 2005, p.xvii). Art exploration of oppression and experiences helped participants address more fluidly the re-construction of their complex contexts and stories.

Art-based research is also centered on addressing human experience as embodied, as well as the stories told as enfleshed responses. It helps the research subjects (researchers, participants, collaborators) to experience the telling of testimonios as a whole-body process in which theorizing and re-constructing memories are engaged not only by the mind but also emotion, and the whole body (Hernández, 2008, p.110). Art-based researchers argue that the arts help in the processes of reinterpreting the remembered experiences and people’s lived context in transformative ways (Hernández, 2008, p111). This reinterpretation through the arts functions to challenge hegemony and oppression, because "acts of reinterpretation have always been a threat to the continuity of dominant paradigms of thought and patterns of behavior.” (Rolling, 2010, p.107). Just as testimonios, art-based exploration of experiences can lead to theorizing from the flesh, and the telling of stories as political acts to challenge oppression. These methods engage with subjectification as a whole-being process in which soul, mind, creativity, emotion, and reason work together to express a lived experience. Both the process of art production and the final product can be understood as failed citational practices that displace the terms under which someone or a story can be recognized as valid. As a researcher, I was able to interact and participate with
By mixing the principles present in testimonios and art-based methods (Espino, Vega, Rendón, Ranero & Muñiz, 2012; Hernández, 2008), I created and conducted two versions of collective art-based testimonios workshops. The target of these workshops was the focal group, but the workshops were also open to other members of the community. I conducted the first type of workshop three times during the first semester and the second type two times during the second semester of the academic year. The selected feminist students in the focal group were supposed to participate in both types of workshops. Nevertheless, for lack of time or interest, five of the six students attended at least one of the iterations of the first type of workshop, while only three attended at least one of the iterations of the second type of workshop. I conducted these workshops in the school or a coffee shop near the school.

The collective art-based testimonio workshop I conducted three times the first semester was an embroidery workshop to explore gendered biographies through writing and embroidering a personal project. First, I showed a PowerPoint with examples of biographic creative literature, and photos of embroidery pieces connected with social justice (Violeta Parra stitching art, and poetry). Then I asked the students to write and share with the group a short piece in literary format of their choosing that exemplified how they experienced "being woman" or their preferred gender. This step of the process did not work well. The students were very concerned about doing this "the right way," which in turn made them uneasy and unwilling to write. This uneasiness happened at every repetition of
the workshop. I encouraged them to either skip this step and draw a symbol that represented
the way they felt gendered, or think about this story and imagine a symbol for it. Because
most of them did not want to share their stories, I asked some students specific questions to
elicit thinking around gender subjectification. Students shared with the group their stories.
After some awkwardness we managed to continue, and I taught the students how to
embroider. I gave them the embroidery materials - needle, multiple color threads, fabric,
and embroidery hoops- and, using the PowerPoint, modeled some basic embroidery stitches
and showed them how to simplify their drawings to be able to stitch them adequately. The
final step consisted of each student showing the group their piece and explaining what it
meant to them. I asked the students to do this after they had been talking and embroidering
for quite a while. The activity worked in two of the three iterations, during one we did not
have enough time to do this. At the end of the workshops, I took photographs of the
embroideries, but most of them were not finished. I managed to photograph some of the
finished works later. The embroidery workshops lasted from one hour and 30 minutes to
three hours.

During the second semester, I conducted a collective art-based testimonio workshop
on basic art printing methods two times. The printing workshop was designed to elicit
stories related to processes of gender/political subjectification. The first step of the
workshop was showing a PowerPoint of examples of printing art connected to social justice
causes. Then, learning from my first semester mistakes (causing student tension because of
lack of explicit instructions on the written part), I asked the students to complete a
worksheet of what “being woman" felt as political subjects in their activism, school, and
country. This activity worked better than the open-ended question of the first workshop but
still was not ideal. The students felt they were doing homework, and also were worried they had to complete this sheet "correctly." Even though I kept insisting there were no wrong answers, they spent a long time completing the sheets. In addition to this difficulty, during the first printing workshop, we had to suspend the activities until the second iteration because one student had an emergency. The next time we talked about what they had written in their worksheets. Then I gave them materials - printing rubber, carving pens, different colors of ink, different kinds of paper and fabric to print on - and taught them the basic carving printing methods. After that, I asked students to carve and print something that symbolized their gendered place in the political world. We chatted while we worked, and this time I was able to photograph finished products done by the students. They showed their pieces and explained what they meant to them. During both types of workshops, I took notes, audio-recorded, and took photos of the artwork.¹¹

3.1.5. Secondary Archival Data

The final method I used is collection of secondary archival digital data (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). The purpose of this method was to analyze how the local incidents I observed resonated or not with occurring events at a national level, as well as comprehend the ways the student used digital tools to express their gender/political subjectivities. This information provided some background context. The target of this method was the student-government open Facebook and Instagram accounts and also newspaper clips related to education and feminist topics during the 2018 academic year. I considered this data relevant as it provided crucial multi-level context information: national, communal, and institutional levels.

¹¹ To see the materials used in the two versions of the workshops see appendix F
3.2. Data Analysis and the Stitching of a Dissertation

To analyze the data, I imported all data to a password protected NVIVO project. I transcribed my notes after each participant observation and research activity from March 2018 to November 2018. The units of analysis (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, pp.164-165) in this research were interactions and stories, meaning that each one of the described interactions and stories in the collected data was considered a unit of analysis. I considered stories or narratives not just the verbal accounts of people about things that happened, but also the visual stories shared by participants in the workshops and other visual stories produced by students and displayed around the school. After each transcription, I produced an initial coding of the data using concepts that emerged from the notes, transcripts, photographs and news clips. Some of these codes were “sorority”, “abuse”, “Lucha” (To see the complete list of codes see appendix G). These initial coding had no system, it only organized the data considering what it said, for example, all the photographs or vignettes that mentioned the “Lucha” were marked under that code. I used the theoretical framework to identify certain aspects in the data, but this initial coding was meant as a first process of classification to be able to visualize certain recurring terms, and topics. There are many of these codes that were not used in the rest of the analysis because of the scope of the dissertation.

From December 2018 until February 2019, I conducted thematic analysis (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010) chunking data in conceptual categories, defining terms that emerged, and finding initial themes or regularities to make sense of it, focusing on redundancies and essential concepts. This analysis took the form of weekly memos (35 weeks in total), where I identified occurring events at the macro and micro levels. In each
memo, I identified the types and number of data of the week, themes at a national level, crucial participants, themes at a local level, and attempted to answer my research questions. I also copied and pasted all the fragments of notes, quotes, and images that sustained the analysis for each theme. That way, I had ready and available all the relevant data that I needed for the writing process.

From March 2019 until the first week of May 2019, I used narrative and structure analysis tools (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998; Riessman, 2008) to elicit meaning from the testimonios interviews and workshops data. I conducted a "holistic content-perspective" analysis (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998, p.62), which consists of doing a complete reading, and recording of the first impression from the story. The second step was, rereading the narrative and identifying major themes. Then I used structural narrative analysis to shift the focus of what was being told into how the participants chose to tell their stories (Riessman 2008, p. 77). This attention to form “adds insights beyond what can be learned from referential meanings alone.” (Riessman 2008, p. 77). To analyze the "how," I focused on the sections of stories. These are six identifiable elements present in storytelling: "an abstract (…); orientation (…); complicating action (…); evaluation (…); resolution (…)" (Riessman 2008, p. 84). This analytic process allowed me to understand how participants chose to tell stories through the analysis of the functions of the sections of the narrative. I also used theoretical tools from social movement narrative theory to analyze the processes of production of political communities and values (Benford, 2002; Davies, 2002; Fine, 2002). I interrogated the data asking the following questions: what social problem is produced in this story? Who is "us"? Who is "them" (the

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12 To see the template of the weekly analytic memos, see appendix H
identified enemy or alterity)? What are the best-identified actions to solve the problem? Who are the protagonists of change? And what are the desired outcomes? This analysis took the form of maps or visual memos I drew and photographed one for each of the focal participants. In the drawings, I tried to represent the participants' characteristics and relations to shared spaces such as Edelbina González High School, the participants' homes, and the streets. I chose to draw visual maps to address the complex layers present in the data, and also to produce analysis in other forms than just writing. The visual aspect of this analysis allowed me to produce a coherent understanding of the themes and topics I had analyzed in my weekly memos in one plane.

From May until June 2019, I analyzed the photographs I took of student art pieces and some shared by the student government in their open social media using critical visual methodology (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). I also used an analytic table to examine images constructed by participants (Keegan & Schmidt, March 2018), which used particular questions. Some of these questions were: What kind of image is it? What is shown? What are the components? Where does my eye go, and why? What does the image mean? Who is the expected audience? What social signifiers or symbols are there available in it? How is meaning conveyed? between other questions (Keegan & Schmidt, March 2018). This analysis helped me understand what the participants considered relevant to tell about their gender and political subjectivities while showing me how they position themselves in the visual stories being told. It also showed me what historical narratives they chose to draw from to compose their visual position in history.

During the complete analysis process, I was "plugging in with theory" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) to read the data through theoretical concepts such as "disidentificaiton,"
"embodied," and "ethics of joy." In practice, this means that I read chunks of data and question what a particular theoretical concept meant, illuminated or obscured concerning the data, and at the same time, what did not fit a theoretical explanation. The "plugging in" connects different contexts, the one present in the produced data, the one present in theoretical concepts, and the one present in the researcher's hand. Making this process conscious helped me find fractures and dissonance in the data and my previous analysis.

Finally, from July 2019 to March 2020, I have been outlining, writing, and re-writing the chapters of this dissertation. The writing has happened in two different formats: words in a computer word processor and a print and embroidered product. Sometimes the writing informed the embroidery, and sometimes the embroidery influenced the writing. I constructed the print and embroidered product in two steps. I created a collage using unrecognizable photos from the data and representative photos of Santiago city to represent the spaces and bodies central in this dissertation: the feminist students, the bodies identified as alterity, the streets, the school, the state, civil society, and the students' homes. The second step was embroidering this collage. I printed this image (with no words) on a canvas and started the embroidery process. I have also documented the process of embroidery in video format to show how it was built. I Attempted this form of “writing” the dissertation to produce a visual representation of the analysis of the produced data, a different form of representation that might deliver to the observer aspects that cannot be seen in a word document.

Through the analysis stage in which I produced visual maps for each participant, I Identified the primary spaces that were relevant for my dissertation. I chose images of those spaces, worrying that photographs represented the places but still were unidentifiable to
protect the institution and the students in this research. I first created a collage of these spaces. I placed at the center-end a photo of the Chilean government palace to represent one of the adversaries for the feminist students and also the institution that rules the other institutions the students deal with on a daily bases. I placed a photo of a school building on the right and a home on the left, and a photo of a telecommunications company, representative of non-physical public spaces. Then I chose photographs posted in the student government open Facebook page which showed students' unrecognizable bodies. I selected some of those photos to represent the student community as a politically active community and a little apart students representing the six participants, all of them in the streets protesting their school but mainly protesting the police and the government. Then I chose a photo of militarized police, also from the student government site, and random photographs of men harassing women in the streets. These men are supposed to represent not just random people but also the comrades in the Student Movement. After finishing the collage, I reviewed my analytic memos and started representing some ideas through the stitching. For example, fire behind the group of students protesting represents radical political strategies, both valued and problematic for the participants in this study.

Chile has a strong tradition of telling stories through embroidery. There are different types of styles and themes that women across Chile have usually used to decorate pieces with stories. During the dictatorship in Chile, organized groups of women, relatives of detained and disappeared people, started to embroider stories about their lost ones demanding justice. After that, and since today there is a strong Chilean feminist and women-led tradition of embroidering as a political tool. This tradition is the reason I chose to embroider my dissertation as well as employ embroidery collective testimonios
workshop as a data production method. The stitching of the dissertation is political work for me; I want to be able to share not just words but also an art object which represents the important work that feminist students do in Chile today in a different format. This stitching is writing differently what I wanted to share in my dissertation. I have inserted all throughout the data chapter different photos of the embroidery and its details.

I want to close this section of data analysis and writing by addressing the use of language and translation. All the production of data in this dissertation was done in Spanish, particularly Chilean Spanish. All data was stored in Spanish and analyzed mostly in Spanish (I sometimes wrote sections in the memos in English). I did not translate any data until I started to write the dissertation. I structured the chapter, placing the data pieces in Spanish where they worked best. Only after I wrote the chapter, I translated. I did all the translations from Spanish to English at the moment. At first I had chosen to translate everything to English except for some particular concepts (i.e., *Lucha*) because Chilean Spanish is particularly complex and filled with idioms that are difficult to comprehend. Nevertheless, after the recommendation of the professor in my committee I decided to maintain the Spanish in the text and provide a translation in the footnotes. This decision is coherent with my theoretical framework and the methodological theoretical principles I have used throughout this dissertation.

### 3.3. Positionality, Vulnerability, and Reflexivity

In this section, I explore my positionality as a researcher, Chilean, woman, Latin American, and insider/outsider of the context in which I did research. I agree with Miled (2017) in that the

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13 To see photos of the process and more visual information see appendix I.
researcher’s subjective experiences, perspectives, privileges and oppression impact the research questions we ask, the questions we do not ask, the theoretical framework we resonate with, the methodology we feel works best, the participants we decide to work with, the voices we include and the ones we exclude, the way we analyze our data and the style we use to present it, all these reveals something about who we are, our values, our fears and what we want to say. (p.5).

In this section, I explore how my experiences, perspectives, privileges, and oppression impacted this research project. Witnessing in the flesh means not only that the focus of research are bodies, communities, and contexts in constant contradiction, but that we, as observers, are also flesh, also mestiza, also dwellers of the borderlands. As the opposite of the omniscient narrator, “glimpses, partial views, are all that we can give, and all that we should strive to give and yet we should also be aware of the limits on those views.” (Frankham & Smears, 2012, p.368).

Witnessing in the flesh signifies that, “as a mode of knowing that depends on the particular relationship formed by a particular anthropologist with a particular set of people in a particular time and place, [it] has always been vexed about the question of vulnerability.” (Behar, 1997, p.5). During the process of conducting this research project, I experienced how my relationship with different people in the school community ultimately affected how I worked and engaged with this dissertation. For example, my presentation to the participants as a fellow feminist opened two-way doors of vulnerability with them concerning gendered experiences. Something similar happened with Milka, with whom I shared not only the feminist label but also the high school teaching experience. I cannot say the same with Paula and Diego with whom I had different values, and who were less
interested in forming a bond with me. This is probably why I wrote them as less multi-dimensional characters than, for example, the students. Another example is the strong bond I developed with Camila, Violeta, and Mati. They felt to me as fellow feminists in every way, and we usually agreed on a lot. We continue to get together sometimes even now. This has influenced the way I wrote them in this project. I learned a lot from them, and think of them as powerful women.

In general terms, vulnerability was a hard process for me. Behar (1997) argues that as critical ethnographers, or scholars involved in vulnerable research that exposes our participants, it is essential that we, as part of the research, also engage in the exercise of vulnerability. It does not mean that "anything personal goes" but that "(…) the exposure of the self who is also a spectator has to take us somewhere we couldn't otherwise get. It has to be essential to the argument, not a decorative flourish, not exposure for its own sake." (Behar, 1997, p.14). In other words, the exercise of vulnerability has to provide new understandings of the phenomena presented. There are problems brought by the supremacy of the author’s voice (Miled, 2017, p.9), and the power to define and represent (Best, 2007, p.17) that could be recognized and visualized in the exercise of vulnerability. Vulnerability can result in the reader comprehending the avenues of life the researcher has walked and how they affect how the research is shaped, and human relations during the research are approached. This is why I was upfront with my feminist commitment with the students.

To reflect the process of significant self-revelation, I want to address some of the questions that scholars concerned with vulnerability, the power to represent, and the supremacy of the author’s voice have designed to turn the gaze into the researcher in productive ways. I, who wrote about others and made them vulnerable, recognize myself as
a Latin American feminist activist, as a heterosexual woman, as a former social studies teacher, as a researcher, as mestiza, and upper-class in my Chilean context. These labels mean that in my body, I have experienced both privilege and oppression and that it is from here that I approached research. As a teacher, a woman, and also as a feminist activist, I have realized that women in Chile already engage in transformative political practices. I learned from my research participants how, even from oppressed subject positions—female minors, public education students, working-class, and working-middle class status, and some of them, immigrant status—, subjects could create transformative political practices and cultures that challenge oppression and the colonial phallogocentric system. I want to share their strategies and knowledges with those that want to engage in action to bring social justice, particularly those devoted to gender, social studies, and citizenship education.

Concerning the insider/outsider labels and this constructed dichotomy, I agree with scholars that argue that these are not binary positions, but a “continuum especially when I negotiate these positions when researching my people.” (Miled, 2017, p.7, see also Ghorashi, 2005). In ethnography, particularly in critical ethnography, our relationships with others change us, and the inside/outside “are blurred with obvious accompanying challenges in terms of reflexivity and analysis.” (Frankham & Smears, 2012, p.367). As a Latin American, a feminist, a heterosexual woman, a Chilean, a former teacher, a former high school student, a researcher, an upper-class person in my context, and an adult conducting research with young people I tried to occupy the continuum of insider/outsider in reflexive ways. The occupation of this continuum was sometimes messy and troublesome. During the research process I tended to attempt to feel comfortable. With the
students I occupied my role as a Chilean feminist and imagined an insider status which usually worked, as the students saw me as part of a popular feminist collective in Chile. The label that I desired the least to be identified with was upper-class, which is obviously related to the privilege I experience in my country. This label, which was also disclosed during fieldwork, led me to some troubling moments. I come from a well-off family and enjoy the privileges of being raised in the upper-class circle in the country. During the research process, there were many times I had to engage with how these privileges and different power positions impacted my research. This subject position sometimes made me an outsider in the context I researched, as well as gave me significant privileges -for example; I got access to the school due to my college contacts. I observed the material reality of the school from that foreign position. I attempted to embrace the troubling feelings, and not shy away from them, but it was hard. At one time, Mati expressed a firm belief that "cuicas"\textsuperscript{14} could never be partners in the political struggle (Mati, October 26th, 2018). When Mati explicitly said I could not be a partner in the struggle I remained silent, I struggled to not make this issue about me. I wanted to explain myself, or say something, but I decided that it was best that I, as a privileged subject, did not make anyone work to make me feel better. It is complicated, as a Chilean woman and a former teacher I always imagined myself as an insider in a Chilean High School. Even though this did work sometimes, as an upper-class privileged researcher I was troubled regarding my work at Edelbina González within an oppressive class system in which researchers, usually from the university elite, come to study public school education. I did try to approach the school and the students in ways that would trouble this reproduction, but I still think it is useful to

\textsuperscript{14} Cuico, cuica, is a Chilean term to refer to people from the upper-class, the powerful and the elite.
disclose this issue here so that readers have that particular information when analyzing this dissertation.

Another label that was troublesome for me was “responsible adult”. As a female Chilean adult, I “may imagine insider status based on memories of adolescence." (Raby, 2007, p.50). I had to be mindful of the power imbalance between the participants and me concerning the adult/children divide. I mentally questioned the developmental frameworks under which youth and children, particularly female minors, are measured. Miled (2017) argues that "youth are frequently studied and perceived as being passive subjects rather than active agents (...) and not often invited to actively and meaningfully engage in the research process (...) research is often done for or on children, but less commonly with them." (p.11). I engaged in the process of reflexivity, which consist on consciously and continuously remembering that the categories youth and children are socially constructed and that even though dominant social structures mold youth as a category, the subjects labeled that way, are not less than adults but different, valid, and active (Raby, 2007, pp.46-47). That is why the research project was interested in what students are being in the present, instead of what they might become (Best, 2007, p.10). Regardless of my efforts to do this, there were some troubling moments, particularly when I felt students as vulnerable children. During the interviews with the feminist students there were several moments when they chose to disclose experiences related to abuse. Seeing them distressed and in pain pushed my protective teacher buttons. I struggled, a lot, to avoid going full “solving-problems-teacher” mode, or “scandalized-adult” mode. This was hard, I had strong paternalist protective feelings, even though most of the participants in this research were considered at the time legally adults (18+ years). This meant that sometimes I offered help I
was not asked for, and was gently declined. I attempted to respect the students’ desires regarding their stories, but I still think this trouble in the insider/outsider categories is something that I had to disclose for readers.

I certainly got several fulfillments from the power I had over the research, and the privileged position I held in the site. I currently enjoy the privilege of calling three of the participants in this research, my friends, as we have continued hanging out during 2019 and 2020. The most practical fulfillment I expect to enjoy from this power is the completion of my Ph.D. degree, which will grant me even more privilege in my national context. I tried to ensure that my research in the selected site had some positive effects for those who made themselves vulnerable. I tried to create close bonds with the students so they could use my resources as they needed; I taught them some art-based abilities and shared knowledge about feminism and feminist resources and contacts. I do not believe I was the only one teaching and them the ones learning. On the contrary, I learned a lot from what they taught me. For example, from my feminist activist perspective, I learned many things regarding political strategies and practical applications I did not know that I now used in my activism.

Even though I did not design the research with the participants, I did ask them how they wanted to share the research results with the community. The feminist students wanted me to use their experiences to show that patriarchy is a real living and changing entity that affects many subjects, particularly school students, and the strategies they employed and though are useful to dismantle this system. After I finish this dissertation, I plan to produce materials for high school students and teachers so that the knowledges the participants shared give not only me material benefits but also other students in similar subject positions. I expect these materials to take the form of practical advice on how to produce
ourselves as politically engaged in structural change from gender/political positions. This can take the form of videos, class materials, among others. The material benefits I enjoy might surpass the ones I provided and will provide to the participants and future feminist activists. Regardless, I plan to use my professional career as well as my activist work to attempt to reduce oppressive inequality.

During this research, I followed several practical steps to engage in reflexivity, vulnerability, and to ensure validity and the protection of human subjects (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, pp.89-90). All participants and institutions were given pseudonyms in all notes and written accounts, and some participants were made into composites when they were too recognizable. All data was stored in a password protected NVIVO project, and a password-protected computer, and even open access sensitive information was made unrecognizable either by pseudonyms or by changing details. Participants and their parents were given a comprehensive summary of the research purposes, the possible negative and positive consequences of participating in it, and my contact information. They were also made aware that they could refuse or stop their participation in the research at any given moment without any consequences for them. I requested not only the parental and school consent to observe students but also their consent to participate in the research. These procedures protected the participants through the research process and will protect their confidentiality afterward. I also followed the guidelines for the protection of human subjects provided by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Teachers College, Columbia University. My research protocol was approved in February 2018 and I closed it in February 2020.
Even though I have questioned positivistic notions of validity, I still conducted some processes to manage and assess my perspective. For example, I conducted a reflexive triangulation of data points (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p.180) to analyze if there were confirmation redundancies, and what sort of questions these redundancies or lack of opened up concerning my influential author's opinion. I also showed portions of the collected and transcribed data and the initial analysis to participants for member checking (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p.62). Finally, I engaged in transgressive validity to make methodology visible and practice “counter authority” (Lather, 2007, p.120), as well as disrupt the methodologies and explore the relationship between the participants and me.

To engage in productive vulnerability, I answered in writing a vulnerability and reflexivity questionnaire (Behar, 1997, pp.19-20). While writing, I also tried to engage in critical reflexivity to; challenge the primacy of the researchers' voice, avoid harm to participants, including other voices in the research, question my positionality and subjectivity, and be critical about my vision and analysis. I used the answers in these questionnaires while writing.

3.4. Dissertation Structure; Witnessing and Testimonios

I have attempted to produce the chapters and analysis in this dissertation from a critical ethnographic witnessing standpoint and testimonios tradition. My witnessing standpoint throughout this research process has been a feminist one, which assumes the existence of patriarchy (or the phallocentric system) as a powerful structure that aims to norm and reproduce certain bodies in an oppressed situation. This witnessing standpoint has been focused not just in recording how normative gender and political violence works,
but also attest how bodies and communities within their contexts are “already involved in making change in everyday life” (Dyrness, 2008, p.27), and “threaten, in a good sense, the certainties and dominance of performativity” (Frankham & Smears, 2012, p.361). I have also attempted to honor the Latin American testimonios tradition by structuring this dissertation in a way that responds to the collective telling and listening to stories related to structural oppression and change centered in the marginalized (Bernal, Burciaga & Carmona, 2012, p.364). This is why I have structured the answer to my research question in four different chapters that reflect the testimonios tradition and narratives in social movements tradition (Benford, 2002; Davies, 2002; Fine, 2002), and also the perspective of critical ethnography as "witnessing."

Chapter four addresses essential knowledges concerning the Chilean education field and the history and traditions of student and feminist movements in Chile. This chapter aims to set the stage, as clearly as possible, to understand the developments occurring in Edelbina González High School during the context of contentious feminist politics in Chile during 2018. In summary, this chapter will answer how is the 2018 Chilean context of contentious feminist politics produced at a macro level.

Chapter five - titled “who are we”? - is designed to show how the feminist students in this research choose to produce a collective "we." The chapter will address how students produce their gender political subjectivities within a historical tradition, drawing from the collective memory and history of the political left in the country, while at the same time refuse to diminish conflict within their "we" and displace the traditional Social Movement, antagonistic model. This chapter answers how do the participants produce their
gender/political subjectivities while engaging with historical narratives and with feminist discourses/practices in and outside of school.

Chapter six - titled “why do we fight” - is designed to show how the students collectively define the main grievances and structural powers that affect their gender/political subjectivities, analyzing how gender/political norms are exerted over their bodies within and outside school. This chapter answers how do the participants produce their gender/political subjectivities while engaging with formal political education and with feminist discourses and practices in and outside of school.

Chapter seven - titled "How do we fight?" - analyzes the political strategies employed and narrated by the feminist students to explain how they choose to challenge patriarchy. In other words, the chapter explores how the students describe and characterize their political organizing and what kinds of processes I could witness about it. This chapter answers how the participants produce their gender/political subjectivities while using traditional strategies learn through student movement collective memory, and, how do they do this while engaging with feminist discourses and practices in and outside of school.

Finally, chapter eight - titled "Nomadic spaces, nomadic bodies, and affective disidentification processes” - will first introduce a summary of the main findings and arguments developed in these previous chapters, and present the main argument of this dissertation. Then I will explore the implications of these findings.
Chapter 4: The 2018 Feminist Movement: History and Political Repertoires

This chapter aims to provide crucial background information—contextual and historical—to understand the phenomena explored in chapters five, six, and seven of this dissertation. In order to do this, I have revised and analyzed Chilean historical literature related to the phenomena of the Pinochet’s dictatorship, Chilean educational system, and Chilean social movements. I selected papers, chapters and some books written by historians involved in the “New Social History” group in Chile, which can be defined as historians that write history with not just academic but also political purposes. I used their arguments to construct the argument in this chapter. At the end of the chapter I also analyzed some direct sources (e.g. student organizations web sites, students’ accounts, news clips) to explore the current state of student political organizations, and public opinion regarding the Student and Feminist Movements in 2018.

The student feminist movement in Chile and its repercussions in formal education cannot be understood as an abnormality. Even though politically active high school students are not typical in the world, in Chile, there is an almost continuous tradition of student politics that can be traced back to the student movements in the 60s and even before that. Feminist high school students are not a fluke. This does not mean that all public high school students are involved in some sort of political action, but that politically engaged students are familiar enough in the Chilean context, which has had and continues having repercussions on formal school education. This chapter traces the origins of some characteristics of Chilean school education and the connection of these characteristics with student social movements.
I will first address the dictatorship's neoliberal legacies in Chilean institutions, particularly education. Then I will proceed to explore the recent history of student and women's social movements in Chile, the characteristics of the current student and feminist movement, and the leading student organizations that exist in Chilean High Schools since the return of democracy in the country. Finally, I will contextualize 2018's political climate and the turn to the right in the country, analyzing how political figures - i.e., mayors, ministers of education- have been working to dismantle student politics.

4.1. The Dictatorship Neoliberal legacy: Free Market and Depoliticization

To understand any Chilean social movement, as well as the current state of Chilean citizenship and Social Studies education, we have to go back to the political decisions taken by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship between 1973 and 1989. After the 1973 coup that overthrew President Salvador Allende, and the imposition of a military government led by dictator Augusto Pinochet, the Chilean state was transformed. The dictatorship engaged in a series of neoliberal reforms to privatize most social services and public enterprises, promote economic competitiveness in sectors where it previously did not exist and turn the state into a subsidiary one by force (Torche, 2005; Klein, 2014). Particularly in education, the dictatorship transferred public schools from the Ministry of Education to municipalities, while at the same time encouraging that these public municipal schools competed with private schools and the newly founded charter schools -which also receive public funding (Mayorga, 2017a). After the return of democracy in 1990, the successive governments did not dismantle the neoliberal system but merely reform it (Salazar, 2006; Schild, 2013). The objective was to preserve economic growth and prevent jeopardizing it through social spending (Van Der Ree, 2011).
There was also continuity between the dictatorship and the new democratic government in terms of their political project, in particular regarding their definition of citizenship (Van Der Ree, 2011). The dictatorship illegally imposed a constitution in 1980. It installed a citizenship model based on three pillars: the depoliticization of society, a conservative social and legal order which legitimated the regime, and a neoliberal economy, "which transformed traditional collective understandings of citizenship into individualist market-oriented societal roles" (Van Der Ree, 2011, p.29). In the years after the return to democracy, this individualistic and market-oriented citizenship model continued. The new governments added electoral rights to it while other forms of political participation were foregrounded (Van Der Ree, 2011, p.32; see also Gangas in Zaruri, 2011).

The international economic and political climate has also encouraged the continuity of this citizenship model with little variation. Educational reforms in Latin America have been heavily influenced by international agencies – UNESCO, OCDE, and the World Bank. Sovereign states have recognized external pressures that made the configuration of the neoliberal citizen a necessity: in a globalized world, the future citizen had to be prepared for flexible labor and be individually equipped to cope with constant change (Beech, 2007). Chile's history has been heavily and sometimes directly influenced by the USA, particularly during the 70s and 80s US war on Marxism. Cultural and economic neocolonialism continues to affect the constitution of the ideal Chilean citizen and its reproduction through education. Globalization has had a powerful impact on the country: the global market demands have influenced the production of political subjects.
4.1.1. Neoliberal Education; Politics has No Place in Schools

The establishment of a “neo-liberal citizenship” (Dagnino, 2006) in Chile during the dictatorship, and the continuity of this project – with some variations – has been reproduced through formal education, which has promoted “the integration of individuals into the market (...)” (Dagnino 2007, p. 549) as responsible citizens – voting on elections – and flexible consumers/workers. Gangas (in Zaruri, 2011), analyses the Chilean citizenship education and argues that in this model, citizenship has become an individual and mechanical act, legitimizing from time to time the process, rather than a collective exercise that reflects identity and belonging in the cognitive, affective and evaluative assessment of the democratic political system. (p.298)

Citizenship education and schools in general were and are still produced as politically neutral spaces. As Mayorga (2017a) argues:

The curricular changes came hand in hand of a new discourse that stated that politics had no place in schools. (...) The depoliticization came from a new notion of 'individual,' directly linked to neoliberal discourse and understood as a free, rational, and dissociated being of its collective. (p.359)

The individualization of citizenship, the political neutrality of schools, and the discourses of effort and success associated with it has had consequences in education. The efforts of the dictatorship to eradicate "indoctrination" and turn schools into politically neutral spaces (Mayorga, 2017a, p.358) continues to be replicated even today by Ministers of Education (Said, November 25th, 2019). Citizenship education under the neoliberal citizen model also proposes that citizens have "an individual moral duty" (Dagnino 2007, p.554; see also
Matear, 2007) to solve social problems and improve their standing in society. Solidarity is produced as a private issue, and collective responsibility is debilitated.

Currently, women, particularly young women, have been produced as these ideal individualistic citizens (Harris, 2004a). In Chile, they are a model of social advancement and empowerment; citizens "who aspire to take their rightful place in the world of work" (Schild 2013, p. 213). Women have been reproduced as the "go-getters" that successfully balance family and work, responsible citizens that rise on their own. This discourse has also been reproduced through citizenship education in particular and social studies education in general, which have used ideal "empowered" women as models for students to promote the discourse of individual effort, success, and thriving against all the odds (Errázuriz, 2017).

4.2. Social Movements and Struggles Against the Dictatorship Legacies

Even though the political project inherited from the dictatorship has been preserved with minimal changes by Chilean governments, this does not mean that civil society has accepted it without a challenge. There have been several social movements that contested the meaning of political membership in the country. As Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar argue (1998):

In enacting an enlarged view of democracy and operationalizing this view in terms of a struggle for citizenship, social movements also convey an alternative vision of what counts as political in Latin American societies. (…) In politicizing what is not conceived as political, in presenting as public and collective what is conceived as private and individual, they challenge the political arena to enlarge its own boundaries and broaden its agenda. (p.57)
Most Latin American civil societies endured right-wing dictatorships in the 70s and 80s. Particular groups in these contexts engaged with left-leaning political repertoires, which not only served them to fight for democracy, but also to politicize specific issues that were produced as a-political. Salazar (2006) explores the political repertoires most used in popular revolts in Chile and the primary social identities of the protagonists of these revolts in the period that goes from 1947 to 1987. During the dictatorship period, some of the most important social actors were students and women (pp.154-155). Some of the political left-leaning repertoires used by these actors were; acts or assemblies, rallies, marches, occupations, strikes, agitation and propaganda actions, and collective confrontations with the police or the military (pp.134-140).

4.2.1. The Student Movement Against the Dictatorship

High school students from a series of public high schools located in the center communes of Santiago led protests against the regime "by engaging in memorable schools occupations" (Guzmán-Concha, 2012, p.413), strikes, and street demonstrations (marches, rallies) during the last years of the dictatorship. These students employed the repertoires described by Salazar (2006) and also used some strategies to rally support and protect themselves from police and state repression. For example, during school occupations the students used particular symbols to produce themselves as opponents of the dictatorship and aligned with left-leaning ideologies -particularly Marxist ones- by using or producing art pieces in the style of the Ramona Parra Brigade (an art collective founded by the communist party in 1968), red flags, posing in front of cameras with their left fist in the air, and covering their faces with hoods or "capuchas" (Bustos & Leiva, 2004; Albornoz, 2005). During the late 80s, high school students took it upon themselves to embody the Lucha or
the political struggle started by their predecessors during the socialist government of Allende. They were some of the first social actors to produce themselves as the opposition against the ultra-right and their neoliberal reforms (Salazar & Pinto, 2002). The students fiercely opposed the municipalization of their schools and their abandonment by the state, and produced imaginaries that presented children and youth as crucial fighters against the military and the police (Bustos & Leiva, 2004) -like, for example, a poster elaborated by the Communist Youth of a kid attacking a war tank by throwing rocks at it (Salazar & Pinto, 2002).

The students organized themselves by organizing assemblies and meetings to reconfigure an old high school student political organization called "Federation of Secondary Students of Santiago" (FESES, from now on). FESES was founded in 1948 and dissolved by the dictatorship in 1973. It was re-founded in 1986 by students with clear left-leaning tendencies, even though it also included members from the political center (Álvarez, 2005). Thus organized, the students were crucial players in the destabilization of the dictatorship but were not included in the negotiation processes of the return to democracy in 1990. FESES was critically debilitated in the 90s, and student movements were less popular until 2006.

4.2.2. The Women’s Movement in the Dictatorship

Also, during the dictatorship, women organized and coordinated actions to protest human rights violations and sustain their families (Drogus & Steward-Gambino, 2005; Franceschet, 2005). Their political actions against Pinochet's regime were modeled after communitarian citizenship and collective responsibility ideals. Sometimes with the help of a left-leaning catholic church (Drogus & Steward-Gambino, 2005; Salazar, 2006), they
engaged in organizations of mothers and families of those detained and disappeared by the dictatorship, communal meals organizations, and popular workshops (Drogus & Steward-Gambino, 2005, Franceschet, 2005). Women used their traditional gendered roles – as mothers and wives of those tortured and detained – and political roles - as tortured activists - to organize and denounce the atrocities committed by the regime. They also managed to introduce feminist issues into their political agenda (Baldez, 2002). During the last years of dictatorship, under the motto "Democracy in the country and at home," the women's movement had a crucial role in the return of democracy in the country.

While high school students were just thanked for their role and dismissed, the women's movement was included in the political negotiations, but their requirements were institutionalized (Matera, 1996). At the time consensus was prioritized to have a smooth transition to democracy, which can be explained by the fear of the re-installment of the dictatorship (Matera, 1996; Somma, 2012). The emphasis on stability worked in favor of the neoliberal model, turning transformative women's movement goals into less radical gender equity practices (Matera 1996; Schild, 2013). In their study of women's rights bills in the country from 1990 to 2002, Blofield and Hass (2005) found that the successful bills, or bills that were eventually passed as laws were the ones that originated from SERNAM (Women's National Service), "did not threaten existing definitions of gender roles, and did not require economic redistribution" (p.35).

Even though some argue that "instead of weakening the women's movement, SERNAM [and the institutionalization of the women's movement] actually provided the movement with important resources, most notably a discourse of women's equality and a set of objectives around which to mobilize" (Franceschet, 2003, p.9), the depoliticization of
women's demands influenced the popularity of feminist and women's movements, making it hard for those political groups to remain visible during the 1990s and 2000s. Another factor that influenced this apparent disappearance of feminist and women's demands relates to a globalized trend called postfeminism. McRobbie (in Harris, 2004b) explains that during the 1990s and 2000s, this postfeminism discourse served to reject feminism and suggest that gender equality was achieved, and feminism was a "spent force" (p.4). In Latin America, this made feminism tremendously unpopular. In their research on feminism in Mexico, Gómez-Ramírez and Cruz (2008) showed how young women engaged in gender issues were sure to state that they were not "feminists" or at least not "extreme" and explained that being called a feminist at that time meant being "a witch, bad mother, spinster, child-eater, man-hater, or a lesbian" (p.392).

4.2.3. The Current Student Movement

Salazar (2006) explains that, in Chilean history, popular movements -or social movements- have arisen against the state and its agents in particular historical conditions repeated in cycles:

Political decompression and economic compression have pushed and allowed the popular movements to rebuild their historicist thrust, and even find political allies. The product of all this is the radicalization and politicization of 'social upheavals,' and an increased political violence oriented against the national political system (p.95)

What Salazar explains, sometimes correlates with the cycles of social movements in Chile. The political decompression and economic compression (or even crisis) of the last years of the dictatorship motivated the student and women's movements, but once the dictatorship
was out, the Chilean state engaged in political compression for fear of a new military coup - a fear completely understandable considering that the dictator had a political role as a senator for life, and continued leading the military. Some have challenged this idea that there were two decades of low political engagement motivated by political compression after the return of democracy. In their research, Villalobos and Ortiz (2019) argued that student movements were still active during the 90s and 2000s, identifying many protest events during those decades (p.105). Nevertheless, I still share Salazar's diagnostic and other researchers' thesis in this regard and argue that the 90s and 2000s decades were times of considerable political demobilization. Even though Villalobos and Ortiz (2019) managed to demonstrate that from the 1990s until 2006 there were a considerable number of protest events lead by students, the sheer number of participants in each protest event, as they show in one of their graphics (p.111), is just incomparable to the 2006-2019 student movement. Therefore, their impact in Chilean society was minimal.

After almost two decades the political and economic conditions changed, Pinochet was stripped of his military and political posts between 2001 and 2002, his accomplices persecuted, and the Chilean neoliberal “miracle” started to crumble. The Chilean student movement, regain more strength in 2006 -the same year of Pinochet’s death- with the “penguin revolution”16. This movement started because of the cost of public transportation, but students continued taking actions to challenge the dictatorship laws that continued ruling Chilean education (Donoso, 2013). High school and university students in the 2010s were not afraid of repression and had no worries regarding the return of the dictatorship

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16 The "penguin revolution" was called this way because in Chile all public school students have to use uniforms. Males wear a white shirt, and dark charcoal pants, females, a white shirt, and a navy blue dress called "jumper." When marching by the thousands, the students looked like penguins, just like in the documentary "La Marche de l'empereur" released and famous in 2005.
(Aguilera Ruiz, 2014). However, the students in the movement did experience "economic compression" under the neoliberal model, which motivated their initial political actions - e.g., the struggle to lower the cost of public transportation for students in 2006 (Aguilera Ruiz, 2014). In 2011 and joined by College students, high school students continue organizing and protesting the neo-liberalization of the Chilean state.

Students created or revived three large organizations to coordinate their actions and engage in dialogue with institutionalized power. The first one is the "Confederation of Students of Chile" (CONFECH from now on) founded in 1984, which congregated the different student federations of all Chilean Universities. This organization was founded in the 80s but had roots in similar previous organizations like the "National Confederation of University Students" in the 1940s, or the "Union of University Federations of Chile" in the 1960s (CONFECH, February 23rd, 2011; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). A second one is the "National High School Coordinator" (CONES from now on), founded in 2011 to reunite some high school's student governments (Aguilera Ruíz, 2014). It is influenced and sometimes financed by the communist party through its close relations with the "Communist Youth" (JJCC). They consider themselves more moderate than the other outstanding high school organization, and in the past, have agreed to dialogue with certain sympathizing congresswomen and men (Grunert, May 5th, 2016). Four former penguins and leaders of CONFECH in 2011, are currently congresswomen and men, two of them from the communist party (Emol, November 18th, 2013). A second important High School organism is the "Secondary Student Coordinating Assembly" (ACES from now on). This organization comes from a dissident group in FESES during 2000 who considered being financed by political parties a lousy practice for student politics. Later on, FESES lost force
and slowly disappeared while ACES continues being an important political organization (e.g., the current university exams boycott, Guerra, January 2nd, 2020). It has similar political objectives than the other organizations. However, the main difference is that ACES has a more horizontal organizing than the other two, and does not ascribe to a particular political party, orienting itself towards anarchist and leftist ideologies (Grunert, May 5th, 2016; Mati, October 26th, 2018). There are other small high school students' organizations that have been on and off over the years, changing their names and stopping their activities sometimes. Most of these small organizations defend more radical and violent ways to take political actions - like lighting fires in their schools and the streets, throwing Molotov bombs, even soaking teachers with gasoline. These are close and sometimes influence ACES; for example, the leader of ACES in 2018 was part of "Rebel Union" (Cea, May 16th, 2018). Some of these are: "Rebel Union," "Secondary Offensive," and "Rebel Youth" (El Desconcierto, April 25th, 2018).

Since 2006, the Chilean Student Movement has protested the neoliberal structural practices of the post-dictatorship Chilean state, particularly its effects on education (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). They created several political opportunities for other demands, and have been successful and achieved great political goals such as; reform education laws from the dictatorship (Ramírez & Comunicaciones CIAE UChile, May 19th, 2016), free public transportation for economically vulnerable students (Toledo, 2017), and free higher education for particular socio-economic groups (Toledo, 2017). The students achieved these goals by engaging in political actions following similar patterns than their 70s and 80s predecessors (Guzmán-Concha, 2012; Somma, 2012; Baeza &
Sandoval in Zaruri, 2011). Currently, students employ traditional left-leaning protest strategies (Salazar, 2006), and new digital-oriented strategies (Cabalín-Quijada, 2014).

The students also have continued using certain political symbols to produce themselves and their student communities as heirs or continuators of the students that supported the socialist government of Allende and the students that fought the dictatorship, using these tools within and outside their schools. In his study of students’ communities of practice in the Student Movement, Mayorga (2018) explains,

> Participants of a figured world usually act as if they were recognizing a central narrative and abiding by a set of rules, but these narrative and rules only come to be because the actors constantly reinstate their social significance by engaging with each other in various practices. (...) Through contentious local practices, larger historical struggles are brought into the present in two different ways: by actors using cultural resources not their own in order to respond to others who address them, and by cultural imaginaries and political and economic forces that affect collective and institutional practices. (pp.4-5)

These "rules" and "imaginaries" have been transmitted student to student through diverse mechanisms (Cabalín-Quijada, 2014; Errázuriz, 2019; Donoso, 2013) and also have been popularized by media actors (e.g., music video "Shock" by Tijoux, 2011, October 4th) whom have contributed to produce and continuously reinstate the shared narrative. Some of these strategies have been transmitted from student to student through the engagement of student political organizations created after the return of democracy (Ministerio de Educación, 1990, modified in 2006).
4.2.4. The Current Feminist Movement

The processes of producing and reproducing a shared political community are also present in the current Chilean Feminist Movement. The political unrest caused by the Student Movement opened up a political opportunity for radical feminist demands, which started to gain popularity within it (Richard in Zerán, 2018, p.115). Even though Salazar's explanation for the cycles of social upheaval is handy in the case of the Student Movement, it might need other analytical elements to be able to explain the Chilean Feminist Movement. There are economic inequalities or particular economic compressions experienced by women in Chile (PNUD, 2014), but the movement is centered on all the types of violence experienced by Chilean women, not just economic ones. Also, the detonating events that brought to life the feminist movement in Chile are mainly related to the murder of women because of their gender, not economic compression (e.g., NI UNA MENOS). The feminist Chilean academic Faride Zerán argues that feminism is an affect:

Feminism, in addition to an ideology, is a drive, an affection, a gesture that marks a turning point that, at the same time, dialogues with different sources of thought that constitute the dwellings where feminisms live today. (in Zerán, 2018, p.10)

This conceptualization of feminism as an affect might be a more successful tool to analyze its strong emergence in the Chilean public arena than economic compression and political decompression. As a force or an intensity that transverses bodies and institutions, we can understand why it is within the Student Movement that feminism was made visible again. Follegati Montenegro argues that,

Feminism does not appear or disappear but remains as a political proposal and continuous action as long as the conditions of inequality and exploitation centered
on women persist. The disappearance or decline of the movement only occurs as long as it is institutionalized by other means, or it is maintained in a latency process under the configuration of new conflicts. It is not a movement that articulates and dismantles without measures; rather, it acquires the status of legitimate as the current condition becomes unbearable when life becomes unlivable in the current canons. (in Zerán, 2018, p.88)

During the Student Movement in schools and Colleges, feminist and gender-sexuality collectives started to emerge and gain traction motivated by gender violence and oppression experienced by students within educational institutions and also in their political organizing (Follegati Montenegro, 2016). Follegati Montenegro even calls the Chilean feminist movement the "student feminist movement" (in Zerán, 2018, p.77). The resurgence of feminism is also a global phenomenon related to the international momentum gained by Latin America feminisms (e.g., NI UNA MENOS) and feminisms of the world (e.g., Me Too), (Valdés, in Zerán, p.178). The new Chilean feminist movement challenges the patriarchal system as well as the neo-liberalization of the state and its gender policies. Recent analysts of this movement in Chile also argue that it has long roots in women's movements along history (Zerán, 2018, p.10, p.18, pp.12-13, p.78). The student feminist movement has also claimed symbols and narratives from left-leaning ideologies. Rojas explains,

When we write and reflect, when we organize and mobilize in the name of feminism, we can only do so as heirs of long-standing obstinacy and rebellion.

Feminist consciousness, the relationship between the left and feminism, and even
more so the local expression of the *Lucha*, take my attention to reflect on what is coming (in Zerán, p.127, italics added)

In my pilot study (explained in chapter three), I had already noted the relationship the students established with the traditions in their online narratives. History was used to produce affective connections with readers while at the same time, position students as heirs of past political struggle. The students used historical narratives to establish a continuity between the student feminist movement and Chilean left-leaning social movements of the past. The concept of *Lucha*, the raised left-hand fist, the narratives of state repression, and the concept of "neoliberalism" connected the feminist students with the Latin American and Chilean history of the political left. One important difference between the women's movement during the dictatorship and this new feminist wave led by students is the emphasis on gender in conjunction with sexuality. Youth involved in the feminist movement do not base their claims on traditional gender roles, but on radical feminist demands to dismantle gender and gender norms (Baldez, 2002, p.14). Currently, young feminists, particularly high school student feminists are interested in both ending gender-based violence and discrimination, as well as defending the idea that both gender and sexuality are social constructs, and that hegemonic norms should be destroyed. The Chilean Student Feminist Movement struggles against the neoliberal citizen model, strives to reinstall collective responsibility, multiple and constant political participation modes, as well as prioritizing social justice concerns – such as LGBTQI and gender issues (Cea, Opazo, Devaud, Lamadrid, Retamal, Zagal, Gatica, et al., 2018; Zerán, 2018).
4.3. Legal political Organisms in High Schools, the Case of Edelbina González

In this section, I will describe the leading student political organizations in Chilean schools, which have existed since May 1990 by law (Ministerio de Educación, 1990, modified in 2006). Even though the creation of these organisms within schools seems at odds with the argument that politics has no place in Chilean schools, these organisms do not signal an inclusion of political thought and conflict, but only an exercise to train students for future democratic processes, to learn how to vote and engage with formal civic processes in the future (Mayorga, 2017a, 2017b). Nevertheless, even though these organisms were not created as platforms for students to engage politically with society in the present, they have had a significant and active role in producing and reproducing the bases for student political systems. I will briefly identify and describe the leading lawful organizations present in Chilean public high schools through vignettes and data from Edelbina González High School: Student government, CODECU, TRICEL, and assemblies.

The student government is an organism with several members, which democratically rules the students' affairs within the school. By law, it should be democratically elected by the student population during the last or first 45 days of the academic year with at least 50% plus one vote. It has a president, a vice president, and executive secretary, a financial secretary, and a record-keeping secretary (Ministerio de Educación, 1990, modified in 2006). On May 23rd, 2018, I had the chance to observe the 12th-grade cohort group I observed in Edelbina González High School vote for student government. Ana told me that they had missed language classes recently because they had an informative assembly where the list for student government presented itself. I asked if
there was only one list, and she told me that no one else wanted to run for student government, so they had to vote to ratify the list or reject it. Ana explained she was not happy with the student government list, and Yocelyn told her classmates to vote against it. When I asked her if being left without student government would be worse, she explained that in the case the student government list did not obtain sufficient votes, then the council of cohort presidents (CODECU from now on) would govern the school instead. Yocelyn felt that the CODECU was more representative, and thus more democratic than the list that was attempting to win the vote. We arrived at the theater where there were two ballot boxes, two private spaces to cast a vote, and a table with students that checked the student lists so that each student voted just one time. Two students explained and showed with props how to cast votes to the arriving students. I sat down while the students formed a line, checked their names with the students at the table, received their ballots, and went to the private spaces to mark their votes to then deposit them in the ballot boxes (May 23rd, 2018).

As shown in the previous vignette, a school can have several competing lists running for student government or just one, but if this is the case, it needs to be ratified by the student community by at least 50% of the votes plus one more. In 2018, the student government list running was elected the last days of May by 65% of students and rejected by 35% (May 28th, 2018). Even though it was acceptable within the particular rules of Edelbina González democracy to reject the only running list and advocate to be governed by the CODECU, the student government list was elected, and the 12th-grade cohort group accepted this democratic decision (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018).
Second, the voting process for student government and all other voting processes are overseen by the electoral school board (TRICEL, from now on) that is also democratically elected each academic year (Ministerio de Educación, 1990, modified in 2006). I had no chance to observe this organism, and Camila explained that a new TRICEL was never formed in 2018 and that the 2017 TRICEL continued overseeing the elections processes in 2017 (Camila, December 24th, 2019, personal communications).

Third, the council of cohort student presidents is a collegiate organism formed by all the student cohort presidents. CODECU functions as a deliberative organism which can be convocated by the student government to propose political actions and vote about proposals. During my fieldwork, I had multiple opportunities to observe the 12th-grade student cohort president being called out of class to participate in CODECU, and then how she informed the cohort group of the deliberations and decisions taken by the organism ratified by the electoral board (e.g., May 8th, 2018; May 15th, 2018; June 13th, 2018). To be represented in CODECU and organize themselves, each cohort group elects a president, vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer (Ministerio de Educación, 1990, modified in 2006). During CODECU, student cohort presidents could also decide to hold an assembly to inform and deliberate about possible ways to mobilize the school and students politically.

Finally, the school assemblies are meetings where the complete student body is convocated to participate. The student body is usually divided into groups of two to three cohorts so that each assembly is small enough that anyone can participate. The student government can call the assemblies, the CODECU, or the TRICEL to inform the students about particular decisions, deliberate about possible political actions, propose specific
measures, or vote about particularly complex decisions. For example, on May 30th the new student government convocated assemblies to inform the political goal decided in CODECU and deliberate about the possible political strategies to mobilize the school. The students were grouped in the following way: seventh and eighth-grade formed one assembly, ninth and tenth-grade another one, and eleventh and twelfth-grade another. After the assembly, I asked Ana about it, and she told me that their group was divided between mobilizing through different political activities and not missing class (Ana, May 30th, 2018). I later heard from Yocelyn that their assembly was much more conservative in regards to the possible political strategies than the one formed by the 9th and 10th-grade cohort groups that had proposed occupations and road blockings (Yocelyn, May 30th, 2018).

All these political organizations have had an essential role in the production and reproduction of shared political communities in the Student and Student Feminist Movement. Even though organizations like ACES and CONES have important roles in organizing political actions and interacting with political power, they both depend on the decisions taken at a micro-level by these described political organizations in each engaged school.

4.4. The Current Chilean Political Context

Just like in the rest of the world, in the past four years, the political right in Chile gained momentum and was able to sweep the last elections in almost all electoral levels (municipalities, congress, and the presidency, 2016, 2017). Candidates from the right won the two municipalities with the majority of the most politically active high schools in the country. The Municipal Departments of Education in those municipalities were restructured to fulfill the political targets of the right in regards to public education. This did not deter
the incipient Feminist Movement. It gave it a more clear-cut antagonist, and feminist students continued following the "rules" of student politics, including some new strategies from the feminist political traditions during the dictatorship (e.g., testimonios). Even though the Feminist Movement in 2018 had a high approbation rate (71% approbation rate, according to Flores, May 20th, 2018), High School students' political engagement and strategies were heavily criticized. News outlets and even institutional authorities (e.g., Felipe Alessandri, Santiago's Mayor) qualified feminist marches as "peaceful" (Emol, June 6th, 2018; Diario U de Chile, June 4th, 2018) and addressed some issues brought up by the feminist movement. This attention and actions of authorities regarding gender issues were reduced to two projects which did not challenge patriarchal structures: sex education from an early age, and ending same-sex high schools which are only 3.8% of Chilean public schools (e.g., Emol, May 9th, 2018, La Hora, May 8th). The government announced a special commission to work on the issues brought forth by the Feminist Movement from a minimal change standpoint and argued these issues needed to be addressed through teacher training (CNN Chile, May 28th, 2018; Senado, May 30th, 2018). While the Feminist Movement gained attention and specific gender issues were considered necessary by authorities, there was a gradual decline of public approbation of the Student Movement.

One particular repertoire within the Student Movement that kept on being sustained and reproduced is the positive value students give to “insurgent” or radical violent political strategies. Fighting the police, using capuchas (hoods), throwing Molotov bombs, lighting fires in the streets to stop traffic are some of these (e.g., González, August 28th, 2019). Gradually public opinion, instigated by mainstream media, and the political right shifted from a high approbation rate (79% in 2011 Cooperativa, October 5th, 2011, and 63% still
in 2016, El Desconcierto, July 6th, 2016) to outright condemnation of student politics, focusing mainly on radical politics. The Minister of Education expressed frustration after the first student march early in the academic year:

I would have liked the students to understand that the time of the marches has passed and that today people are tired of the marches, and what they want is an effort for the quality of education, for the classroom, to dignify the teacher.

(Gerardo Varela in El Desconcierto, March 18th, 2018)

Even the student leadership recognized a disenchantment of society with the Student Movement. The leader of CONES in 2018 said to a newspaper:

We want to achieve the same effect as in 2006 and re-enchant society with the student movement because it has been discredited a lot, and we want to raise demands that have not been met. (CONES leader Amanda Opazo, Emol, May 2nd, 2018)

Nevertheless, things went further downhill in terms of approbation. There was discursive work done by many actors to disrupt the established political systems within the student movement, attacking their strategies and actions. They worked to progressively criminalize students' actions, not considering the content of political demands but questioning the political strategies used as violent. The ultimate move from the political right to dismantle student politics and weaken students as political actors was a law project called "Aula Segura" (Safe Classroom), which attempted to criminalize some aspects of student politics, and erase the political demands behind the high school students' strategies.

At the beginning of 2018, this work to dismantle student politics was related to the occupations of schools and the destruction of school property (La Tercera, May 15th, 2018,
El Mercurio, May 18th, 2018). The woman in charge of the Santiago regional education office, Bárbara Soto said to a newspaper that they had “talked with the students” to “protect the integrity of children, and see what solution we can reach to avoid school occupations and damages” (La Tercera, May 15th, 2018). For his part, the Mayor of Santiago, Felipe Alessandri, complained about the destruction of school property in a school occupation saying, "this situation surprised us very much and it is hard for us to understand the reasons behind it (...) Personally, it takes away my desire to continue fighting for public education" (Felipe Alessandri in El Mercurio, May 18th, 2018). Later on, the Mayor took more drastic measures against students that occupied their schools, charging the parents and the students for the damages done to infrastructure and threatening to end the school semester early due to the constant interruptions of classes by protests (La Tercera, June 14th, 2018; El Mercurio, June, 14th, 2018). The struggle between Santiago's Mayor and students from public high schools got even more intense because of a fire in an occupied high school. The Mayor closed the school, arguing that the damages caused by the fire were so bad that it would be impossible to re-open the school. He also tried to charge parents for the damages. Teachers, parents, and students from other schools argued that the Mayor was counting as fire damages all infrastructure problems that the high school had and were never fixed by the municipality (CNN Chile, June 18th, 2018; El Dínamo, June 18th, 2018; La Tercera, June 19th, 2018). After this incident started a process to turn "violent students" into delinquents and congressmen from the political right presented a project to take away free higher education from students who engaged in violence or destruction of public property (La Tercera, July 3rd, 2018; Cooperativa, July 3rd, 2018). Finally, there were two violent political events where students threw kerosene at teachers (El Dínamo, September 3rd), and
two students were detained carrying Molotov bombs (La Tercera, September 4th, 2018). These events lead to intense discussion in congress, which finalized in the government writing a law that criminalizes "vandalism" in schools, which condemns student politics: the "Safe Classroom" law (CNN Chile, September 21st, 2018; El Mostrador, December 19th, 2018). In summary, in the public eye, 2018 was not a good year for the Student Movement, the issues of vandalism and violence were presented most of the time as central in student politics, and Santiago's Mayor was always in the middle of these processes. The political right has continuously fought against the re-politicization of school spaces and argued that education is not for political proselytism. Their desired "political neutrality" is nothing more than a cover for an a-critical stance to continue educating individualistic neoliberal citizens. They constantly blame adults and schools for the indoctrination of students, while defending their right to promote catholic or religious education from a young age, and ignoring that school students are the ones who choose particular political avenues and not the adults that supervise them.

In conclusion, the Student Feminist Movement of 2018 and its presence in High Schools has deep roots in the different movements that fought the dictatorship, and the 2006 and 2011 student movement. The Student Feminist Movement has inherited symbols and strategies from the political left. Apart from their feminist political grievances, their other political concerns related to the fight against the dictatorship's neo-liberalization of the state. 2018 was a year of constant feminist students' political mobilization, which affected the participants in this research in different ways. In the following three chapters, I will explore their gender/political subjectivities production within this particular context.
Finally, the political climate up until October 2019 was mostly run by the right political parties, which worked to dissolve student politics and debilitate public education. These parties are a vital part of the political class that is now being questioned and addressed by the whole country that protests in Chilean streets today. What will happen to student feminism and student politics in this new political context? On the verge of being able to finally eradicate the dictatorship's legacy and write a new democratic constitution to replace the 1980's one, it is impossible to know what will happen in the country. What is clear is that politically active students and feminists continue to have a central role in this moment of social convulsion and crisis of the neoliberal project.
Chapter 5: Who are we? Luchadoras! Nomadic Selves, Desires, and Collective Memory/History

The current Chilean Feminist Movement emerged in a historical context of political opportunity forged by the Chilean Student Movement, and the worldwide feminist movement of these last years. In this context, the feminist and politically active participants of this study drew from and claimed the political history of the left in the country both signaling a desire to be perceived as part of this particular collective memory, and an affective process of “disidentification” with the Chilean Student Movement, or an “experience of misrecognition, (...) [an] uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does and does not belong” (Butler, 2011, p.166). As mestiza bodies in the borderlands the feminist participants both consciously took up an antagonist political framework (Mouffe, 1997, 2002, 2013) and displaced it building their gender/political subjectivities as something that exceeded this political project: the feminist encapuchada fueled by anger and the desire to be perceived as effective political actors, forgetting to forget the conflicts within political groups.

This chapter will first feature the production of the feminist students’ subjectivities, how they used, negotiated, and disputed historical symbols and collective memories from the socialist efforts of the 70s and the fight against the dictatorship during the 80s; stories about confrontations against militarized police; and critiques towards the neoliberal model sustained by the Student Movement in order to produce themselves. The second section will analyze how the participants displaced traditional social movements' political antagonist model and the "us/them" division through affective detachments from the Student Movement and the configuration of the feminista encapuchada as their nomadic
selves. I will argue that the tension in the presumed unity between students in the Student Movement caused by feminists’ responses to male students' abusive and oppressive practices percolated into productive forces that compose new desired subjectivities for the feminist students. I will close the chapter by arguing that the processes by which the participants produce their gender/political subjectivities were crossed by affective intensities that defy traditional models to understand the configuration of collective identities in social movements. As "angry feminists" (Ahmed, 2010) the students regularly crossed and blurred the lines that divided the "us" from the "them" in this political, social movement, producing the figure of the feminist encapuchada as a symbol of these excesses, a figure that has forgotten to forget and diminish conflict within a political group.

5.1. Collective Uses and Struggle for Memory and History

On April 6th, 2018, the Edelbina González High School for Girls held a ceremony to celebrate the commencement of the academic year. Class had started over a month ago, but the ceremony could not happen before because the final schedule was not ready. The whole school attended the ceremony held in the gym building. It started with students walking in with the school banner, followed by speeches by the principal and a former student, president of the former Edelbina González Student association. After the school band played a couple of songs, everyone sang the school anthem, and the students started to leave the gym building. Before they left, the principal hurried towards the microphone and shouted, "Edelbina González Students!". All the students, teachers, and former students that attended the ceremony turned and responded, shouting and clapping "Hijas de la Lucha!". Surprised, I asked Marcela (my main teacher informant) about the situation. She explained

17 Means "daughters of the struggle." It means the fight, struggle, but in a political sense, which implies transformations, and goals at the end of the struggle.
that the shout was the traditional cheer of the school used at the end of all celebrations and ceremonies. I was surprised. During my pilot study and during the few weeks that I had been in the school, I observed how the politically active students claimed the *Lucha* as a defining subjectivity characteristic. It surprised me that at an institutional level, the principal, teachers, and even former students claimed to be daughters of *Lucha*, a word that has been used repeatedly by leftist political actors.

In this section of the chapter, I will argue that this is one of the many examples that show how feminist students, and some other actors involved in this high school, used historical narratives and symbols, particularly from the history of the left in the country, to build their collective subjectivities and explain who they were to outside observers. Symbols and narratives like "la Lucha" evoked affects and conflicting intensities that crossed these and the people involved in these interchanges. In the previous vignette, the principal and the students were united for a brief moment in the intensities brought forth by the cheer of *la Lucha*. Even though Camila and Mati, many times, talked about the principal as trying to erase student political engagement, they participated in the shout to be recognized as daughters of the *Lucha*. Behind the shouts of “hijas de la Lucha,” behind the uses of historical narratives and symbols, there are processes of tension and struggle of who has the right to use particular historical symbols and narratives, and in what ways.

In her article on the Marxist legacies in feminist stories and imaginaries, Lykke argues that Neoliberal discourses have successfully erased these legacies from feminism as a social movement (Lykke, 2018, p.173). She explains that "the invisibilization of these genealogies is blocking an understanding of important feminist imaginaries of protest." (Lykke, 2018, p.174). In this section, I will show how this erasure is not only unsuccessful
in the Chilean context but also how the Marxist legacies from the Latin American left were crucial in the production of the feminist and politically active students’ subjectivities in this High School.

History and historical symbols were used by the students to explain who they were and their role in the political struggles in the present. They produced affective connections while at the same time, positioned themselves as heirs or daughters of past political struggles and the new enactors of social justice and change. The concept of *Lucha*, the raised hand fist, the narratives of state repression, and the concept of “neoliberalism” connected them with the Latin American political history of the left.

5.1.1. The History of the Chilean and Latin American Political Left

The first kind of historical symbols and narratives mostly used by the feminist students relates to leftist Chilean and Latin American history of the 70s and the fight against Pinochet's dictatorship during the 80s. Camila and Mati had an evident understanding that for their political identities, the struggles of women against the dictatorship and the role the guerrilleras had in the fight for socialism in the 70s was significant. During the second iteration of the embroidery workshop, on June 22\(^{nd}\), Camila, Mati, and Ana started discussing the different sweatshirts they had designed for their cohort\(^{18}\). At one point, Camila said, "Igual nos representa caleta,"\(^{19}\) while Mati nodded and explained, "en la parte de atrás diseñamos una bruja y abajo dice ‘seremos la pesadilla de quienes quieran arrancarnos nuestros sueños’… cachai… la frase del Che Guevara"\(^{20}\) (June 22\(^{nd}\), 2018). The students felt that a quote by Che Guevara, a famous Argentinian guerrilla

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\(^{18}\) This is a regular activity that senior classes do in Chilean high schools to promote cohort spirit.

\(^{19}\) “our hoodie totally represents us”

\(^{20}\) “in the back of the hoodie we designed a witch and at the bottom says ‘we will be the nightmare of those who want to steal our dreams’… you know…the Che Guevara quote”
fighter who participated in the Cuban Revolution, was representative of their collective
gender/political subjectivities.

The feminist and politically active students claimed this history as a constitutive part of their subjectivities in many instances and formats. In a Facebook post on the High School political webpage, the students explained that they had engaged in a road blocking to commemorate the sacrifice of the Vergara Toledo brothers that died fighting Pinochet's dictatorship. In the post, the students explained that they had to "mostrar nuestro descontento y gritando por quienes apagaron su voz y nos toca mantenerlas vivas."21 (FP22, March 29th, 2018). This public use of historical narratives was echoed in several other open feminist sites (Errázuriz, 2019). Many feminist students produced themselves online as the heirs of past political struggles. A female student from a nearby high school during an online interview greeted the interviewers saying, "We will see each other in the streets comrades!” and “Up to those that luchan, down with patriarchy!” (Pilot study). On other sites, including Edelbina González's website, the feminist students usually posed in photographs and posted drawings of themselves with their left-hand fist raised in the air (Pilot study).

These types of usage of historical symbols did not only happen in the digital space. At the beginning of September 2018, the student government organized -with no support from their High School- a ceremony to commemorate the date of the military coup d’état and all the dictatorship's victims. The memory event included the installation of different photographs of people murdered by the dictatorship, a big sign with a photo of President

21 “manifest their discontent and shout for those whose voices were silenced because it is our role to keep those voices alive”.
22 FP means "Facebook Post," and IP means "Instagram Post."
Allende, and several signs with different political slogans. These slogans said things like: "Hoy conmemoramos 45 años desde que perdimos la democracia, ni perdón ni olvido" and “Si los olvidamos [the people murdered by the dictatorship] ellos ganan, ni perdón ni olvido” (September 11th, 2018, italics added). In both phrases, the students recognized themselves as part of a "we" that fought the dictatorship, an "us" that lost democracy 45 years ago, and that must keep remembering the companions in the struggle lost during those years. The students also established an enemy – "they" – those that would "win" if the politically active students forgot the violence committed by the dictatorship.

The construction of these symbols and their importance in the configuration of students' subjectivities were also present in history and citizenship education-related activities. During a history fair in October, the teachers hung around evaluating different historical stands produced by students. Most of the stands referenced leftist history and symbols: some students had a stand about the Vergara brothers, another stand told the story of an anarchist revolt in Patagonia. A third stand told the story of the life and death of Victor Jara, while his songs played as background music.

For the participants, the connection with the struggles of the political left in the country were intimate. Even though it is usual for students in Chilean social movements to produce themselves as heirs of the leftist fighters of the past and antagonize the dictatorship – e.g., a poster against Piñera's government saying "La Educación de Pinochet va a caer" (El Dínamo, March 12th, 2018) – for the feminist students in Edelbina González High

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23 “Today we remember 45 years since we lost our democracy, no forgiveness, no forgetting”
24 “If we forget them [the people murdered by the dictatorship], they win, no forgiveness, no forgetting”
25 A famous singer and artist who worked for the Allende socialist government and was killed by the military in September 1973.
26 “Pinochet's Education is Going Down”
School, this connection was produced as personal. During her second interview Camila explained that “mi escuela tiene antecedentes ligado con la dictadura, de hecho fuimos sede de detención, hay túneles que quizás para que mierda se ocuparon, eeh una compañera\textsuperscript{27} de hace muchos años atrás fue quemada…”\textsuperscript{28} (Camila, September 7\textsuperscript{th}, 2018). According to Camila, the school was used by the military to detain and maybe torture the opposition. She also told me about her compañera of many years ago, who was burned by agents of the state, referring to the publicly known case of Carmen Gloria Quintana, the sole survivor in the "caso quemados"\textsuperscript{29}, as a former Edelbina González student. Camila was not even born when her school was a detention center, or when the military burned the compañera. Nevertheless, she told the story of her high school during the dictatorship as if those events were part of her collective story. Camila used collective memories of her school community to produce herself and all her classmates as having a political responsibility to remember this horrible past and fight so that it would never happen again.

This particular use of the community's collective memory was not an isolated case. During a class on June 7\textsuperscript{th}, Paula, the civics teacher, asked the students to analyze a document about the case of Carmen Gloria Quintana and told them that she had been a student in their High School. During that class, the students asked the teacher if they could visit the school's catacombs, wondering if maybe they contained bones of former students.

\textsuperscript{27} Compañera is used by activists both to refer to a classmate and a partner in the political struggle. Compañera and its short version Compa signal an "us" in political interactions and events. For example, I was called by the feminist students Compa, as I had disclosed that I was also a fellow feminist activist.

\textsuperscript{28} “this High School has a past related to the dictatorship, we were a detention center, there are tunnels under the schoolyard that were used maybe for you know what kind of shit, a compañera many years ago was burned…”

\textsuperscript{29} A critical case for the dictatorship. In 1988 Carmen Gloria Quintana and her partner were taking photographs of the protests against the dictatorship, and a group of military men beat them, threw gasoline on them, and burned them to throw them in an agricultural field later far from the city. Carmen Gloria survived, and her partner died. The courts only recently closed the case, and only some of the perpetrators were condemned to jail while others were absolved (Diario U de Chile, March, 21st, 2019)
Later that week, during the first iteration of the embroidery workshop, Yocelyn explained she lived right next to the health services center that first treated the burns of Carmen Gloria Quintana, and talked about the nurses and doctors that were afraid of the dictatorship’s retaliation (June 8th, 2018).

Camila, Yocelyn, Paula, and even other students worked together to demonstrate that the collective gender/political subjectivities of Edelbina González students were not just casually related to the political struggles of the past. They showed in their speech acts that for their school community, the pains and suffering of the dictatorship had been intimate, directly related to members of their school community and the school spaces they still walked around. For them, their proximity to traumatic experiences made their claim on this collective memory even more robust than for those students that just felt as heirs to the left in the country. Specific material bodies and spaces connected them.

This claim of collective memory was not always easy, and sometimes there were generational disputes between teachers and students about who had the right to claim specific collective memories. This tension was framed mostly by the teachers through the question "who lived that?". While students ensured that they had a right to claim that memory, some adults, in this case, teachers, argued that the students did not have the right to enact certain aspects of those collective stories, because they had not lived through those processes. Violeta talked about the importance of memory and history concerning the commemoration of the day of the young fighter that year, but also showed her frustration regarding the intergenerational tensions about using particular historical pieces to build their political subjectivities. She pointed out,
es importante abrir espacios, y no perder la memoria, porque hay gente que dice ‘ah pero que tu no viviste ahí, no viviste esa época, entonces ¿por qué te estás manifestando?’ Y es como pff [frustration sound] no tenemos que olvidar todo lo horrible que pasó Chile, y todos somos parte de eso, después de la dictadura es como una historia secreta de Chile, como que los chilenos no volvieron a ser lo mismo, es como si algo les falta en realidad, o es como un miedo que tienen introducido. (…) Yo creo que sí hay factores en la Historia que es importante no dejarlos pasar y crear conciencia y trabajo para que no te metan el dedo en la boca, y como para no olvidarse de ellos.30 (Violeta, September 14th, 2018)

Violeta was angry at adults that claimed that youth could not commemorate events that happened during the dictatorship. She made a distinction between her, her community that was part of that history, and the people that were traumatized by it, and feared ever speaking about it. She felt this appropriation of history by her and her feminist friends was necessary to confront those who wanted to mess around with them. This perspective was not shared by all the members of the school community. During one particular conversation, Paula was furious with a student that accused her of politically persecuting her. The teacher had asked the student to dress herself up – she was wearing hot pants and a t-shirt – and the student had included firing this teacher in the collective school feminist demand because she had been "politically persecuted" about the way she covered her body. The student was taking a feminist stand, turning the personal political, but the teacher did

30 it is important to open up spaces and not lose memory because there are people that say 'oh but you never lived there, you did not live in that time, so why are you protesting?' and that its like pff [frustration sound] we do not have to forget all the horrible things that happened in Chile, we are all part of that, after the dictatorship is like Chilean secret history like Chileans were never the same again like they are missing something, it is like a fear they have inside. (…) I think there are factors in History that are important not to let go and create consciousness about them and work so they do not jerk with you around and do not forget these episodes.
not read this event in the same way. Outraged, Paula explained she told the student that she should never speak again to her about "political persecution" because her family had experienced “verdadera persecución política” (May 31st, 2018). Political persecution resonates with echoes of the 70s and 80s. Paula severely reprimanded a student for using the concept to understand herself and her political actions because she had not experienced “real political persecution,” according to Paula. For some adults, like Paula, there were many painful memories that they were not ready to share with the politically active students and disputed their right to do so based on who had experienced the particular pieces the students wished to use to produce themselves as gendered political actors.

Adults and particularly teachers even went as far as to claim that students were not even able to truthfully reject the dictatorship and its horrors because they were so far removed that they did not care about it. On April 12th, three newspapers published stories related to a study done in Chilean schools about citizenship education and types of government. Newspapers took the results out of context, and many published clips as this example: "57% of 8th-grade students would approve a dictatorship" (e.g., La Tercera, April 12th, 2018). Public opinion was appalled by these numbers, and Paula, during a citizenship education class, asked the students about it. "¿Acaso no les importa si hay dictadura o democracia? Por favor reaccionen aunque sea con una carita de emoji vomitando," she asked. After a short period of silence, Yocelyn answered, saying, "obvio que nos importa, queremos democracia" and explained that she votes and even brings her family to the polls. She continued explaining that some people in the country are just disgruntled because

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31 “real political persecution from the dictatorship”
32 “Do you not care if there is a dictatorship or a democracy? Please react in some way even if it is with a puking emoji”
33 “of course we care, we want democracy”
few politicians keep their promises, "no como antes," she added, "vi un documental de Allende y él si cumplía sus promesas" (Paula and Yocelyn, May 2nd, 2018). Even though adults in public opinion and Paula in her teaching role tried to ascertain that youth did not care about democracy, Yocelyn disputed this idea not only explaining that they care but also using a historical figure from the 70s to position herself in a particular political side, the side of the sound, "promise-keeping" politicians that cared about the people. Yocelyn was not born and did not experience Allende's government or the coup d'état and the dictatorship as Paula (only the last years of the dictatorship), but she felt she had the right to claim Allende as part of her side in the configuration of her gender/political subjectivity. The same happened with Violeta. When she said, "we do not have to forget all the horrible things that happened in Chile, we are all part of that" she rejected the idea that only those who lived through something can participate and claim a collective history to produce themselves. Even though students continued claiming this past, the issue of who was allowed to use these symbols, stories, and collective memories was not resolved.

In their book on popular uses of history, Rosenzweig and Thelen (2000) address the issue of who has the authority to claim particular pieces of collective memory and history. They show how most people argue that "Experience is the best teacher" (p.92), and how they trust and listen to the accounts and the affective trajectories of those who experienced something. Paula is an example of someone with a direct connection with the horrors of the dictatorship who was angered by the appropriation of her family's experiences by students not born during that time. Nevertheless, Rosenzweig and Thelen (2000) also explore how collective past is used as a tool to build identities, particularly those tied with political

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34 “not like before”
35 “I watched a TV show about Allende, and he did keep his promises”
struggles even by those who had no direct personal link with the remembered historical events. For example, the authors explain how "an incipient historical consciousness was evident during interviews with people who found in their connection to a gay past a vital resource for understanding who they were and whether they would make a difference in the world." (p.119). Students, like Violeta and Yocelyn, felt they were part of this political group in the past, so they had the right to claim whatever tools this past could provide to produce themselves as competent and legitimate gender/political subjects in the present.

5.1.2. The Student Movement, the Fight Against Neoliberalism and Militarized Police

There are other symbols used to create a sense of a "we" among the feminist and politically active students. One of these symbols is stories about the antagonism against the militarized police or "pacos". State repression, the police as the armed hand of the state and the enemy of the people, is a prevalent theme in the Chilean Student Movement (Cabalín-Quijada, 2014; Donoso, 2013; Guzman-Concha, 2012, Somma, 2012; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013) and was also present in the 80's Women’s Movement (Red Chilena contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres, 2013). One May afternoon, during our first interview, Camila was talking about the importance of her feminist friends for her political activism and explained a personal experience concerning the police:

me acuerdo que una vez me tomaron detenida y me fui con una compañera y ahí estábamos dele weviendo a los pacos y después salí del retén y estaban mis otras compañeras gritando, ‘free Camila,’ ‘libertad a la Camila,’ y yo así, ‘chiquillas por favor stop’. Se sintió como que no estaba sola.37 (Camila, May 25th, 2018)

36 The informal and also pejorative term used by activists and others in Chile to refer to the police.
37 “I remember one time that the pacos detained me. We went [to a protest] with a friend, we were like messing around with the pacos nonstop. Then [when] we left the police station my other compañeras were
Even though the main point of Camila’s story is her female friends’ solidarity, it is also relevant that she wanted to show herself as an enemy and a fighter against pacos. Also, during her second interview, Violeta explained she was against violence against teachers during political actions, but this was different in the case of militarized police. According to her, the pacos deserved to be violently treated (Violeta, September 14th, 2018). There is a generalized distrust of police in the country, particularly the militarized police that handles all things related to political actions. During May, militarized police violently handled several school occupations and were repudiated by adults and youth in several news clips media (El Mostrador, May 24th, 2018; La Tercera, May 24th, 2018). The student government in Edelbina González High School echoed these national complaints against militarized police for their brutality and on their Facebook page posted a photo of a male student being dragged almost naked by a policeman with a caption saying “Abuso, violencia injustificada y humillación.” (FP, May 25th, 2018).

Figure 1: Detail Print for embroidery, students confronting the pacos

outside shouting in front of the police station ‘Free Camila, Freedom for Camila’ and I was like ‘Aww, you girls, stop it you!’ it felt like I was not alone.”

“abuse, unjustified violence, and humiliation”
Not only students produced the opposition towards police as central in the construction of their subjectivities. Teachers and school authorities also had genuinely oppositional stances against the police. One day during the last week of May, I was hanging out in the teachers' lounge with Paula and other teachers while the students were leaving the school for the day. The teachers were angry and complaining about the students and their feminist political activities that had made them lose classes. Paula was saying that the students did not experience gender oppression and that students did not even attend the feminist activities because they were lazy when police sirens started to sound around the school. The strong smell of tear gas started to float around the room, and someone shouted that the students in the high school nearby had occupied their school and were being repressed by the police. A couple of minutes later, the Edelbina González students that were leaving school and going home started to scream, and one teacher said that the police were using their riot water-throwing vehicle on the students. The teachers stood up furiously and hurried towards the school entrance shouting to the police that they could not do that, that their students were doing nothing wrong, just leaving school for the day. Paula ran towards a little boy that was waiting for his sister and brought him into the building to keep him away from the tear gas. She angrily said, "Típico de los pacos!"39 (May 31st, 2018). Even though the teachers were recently complaining regarding their students' feminist political activism, militarized police trumped this production of the students as potential enemies. On another occasion, while I was observing Diego's history class, a student asked him if he had watched the video of a policeman shooting an Uber driver that almost ran him over. The teacher immediately sided with the Uber driver and said that the

39 “just typical from the pacos"
police problem was their brutality and use of excessive force (June 13th, 2018). Teachers, as well as students, produced the school community's collective subjectivities in opposition to the *pacos*.

Finally, in addition to the narratives of the leftist history in Chile, and the stories of fighting the police, there is another collective memory narrative and historical symbol used by the students to produce themselves as effective and strong political actors: affiliation in the Student Movement and opposition towards its enemies, mainly President Sebastián Piñera and the neoliberal socio-economic system. The first march of the year agglutinated Feminist and Student Movement slogans. The main slogan of this colossal march was "Chile decidió, No más Lucro, No más Deuda, No más Educación Sexista"40 (La Hora, April 19th, 2018). The slogan no more profit, and no more debt are central in the Student Movement. They protest the economic profit some schools and universities make with state monies devoted to education and also the massive amount of debt college graduates have after finishing their degrees. Finally, the no more sexist education slogan relates to the 2018 feminist turn of the Student Movement. The students organizing the march and the ones who attended it considered themselves as a "we" that was part of both the Student Movement and the Feminist Movement.

The feminist students in Edelbina González High School also echoed some of these connections. The profile picture on the student government page was in 2018 a picture of the students participating in a protest called by the Student Movement. The banner the female students were holding said: "La Educación no es un juego, es un Derecho"41 echoing the Chilean Student Movement, which considers capitalism and neoliberalism as

40 “Chile already decided: No more Profit, No more Debt, No more Sexist Education”
41 “Education is not a game, it is a right”
structural causes of the problems in education and promote reform to transform the education system as one where quality education is considered a human right (Bellei & Cabalín, 2013; Donoso, 2013).

Figure 2: Embroidery detail, flames and protest

The most active period of the Chilean Student Movement was during the first government of Sebastian Piñera in 2011. During this time, public opinion turned the president into one of the main enemies of the Student Movement (e.g., "Shock" music video by Tijoux, October 4th, 2011). During the president's second period, this has continued to be so. In one of Diego's classes, the students and teacher were discussing an upcoming history-related act, and Yocelyn shouted a suggestion, "¡Deberíamos hacer un mono de Piñera y quemarlo!" The teacher and students laughed wholeheartedly at this joke (July 4th, 2018). It seemed that hating Piñera was a common thing, and positioning their political/gender subjectivities as enemies of the symbol the president represented was shared by the community. Camila and Violeta also echoed this intense dislike. During the second iteration of the printing workshop, Camila and Violeta were talking about the upcoming national tests to enter college. I asked Camila if she got the maximum score in the test if she would have breakfast with President Piñera. She laughed and said, "No,

42 “we should make a Piñera dummy and burn it!”
43 This breakfast is something that all students that get the maximum scores in the tests do every year.
nunca, me rehusaría a ir” (October 19th, 2018). What other people might feel as being honored by the president of the Nation, was though repulsive by Camila and Violeta.

The production and use of the student movement affiliation and the fight against the police were not always harmonious between students and other actors within Edelbina González High School. This struggle was different from the struggle for the political past of the left. Most students at Edelbina González have experienced in their lives some sort of participation in the Student Movement and confrontations against the police, so adults at this school could not challenge them based on who had the right to claim these memories and stories as their own. The tension between school authorities and students went in another direction concerning these matters. A perfect example of this struggle for the students' utilization of particular narratives and symbols to build their gender/political subjectivities was a conflict that happened in the school around the first days of July. During a Friday afternoon, a group of students attempted to stage a school occupation unsuccessfully. Some students were angry at the ones that attempted this political action because they had not used the student democratic channels and expressed that discontent in a school assembly. Teachers were also angry but expressed their opinions about the events in a different way. A young language teacher talked to the students during the assembly and told them of his years in the student movement as a politically active student. He said, claramente no estaba el capital político para hacer una toma. la política no se juega los gritos sino en el día a día. No me importa que nos digan amarillos porque nosotros llevamos años en la Lucha y probablemente vamos a seguir dando la

44 “No! I would never, I would totally refuse to go!”
Using his political memory and key political concepts like "political capital," "yellow," "Lucha" and exposing "your chest to the bullets," the young teacher claimed that the students were not the same as he had been during the student movement: a real politically active and conscious student. The teacher disputed the claim of the students to the Chilean Student Movement collective memory and questioned their overly emotional political strategies and their apparent rejection to claim responsibility for the actions and expose their "chest to the bullets." Later, on that same assembly, the students continued talking, and this same teacher outraged said that the teachers did not call the militarized police and that they would never call the pacos to "repress" them. In a hurtful tone, he pointed out that the teachers were the ones that interceded with militarized police so that they would not hurt students that day. While by this action, the teacher continued the production of the school's communitarian political subjectivity as the enemy of the pacos, he still made a clear distinction between them, real luchadores, and the students that were shouting and thought that their teachers would call the police on them. At that assembly, Violeta was sitting next to me, and when it ended, I asked her if that particular teacher was a former student of a particularly active all-male public high school nearby. Laughing, she said, "¡Si! ¿Te diste cuenta? Por su tono y discurso." 46 (July 2nd, 2018).

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45 “clearly, there was no political capital to stage an occupation, politics are not played out through shouts, but in the day today. I do not care that you call me yellow because I have years in the Lucha, and I will probably continue the Lucha for many years to come when you have forgotten about it. When you make a mistake, you have to expose your chest to the bullets.”

46 “yeah! You can tell, can't you? By his tone and discourse!”
This particular teacher's discourse relates to gendered claims of the Student Movement. Not being overly emotional (uncontrolled shouting), "exposing your chest to the bullets" as the correct practices to be able to claim Student Movement collective memories and symbols, were particularly gendered attributes that produce a politically gendered hierarchy. Macho like stances as "exposing your chest to the bullets" were produced as superior to the feminized "being emotional" which this teacher -a former participant of the student movement- produced as inferior, a performance that did not allow the overly emotional politically active students to claim the narratives of the Student Movement. The feminist students disputed these gendered "correct" ways to politically act, as I will show in the following section. The move by adults to dispute specific claims to memory and symbols related to the Student Movement relates to gendered political mandates that indicate correct and incorrect ways to use the past and political repertoires. This action was different from the dispute led by Paula, who argued that students had no right to claim particular stories and symbols because they had not lived the actual pains of the past.

The feminist and politically active students in this study established a historical continuity with other political struggles, while at the same time acknowledging their protagonist role. The constitution of this place within Chilean political history allowed the students to draw resources and knowledges from this past. The students inserted themselves in larger – previously existing– narratives of social justice and used them to become valid and recognizable interlocutors. These processes were not without conflict, and other members of the school community disputed the "we" the students built for themselves,
sometimes attempting to reduce them as inexperienced and politically incapable female minors.

5.2. Who are we? We are Students: Affective De-attachments and the Feminista Encapuchada

The feminist students in Edelbina González High School produced their subjectivities in an antagonistic framework where there was a “we” and a “them”. Nevertheless, they also displayed this same framework by embracing a “feminist killjoy” (Ahmed, 2010) and Mestiza (Anzaldúa, 2007) stance, refusing to let go of the fractures and cracks within their political groups, engaging in critique and anger. Anzaldúa (2007) argues that labels and categories used in the process of subjectification should be understood as the marking of a "border" which is used "to distinguish us from them (...) a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge." (p.25).

Similarly, Butler (2011), argues that this exclusionary system serves to name what-is and what-is-not (p. 11). Concerning the collective configuration of a "we" within the Student Movement, the feminist students refused to keep themselves on one side of the "narrow strip," producing their gender/political subjectivities as mestiza (Anzaldúa, 2007) or nomadic (Braidotti, 2011). Anzaldúa explains that the mestiza lives in the borderlands, "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary, a constant state of transition" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p.25). We can also read this constant transition, tolerance for ambiguity, and affects as claiming an angry feminist subjectivity, a figure that refuses to keep quiet for the sake of political unity (Ahmed, 2010). In this way, the feminist students built something more, a nomadic antagonistic framework using its political advantages and refusing to compromise to maintain unity. The
sense of "we" is then mestizo; the feminist students regularly cross its borders producing new political figures like the feminista encapuchada.

5.2.1. The Student Movement, Gender Justice, and Affective (De)Attachments

The feminist students in this research claimed to be part of the Student Movement using narratives and symbols previously created and shared since 2011. Regardless, their participation in this collective "we" was fraught with problems. The feminist students themselves refused to keep the peace—and keep quiet—within the Student Movement. In the Student Movement, there had been multiple cases of gender-based abuse and violence. The feminist students at Edelbina González, in the 2018 context of a nationally heated feminist show of power, refused to maintain a united front and antagonized their male counterparts, both the perpetrators of abuse and the accomplices that tried to shut them down "for the sake of the movement." In previous research (Pilot Study), I had observed conflict between male and female students within their online feminist student activism. I watched one post with particular interest as it related to Edelbina González High School. In this post, a female student denounced a male student—her ex-boyfriend—for physical and psychological violence. The claim immediately caused a rupture. Commenters of the sites usually supported the voices of the affected ones and called for action against the perpetrators, but in this case, many claimed to know the male student and argued that the accusations were not credible. They asked for proof of physical violence and demanded that the female student follow the proper legal path. Many accused the female student of "making everything up," and even though there were some supportive statements, the difference with other testimonies was significant. The male student in question was identified as part of the leadership in one high school very involved in the Student
Movement. Later, the post was erased either to protect the female student or to recant the accusation against the comrade.

At that time, I interpreted this action as signaling the erasure of dissent between peers. I thought that this action of erasure and the minimizing of the role of male students in systemic gender oppression was coherent with Bro Khomasi (2011), Valenzuela, Arriagada, and Scherman (2012), and Fine's (2002) argument about social movements' narratives and actors' positionality. Considering the traditional production of an "us" within social movements, the "we" in this case included not only female and gender non-conforming students but also males that participate in the Student Movement as companions in the struggle. Similar to Mackay's (2011) argument, I perceived the Feminist Student Movement as seeking social justice, but still engaged in oppressive practices.

Even though this last statement might still be true, I discovered that my original interpretation of this event was incomplete. Feminists students not only continued claiming that male students were their companions in the struggle but also persevered in publicly denouncing the gender inequalities within students' organizations, refusing to maintain cohesion and keep quiet. When I was interviewing Camila, I wanted to know more about the public accusation of physical and psychological violence launched by her student government on behalf of a classmate against one male student online in 2017, the same event that I had interpreted in the Pilot study. Camila not only did not erase the disagreement, but she used the interview to denounce once more their male companions in the struggle publicly and engage in angry border crossing between the "us/them" binary. She revealed that the student that had accused her previous boyfriend of gender violence was a classmate in Edelbina González High School and that the accused boy was a political
leader in the all-male high school located in their same neighborhood. She explained that they had a historical connection with this school, and they had been politically allied and worked all 2017 in harmony. Camila told the story related to the Facebook post I had observed, representing the reaction of their male companions in the struggle, and calling into question their commitment with feminist ideals and deconstruction:

Nosotras trabajábamos juntos, hacíamos marchas juntos, etc. Cuando posteamos la funa\(^47\) de violencia en el pololeo, quedó la caga, y nos empezaron a llamar y decir ‘por qué no nos avísaste antes.’ Incluso cuestionaron mi relación con la afectada y la trataron de poner en contra de mi compañera diciendo que ella hablaba mal de mi. Yo les respondí que no me importaba que me hubiera pelado, igual la habría apoyado en su funa. O sea, son incapaces de reconocer esos hechos, si les tocan a un compañero se les caen todos sus ideales, entonces su deconstrucción es pff\[annoyed noise\]. El año pasado fuimos a una marcha y andaban ellos con coligues [sticks] a los lados para protegerse porque sabían que los íbamos a funar si eran una organización que ocultaba, que protegía a quién no correspondía. Yo a esas organizaciones no les creo nada.\(^48\) (Camila, May 25\(^{th}\), 2018)

\(^47\) “Funa is an informal method of justice employed by feminists and the political left in Chile. It consists of detailing the faults and injustices done by someone, usually a man or a group of men, of publicly exposing them and cause them economical, personal, and legal harm. As a political action in Chile, it has its origin during the last dictatorship years, when it was used by family members (usually women) of people tortured and murdered by the Pinochet regime, to accuse guilty military who had eluded justice publicly.” (Errázuriz, 2019, p.14)

\(^48\) “We worked together with that all-male High School, we organized marches together, and other types of political work. When we posted the funa they started to call me right away and say, ‘why didn't you let us know before posting anything’ they also tried to pit me against the affected girl telling me that she had talked about me behind my back. I told them that that was not important, that I would publicly support her funa in any case. If they are incapable of recognizing these facts, or if you accuse one of their mates and all their ideals fall, then their deconstruction is like pfff [annoyed noise]. We went to a march at the end of that year [2017], and they were marching with long sticks to defend themselves because they knew we were going to funar them if they were an organization that hid things and protected those who did not deserve it. I do not have any faith in those types of organizations.”
Camila was unconcerned with maintaining a semblance of unity between the students in both high schools for the sake of political strength. She not only defended her student government's right to denounce their male political companions but also considered it crucial political work. During her story, she recognized them as companions and part of the "we" at some points and crossed the border at other moments of her story, calling into question the political commitment of her counterparts in the all-male high school. The participants' collective feminist student subjectivities were produced in this movement, in the displacement of the antagonistic model and the potential to build and rebuild it at any moment. Other examples of this, Ana, one of the least experienced feminist students within the participant group was emphatic in telling that the feminist *Lucha* was for all and sexual harassment is a problem for every student explaining "Ellos [male students] no quieren dares cuenta de que esto [sexual harassment] también les afecta" (Ana, June 21st, 2018). A similar statement was repeated by Violeta when she spoke about the fights she had with her male friends. She explained that her friends did not take notice of how their lives were also oppressed by patriarchy and that she frequently had heated discussion with them arguing about the importance of feminism for the *Lucha* (Violeta, May 6th, 2018). These students were pointing out their discord with some male students who do not care to understand the importance of feminism, and at the same time, claiming them as part of the "we."

The feminist and politically active students at Edelbina González High School voiced many critiques and interpretations regarding the role of feminism within the Student Movement, building their gender/political subjectivities both in and oppressed by student

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49 “they [male students] do not want to realize that it [sexual harassment] also affects them”
political organizations. Yocelyn had been involved in a renowned political group within the student movement called "Rebel Union":

Los conozco, se cómo son, y la mayoría de los cabros que nos salimos de esa organización decimos lo mismo, que era autoritaria, que era sucia, que todos eran machitos, y el más machito mandaba. (…) Yo creo que lo que más he podido utilizar en el Liceo es aprender a discutir con la gente sin tener que caer en los insultos. Y yo creo que eso es como más el discurso que te deja la organización como, ese discurso que tienen todos que es como el pre grabado ‘Ay no, es que esto en Cuba no pasa’50 (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018)

Yocelyn voiced critiques and recognized things learned from this political organization that are important for her gender/political subjectivity. Even though she left that organization, Yocelyn still felt that she was part of the collective struggle and was not afraid of showing how, within the collective, some problems and conflicts need to be addressed. She also critiqued the co-optation of feminism by those same types of organizations and the erasure of gender oppression and violence perpetrated by some companions in the struggle:

(…) Recién me di cuenta de algo que me pasó (…) fui a una fiesta con amigos de este grupo político y un tipo me empezó a tocar cuando yo estaba durmiendo con mi amiga, nunca cache que esto era grave. (…) la mayoría se juraba ya metido en el feminismo, todos eran feministas y apoyaban a la compañera, de hecho escuché

50 “I know them, I know how they are, and the majority of students that left the organization we all tell the same tale, that it was authoritarian, that it was dirty, filled with manly-men, and the most manly-man was the one in charge. (…) There are things I learned there that I have been able to use in High School, what has been more useful is learning how to discuss with people without having to resort to insults. I think that that is the discourse that you learn from the organization, like that discourse that they all have pre-recorded like ‘Oh no, this does not happen in Cuba!’”
algo muy pelotudo que fue para la marcha del 11 de septiembre, fuimos con los
compañeros y el tipo que estaba pololeando con mi amiga, el que también lo acusó
de violencia, dijo como ‘no si nosotros ya nos deconstruimos con la Julia [friend’s
name] por eso yo ahora me pinto las uñas’. Eso me da rabia también, haber tenido
que escuchar tantos discursos de ellos creyéndose el cuento y creyendo que eran
feministas y ahora que todos hayan sido, que todos estén siendo funados y que yo
estuve ahí y no me di cuenta y les compraba todo lo que decían... igual era chica
tenía como 14 años cuando estaba militando pero yo estaba ahí y los escuchaba y
decía ‘oh que son bacanes los chiquillos’ y ahora me doy cuenta en realidad que
eran unas personas horribles y super autoritarias. (...) solo escuchábamos y ellos
hablaban, no había espacio de crecimiento colectivo. (...) En realidad creo que eso
igual va a ser importante para mí porque me di cuenta que la política es muy sucia y
aunque tú seas un activista secundario es muy sucio lo que pueden alcanzar a hacer tus
mismos compañeros. Y es super fuerte, entonces yo creo que... me va a servir toda
la vida eso.51 (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018)

51 I recently realized the gravity of a situation that happened to me (...) I wanted to party, and we went out
with some friends of hers from this political group. The thing is that a guy started touching me when I was
already sleeping with my friend, and I never realized the gravity of this, (...) I had never thought about how
serious this was (...) The majority of them swore that they were in the feminist struggle; all of them called
themselves feminists and said that they supported their female comrades. In fact, I heard something very
stupid during one march to commemorate September 11th. We went with the comrades and one guy that was
dating my friend – who she also later accused of violence in the relationship. During that march, he said
something like ‘we are super woke with Julia [her friend's name], that's why I paint my nails.’ That makes me
angry, having to listen to so many discourses from them, believing that they were feminists and now they have
all been funados, accused of gender violence, and I was there and I did not notice, I bought all the things they
said... I was young I was 14 years old when I was in that organization, and I was there listening and thinking
'oh these guys are awesome,' and now I realize that they were horrible people, very authoritative (...) we only
listened and they talked, it was not a space to grow collectively (...)What is really important for me is that I
realized that politics are foul, and even though you are a High School activist, it is still filthy what your
comrades can do. It is so shocking, but I think that is one thing I learned that is going to be something useful
during all my life.
Yocelyn told stories of how some people misuse feminism to produce themselves as valid political interlocutors and leaders and cover up their violent actions. She expressed anger and frustration at not realizing earlier the inconsequence and violence of those former “comrades.” These affective intensities exude pain and guilt not entirely resolved. Even though there is pain and frustration at her younger self, she still considered herself as a politically active and engaged student and explained how those experiences would be forever useful for her not only as a woman but also as a political agent. She implicitly took a political and gendered commitment never again to let any of the male comrades’ garbage attitudes and actions influence her and the Student Feminist Movement.

Mati also participated in this public critique and border-crossing by explaining that the companions in these kinds of organizations, or "Anarcos picaos a corta-calle de Instagram"—as she called them— are "matando al movimiento secundario que se esta muriendo" (Mati, October 26th, 2018). She explained that one time she went to a meeting of one High School political organization and

La manera en *que quieren* pasar máquina se nota al tiro. Incluso había cabros que habían salido hace un año o dos años de la escuela y seguían en la organización diciendo ‘yo a esta organización le he dado años de *Lucha*’ [Mati laughs] ¡Pero como *te estay* sobrando de eso, si esta es una organización pa escolares! (…) El movimiento estudiantil secundario este año se debería haber unido al movimiento feminista y a sus demandas. Es algo *que nos afecta casi a todes y nadie* hizo nada.  

52 “road-blockers Instagram anarchists wannabes”
53 “killing the already dying Student Movement”
54 “The way in which *they* want to brainwash is notorious right away. There were even some guys that had graduated high school years ago and were still in that organization saying, "I have given this organization
Mati not only denounced the attempts to brainwash students, forcing them to think and do certain things but also brought forth possible solutions that could have been implemented to improve the student movement, like embracing the feminist movement. She disrupted the union within the student movement, the "us" in her last sentence, to argue that some in their political groups were making big mistakes. She also tried to propose possible solutions to those problems. Violeta and other students also engaged in critique and proposals to address the problems within the politically active student community. In October, she explained that the student movement and the high schools that participated in feminist politics during 2018 were always the same schools that were located in the center communes of Santiago. Violeta considered that one way to approach this problem of geographic segregation was to organize activities that directly addressed this issue instead of erasing it in pursuit of unity.

These feminist critiques and the displacement of the "us/them" system not only happened in testimonios form, or during personal conversations with the feminist students. I also observed this critique during feminist marches, in feminist activities organized within the high school, and also in news covers of significant feminist events. At one point during a feminist march, I saw feminist students extinguishing fires started by male protestors (May 16th, 2018). The feminist students all around the country publicly denounced gender oppression happening within their groups of peers. For example, in an all-male high school, a group of students created a cohort group sweatshirt with a sexist comment and also filmed a parody of the internationally known gang rape of "la manada." Many all-female public
high schools immediately organized a rage-fueled protest. The female students briefly occupied that all-male school, and the news media profusely covered the event (e.g., El Dinamo, May 15th, 2018; ADN, May 16th, 2018). The students at Edelbina González High School immediately acknowledged the issue of the sexist hoodie as problematic. During one break I was hanging out with Ana and her friends in a classroom, and they started discussing the events happening at that same moment in the all-male high school, arguing that it was terrible that the male students wrote a sexist comment in their hoodie as a way to identify as a cohort group. At the end of the break, Yocelyn came into the classroom and told all the students that the cohort group presidents had approved unanimously a feminist reflexive stop of activities on Thursday motivated by the feminist events happening in the country (May 15th, 2018). Newspapers cited supportive male students saying things like "lamento que fueran nuestras compañeras de otras escuelas quienes nos tengan que hacer este llamado de conciencia."55 (LUN, May 16th, 2018), and “Es la lucha feminista, no somos nosotros los protagonistas.”56 (La Tercera, May 15th, 2018). The news also recorded dissenting and not-so-happy voices of other male-students that complained at how this impromptu occupation had broken traditional rules of the Student Movement: “Ahora somos nosotros los que vamos los que vamos a tener que recuperar clases por una manifestation que ni siquiera fue organizada en este colegio, no es justo.”57 (LUN, May 16th, 2018). The tensions felt between politically active students (male and female feminists in this case) was made public and acknowledged by the feminist students as an urgent political action. This action baffled some male students who considered these actions as a

55 “we regret that our female comrades had to come and show us these problems, so we get woke about them”
56 “in the feminist struggle we [male students] are not the protagonists”
57 “now we will have to make up for those lost classes [during the brief female occupation] because of a political manifestation not even organized within this school, that is not fair”
step outside of what had been considered permissible in the Student Movement (e.g., a political manifestation not even organized within this school") or even outside of the Student Movement altogether (e.g. "the feminist struggle" as separated from the Student Movement).

The feminist students at Edelbina González re-interpreted the antagonistic framework of "us/them" crucial in social movements. They maintained membership in the Student Movement while border crossing and becoming angry feminists that refused to forget and erase in-group conflict. This process of refusing to forget or keep quiet had particularly feminist emphasis as it mostly related to pursuing gender justice within their political communities. The feminist students produced their gender/political subjectivities as mestiza and mobile in the sense that they refused the borders and rules that allowed political camaraderie to permanently set.

5.2.2. The Feminista Encapuchada

Moving across borders by embracing a critical stance and using historical narratives from the left, the feminist students produced radical political subjectivities for themselves that percolated into the feminista encapuchada figure. My first day on the field was March 8th, the international Women's Day. Excited about this particular date, I asked Marcela if the High School was going to hold some event or activity to commemorate the date. Marcela revealed that there was nothing organized or calendarized and that the school administrators had just realized it was that date and sent a male teacher to give bookmarks as gifts for students to "celebrate" and "congratulate" them (Marcela, March 8th, 2018). I decided to walk around the high school for a while, and once I reached the library schoolyard, I saw a group of students huddled together around a small altar. When the bell
to go back to class rang, I came closer and noticed that the altar was surrounded by images printed and posted by the students on the wall, as well as filled with candles. The posters represented the silhouettes of murdered women, female students with capuchas, and their left fists in the air. The posters had mottos: "Ni florcitas ni piropitos, aborto legal, seguro y gratuito", "Nos queremos vivas, libres y sin miedo, ni una menos", "No quiero tu piropo, quiero tu respeto", "La revolución será feminista o no será", "Aguanten las que luchan, adelante y en la lucha, abajo el explotador, abusivo y maltratador, A romper la hegemonía patriarcal!!", "Patriarcado y capital son alianza criminal", "Hoy no celebramos, hoy conmemoramos y luchamos."58 (March 8th, 2018). Later on, Camila told me that they had organized that event themselves without the support of the teachers and administrators of their school, and bitterly laughed at the “celebration” organized the same day by the principal (Camila, September 7th, 2018). The occupation of this portion of space and the commemoration organized by the feminist students on the school backyard not only signaled resistance to the erasure of the deep-rooted issues brought forth by student feminism but also engaged in the production of the students as "killjoys" that refuse to let go and "celebrate."

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58 "Neither flowers nor compliments, legal, safe and free abortion," "We want each other alive, free and without fear, not one woman less," "I don't want your compliment, I want your respect," "The revolution will be feminist, or it won't be," "Strength for those who fight, continue the Lucha, down with abusive exploiters, Break patriarchal hegemony!!", "Patriarchy and capital, a criminal alliance," and finally "Today we don't celebrate, today we commemorate and luchamos"
From that day forth, I realized that the figure of the feminista encapuchada was used again and again in public and personal spaces by the students to produce themselves as brave and committed political actors. The encapuchada was both a way to disrupt traditional femininities, and connect with previous historical narratives of social movements in Latin America. This figure's anonymity was precious for the students, who, at the same time, wanted to use those capuchas to express their own gender/political subjectivities. The encapuchados are usually front-line combatant-protestors during Chilean marches and are the ones who usually fight the police. They use their capuchas to hide their identities and protect themselves from teargas employed by the police. That March, the student government posted photos of their activities during the commemoration of the death of the Vergara brothers murdered in the dictatorship. During that event, the students made a poster to hold during a roadblock of an encapuchada. The drawing showed a young woman, with curly eyelashes and long curvy eyebrows frowning and with a pink capucha with the female sign covering the rest of her face. The poster had a small motto at the bottom that
During the embroidery workshop, Mati talked about embroidering their capuchas and also commented on the beautiful capuchas they had seen during marches (June, 22nd, 2018). The figure of the young feminista encapuchada was embodied by the students during public marches (May 11th, 2018), and also used as a poster posted on the front door of the school the day of a reflexive strike to motivate and invoke popular feminist struggles (June 26th, 2018). The feminista encapuchada was also present in school art projects posted in the walls of the high school, as drawings that showed women in different types of "capucha." The drawings were small and formed a word in the wall that spelled the name of an anarchist student association. In the drawings, the capucha covering the women's face had the A of anarchism (June 26th, 2018). During the last embroidery workshop, during one of the feminist reflexive strikes, a student embroidered herself as a feminista encapuchada, a young woman with red hair, her eyes closed, and her fist in the air wearing a black capucha (June 26th, 2018).

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59 “young fighter, fight until death”
The feminista encapuchada was produced along affectively charged testimonios of bravery in the face of violence and radical commitment to the fight. On a Facebook post about a feminist activity, the student government thanked “a todas las compañeras por su participación”\textsuperscript{60} and called them “Semillitas de feminism e insurrección”\textsuperscript{61} (May 17th, 2018). Camila also clearly engaged with the radical feminist discourse. When I asked her what her historical role models were, she told me,

la imagen que mantuvo la mujer en época de dictadura, que en ese momento fue vista como compañera, más que el ama de casa, más que la persona que me hace cariñito, no la compañera que igual podía tomar una pistola y pitiarse a un milico.\textsuperscript{62} Ahora todos se volvieron ‘feministas’ [she used air quotes] porque cacharon que podemos ser más, porque dónde nos tienen miedo, dónde cachan que podemos hacer algo, que podemos levantarnos, dijeron ‘vamos por el lado pacífico con ellas, entreguémosle un dulcecito’, ‘toma aquí tienes tu feminismo y tu conciencia sobre lo que pasa pero igual vamos a seguir haciendo las weas que siempre hacemos, pero quédate tranquilita.’ \textsuperscript{62} (Camila, September 7\textsuperscript{th}, 2018).

Camila affirmed her political self using both the figure of the Chilean guerrillera of the 70s and also the perception that those in power were afraid of the feminist students. She critiqued the conciliatory stance of Chilean institutions using air quotes to suggest that they do not truly embrace real feminism like them. Mati also engaged in building this kind of

\textsuperscript{60} “all the comrades for their participation”
\textsuperscript{61} “Seeds of feminism and insurrection”
\textsuperscript{62} “The image that women held during the dictatorship is one of my favorites. At that time, women were seen as comrades, not homemakers, or the caring hand-holding person. No, the female comrade could hold a gun and kill the military. (…) Now they are all “feminists” [she used air quotes] because they realized that we could be more because they are afraid of us, they know we can do something, we can rise. Because of this, they now say ‘let’s use peace with them, let’s give them a little something-something, a little feminism, but we will keep on doing the same shit we always do, but yeah stay calm there.’”
radical self in coherence with the feminista encapuchada. Apart from expressing her desire to build a beautiful capucha for herself, she also considers the Lucha as something radical,

Para mi ser feminista es luchar constantemente por lo que uno cree que es correcto y las cosas que están mal en la sociedad para que el mundo sea mejor. El feminismo va más allá de la inequidad de género y sexualidad, tiene que ver con la justicia social. La Lucha esta asociada a las experiencias de una, me molesta cuando mi profe nos dice que ‘la lucha no es feminista, es de clase.’ Yo creo que el feminismo tiene que ser clasista porque algunas chicas no han vivido las mismas cosas que yo, soy una mujer pobre de población, son vivencias totalmente distintas.63 (Mati, October 26th, 2018).

Being a feminist for Mati meant not only worrying about gender inequality but also embracing a social class identity and defending this as an essential part of the feminist political struggle. Mati claimed for herself a non-nonsense no compromise gender/political subjectivity along the same lines that the figure of the feminista encapuchada, the one that does not want flowers but the end of patriarchy, the one that will continue to fight until death.

This embodiment and symbol of the feminista encapuchada and the radical feminist discourse that accompanied it continued evolving during 2018. In May, during one of the biggest marches of the year and one of the largest in the history of the country, a group of

63 “For me being a feminist is to constantly fight for what is right and change things that are bad in society. Feminism is more than just ending gender inequality; it is also social justice. It angers me when my teacher says that the Lucha is not feminist but between social classes… I think feminism has to be classist because other girls have not lived the same things I have experienced. I am a poor woman from a poor peripheral neighborhood; we have totally distinct experiences.”
female college students marched from Baquedano’s square until Los Héroes metro station topless and using red sequined capuchas (Osorio, May 16th, 2018).

Figure 7: A photo of the feminist performance by college students

Their performance impacted the feminist movement, and everywhere students started to engage with embodied performances to claim their bodies. The very next day, the Edelbina González student government posted an Instagram photo of a group of students with capuchas, in body paint, wearing only shorts and their bras. They also uploaded a photo of a poster they made of a feminist encapuchada topless with a question that said: "Acaso nos preguntaste si queríamos ser señoritas??" (IP, May 17th, 2018). Later the student government changed the profile picture of their Instagram account. The new picture showed an oil painting of a naked woman lying down in a bed with her head covered by a capucha and pointing a finger gun at the observer (June 4th, 2018). The symbol continued to expand through high school quickly. Students painted a poster of a feminist encapuchada during a reflective feminist strike, which showed a topless young woman in capucha with

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64 "did you ask us if we wanted to be ladies??"
slogans that said: "empoderada" and "aborta tu moral" (June 26th, 2018). The feminista encapuchada was also reproduced as an art project posted on the walls of the school composed by 50 of more black and white prints of the same drawing of a topless woman wearing a capucha and holding a sign that read "No + abuso." The students were called to color the drawing in any way they wanted, which resulted in the same drawing painted in multiple and different ways (July 3rd, 2018).

5.3. Gender in Social Movements and the Feminista Encapuchada: a Mestiza Border Crossing “Killjoy”

In this chapter, I intended to show how the feminist students in Edelbina González High School produced a collective gender/political subjectivity or a "we" in the context of the Feminist Movement in 2018. I have argued that the students used collective memory and historical narratives, usually from the political left in the country, to produce themselves as valid and powerful political interlocutors. In his analysis of the online political repertoires and discourses of the Chilean student movement Cárdenas Neira (2014) argues that the students

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65 “empowered” and “abort your morals”
66 “no more abuse”
not only look to the future but systematically return to the past to delineate the margins of this transformation. In this sense, politicity and historicity merge, and from the reading of this relationship come the interpretative frameworks that youth discourses claim. (p.66)

The feminist students followed a similar path; they merged the political aspect of the feminist movement with historical narratives and interpreted their own gender/political subjectivities as part of these remembered collective struggles. Claiming the political history of the left was fraught with affective intensities and conflict. In these intensities, caused by the flow of affects regarding who had an exclusive right to claim emotional parts of Chilean history, the collective gender/political subjectivities of the feminist students emerged. They incorporate conflict in the process of their identification with the collective “we” of the past.

The students produced themselves as a "we" in the traditional antagonistic model of social movements but also displaced this "we" in a never-ending critique, forgetting to erase dissent between the members of their political community. Through this refusal to forget, the feminist students built their gender/political subjectivities going beyond what was "protestable," and the historical political repertoires available for them. The categories of gender and sexuality were used by the students to engage in this displacement. This chapter attempts to respond to Taylor's (1999) call for a theory that intersects "gender and social movements" (p.9) and gives less attention to the reproduction of gender inequality and more focus on the processes of "resistance, challenge, conflict, and change" (p.9). It also attempts to do something more. Feminism allowed the politically active students to displace the "us/them" social movement structure by engaging in affectively charged
critique and anger. During this chapter, I have used the "feminist killjoy" figure to describe the students. Ahmed (2010) defines feminist killjoys as affect aliens "who ruin the atmosphere and expose the bad feelings that get hidden, displaced, or negated under public signs of joy" (p.65). In the case of the feminist students, they refused to erase dissent between comrades in the struggle and abide by the student political organizations guidelines without critically assessing them. They did this not as individuals critiquing for their benefit but as collective processes of production.

I propose that we understand these processes of production of collective gender/political subjectivities and the “we” the feminist students claim for themselves through and affective theory lens. The intensities caused by the flow of affects in the different vignettes and stories told in this chapter are crucial to understand the production of these youth subjectivities as nomadic and mestiza. As Niccolini (2018) I would even go as far as to call these intensities “affectivism” which works as forces that struggle against the efforts of “contaminants and management” (p.103) of feelings, attempted in the cases in this chapter by teachers, and male student in political organizations. “Affectivism” surpasses rationality and intentions and also can produce collective feelings directly related to the production of a collective “we” in the feminist student movement.

Figure 10: Embroidery Detail: Encapuchadas
Chapter 6: Why Do We Fight? “Por Mi y por Todas mis Compañeras” Oppression, Pain, and Collectivity

The feminist students in this project produced themselves as bodies who experienced gender violence, oppression, pain, and rage. These experiences were central for their political motivations as well as their gender/political subjectivities production. They named actors and institutions who engaged in oppressive actions against them, other female and gender non-conforming bodies in different ways. They told tales of personal pain and suffering as something which affected them and was related to a collective classed female and gender non-conforming experience. The students analyzed how state institutions, particularly their own high school, attempted to "Pasar Máquina" (Camila) or brainwashed them to "make" them (Ong, 1996) as feminine neoliberal successful girls compliant and conforming. They told stories, and I also observed the processes by which their high school attempted to make them and their resistance to these mechanisms related to gender and political subjectification.

The main argument in this chapter is that the participants produced student feminist gender/political subjectivities as subjectivities who experienced oppressive and violent gender norms processes, and at the same time could name, map, and resist these procedures, constructing them as motivations and reasons to act and identify as political actors. This chapter has two main sections and a conclusion. The first section has two layers occurring at the same time, which contribute to the chapter's main argument. The first layer refers to the explicitly expressed desire of the participants in this research to forefront the importance of testimonios as tools to show how the personal is political for them, and how their gendered experiences of pain, trauma and suffering should be useful...
for feminist political purposes. The feminist students shared affectively charged testimonios to affect readers. Some of the featured students in these stories wanted to do this to show people that they were not alone and accompany those that might be living those same moments. Other students wanted to affect readers to show that the things they experienced as females in their lives were not an oddity or an accident, but something unjust and continuously used to control female bodies for the benefit of other subject positions. This affective political strategy will be further analyzed and explored in chapter seven. The second layer of this section explores how within the participants' stories, we can observe oppressive and violent gender norms at work and how the students connect their realization of the injustice behind them to their political motivations. In other words, this layer will argue that to be a feminist student is to realize that female bodies are in an oppressed situation in the current conditions of bondage (Braidotti, 2011). To adequately address this layer, I will use Butler's and Braidotti’s theoretical tools previously discussed in Chapter one.

The second section of this chapter will also contain two layers that tribute to the main chapter's argument. The first layer analyzed how oppressive and violent gender norms work at school, and how refined modes of cooptation of feminist values by neoliberal forces proceed to maintain the reproduction of a desired social order. I will examine the high school's oppressive mechanism of gender and political subjectification processes. In Edelbina González High School, female students were being made as both feminine, quiet subjects, and successful neoliberal girls. These processes resonate with the findings in the literature review chapter. The students' gender/political subjectivities were "being made" (Ong, 1996) in their schools by the naturalization and biologizing of gender (class/race)
differences, erasure and silencing practices, school-sanctioned gender and political participation rites, curricular documents and spaces exclusive and oppressive knowledges, and discipline and policing practices. The second layer of this chapter refers to how students were able to open up "fractures" in normative discourses in their performative engagements with them (Butler, 2011). The students were able to point out, act, and disrupt some normative processes, all while claiming resisting gender/political subjectivities.

The chapter will end by concluding that the collective student feminist political processes that the students engaged with provided them with particular subject positions in which they were able to resist gender/political norms. Those collective actions taken by the students and the political community were part of a political process within productive "ethics of joy." As Braidotti (2018) explains,

[w]hat is positive in the ethics of affirmation is the belief that negative relations and passions can be transformed through an engagement in collective practices of change. This implies a dynamic view of passions and affects, even those that freeze us in pain, horror or mourning. (p. 222)

The students believed that revisiting hurtful memories would render a better future. Our combined efforts to produce "an adequate cartography of the present conditions" (Braidotti, 2018, p.222) of "being woman" in their High School worked to identify "points of resistance" (Braidotti, 2018, p.222) and change. Their engagement with collective student feminist politics in their school was part of a subjectification project which connected bodies, space, and memories, allowing them to move beyond resistance into change.
6.1. “One Day She Might Not Come Back at All”: Gender (Re)productive Violence and Feminist Political Motivations

In this section, I will analyze the testimonios of gender and sexual violence that the students considered central to their political subjectivities and fundamental for this research project. They wanted to show the pain and suffering of identifying and being identified as "women," and the structural dimension of this problem. They also wanted to show that identifying and being identified as low-income "women" entails particular violence. To end violence against women, particularly the extreme violence experienced by poor women, they thought it was necessary to show their collective experiences and cause affective flows between their stories and the readers. This was the most important political goal for the participants of this research. They wanted people to know and be affected by what they had to go through, and what women, particularly working-class women, have to experience every day to stay alive. Even though I will thoroughly analyze the extent and importance of testimonios as political strategies for the students in chapter seven, I want to show how explicit these affectively charged objectives were for the participants in this study. As Violeta explains:

es importante re-alimentar la memoria e incluso hacer introspección en tu vida misma, y cuando escuchas discurso quizás te identificai como ‘oh, a mi también me pasó esto’, o ‘a mi mamá también le pasó esto’, o ‘mi abuela,’ es como que llegai a una reflexión más grande quizás, como ‘siempre he estado oprimida y en realidad no me he dado cuenta’, o sientes empatía y tristeza o melancolía por las cabras que ya no están, por en general todo, porque de repente uno ve en la calle y
eso y no hay que quedarse callada. Sirve pa darse cuenta de patrones y pa cortarlo y
cortar la normalización.67 (Violeta, September 14th, 2018)

The students worked to show how, for them, the personal was political. In my researcher
role, I will add a layer of analysis using Butler's and Braidotti’s conceptual tools to explore
how their stories exemplify the oppressive processes and norms at work.

Braidotti argues that in a phallologocentric system, the feminine bodies are
produced as “[t]he monstrous body, which makes a living spectacle of itself, [and] is
eminently disposable.” (Braidotti 2011, p. 216). The students’ testimonios - in different
formats - attested how their experiences were marked by being perceived as “disposable”
bodies. As I mentioned before, Camila, Violeta, and Mati organized an altar in school on
March 8th to commemorate Women's Day. The tone of their altar was not celebratory but a
memory place for all the women killed because of gender or sexual orientation reasons in
Chile in the last decades. They printed and posted black silhouettes of these women with
brief biographies and how they had been murdered. Some posters were accounts of
everyday sexual harassment like street harassment and violence in romantic partnerships
(March 8th, 2018). The overlapping of testimonios and political objectives in this vignette
adequately sets up the processes in which the students chose to share their stories as
“disposable” bodies; the feminist student is one that suffers this violence but is also able to
name it as arbitrary and unjust.

67 (...) You can hear stories with which you may identify like, "oh this happened to me too," or "this happened
to my mother too," or "also to my grandmother," you come to a bigger reflection, like "maybe I have always
been oppressed, and I have not really noticed," or you feel empathy and sadness or melancholy for women
who are gone. Suddenly one sees these stories repeated on the streets, and you don't have to keep quiet. It
serves you to realize patterns of behavior and cut them at the root, cut normalization. (...)
One April day, as I was walking into Edelbina González High School, I noticed a temporary exhibition of students’ art projects at the entrance. I stopped to admire the drawings and paintings and photograph them. My eyes immediately noticed a particularly gruesome art-work. This piece showed a mutilated female naked body. This body was sitting in a black background and had its head, arms, and legs chopped. The artist had also created the illusion that blood was dripping by smudging red paint on the wall. The painting included a question: “How many more women have to die so that you listen to us?” (April 25th, 2018). Later, during the first iteration of the embroidery workshop, Yocelyn started to draw what she wanted to embroider on a piece of paper. When she transferred the drawing into the canvas, I noticed that it was the same mutilated body I had photographed in the school entrance (June 8th, 2018). I asked her about her art piece, and she explained that she was trying to represent extreme violence exerted on female bodies.

Figure 11: Yocelyn’s art piece
Later during our testimonio interview, I asked Yocelyn about the importance of her personal experiences for her political identity. Her answer was heart-wrenching:

Yo he aprendido de muchas maneras a relacionar mi vida con la política, porque en el fondo todo es política... ¿puedo basarme más en mis experiencias personales? Por ejemplo mi mamá es lesbiana y ella ha tenido que sufrir mucha violencia, ¡ay que pena! [cries] Mmm, ya mi mamá es lesbiana, es pobre y es mujer, y vivir con eso es difícil, es muy difícil, una vez le tocó que unos tipos en Patronato [commercial neighborhood] la pillaron, mi mamá iba con su pareja, y la agarraron y les pegaron, y ella fue a denunciar a carabineros. Los llevaron al local, y los pacos les dijeron a los tipos ‘¿y por qué les pegaron?’ [they responded] ‘no, porque estas son mariconas’ y los tipos y los pacos se rieron y dijeron ‘ah ya’ y se fueron... [cries] Es super fuerte porque esa vez que le pasó eso en Patronato ella dijo ‘ya, voy a denunciar donde ellos trabajan y quizás los echen’, porque ellos no pueden estar tratando con personas porque es un local de venta de ropa. Entonces ella dijo ‘ellos no pueden estar tratando con gente si son así’, y ellas ni siquiera fueron al local, ellas iban pasando por afuera. Y llegó y dijo que quería hablar con la persona que estaba encargada y esa persona dijo que no que no podía hacer nada porque ellos eran sus trabajadores hace muchos años y ellos hasta el día de hoy trabajan ahí (...).

Yo estaba muy molesta ese día, a parte yo iba como en I medio, y llegó y me contó, la pareja de mi mamá es como la que es más camiona así, y entonces ella la que la golpearon más. (…) Ella es siempre la que sufre más violencia de parte de la gente [her voice breaks]. (…) Mi mamá sabe que en la noche con sus amigos si quiere salir a la disco el fin de semana, cosas que hace la gente normal, los amedrentan, los
When Yocelyn started to cry at the beginning of her testimonio, I asked her if she wanted to end the interview or if she wanted to stop the recording. She refused and explained that she wanted to tell this story completely. Tears escaped my eyes while I tried to console her, and later I attempted to offer some help through the feminist organization that I work with. She was interested in learning some names of organizations related to defending lesbian's rights, but she pointed out that her story had to do with how she understood politics and herself in them and what sort of problems we should address as a society under a feminist lens. The intensities, in her story, affects that transverse us during her testimonio were in her own words political. Even as someone reads this piece, the intensities of the affects continue to be both intimate but political. Yocelyn was mapping the present conditions for women like her mom, her stepmom, and herself and to end the extreme violence exerted over their

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68 I have learned in many ways to relate my life to politics because basically everything is political... Can I rely more on my personal experiences? For example, my mom is a lesbian, and she has had to suffer a lot of violence. Oh, it's so sad! [cries for a little while]. My mom is a lesbian, she is poor and a woman, and living with it is difficult, it is very difficult. One time she was walking in Patronato [commercial neighborhood], and some guys from a store caught her, my mother went with her wife, and they grabbed and beat them, and she went to denounce this event to the police, and took them to the store where it happened. The cops asked the guys, "and why were you hitting them?" and the guys that beat them said "because these are fagots," and the pocos [policemen] laughed and said "Ok" and left... [cries]. It is so horrible because that time that happened to her in Patronato, she said, "I will report this to where they work, and maybe they will be fired," because they cannot be dealing with people because it is a store that sells clothes. So, she said, "They can't be dealing with people if they are like that," and she and her wife didn't even enter the store, they were walking by. And she went again and said that she wanted to talk to the person in charge. The person in charge said that he could not do anything because they were his workers for many years, and they still work there today (...). I was very upset that day, I was like 15 years old, and my mother's wife told me. My mom's wife is like she is the more male presenting of them, and that is why she was the one who was beat the most. (...) She is always the one who suffers the most violence from people [her voice breaks]. It's not the first time something like that has happened to my mom. It has happened many times. She knows that at night with her friends if she wants to go out to the disco on the weekend, things that normal people do, they scare them, they will go look for them where they go to have a good time. It's horrible to have to see that and live with it and know that one day she might not come back at all [cries]
bodies. Her story shows the disciplining processes experienced by women in certain and multiple subject positions that produce them as “disposable” bodies. Her fear of her mom not coming back relates to Braidotti’s analysis of the phallogocentric system. In this system, a person who is identified as woman, poor, lesbian, or -in the case of Yocelyn's stepmom-, not feminine enough, is turned into less-than-human. In the eyes of the perpetrators of the beating and the policemen that attended their case, Yocelyn's mom and stepmom were not only not worthy of being protected, but even deserving of violence. In her telling of the story, Yocelyn could pinpoint how entire hierarchies are made and how painfully unjust they are.

After her testimonio, I understood her art piece. She wanted to shock; she desperately needed people to pay attention to what happens day to day to some, just because of the patriarchal system. Blood drips over the margins of her verbal and art story; it smudges everything and alerts listeners to the structural problems she and her mom have to face. It is pain and fear but also hope that if she shows it if she dares to speak up, something will change.

Yocelyn told this story because I asked her what the relationship between her personal experiences and her political identity was. She was trying to show how, for her, her political motivations are personal experiences, and at the same time, how these experiences are political. She showed her mom's experiences, which are shared by low-income lesbians that have to live in a deeply misogynistic, homophobic, and classist country. Her definition of herself as a politically active student was directly related to her personal experiences. This pain motivated her; she turned it into action. After her story, she explained that these kinds of experiences moved her to radical (in)tolerance: "Yo en
realidad creo que la intolerancia es imposible de tolerar. Yo soy super intolerante a la intolerancia, porque yo creo que las personas deben ser lo que ellos quieran ser, siempre y cuando no se pase a llevar al resto." Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018). She linked her experiences with deep political beliefs that produce her as a political subject.

![Figure 12: Embrodery detail: gender violence kills](image)

Sometimes these processes of identifying the political in the personal and calling attention towards structural gender violence were particularly convoluted and affectively charged for students recently interested in feminist issues. During my observations, in one civics class in July, Paula –the social studies teacher– was grading papers and gave her class time to students so that they worked on a history presentation for another class. Most of the girls took this time to joke around instead of working. Ten students engaged in an impromptu representation of passengers in Chilean public transportation. At one point, Adeyadelis mimicked a Chilean man, and when her character entered the invisible bus, "he" started to poke the other pretend-passengers' asses with "his" crotch. Everyone laughed at this make-belief sexual harassment (July 4th, 2018).

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69 “I really believe that intolerance is impossible to tolerate, I am super intolerant of intolerance because I believe that people should be what they want to be, as long as they don't hurt others.”
I was particularly surprised regarding Adeyadelis’s funny performance and wrote about it in my notes because the previous day, she had addressed this type of harassment in a completely different tone. I had observed a group of 9th graders request Diego—the history teacher—if they could make an announcement and asked the 12th-grade cohort group if some of them wanted to participate in a collective testimonios audiovisual school project. Yocelyn and Adeyadelis raised their hands volunteering to participate (May 30th, 2018). During my interview with Adeyadelis, I asked her about this project. She told me that she wanted to share a personal experience in her subway commute to school,

Estaba en el metro que estaba lleno y no me podia mover y sentí una mano que subía por mi falda pero no me podia mover. Después le conté a mis compañeras y me dijeron que por qué yo no había gritado, por qué no había dicho nada, pero es que, es algo que no sabría describirlo. Porque quede en shock, nunca me había pasado algo así. Después de salir del metro me puse a llorar porque no sabía qué hacer ni a quién decirle. No creo que haya sido un accidente porque varias veces me quité y como que subía la mano y me alzaba el jumper.70 (Adeyadelis July 3rd, 2018)

Adeyadelis had a wide range of affects and intensities regarding her experience on that subway cart. For one part, she narrated this experience as traumatic, and something important not only for her but also to share with her school classmates in the form of a collective audiovisual testimonio. She explained that it was essential to participate in that kind of project to show that this was not an accident but something that all women

70 “I was standing in the subway cart and could not move because it was crowded. Then I felt a hand crawling up my jumper skirt, but I could not move. When I arrived at school, I told my classmates, and they asked me why I did not shout or say anything. But it is something that… it is something that I could not describe; I was in shock, I had never experienced something like that. After I left the subway, I started crying, and I did not know what to do or who to tell. It [the sexual harassment] was not an accident because I tried to remove myself many times, but the hand continued rising into my jumper skirt.”
experience. Nevertheless, she also relived the experience as a comic relief with her classmates, joking about her experience and representing the anonymous Chilean man that uses public transportation to sexually-assault people and poke passengers with his crotch. This act might have been a strategy to deal with the trauma in a light context, considering that when she tried to talk about this with her classmates in a severe manner, they admonished her and told her to be more active and stand her ground against harassment. Both her grave assessment of the situation and her humorous approach were ways to call attention to how something personal was in fact a political matter and experience pervasive enough that the classmates laughed at her performance.

During our second testimonios interview, as we were finishing up, I asked Adeyadelis if I had failed to inquire about something or if she had thought of anything that she wanted to share. I also asked her what her hopes for this research project were. She told me she wanted to tell another story, and that her expectation for this dissertation were to share her testimonios to help other people when they went through similar difficult moments,

Te voy a contar algo que no le he dicho a nadie. Cuando era muy niña, muy niña e inocente tuve un novio. El empezó con manipulaciones para conseguir algo obviamente, pero yo no sabía, yo lo veía como que esa persona de verdad quería algo conmigo serio, pero no era así. Yo tenía miedo de estar con él, no se me daba mucho miedo primero de estar embarazada, segundo sí mi mamá se daba cuenta, no se me daba mucho miedo. Un día pasó, pasó y fue horrible, me dolió mucho, no me gustó no sentí placer por ningún lado. Al otro día todo cambió y nunca más supe de él. Me sentí muy mal, no comía y lloraba todas las noches (...). Me di cuenta de la
realidad de las cosas, de lo que podían hacer los hombres. Después me gustaba un niño y estuve con él a pesar de que él no quería nada conmigo ella. No me gustó, tampoco me gustó, no me sentí bien, lo que pasa es que no quería tampoco, pero no se por qué lo hice o sea, todavía yo me pregunto, por qué todas esas veces estuve con esas personas sabiendo que no quería, pero lo hacía y al final no me gustaba, no se por qué. Después en Chile conocí a un compatriota y como no tenía amigos empezamos a salir. Todo fue muy rápido. Una vez en mi casa estaba lavando los platos y él se me pegó por atrás. Yo lo veía muy rápido como para eso, yo no quería, yo le había dicho que no, que no todavía, entonces me dijo ya... tu me entiendes... y entonces pasó, y yo después me sentía muy mal y el me dijo que lo sentía, y como que de ahí todo cambió. Claro después seguimos juntos, seguimos juntos después, pero cuando lo hacíamos no me gustaba, no me sentía, no me sentía como enamorada. Quería terminar con él, pero él era muy posesivo, me persiguió, era como un psicópata. Ahí fue cuando conocí a mi novia. Me gusto mucho, me gusto, me gustó, no se, me volví loca, todavía me vuelve loca cuando la veo, me gusta, no se por qué pero la miro y me encanta, me gusta su cara, como se ríe. Me siento bien con ella, yo le di el primer beso, me encanta. No se si todo lo que me pasó era algo de que no eran las personas indicadas o tal vez que no era con un hombre que me sentía bien, entonces no se, todavía no se… ⁷¹ (Adeyadelis, October 10th, 2018)

⁷¹ “I will tell you a story that I have not told anyone. When I was an innocent child I had a boyfriend, he started with manipulations to get something obvious, but I did not know, I saw him as a person that really wanted to be with me seriously, but he was not. (...) I was afraid of being with him; I was terrified first of being pregnant, second of my mother discovering it, I was very afraid (...) One day it happened, it happened, and it was horrible, it hurt I didn't like it very much, I didn't feel pleasure anywhere. And the next day I never heard from my boyfriend again. I thought it was my fault; I didn't eat and cried every night. (...) I realized then the things men could do. Then I was with another young man who didn't want anything with me. (...) I
Adeyadelis' language as she went on to tell me her story was not transparent enough to assume what happened to her, but the intensities of the experiences she had with men in her country jump from her testimonio. She never actually said the word "rape" or "abuse," but she did share that she was engaged in sexual encounters where she was not completely consenting. Her last story delves deep into her experiences of sexual violence and something more. She wanted me to share this so that other people going through "difficult" times like the ones she shared could relate. In this testimonio, she reflected on why she let "things" happen with a certain amount of guilt, but also showed her process of coming to know and realize her sexual preferences. Intuitively she wanted people to know they were not alone in feeling these things. The intensities in her story implied what sort of structural forces were at work for women that want to share sexual experiences with someone other than "men." As Butler (2011) explains, Adeyadelis' story of coming to know her sexual preferences shows the power of discursive norms over bodies. She attempted to perform "woman" as oppressive social norms demanded, as a sexual body which belongs to the desires of men, a body they could use as they wanted with no or little regard for what she as subject wanted or desired. This performance implied violence, pain, and suffering, and the violent erasure of her desires were at the end, the fracture from where critique emerged for

did not like it, I did not like it, I did not feel well, what happens is that I did not want to do it either, but I do not know why I did it, that is, I still wonder, why all those times I was with those people knowing that I didn't want to, but I did, and in the end, I didn't like it, I don't know why. (...) Later in Chile, I met a fellow countryman, and we started dating. It was all very fast. Once in my house, I was washing the dishes, and he hugged me from behind. I saw this as going too fast, I didn't want to, I told him no, not yet, then he... you understand... and then it happened, and then I felt very bad, and he told me he was sorry, everything changed there. Of course, we were still together afterward, but when we did it, I didn't like it, I didn't feel in love. I wanted to dump him, but he chased me, he was like a psycho. That's when I met my current girlfriend. I liked her a lot, I liked her, I liked her, I don't know, I went crazy, I still go crazy when I see her, I like her, I don't know why, but I look at her, and I love her, I like her face, how she laughs. I feel good with her; I was the one who kissed her first. I love it. (...) I don't know if all these experiences were like I was not with the right people or maybe it was not right with a man, so I don't know, I still don't know..."
her. This is a story of "disidentification" (Butler, 2011) with the processes by which sexual differences are produced. As Butler explains, "it may be precisely through practices which underscore disidentification with those regulatory norms by which sexual difference is materialized that both feminist and queer politics are mobilized." (Butler, 2011, pp.xiii-xiv). Adeyadelis' own 'failed' citational practices in performing her sexuality could be read as her opportunity for sacrilege "to work the mobilizing power of injury" (Butler, 2011, p.123). The 'bad performances' can be part of conscious acts of resistance. I am not sure if Adeyadelis was taking a conscious stance of resistance towards gender and sexuality norms, but she recognized her political goal in her act of sharing this story. Even though she blamed herself for most of these damaging experiences, she still felt this story might help someone understand that these were not individual or personal problems, but something anyone can go through. She produced “misogyny” as “not a hazard, but rather the structural necessity of a system that can only represent ‘otherness’ as negativity” (Braidotti 2011, p.225).

As Yocelyn and Adeyadelis, other feminist students were also very concerned about making visible the violence present in the "normal," in what happened every day to them. As Braidotti (2011, 2018) explains, the feminist students process of producing a cartography of the present conditions of bondage through their testimonios shed light on how being woman or different from man “resulted in passing off such differences as ‘natural,’ which then made entire categories of beings into devalued and therefore disposable entities.” (2011, p. 96).

The students told stories about how their personal lives were marked by fear, fear of violence, or even death. In their home and the streets, they had to continually be aware of
every danger and confront them as best as they could. One time, Mati was talking about her neighborhood, in one low-income municipality in the periphery of the city,

Me gusta y no me gusta mi barrio, porque en un pasaje más allá de mi casa es muy brígido porque venden de todo [meaning drugs] y está muy cerca de dónde me bajo en el paradero. Cuando llego tarde hay gente que consume que vive en la calle y andan por ahí, igual me da miedo. Una vez un tipo me siguió todo el camino hasta mi casa. Desde ese día mi hermano chico me va a buscar al paradero. Le conte a mi mamá y que me dijo que era una exagerada. (...) Una vez dos veces en el día me pasaron cosas asquerosas. Un viejo en un auto caro se empezó a saborear, era la primera vez que me atrevía a salir con shorts sin panties, y me pasa eso. Después acompañé a mi ex a un barrio dónde esta lleno de motels. Mi ex entró a un local a comprar comida y pasan tres hombres en auto y me gritan ‘te dejaron plantada guachita yo te llevo a un motel lo hacemos rapidito y te vengo a dejar de nuevo’ yo quedé en shock y que les grité ‘que wea macho concha tu madre’. Otro día de vuelta de la escuela venía en la micro con uniforme y la micro venía vacía y un viejo se siente al lado mío super cerca, y me empezó a hablar y mirar las piernas. Me tuve que bajar antes de la micro, ese viejo me dio mucho mucho miedo. Yo no soy bonita, si esas cosas igual me pasaron a mi le pasa a todas.72 (Mati, October 26th, 2018)

72 “I like and dislike my neighborhood; there is a street very near my home where they sell everything [meaning drugs], and it is very near my bus stop. When I come home late, people are consuming, and they hang out around there, and it gets scary. One time a guy followed me all the way home. My little brother has to go pick me up at the bus stop now. When I got home and told my mom about the guy following me, she told me that I was exaggerating. One day I had two nasty experiences like that. It was the first time I dared to go out wearing shorts, and an old guy in an expensive car passed near me and started to smack his lips and make licking sounds. Then I accompanied my ex-boyfriend to a neighborhood filled with per-hour motels, and he went into a store to buy food. Three guys in a car slowed down and told me, "Hey babe, it seems you were stood up, I can take you to a motel, and we can have a quickie, and then I can bring you back here!" I
Mati had a sense that being scared was a constant in her life. She connected her body, the way it was dressed with specific events that happened to her. She also detailed that when male bodies accompanied her, nothing happened, and even her mom thought she was exaggerating by being rattled by a guy following her. Mati's perception that she was not pretty, or maybe not pretty enough to be genuinely desired, tells us that she believed street sexual harassment was not connected to pleasure or desire, but with men exerting power over female bodies. The fact that she was only harassed while not accompanied by men is another evidence of this idea: a female body alone or not accompanied by men in the streets is an un-owned body that is there for the take. She explains that these experiences were "normal" for all women, composing a series of performances that are permitted for some while others have to accept to endure them. Regardless, her process of telling this story is the crack where critique emerges: she engages in a de-naturalization of these gender norms by pointing them out. Confirming this "normality" of street sexual harassment, Violeta and Camila discussed the techniques they used in the streets to avoid being followed by random dudes during the second iteration of the printing workshop. Camila laughingly told a story of how she and her mom had to pretend to get into a bus to lose a creepy tail (October 19th, 2018). It seemed that for students, their daily life was marked by danger and fear. The production of women in the students' world was marked by norms that continuously made them realize that they were in an inferior hierarchical position to wealthy heteronormed men. The repetitiveness of testimonios regarding street sexual harassment illustrates the power of the norms and points out the unlivable conditions for them.

was in shock, and I only managed to shout, "go fuck yourself, misogynistic prick!" Another day I was riding an empty bus wearing the school uniform. An old man got on the bus and sat right next to me even though the bus was empty and started to stare at my legs. I had to leave the bus early, that old man was really really scary. I don't think I'm pretty, and these things happened to me, that means they happen to every woman.”
Nevertheless, like Yocelyn and in some ways Ade, the other girls did not stop at just telling their stories and arguing these are processes to produce them as "woman." They also assigned political weight to their experiences and explained the emergence of their feminist and politically active subjectivities to them. For example, at her first testimonios interview Camila asked me if she could go to the café where we were meeting with her boyfriend. I told her that I was ok with whatever made her comfortable. The boyfriend came with her but sat on a sofa far away while we talked. At the end of the interview, she told me "Estoy enojada. Soy feminista porque tengo rabia, Ni siquiero puedo caminar hasta este café sin mi pololo por la chucha por miedo a que me giren weas o me violen"73 (May 25\textsuperscript{th}, 2018).

Violeta shared similar sentiments. She told me how she realized being sexually harassed was not ok,

> Me gritan weas en la calle desde muy chica. Desde que tenía 11 años me gritaban cosas obscenas, susurrando, tocando. Desde siempre me ha molestado jamás como que me sentía más atractiva, siempre fue como ‘¡agggh, que lata!’', y siempre me he puesto a pelear por lo mismo en la calle, incluso siempre ando pendiente de mis demás compañeras en la calle, así como, mirando si alguien las anda mirando, si alguien les dice algo, y quizás ellas no son capaces de decirlo yo voy y les paro el carro porque, esta mal (…) Hay algunas veces en que prefiero evitar [pelear] quizás, por miedo. El otro día había cinco tipos molestando a una niña y no tuve valor de decir nada. Había más gente pero hacía la vista gorda. podría haber hecho algo, pero creo que nadie se habría metido a apoyarme. (…) Soy feminista como tal, así como nombrada desde el año pasado, pero pude darme cuenta que quizás era feminista

\footnote{73 “I'm angry, I'm a feminist because I am angry, I cannot even walk to this fucking café without my boyfriend for fear of being sexually harassed or assaulted.”}
desde hace mucho antes de que lo supiera (...). También me volví feminista porque mi papá es un maltratador violento, le pegaba a mi mamá. Todavía no puedo confrontarlo pero quiero hacerlo en el futuro. Me da miedo porque mi papá usa violencia sicológica conmigo.74 (Violeta, June 5th, 2018)

In her testimonio of gender violence, Violeta explained that the discomfort she always felt for having to endure street sexual harassment was one of the signs that she interpreted as being a feminist, even before knowing the term. She also defined her political commitment to her family experiences and the pain, anguish, and suffering she felt at being in a home where her father beat her mother. She told me that her mom had left his dad a long time ago, but that those scars were very painful for her. They made her a feminist but also a young woman that suffered to think that her dad, the same man that was funny and took her out to the park, was the macho, the enemy that she needed to confront politically and personally.

74 “They yell things at me since I'm 11 years old, they shout obscene things, whispering, touching. Since always that kind of stuff has bothered me, I never felt right or more attractive because of it; it always was something like aggh [exasperated noise] so lame. Because of it, I'm always fighting in the streets, I even walk and check out that my compañeras there are ok, like, watching if someone is staring at some girls, or if someone says something to them, and maybe they are not capable of responding, I jump in and stop those men in their tracks because that [harassing] is wrong. (...) Sometimes it is too scary to do that. A few days ago, there were five guys on my bus harassing a young girl, and I did not say anything. There are times I prefer to stay quiet, maybe because I'm afraid. The people on that bus did nothing. They looked at the ceiling, I could have done something, but no one would have stepped in to support us. (...) I call myself feminist since last year when I realized that maybe I was a feminist from a long time, even before I knew it. (...) I also became a feminist because my dad is a violent abuser; he used to hit my mom. I still cannot confront him, and I want to try in the future. I'm scared of doing it because he uses psychological violence with me.”
In their day to day, students also talked about the "normality" of gender oppression and violence, and how they perceived these processes as fueling their political engagement. One day, during break I was chatting with Ana and two of her best friends. They were all telling me about how they disliked inviting male students to their celebration of school spirit. Ana and her friends remembered how in one past occasion some male students had been invited and they -even though they were in a foreign school- had asked female students to dance for them, and one requested one of them to french him because it was his birthday (June 13th, 2018). Ana also said that sexual harassment was everywhere, and she told us that in the music scene, male musicians said things like "No toca bien pero tiene buen poto." Ana and the girls rolled their eyes angrily at this (June 13th, 2018). Later that month, when we had our first testimonios interview, Ana told me "le encuentro sentido al feminismo, habla de lo que a todas le ha pasado por lo menos una vez, como que tiene que dejar de pasar eso. A todas alguna vez las han acosado de alguna forma, tanto física como verbalmente." (June 21st, 2018). Ana was speaking in an angry but hopeful manner. She

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75 “She does not play well, but she has a nice ass,”
76 “feminist movement makes sense. We have to talk about what every one of us has experienced at least once [gender oppression and violence]. This has to stop. We all have been harassed some way, being physically or verbally.”
felt that at that moment, it was possible to stop having to endure the kind of life feminist students described as the "normal" for women. Even though she did not talk about patriarchy, she was aware that the problems she had were not just personal, but political and required political actions.

The feminist students created art pieces, participated in school campaigns, and told testimonios to expose gender violence. They also took some of these actions in the digital space. The student government at Edelbina González High School digital sites had been exposing and challenging the "normality" of gender violence by engaging testimonios campaign and other digital activities like many other student feminist sites (Errázuriz, 2019). Students denounced the rape and murder of a girl in a nearby school (FP, August 27th, 2017), accused police of sexually harassing students during manifestations (FP, April 2nd, 2018) promoted awareness of gender violence in romantic relationships (IP, July 11th, 2018). They also accused people that engaged in violence in their romantic relationships (IP, November 1st, 2018) or men that touched themselves in front of girls (IP, November 8th, 2018). The objective of these actions was spelled by the students participating in digital sites; they wanted to show how they were personally affected by violent actions, express their pain, rage or combat fear, and also call for a world where those identified as female would not have to go through those experiences.

The answer to the question "why do we fight?" and the involvement of the feminist students in politics was quite clear for most of them. They had all experienced in their flesh what it meant being "woman" in the streets and their homes. Even though there is a range of ideas regarding why those kinds of things happened to them, the affective intensities of the feminist students' testimonios resonated with pain, fear and anger, and sometimes even
humor to confront fear. The terrible personal experiences fueled the students' gender/political feminist subjectivities while at the same time brought to life the old feminist motto "the personal is political." I have analyzed the students' shared experiences as examples of how in the phallologocentric system, female bodies are produced as the monstrous bodies that are inherently usable and disposable. I wanted to show the complicated affective forces that crossed the participants concerning those stories, and how those forces continue to act on us as interlocutors. Rage, pain, sadness, fear, kindness, and an ineffable sense of being mobilized by so much injustice gravitates around these stories and fracture the oppressive and violent norms for people who are identified as woman, poor, minor, or LGBTQI.

6.2. Processes and Tales of School Gender/Political Subjectification: Feminine, Neoliberal Girls and Resisting Mestiza Feminists

The feminist students also critiqued the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) violence by which their school and teachers tried to "make them" (Ong, 1996) into specific types of "girls." These processes were for them the stepping stones that lead to the more brutal violence they and other women experienced in their lives. Even though the violence behind these gendered/political norms was subtler than the ones explored in the previous section, these processes contributed to the structural and pervasive character of the oppressive phallologocentric system, and the production of female bodies as different and thus inferior. Students described different processes that they experienced as being part of an institutional project for norming their gender/political subjectivities.

Some of these processes or norms by which students were attempted to be "made" by their school constructed female students' gender/political subjectivities as traditionally
feminine. Dressing, speaking, sitting, and desiring was policed to reflect lady-like gender norms. Nevertheless, the school gender/political subjectification processes did not stop at only traditional femininities. The feminist and politically active students also recognized that their school did not only produce them as feminine, quiet girlie girls but also as individually capable of becoming successful and productive future members of neoliberal society. Teachers, administrators, and even students engaged in different processes to (re)produce active girls in "correct ways." When politically active students deviated from that norm, the high school actors policed those actions as wrong or unknowledgeable.

How students identified and critiqued these normative processes can only be described as taking a critically resistant and mestiza subject position. In their critiquing, students were able to resist and move across the borders and limits of what was produced by the institution as correct gender/political subjectivities for female minors. By no means do I wish to imply that anyone can resist all norms all the time. Even though some students with clear-cut political goals could do this, the power of these repetitive performative norms still had and has sway over students' bodies and practices. As Butler and Anzaldúa argue, to become an intelligible female body, one has to engage in reproducing discursive and material norms for recognizability at the risk of becoming an even more "disposable body" (Braidotti, 2011). Nevertheless, the feminist students engaged in "a constant state of mental nepantilism, (...) meaning [being] torn between ways" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p.100) concerning these norms. Like Butler (2011) explains, the students expressed feelings regarding how norms to be recognizable were unlivable for them, which in turn made them resist, challenge, and engage in imperfect performances of "female student."
This section is divided into two subsections. The objective of each subsection is to illustrate the stories participants told about their school gender/political subjectification mechanisms and also processes I could observe during my fieldwork. Throughout these illustrative vignettes, I will also paint a picture of how the feminist students produced themselves as resisting and *mestiza* bodies. In the first subsection, I will show different oppressive subjectification processes related to the production, reproduction, or display of knowledges related to norms of traditional femininity and neoliberal gendered subjects. The second subsection will portray policing and erasure processes and procedures used to frame non-conforming students. Even though these two types of processes are separated in this chapter, they cannot be understood without one another, which is why the sections will sometimes overlap. This organization is meant to represent the conditions of gender and political bondage experienced by feminist students at Edelbina González High School.

**6.2.1. Oppressive Knowledges**

There were different types and processes by which the school as an institution reproduced oppressive knowledges related to gender/political subjectification processes: curricular knowledge, “common sense” knowledge, spatial knowledge, rites of passage knowledge, biological knowledge, and neoliberally knowledge. The feminist students in this research did not just accept and reproduce these knowledge but reproduced their gender/political subjectivities as critically aware and resistant to oppressive knowledges. For example, the students critiqued different curricular knowledges as engaging in the production of oppressive gender/political norms for them. The female leader of CONES explained this problem during the early days of the May: “una educación sexual y no sexista, donde a corto plazo se requiere una reformulación dentro de la malla curricular que
es sumamente patriarcal y que actualmente se divide según el género.”77 (Amanda Opazo, Cones leader, Emol, May 2nd, 2018). Even at the end of 2017, feminist students in their digital platform were demanding educational reforms to end sexist education (Errázuriz, 2019). The feminist students at Edelbina González High School agreed with this statement. During her first testimonios interview, Camila said that women were completely absent from their History and Social Studies classes (Camila, May 25th, 2018). Mati agreed during her interview and added: "Las mujeres ni siquiera están en el fondo, nunca aparecen"78 According to her, women that had been politically active in non-traditional ways were "never" present. She explained that this absence motivated her to study history to become a history and social studies teacher and further change schools from within (Mati, October 26th, 2018).

Even though the frustration of Camila and Mati did not consider the few female characters that are available in the history and social studies curriculum (Errázuriz, 2017), during my observations, I could corroborate that women were rarely mentioned in history and civic classes. During one history class in June, Diego was teaching industrialization in Santiago city and showed an old photograph of a factory filled with male workers. He pointed out that there were no female workers in the early days of industrialization (June 13th, 2018). This statement is not historically accurate, and even though someone could argue that maybe, during the first five or ten years the majority of the workforce might have been male, the truth is that by the time photography was introduced in Chile women were more than one-third of the working population (Memoria Chilena, n.d.). Under these

77 “a reformulation is required within the curriculum that is extremely patriarchal and that is currently divided according to gender”
78 “women are not even left in the background; they are not even mentioned.”
circumstances, the absence of photographs of female workers indicates something more than just historical facts.

Students also critiqued how their teachers argued that some of the imparted knowledges in school would “útil cuando seas dueña de casa” (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018) even though the students actively questioned if they even wanted to be “dueñas de casa” (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018; violeta, June 5th, 2018). Adeyadelis also pointed out the heteronormativity of these knowledges, particularly concerning sexual education. She explained that all their sexual education courses and classes were about the characteristics of reproductive sex and how not to get pregnant or sick. She pointed out that they never gave out female condoms. She wanted to have "más charlas sobre eso [lesbian sexuality and pleasure]. Hay muchas niñas a las que les serviría. No entiendo porque no se hacen más charlas sobre esto, estamos en una escuela de niñas.” (October 3rd, 2018). Her bafflement regarding the heteronormativity of their education speaks volumes on how inadequate these knowledges were for students accordingly. The feminist students identified the formal curricular knowledge displayed by the school as a way to norm their acceptable performances as mostly passive heteronormed subjects.

Curricular knowledge was not only used to produce students as passive and heteronormed gender subjects, but also neoliberal subjects politically active in “correct” ways. Under a neoliberal perspective, citizenship is reduced to participating in the electoral system, becoming a flexible worker, and choosing as an expert consumer (Dagnino, 2007). According to Camila, their civic education was "deficient, amarilla, básica” (Camila, May

79 “be useful when you are a housewife”
80 “more talks about that [lesbian sexuality and pleasure] there are many girls who would benefit from that. I do not understand why they don't host more talks about that; this is an all-girls High School after all.”
81 “deficient, yellow, basic”
25th, 2018). She explained that in school they taught them that “existen ciertos tipos de ideologías, derecho a voto y chao”82 and argued that “la gente no quiere ir mas allá porque está cómoda, quiere pan y circo”83 (Camila, May 25th, 2018). For her, an excellent political education had to be about "critical thinking" and "discomfort" to "move things along" (Camila, May 25th, 2018). Yocelyn also considered that their high school rejected all the knowledges they had and things they knew how to do because of their collective student political engagement over the years (Yocelyn, June 8th, 2018).

I observed civic lessons all year long. Most of the time, the students had to complete worksheets about the rules and norms of the state and the electoral system (e.g., April 10th, 2018; April 17th, 2018; May 2nd, 2018). Sometimes Paula asked the students to do more active work. For example, she organized a project where students had to create a political party, present a candidate, organize a campaign, and a political debate (May 15th, 2018). Unfortunately, the students missed many classes due to political events outside and inside the school (marches and reflexive strikes) and were hurried to finish the project. They had to present on June 20th and were not as prepared as they wanted to. The fascinating thing about this project is that it reflected the formal electoral system. It was a way to teach students how to participate in the Chilean electoral system, while even on the same days as these academic activities, students were organizing and politically active in the context of the feminist movement politically. Paula never mentioned in class that these activities were examples of civic engagement or political participation. This is an example of the erasure and policing the High School teachers and administrators regularly did of students' political engagement.

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82 “there are some types of ideologies, voting rights and nothing more”
83 “people do not want to go beyond that because they are comfortable, they want by bread and circus”
engagement in the present. Voting in the future was produced as "correct," participating in social movements in the present as "incorrect" or completely erased.

The feminist students in their activism did attempt to address the problematic formal curricular knowledge imparted in their classes. Nevertheless, the students considered that their teachers, in general, but the male teachers, in particular, did little to nothing to engage in feminist workshops and activities to reform and improve oppressive curricular knowledge. Camila told me, “los profesores sobre todo los hombres no llegan a las jornadas reflexivas que organizamos para las estudiantes, y eso hace que estas jornadas no sirvan tanto porque no llegan a quienes nos educan” (Camila, May 25th, 2018). I could corroborate this while attending the activities of the second feminist reflexive strike the student government organized in 2018. I helped with one workshop during that day, and a teacher had lent me a cable to connect the computer to the data projector. When I searched for the teacher to return the cable, I found all the male teachers of the school watching a soccer match on a giant screen in the computer lab (June 26th, 2018). Politically active and feminist students critique their teachers’ lack of interest in regards to their ideas on how to construct new, less gender, and political, educational knowledges.

Students also spoke of knowledges displayed in spaces that they thought were “creepy” or “demasiado señoritas” (Camila, September 7th, 2018; Violeta, September 14th, 2018; Mati, October 26th, 2018). At the entrance of the High School, there was a white marble statue of Joan of Arc. If Camila had not told me that the statue was that historical figure, I could have never guessed: the woman of the statue looks more like a bucolic

84 "teachers, particularly male teachers, do not attend the activities of the reflexive feminist strikes we organize for the school community. That makes those activities less effective because the new knowledge does not get to the people that educate us."
85 “too ladylike”
representation of a very feminine girl sitting down on the floor with her skirt around her
and her hands composed on top of her legs. Violeta, Camila, and Mati told me they thought
that a statue of Joan of Arc was too "passive" and that it should be standing up brandishing
a sword (Camila, September 7th, 2018; Violeta, September 14th, 2018; Mati, October 26th,
2018). In another section of the entrance, I saw a showcase with six dolls wearing all the
uniforms the school has had over the years. All dolls were blond or redheads and posed in
an orderly and feminine manner, and all the uniforms consist of some sort of skirt or dress.
Camila told me she thought the dolls were creepy, and pointed out that not one of the dolls
was using pants, had brown skin, dark hair, or even a hairstyle more representative of the
students at the school (Camila, September 7th, 2018). The display of dolls and their
uniforms also related to the naturalization of specific gender differences by the institution.
The students perceived the image of the feminine Joan of Arc, and the dolls at the entrance
of the school as teaching them what a proper female student in their high school should
look like. The students decomposed the normative messages in different ways. They
identified absences and erasure of possibilities and projected less oppressive possibilities
through feminist imagination. In her act of noticing what was missing from the doll case
Camila employed her imagination to explore what it would mean to have one doll in the
case that looked like the students at her school; she also critiqued the display calling it
"creepy." Mati, Camila, and Violeta also imagined what it would look like to have a
representation of an active female body, a warrior, and not just a bucolic feminine
representation that they called "passive." The students as feminists did not critique being a
blond or a redhead, using a dress or skirt or sitting down being feminine, but how those
spatial knowledges erased other possibilities to be recognized as a woman.
The production of students through knowledges was not restricted just to norm femininity but also to produce adequate active feminine girls, individually capable of fending for themselves in the world. During her interview, Yocelyn told me that “la institución nos dice que temenos que ser mujeres independientes de bien”86 (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018). Camila also thought their school was desperate to show students like shining stars: “Ahora más que nunca quieren poner esta fachada de alumna prodigio (…). Tienen un ideal y si tu sigues ese ideal van a ser más agradables”87 (Camila, May 25th, 2018). I also witnessed instances where the teachers and administrators emphasized specific characteristics for future success. During the rehearsal of the graduation ceremony, I could hear the compliments the teachers paid to each cohort group. They praised the groups for "destacan por su amor al conocimiento," “ser alegres y perseverantes” and being “alumnas llenas de esperanzas”88 (November 15th, 2018). Mrs. López, the librarian of the school, who was also a former Edelbina González student, proudly told me that this high school was created to educate "mujeres profesionales, no mamás que se quedan en casa”89 (March 8th, 2018). This statement echoed in a long hall of the first floor of the High School that was filled with students’ paintings commemorating the 100 years of the foundation of Edelbina González High School. All paintings had similar topics; happy female students in their uniforms and containing phrases that said some variation of the following: “Edelbina González High School 100 años educando mujeres líderes”90 (June 21st, 2018). These knowledges established specific parameters or terms of recognizability for the students both

86 “the institution tends to tell us that we have to be independent and women of good”
87 “now more than ever they want to put on this student prodigy façade. (…) they have an ideal, and if you follow that ideal they will be nicer with you.”
88 “standing out for their love of knowledge” “being happy and persevering.” and being "students full of hope"
89 “professional women, not stay at home moms”
90 “Edelbina González High School 100 years educating female leaders”
in the present and the future. A celebrated and valuable student in the present was one that worked to become a female professional leader in the future through their individual means and perseverance.

The graduation ceremony was a clear example of both norming feminine bodies and successful neoliberal futures. When I arrived at the school entrance, students were going in perfect and neat uniforms with flower bouquets in their hands. The student in charge of helping other students, parents, and teachers find their seats wore her uniform and white lace gloves (November 16th, 2018). During graduation, the teachers' discourses for the ceremony praised individual effort and resilience so that the students could achieve their dreams:

*Sigan creyendo en lo imposible pues quienes lo creen son los que alcanzan lo anhelado. No bajen la guardia ni tampoco se rindan, (...) sigan adelante sabiendo que mucho mas temprano que tarde alcanzarán sus metas, pues han crecido con la convicción de que salir adelante es posible, pues muchas ya le han ganado a la vida con el favor de superarse a sí mismas, de superar los prejuicios y los comentarios de quienes no las conocen. (...) No permitan que nadie les diga que no son capaces, pues solo ustedes saben cuáles son los límites de sus sueños, sigan adelante con alegría y convicción, con cariño por los suyos y por sus sueños.*

91 “Keep believing in the impossible because those who believe are the ones who accomplish their desires. Do not let your guard down or give up, (...) keep going knowing that much sooner than later you will reach your goals, because you have grown up with the conviction that getting ahead is possible because many of you already have overcome themselves, overcome the prejudices and comments of those who do not know you. (...) Do not let anyone tell you that you are not capable, because only you know what the limits of your dreams are, go ahead with joy and conviction, with love for your people and your dreams.”
This graduation ceremony speech indicated the relevance of individual effort as a central tenement of the high school. The discourse did not say anything about structural difficulties or collectivity. It was politically neutral in appearance, but at a closer look, resonated with the characteristics of the ideal neoliberal successful girl present in Harris' (2004a) critique: the speech sounded like a Nike advertisement.

The repetition of these norms and expectations for the girls' futures impacted the students. During the first embroidery workshop, Yocelyn told me,

\[ A \text{ mi me da mucho miedo como ser nadie. La gente cree que no ser nadie es no haber estudiado una carrera. Mi mamá no estudió y no es nadie en su vida, es mucho en mi vida, la amo mucho.}\]  
\[ \text{(Yocelyn, June 8th, 2018)} \]

The “pulling yourself by the bootstraps” to become a professional woman discourse had a severe impact on Yocelyn's life. She and her family were poor, lived in a poor neighborhood, and her mom did not have a college degree. She was stressed by the future and the chance of being a "nobody" and struggled against that label. This particular vignette exemplifies that even though feminist students are capable of rebelling against the normed futures reproduced by the institution, they can still be vulnerable to the affective and sometimes painful consequences of the terms by which they are supposed to be recognized as a "somebody."

Even though the Chilean state considers the majority of the students in Edelbina González High School as vulnerable because of their socio-economic background, the idea of hard work to get out of poverty was prevalent even during history and social studies

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92 “I'm so scared of being a nobody. People think that being a nobody is not having a college degree. My mom did not study anything, and she is not a nobody in her life. She is really important for my life; I love her very much.”
classes. One day Diego was teaching the students about the first slums that sprung around Santiago city. Yocelyn talked about the poverty cycle and how hard is to get out of it when Diego stopped showing the class material and told them his personal story; how he and his family lived in one room in the periphery with rats and insects, and how he could move forward by going to college and working at the same time. He told the students: "en la pobla reina la desidia (...) hemos fallado, queremos que nos den todo gratis" (Diego, June 13th, 2018). Yocelyn replied, “Pero no todos tienen el mismo apoyo en la casa, hay gente que se sale de la escuela para poder trabajar porque es lo major que pueden hacer en sus circunstancias” (Yocelyn, June 13th, 2018). Diego answered that he also worked when he was in high school and managed to make money to pay for college. After his class I accompanied him to the teachers' lounge to meet Marcela, and told him I wished it was easier to get out of poverty, he smiled and replied: "ojalá fuera más difícil" (Diego, June 13th, 2018). During another history lesson, Diego asked his students if someone poor could become middle class, the students yelled "yes" in unison. Then he asked them if anyone from the middle class could become a part of the elite. The students doubted for a couple seconds and then yelled, "no." Diego said, "Si pueden, depende de su esfuerzo personal" (June 20th, 2018). Diego considered self-reliance as key for success and tried to teach this to his students. He also thought that poor people nowadays want everything for free, and wished that his students had to overcome barriers to become successful subjects. For him, it all depended on each one of the students individually and how hard they decided to work.

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93 “in the slums laziness and doing what is easy reigns. (...) we have failed, we want everything to be given to us for free”
94 “but not all have the same support in their homes, there are people that have to leave high school to work full-time because it is the only and best thing they can do under their circumstances”
95 “I wish it were harder”
96 “yes, they can. It depends on their individual effort”
The production of the neoliberal subjects in Edelbina González High School was aligned with the flexibility of the neoliberal model in regards to accepting certain recognition rights without engaging with redistribution problems (Fraser, 2009). At a national and municipal level, public opinion started to respond to some demands in the feminist movement like, for example, asking for non-sexist language training (Emol, May 25th, 2018, El Dinamo, May 24th, 2018), or pro-LGBTQI policies and training (Diario y Radio U. de Chile, May 22nd, 2018). These trends were reflected in the school, for example, a whiteboard placed at the entrance of the High School read “International day against gender identity and sexual orientation discrimination” (May 24th, 2018). The school also allowed the 12th-grade students to go see a play called "Dylan" about discrimination against LGBTQI individuals as an academic activity in language (May 15th, 2018). Art teachers organized an art exhibit at the entrance of the school about the recognition of LGBTQI rights (May 17th, 2018).

Eventually, feminism became so popular in 2018 that the High School administrators coordinated with the mayor a visit of the self-called “liberal feminist” María
Blanco. The mayor, part of a politically right party, wanted the "feminist" to visit the all-female High School, and the principal and administrators prepared a formal mandatory conference talk by Mrs. Blanco for the 11th and 12th-grade cohorts on August 14th, 2018. Later on, Camila told me that the administrators spruced the high school's theatre up with a red carpet and the school official banner. Students were asked to improve the appearance of their uniforms, and the whole affair was extremely formal (Camila, September 7th, 2018).

After the talk, the most politically active and feminist students were distraught. It turned out that Mrs. Blanco was an ultraright "feminist" and the municipality with the High School were trying to norm, not only what it meant being 'woman' but also what it meant being 'feminist' through an anti-communitarian and anti-left stance. Miguel, a trans-male student at the school, wrote a letter to a newspaper that same day explaining their rage:

La Municipalidad trae a una economista Española que cuestiona la lucha feminista actual a un liceo vulnerable, despolitizado y de mujeres. ¿Qué es lo peligroso e inquietante de esto? Principalmente el traer una realidad ajena, como es la de una economista blanca, europea y de derecha, para compararla a la realidad que comparto con mis compañeras. (...) nuestro colegio es altamente vulnerable (...) claramente, la señora Blanco tiene menos nociones aún de esta realidad. (...) Sólo vi un intento desesperado de frenar los futuros y ‘peligrosos’ pensamientos feministas que podrían crecer en el alumnado, espantando burdamente éstos con tergiversación y pensamientos subjetivos (...). La intimidación que causa el poder ser ridiculizada por alguien con estudios, y superior por ende a nosotras, es un pensamiento constante que se da en el liceo. (...) Ese es el problema con la

97 Right-wing neoliberal "feminist," to read more about her see [https://econamericas.com/2017/08/classical-feminism/](https://econamericas.com/2017/08/classical-feminism/)
The talk of Mrs. Blanco was about how women had the responsibility to guard their rights and not expose themselves to the dangers of, for example, walking around drunk and in a skirt at night. She also said that leftist feminism victimized women and that women should "empower" themselves (August 14th, 2018). The feminist students I worked with were livid with rage and identified this talk as the school trying to brainwash them, making them believe that their dreams of a better world, of getting out of poverty, of being "someone" depended exclusively on their characteristics and strength. Camila was furious. During her second interview, she told me that Mrs. Blanco had blamed the victims of rape and that in that moment she thought

"¿Qué cosa le estoy diciendo a las cabras que tienen entre 14 y 18 años son las mas expuestas a la situación [gender-based violence] y les vení a decir eso? Me estoy weviando? (...) ¡weona donde hay vivio toda tu vida que no te day cuenta la situación que nosotras tenemos acá!" (Camila, September 7th, 2018).

The feminist students felt they were trying to be made into these "empowered" girls that would make things happen for themselves on their own. Mati and Violeta also mentioned

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98 “This Spanish Economist who questions the current feminist struggle is invited by the Municipality to a vulnerable, depoliticized, and all-female high school. What is dangerous and disturbing about this? Mainly to bring a foreign reality, such as that of a white, European, and right-wing economist, to compare it to the reality that I share with my classmates. (...) our school has an overwhelming percentage of socio-economically vulnerable students (...) clearly, Mrs. Blanco has few notions of this reality. (...) I only saw a desperate attempt to curb future and "dangerous" feminist thoughts that could grow in students, grossly frightening these with misrepresentation and subjective thoughts. (...) The intimidation that causes being able to be ridiculed by someone with studies, and therefore superior to us, is a constant thing that occurs in this high school. (...) That is the problem with the political persecution that has taken place on the part of the municipality because, for me, it was that persecution.”

99 “What are you telling 14 to 18 girls that are the ones more exposed to these situations [gender-based violence]? You come here and tell us this? Are you fucking kidding me? (...) dude, where have you lived your whole life that you cannot realize the situation we have here!”
this "talk" as an imposition of a gender/political ideal: be a resilient, successful active girl, but in the correct ways that the school, municipality, and Mrs. Blanco signaled as "good" (Violeta, September 14th, 2018; Mati, October 26th, 2018). Even though the school employed these types of strategies to produce neocolonial and neoliberal female subjectivities for the students, the feminist students were able to recognize, resist and challenge these norms, engaging in activities and being crossed by enraged affects.

At Edelbina González High School, there were different kinds of knowledges attempting to norm female student bodies and possible female futures. This section exemplified how the institution displayed and used these knowledges to establish a set of norms or boundaries for recognizability for the students in the present -e.g., embodied norms in the doll case- and their futures -individualistic notions of personal effort. It has also explored how the feminist students produced themselves as nomads or mestiza bodies who managed these knowledges and challenged the explicit borders of the terms of recognizability by imagining and even putting in practice other possibilities for their collective present and possible futures.

6.2.2. Policing and Erasure

The feminist students also identified different forms of policing through which the institution attempted to produce them as docile feminine female bodies and correctly active neoliberal girls. One of the significant issues brought up by students was related to the policing of uniforms and their bodies. As public-school female students, the girls had to use a jumper (kind of dress) to go to school. They thought this was an oppressive gender norm not only because of the uncomfortable dress code that forced them to show their legs and sit "like a lady" but also because this rule affected their trans-male classmates. When I asked
Yocelyn during our interview what was the most explicit rule the school used to produce them as 'woman,' she explained,

Yo creo que la orden más directa es que todas tenemos que usar siempre jumper, que hay una temporada para usar pantalones. Aunque eso no sea lo que esta escrito en el manual de convivencia porque se puede usar pantalones todo el año si es que tu lo decides, pero... necesitan que se vea femenino, necesitan que todas nosotras nos veamos como mujeres, y nos dicen ‘ustedes tienen que ser mujeres independientes.’

(Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018)

She considered the school dress code as a way to force them to be feminine and think of themselves as women. This policing of bodies to conform to a dress code relates to the disciplining of female bodies. This action was not just about using a dress, showing their legs, and acting like ladies. This vigilance of female bodies and the ways they show or not show their flesh is a way to educate females that if they desire to be recognized as "woman," they need to comply and accept the constant disciplining of their bodies.

Yocelyn also told me that a trans male student had to confront the school administration to be able to come to school using pants. She explained, "el se siente super incómodo de venir pa acá con jumper porque es como un disfráz pa él." (Yocelyn, June 8th, 2018). For Mati, the norms to be perceived as "woman" in school had been in contradiction to herself that she even doubted her gender identity. Mati told me that when she was younger, she did not feel like all the other girls and that everyone laughed at her because she didn't want to

100 "I think the most direct order is that we all have to always wear a jumper, that there is a season to wear pants. Although that is not what is written in the coexistence manual because you can wear pants all year if you decide to, but ... they need us to look feminine, they need all of us to see ourselves as women, and they tell us "you have to be independent women"

101 "he feels super awkward having to come here with a jumper because it's like being disguised for him"
use a skirt or wear makeup, so "por un tiempo pensé que era hombre, me sentía más cómoda como hombre"\textsuperscript{102} (Mati, October 26th, 2018). The gender norms implied in dress codes, and the constant correction implied in being recognized as a "woman" impacted Mati in ways that moved her to a complete disidentification process during a time of her life. Feeling uncomfortable under the sign "woman" made her think that maybe she was not one. This process of disidentification is not problematic; what is problematic is that what moved Mati to process things in this way was the complete discomfort she felt in her skin. During her testimonios interview, Mati also explained the complicated situation the trans male student had to endure at their school:

Un compañero tuvo que sacar una papel del sicólogo para el colegio diciendo que su sentirse lesbiana y más como hombre era una enfermedad y que por eso se justificaba que usara pantalones. Me parece mal de parte del Liceo, tener que decir que tu orientación sexual e identidad de género son una enfermedad para poder ocupar pantalones. Esa regla vino de administración.\textsuperscript{103} (Mati, October 26\textsuperscript{th}, 2018)

Mati explained how not conforming to naturalized gender norms in the school meant having to pathologize students' gender preferences and sexual orientation. I could observe these processes of naturalization of traditional gender norms in my fieldwork. During observations, I had the chance to witness uniform policing on different occasions. For example, during the commencement of the academic year ceremony, teachers were correcting how students wore their uniforms, so they looked neat. Teachers told students to

\textsuperscript{102} "for a while I thought of me as a man, I felt more comfortable as a guy"

\textsuperscript{103} “A classmate had to ask for a psychological document for the school that explained that he, feeling more like a man and liking females was a disease, and that was why he wanted to use pants. I think that it is very wrong that the High School makes you say that your gender identity and sexual orientation are diseases so you can be comfortable wearing pants. That is a rule that came from the school administration.”
straighten their jumpers and close buttons of their shirts. (April 6th, 2018). I also had the chance to observe Paula in civic’s class mocking the way the students wore their uniforms and telling them they always looked messy (June 27th, 2018). These examples show how their teachers were policing the female students' bodies, how being 'woman' means to learn to have a body where all others have the chance to correct. This resonates with the recent feminist performance by "Las Tesis" (BBC Mundo, December 13th, 2019), their chant calling out the patriarchal notions people have in regards to how they can approach a woman's body and the right they have to act over it.

High school administrators and teachers exercised this constant state of correction over the female students by naturalizing gender differences, policing and disciplining students who did not conform to those norms. During her interview, Ana critiqued these institutional processes by saying,

No hay una forma de ser mujer y enseñar eso no funciona. (…) Algunos profess dicen ‘una señorita no haría eso.’ Yo no uso garabatos pero si una compañera quiere garabatear eso no hace que deje de ser mujer104 (June 21st, 2018)

Camila also told me how teachers always said things like “así no se sienta una señorita” or “las mujeres no deben ser agresivas”105 (Camila, May 25th, 2018). I could corroborate some of these processes of policing. For example, a teacher did not allow students in the history academy to attend a conference in another city because they had to sleep in unknown homes and explained that it would be different if they were "boys" (July 3rd, 2018). Also, during a history class, the teacher, Diego, insisted soccer was what his students’ boyfriends

104 “there is no one way of being a woman, teaching that does not work. (…) Some teachers say, "a little lady would not do that." I do not curse much but if a classmate wants to curse that does not make her stop being a woman”
105 “a little lady would not sit like that” “females should not be aggressive”
liked even though one student repeatedly told him that she liked soccer more than her male friends (Diego, May 23rd, 2018). During a talk about gender violence in romantic relationships, the municipality "expert" said to the students, "Nosotras las mujeres somos bien manipuladoras" (April 24th, 2018). Teachers and other authorities naturalized and policed what ‘women’ could like and do on the base of their recognized sex at birth.

According to students, teachers, and other high school members also policed their speech. Camila told me of an event that happened when she was school-government president. She was trying to explain the adverse conditions of the student's bathrooms and how they were all stained with menstrual blood. Teachers were appalled and called her out for speaking about those things out loud in a formal meeting. She also explained that teachers were always saying things like "No diga garabatos," "¿por qué se cortó el pelo?", "¿Por qué esta usando maquillaje?" (Camila, May 25th, 2018). During my observations, I had the chance to see many times how teachers asked students not to curse, being during their breaks or in class (e.g., May 23rd, 2018). At two separate occasions while I was accompanying Paula through the schoolyard she told me,

Todo bien con lo del feminismo pero que después las estudiantes se gritan en el patio “maraca culiá” y luego dejan que sus parejas les digan eso y después les da vergüenza andar con un ojo morado en la calle. (Paula, April 24th, 2018 and May 15th, 2018).

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106 “we women are very manipulative”
107 “do not curse,” "Why did you cut your hair?", "Why are you wearing makeup?"
108 “everything cool with feminism and all, but then the students in the schoolyard shout at each other “fucking bitch!” and then they let their boyfriends say those things to them, and then they are ashamed to go to the streets with a black eye.”
I was a little shocked by Paula’s explanation, particularly the way she linked what she considered bad speech performances by female students with gender violence. I did hear many times the students call themselves "maraca"109 and asked them about the name-calling. Violeta, Camila, Mati, and Ade all agreed that they used the term "maraca" to call their friends as a funny nickname (October 19th, 2018, and October 3rd, 2018).

Nevertheless, Paula connected the use of cursing not with the queering of the concept -what students regularly did- but to imply that that kind of behavior justified being beaten by a man. For Paula, cursing meant that the students did not respect themselves as women, because, for her, women and cursing was not a possible match. It was implied that cursing was then only for men and that if a woman cursed, she was also accepting being treated with violence, as -supposedly- men treat other men. For the teacher, cursing was not only unfeminine but also a slippery slope that led to, and even excused, gender violence. Being 'woman' and the borders of this label were policed by teachers, who erased other possible performances. When the erasure processes did not work correctly, teachers implied the possible material consequences for students without challenging them or the structure that sustains these consequences. These teachers were disciplining the students so that they continued policing themselves as "proper ladies." On their part, the feminist students critiqued the way the institution policed their performances and continued to defy the terms to be recognized as women by queering insults traditionally used against women.

Policing practices were employed by school authorities also to guard the desired borders related to political performances. Camila explained during her first interview,
En esta escuela son así. Cuando alguien se mobiliza de manera política y lo hace en serio tienen miedo de perder esa estabilidad y de que todo se de vuelta y piensan de que porque hay acción política se va a caer el establecimiento. Si queremos formar mujeres que sean activas en la sociedad tenemos que darle el espacio donde se permita ser active y donde podamos tener más red de apoyo.¹¹⁰

(Camila, May 25th, 2018)

She argued that the high school did everything in their power to diminish political engagement in the student population. During fieldwork, I did witness these types of processes. During one break in April, I asked Yocelyn about a communitarian activity to prepare for the first student march of the year that was supposed to happen in Edelbina González High School. Yocelyn explained that the activity was canceled because the school Principal did not give the students permission for it. She added that the Principal did not want outsiders - meaning students from other high schools - coming into their school building. Yocelyn told me that the activity was relocated to a close-by university building (April 17th, 2018). On another occasion, the student government attempted to organize a lighting candle ceremony in front of the High School to commemorate September 11th of 1973, and all the people murdered by the dictatorship (IP, September 10th, 2018). The School academic calendar had nothing scheduled for September 11th, this idea to conduct a ceremony had come from students. Later that same day the student government informed the community that the ceremony was not happening in front of the High School because the Principal had not permitted it, but explained that they still had something prepared (IP,

¹¹⁰ “In this high school, they are like that; when someone mobilizes in a political way and does it seriously, they are afraid of losing stability and that everything turns upside-down, and they think that because there is political action, the establishment will fall. If we want to educate women who are active in society, we have to give them the space where they are allowed to be active and where we can have more support.”
September 10th, 2018). I could later observe the installation of photographs of those detained and disappeared by the dictatorship and some banners with phrases encouraging students never to forget those people (September 29th, 2018). Violeta told me that even though teachers and school authorities were invited to participate in the event, just a couple of teachers participated (September 14th, 2018). Something similar happened at the beginning of the academic year for International Women's Day. The School did not organize anything and improvised a gift for students, but the student government produced an impromptu altar to light candles for all the women killed for gender reasons (March 8th, 2018).

The borders of the norms to turn the students into successful professional empowered women were guarded and reproduced by many different actors at school. In the early days of fieldwork, Marcela told me: "Este año las de cuarto son buenas, otros años han sido demasiado revolucionarias"\(^{111}\) (April 17th, 2018). When I asked her, what being "demasiado revolucionarias" meant, she answered, "Nunca entraban a clases, eran muy muy rebeldes"\(^{112}\) (April 17th, 2018). In a hallway, talking with Paula, she told me that she always said to students: "No se entra a la Universidad por cantidad de marchas asistidas"\(^{113}\) (April 17th, 2018). That same day, while I was walking to lunch with Mrs. López, another teacher told us that the students were gathering in the school theater to inform the community about the political motives of the national student march that was happening in the following days. Mrs. López immediately frowned and exclaimed, "¡Qué estupidez!"\(^{114}\) (April 17th, 2018). Going to college was what the high school expected from the students,

\(^{111}\) "this year the 12th graders are good, other years they have been too revolutionary"

\(^{112}\) "they never went to class, and were very, very rebellious"

\(^{113}\) "you won't get into college for the number of marches you have been to"

\(^{114}\) "That is so stupid!"
which was vital in the production of the successful girl, capable of pulling herself from poverty. Anything else, going to marches, informing yourself regarding political activities was considered "stupid," dangerous, or outright erased from official discourse around citizenship.

In May of 2018, there was a rumor going around about students planning to vote in regards to occupying their High School building. Mrs. López was concerned and against this political action because during occupations many times, students destroyed things owned by the school. That same day, Paula told me that she was angry about the students' "política light que les permite destruir la escuela" (May 10th, 2018). Later that month, she complained that the student government had organized an assembly to discuss possible political actions “Sólo porque diez pelagatos se pusieron a gritar en el patio. Mas encima vamos a perder clases porque tienen que ir a votar” (May 31st, 2018). The students' political actions were policed by being characterized as laziness or stupidity. I heard things like “Las estudiantes salen de la escuela con permiso para la marcha pero no van, solo quiere perder clases” (May 15th, 2018), or “Las estudiantes ni siquiera saben porque se están mobilizando, no saben lo que es el acoso, nunca las han acosado” (May 31st, 2018). Camila also explained that when she was in the student government, the principal scolded them because they were "pasando máquina, implantando el feminismo como ideología de género." The principal had demanded the student government to be "neutral" (Camila,

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115 “light politics that permitted them to destroy school”
116 “just because ten students started to shout in the schoolyard. On top of that, now they will lose class because they have to go vote about these plans”
117 “the students leave the school with permission to attend the march, but they don’t go to it, they just want to cut class”
118 “the students don’t even know why they are politically mobilizing, they don’t even know what harassment is, they are never harassed”
119 “brainwashing students, implanting feminism as a gender ideology.”
May 25th, 2018). The school administration characterized the students as gullible and the feminist students as brainwashers and demanded from them the "correct" political stance: one that aligned with neoliberal discourses of presumed political neutrality.

The high school administrators and teachers policing the borders of the desired gender/political students' subjectivities both blamed the politically active students of being stupid, lazy, or brainwashers and also claimed that youth was not capable of creating feminist discourse and political activities. From the beginning, several actors (Camila, Mati, Marcela, and Milka) told me stories of how Milka, the feminist language teacher, was blamed by the principal for the High School feminist engagement. Camila told me that the principal thought Milka was "una semillita de maldad, corrompiendo estudiantes" (Camila, May 25th, 2018). Milka herself told me she was baffled at how the school had blamed her for all 2017 student feminist political activities, and how she would have been fired had she not been pregnant (March 21st, 2018). Students that were politically active and organized diverse events were characterized at the same time as incapable adult puppets and lazy, unknowledgeable, brainwashers. These contradicting characterizations of the students' gender/political subjectivities were aligned with mainstream views on politically active students at a national level who were accused of being brash, violent, and also brainwashed by teachers (see chapter four).

Policing gender/political performances is a mechanism to reproduce and sustain the borders of the terms by which female students were able to be recognized as valuable subjects. In the case of this institution, different actors guarded, corrected, and taught self-policing to the students. The feminist students did not just observe and recognized these

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120 "a little seed of evilness corrupting students"
processes. They resisted them, critiquing different problematic policing practices while at the same time managing the norms in ways that made it possible for them to take advantage –e.g., Camila understanding what she needed to do as student president to get things done– or disrupt the norms, -e.g., the queering of insults. The students also created instances to combat the erasure of performances that fell outside the acceptable norms, particularly in regards to political actions. They produced their gender political subjectivities as aware of the oppression they had to endure, and as collectively resisting these norms by engaging in fluid moves between the borders of these norms.

6.3. Resistance, Reproduction and Collective Feminist Nomadism

Students experienced “being-made” in their lives as sub-human bodies, feminine, caring, quiet, successful, resilient professional neoliberal girls. Nevertheless, the politically active students in this research were frustrated at the processes of erasure of their gendered/politically engaged selves. So, why did the students fight? The answer was linked to the production of collective feminist subjectivities centered on resistance and the promotion of change. The students critiqued, resisted, and challenged the processes to produce their bodies as essentially dominated and disposable and the discourses on individual resilience. For the participants being able to call out these processes was a necessary process for their subjectivity formation. The feminist students were caught by normative violence but held a powerful position to be able to challenge this violence and attempt to change the oppressive structures. They had a student community, where they could analyze and express opinions and testimonios about gender-based violence. Within the oppressive space of their High School, students had the opportunity to make cartographies of their present conditions of bondage collectively. Students could experience
affects and desires related to the oppression, horror, pain, and rage related to these norms, and also displace them in productive ways. Most of the examples I analyzed regarding school processes of subjectification testify to the capacity of students to resist and challenge these norms and policing processes. After all, Yocelyn's gruesome art piece representing and critiquing gender violence was displayed at the entrance of the school.

Students who identified as feminist and politically active during the 2018 feminist contentious politics context were able to produce themselves as a collective of resisting bodies, who could identify and describe the “entrapsments” of the present conditions of “bondage” (Braidotti, 2018, pp.222-223). Their exploration of the affects and desires crossing their experienced entrapments were productive in the sense that they mobilized forces “in disruptive directions capable of resisting codes and powers” (Braidotti, 2018, p.223). The processes by which the feminist students experienced being woman in the Chilean context of feminist politics allowed them to produce their gender/political subjectivities as resisting, challenging, and changing structural oppression. Their subject position as 'woman' in their schools provided them with the affective resources to struggle against gender norms that ruled their female bodies and performances.

The stories told by students and the processes and interactions I witnessed exemplify how Edelbina González High School was a place of entrapments, a place where all students experienced oppressive gender/political norms, a space which feminist students signal as the ultimately responsible for their fears of the outside world. For another part, their feminist subject positions in a context of collective student feminist politics fueled their capacities to move beyond just resistance into change. Because they identified as feminists and had other classmates also engaged in feminism and student politics, they were
able to disrupt the "codes and powers" of that space. Even though the fears of disciplining in the form of violence and death would be able to freeze anyone in "horror and mourning" (Braidotti, 2018, p.222), their resistance and collectivism made things change in significant ways within their school. I will address this change in chapter seven, which will expand on the political strategies employed by the feminist students in their school to destroy patriarchy and build a new society.
Chapter 7: How do we fight? Feminist Political Engagement, Disidentificaton, and “Ethics of Joy”

In Edelbina González High School, feminist and politically active students made democratic decisions - through the high school student organizations described in chapter four - about specific political strategies, actions, and repertoires. The political tactics most used were strikes and reflexive strikes, school occupations, marches, road blocking, and “agitation and propaganda” or A/P. All of these have been traditionally used in the Student Movement. The feminist students participating in this research project engaged with some of these strategies fully and used affective processes - mostly disidentification and “ethics of joy” - to transform some of these strategies, giving them a particular feminist luster. These affective processes were central in the production of the students’ gender/political subjectivities.

The feminist students engaged in practices consistent with the Chilean Student Movement developed their own “student democracy” system with a particular set of rules (Mayorga, 2017). These strategies were consistent with the ones used traditionally in the Student Movement, in which “radical” tactics and repertoires are valued. The students in this research usually defined as “radical” strategies illegal political actions and those that implied some risk for the subject or subjects engaging in them. Students appreciated radical tactics within the Student Movement. This appreciation of radicalism transferred value towards students that participated or were perceived as engaging in those types of political actions. I do not address why this happened and continues happening today; I can speculate that this value refers to the worth given to being brave and putting yourself in the line of danger for your beliefs—acknowledging these types of actions as always positive can be
problematic but goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. I will refrain from transferring my judgment of these beliefs, but I will analyze the engagement of students with them.

Many desires crossed the positive value of the radical label. These desires affected the feminist students in this research. The participants engaged in several actions and discourse that signaled their willingness to be identified as radical. At the same time, the students expressed experiencing disidentification with the label (Butler, 2011). The main argument in this chapter is that feminist students pushed disidentification concerning radical strategies and radicalism as a subjectivity label and turned these strong affects into something more. The desires attached to radical tactics were reformulated, producing caring strategies as something that exceeds and overflows radicalism. The students engaged in something more than just struggling and critiquing radicalism as a label. Their excess displaced and created feminist notions of radicalism as political caring.

The first section of this chapter outlines how students used specific political strategies to achieve political goals, and how they struggled with powerful political opponents such as the school as an institution, the police or the state, by maintaining a sense of unity with little discord between those identified as “we.” The second section delves into introspective conflict regarding radical strategies, and how these processes reflect “disidentification” in regards to radicalism and yellowness as subjectivity labels. The third section addresses how students used their introspective conflict and disidentification to create and sustain political caring, which translates into both a feminist political goal and is reflected in a series of political strategies employed within and outside the school by students. I will close the chapter by going back to its central argument through a vignette.
7.1. Political Strategies to Achieve Feminist Goals

In Chapter Six, I explored how the students resisted and explored the processes by which patriarchal institutions attempted to produce them as disposable bodies. Ending these oppressions was turned into a feminist political goal that students strived to accomplish through different political strategies. In this section, I will describe some of the political strategies prevalent in the Chilean Student Movement that the feminist students used to achieve their feminist goals. I will also analyze how these processes of political engagement were contested and constantly policed by different institutional actors and institutional power. Throughout this section, I will argue that these described strategies caused conflict in the student community, but mostly between institutionalized power and the students.

On May 29th, the new student government convoked the CODECU to deliberate the possible political goals of 2018. They decided that the central topic of the year was "abuso, represión, y feminismo. (...) Estos van de la mano, siendo una constante en temas de contingencia y nos afecta como escuela: en especial siendo mujeres con facultad e igualdad de derechos que deben respetarse."\(^{121}\) (IP, May 29th, 2018). On June 8th, during the first embroidery workshop, Yocelyn and Ana were talking about the discussions held in one assembly, and the voting process to take political action and accomplish their political goal of the year. I asked them about the results of the voting, and they explained:

[Ana]: El centro de estudiantes quería hacer todo lo que las cabras habían propuesto en la asamblea, pero esto es imposible, son métodos muy distintos: toma, paro,

\(^{121}\) "abuse, repression, and feminisms. (...) These go hand in hand, being a constant in contingency issues and affecting us as a high school, especially being women with faculty and equal rights that must be respected"
pasacalle, cortacalle, toma fantasma…[Yocelyn and Ana laugh in regards at this last option]

[Yocelyn]: es que las tomas se dejan fantasmas cuando ya van a venir los pacos a desalojar y tu te vai y dejai una toma de mentira, pero no puedes hacer una toma fantasma desde siempre. Si todas quieren toma yo vendría igual, pero en verdad no quiero que gane esa opción porque nadie viene nunca.

[Ana]: Nuestro curso no quería votar porque no queríamos decir "si" a cualquier cosa. Con nuestras compañeras conversamos que no queremos paro porque los profess dan la materia por pasada. Si nos vamos a mobilizar tiene que ser algo concreto no cualquier cosa.

[Yocelyn]: dije miles de veces en CODECU que no se podía votar por algo no concreto. Al final el centro de estudiantes dijo que si querían hacer un paro tenían que tener un cronograma, entonces que había que hacerlo antes de las votaciones. Yo propuse que lo hicieramos ahí mismo en ese CODECU, pero me dijeron que no porque era un trabajo muy grande. No se hizo cronograma e igual se hicieron votaciones “si” o “no” y ganó “si.” De ahí el centro de estudiantes dijo que iban a sacar a personas de cada curso para hacer el cronograma de un posible paro… Nuestra escuela es la única del barrio que no esta mobilizada.

[Ana]: Sí, pero eso es muy normal pa esta escuela.122 (June 8th, 2018)
During their conversation, Yocelyn and Ana illuminated issues regarding political engagement in their high school. This discussion introduced many traditional political strategies very well known by the students, which had to be ratified by democratic voting processes. The students discussed the different options that they, as a school community, could democratically elect as the best option to achieve the feminist political goals selected by CODECU. Yocelyn and Ana exemplified complex and comprehensive political knowledges used daily. Despite the constant institutional policing processes of the students’ gender/political subjectivities described in chapter six, the feminists and politically active students reproduced and sustained a “student democracy” system (Mayorga, 2017), which gave them a platform to take political action and achieve their goals.

One of the strategies Yocelyn and Ana discussed were strikes. There were two types: reflective or regular. During my time at the school, the students at Edelbina voted and organized two feminist reflexive strikes. On May 15th, Yocelyn told their cohort group that on May 17th, they were going to have a reflexive strike, TRICEL had approved it. After class, I went to Yocelyn and asked her why this strike was happening, and she told me that it was organized because of “problemas y tomas feministas que están pasando en el

students have to learn by themselves the contents of the lost classes. If we are going to mobilize, it has to be something concrete and not everything.

[Yocelyn]: we had to talk about voting in CODECU, and we discussed it. I told them a thousand times that we could not make students vote for something so vague. Then the student government said that if we had a strike, we had to elaborate a schedule for it before the voting. I told them that we could do it right there in CODECU, but the student government said it was too much work. Without a schedule, we still had the elections between "yes" and "no" to mobilization, and "yes" won. Then the student government said that they were going to ask some students from each cohort group to step out of class to elaborate the schedule of a possible strike… Our high school is the only one in the neighborhood that is not yet mobilized.

[Ana]: yes, but that is very normal for this high school.

123 A regular strike means that the student body votes and decides to stop all school activities for one day, and they do not attend school. The whole student population organizes to miss one day of school. A reflexive strike is different. The student body, or CODECU with the student government, decide to suspend all regular school activities and classes during one day and organize political activities in the school building, inviting teachers and all other types of school workers to attend them.
The first reflexive strike was called “Feminist Strike” and was held on May 17th, the day after one of the biggest national feminist marches (May 16th, 2018). It had the following schedule of activities:

10:00 am presentación película *Auditorium, 10:30 am Taller Fanzine *Sala de Inglés *Sólo 20 cupos, 11:00 am Charla y Debate Feminista *Patio calle Ladislao, Charla "Viajar Sola" *Sala por notificar, 12:00 am "Acoso, Sexualidad y SIDA" *Sala Audiovisual, Taller de auto defense feminista *Gymnasio, 2:00 pm Taller "Experiencias Femeninas" *Patio calle Ladislao, 3:00 pm Taller "Masturbación Femenina " *Auditorium, 3:30 pm Taller de Malabarismo *Patio calle Ladislao, Charla "Red Chilena contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres" *Sala por asignar, TODO EL DÍA PINTATÓN DE LIENZOS Y ACTIVIDADES A/P (May 17th, 2018)

Before this reflexive feminist strike, I was asked by the student government to invite members of the feminist organization I work with to do a talk ("Red Chilena contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres" talk at 3:30 pm) which several students from different cohorts attended. During that day, I was able to observe most of the activities and discussions which were attended by multiple students. The complete agenda of the feminist strike was devoted to achieve feminist goals. Students could learn and inform themselves regarding feminist issues and occupations happening in the country. First, we had decided on a road blocking, but then we voted to have a reflexive strike instead because road-blocks are useless.”

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124 “feminist issues and occupations happening in the country. First, we had decided on a road blocking, but then we voted to have a reflexive strike instead because road-blocks are useless.”
125 “10:00 am movie presentation *Auditorium, 10:30 am Fanzine Workshop *English Room *Only 20 slots available, 11:00 am Feminist Talk and Debate *Ladislao street yard, "Traveling alone" talk *Room to be notified, 12:00 am "Harassment, sexuality and HIV" *Audiovisual room, Feminist self-defense workshop *Gym building, 2:00 pm "female experiences" Workshop *Ladislao street yard, 3:00 pm Workshop "Female Masturbation" *Auditorium, 3:30 pm Juggling Workshop *Ladislao street yard, "Red Chilena contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres" talk *Room to be notified, ALL DAY PAINTING SIGNS ACTIVITIES AND A/P”
issues that interested them, like, for example, traveling as a woman alone, or how to address sexual harassment.

The second reflexive strike was on June 26th. During that strike, the student government asked me to do an embroidery workshop, just like the first and second iteration of workshops I had done with some students after school. Many students (around thirty) and some teachers (around five) attended my workshop. At the end of it, Paula, civics, and social studies teacher went to observe, and while students were working on their embroideries, she told me that the Edelbina González student mobilizations were very disorganized and that students were practically doing nothing but skip class (Paula, June 26th, 2018). I was extremely surprised by this assessment, mainly because she was hanging in my workshop, and she had in front of her eyes 30 or more students working on their embroideries. This erasure of the evidence contrary to her judgment of the political strategy was common amongst teachers as I later learned hearing Diego talk about the reflexive strikes. Diego, the history teacher, echoed this adult perception of students organizing activities just to cut class. He told me the next day that the students had not participated in the strike activities at all, even after I told him how many students had attended my workshop (Diego, June 27th, 2018). Teachers' opinions reflect the policing processes analyzed in chapter six; they also exemplify the struggle between the politically active students and the institution to produce political change in particular ways.

Another political strategy that caused friction with institutionalized power were marches. The Student government met with CODECU and the students' assemblies several times to discuss their participation as school in the nationally convocated marches, but in 2018 they never decided to attend one as High School. Individual students had the option to
leave school the days of the marches if they were allowed by their parents and brought a paper slip signed by them\textsuperscript{126}. For example, during May, several high school student organizations called a march against sexist education, and the Santiago superintendent did not permit its designated path. Nevertheless, Ana told me that their school had given them permission slips in anticipation that the march was eventually going to be allowed by the government (Ana, May 15th, 2018)

In the Chilean context, marches are a popular political strategy and one that many newcomers to political engagement in social movements take as their first step. For example, both Ana and Adeyadelis were new in the world of student politics, and their first political engagement as students had been going to a march (Ana, April 24th, 2018, Adeyadelis, July 3rd, 2018). Ana was very excited about her first experience, which drove her to continue attending marches during the year and eventually start thinking about forming a women-in-music political collective (Ana, June 21st, 2018). After the first march of the year, she told me:

Fui a la marcha [first CONFECH march of the year] con dos amigas de otras escuelas. Es la primera vez que voy a una, me dio mucha rabia la violencia de los pacos contra los estudiantes. Vi a un tipo cruzar las barreras policiales al frente de La Moneda y se puso al frente de un zorrillo con un cartel que tenía unos corazones dibujados y decía 'all you need is love.' Escuche que la gente le gritaba ‘no lo hagas

\textsuperscript{126} Because there are many politically engaged high schools in the central municipalities, the educational units within municipalities have given, for a long time, permission slips for students to attend marches only with their parents' permission. Sometimes the Santiago manager, part of the Chilean government, did not permit the path of a march, but the high school still gave students permission slips.
amigo hippie!’ Sólo por que estaba ahí solo sosteniendo su cartel los pacos le
tiraron lacrimogenas. No tenía nada para taparse.127 (Ana, April 24th, 2018).

During that first march, I could confirm the unsolicited roughness of the police against
protestors. Ana was furious at the use of excessive violence by the police and told me that
she was particularly upset because one armored police vehicle had run-over and injured a
male student that was fighting the police by throwing rocks. She told me people on
Facebook were commenting that if he was doing that, maybe he deserved it, a statement
with which she completely disagreed. Her description of the incident involving police, and
the problems with Santiago's Mayor regarding permission to march reflect the opposition
by powerful entities students had to confront to engage in political actions to achieve their
goals. Not only they had to struggle against the police and politicians, but also people that
justified treating politically active students roughly.

This struggle of feminist and politically active students against institutionalized
power was sometimes materialized in a struggle for the physical space of their high school.
This struggle was sometimes related to a common political strategy called Agitation and
Propaganda (A/P).128 Students informed me that A/P consisted mainly of preparing signs
and posters to carry during marches or post in their school, practice chants (Ana, June 26th,
2018), and develop simple performances for the march (Yocelyn, April 12th, 2018). A/P
could also be virtual. There was a lot of organization work done by the student government

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127 “I went to the march [first CONFECH march of the year] with two friends from other schools. It is the first
time I have been to one, and I was really angry about the violence of the pacos against students. I saw a guy
cross the police barriers in front of the government palace and stand in front of the gas and water-throwing
police vehicles holding a sign that had hearts and a sentence: ‘all you need is love.’ I heard other protestors
shouting, 'don't do it, hippie friend!’ Because he was all alone there holding his sign, the pacos threw tear gas
bombs at him. He did not have anything to cover his face.”

128 A/P is a nomenclature that comes from the political left in the country (Salazar, 2006).
in their virtual spaces. The student government used their sites to do virtual A/P: promoting protest, communicating political discontent, and stating mottos for future protest events (e.g., FP, May 29th, 2018; IP, May 29th, 2018; IP, May 30th, 2018). During a break, I was sitting with Ana, and we saw the president of the 2018 student government with another student painting a huge poster against the closure of another school from the neighborhood, ordered by the mayor (see chapter four). We then saw how the student government hanged the poster at the entrance of the school (Ana, June 21st, 2018), it stayed up there for the rest of the year. In this example, the school authorities allowed the students to hang the banner because the demand aligned with the politics of most teachers at the school (Marcela, Paula, Diego, among others). This was not always the case.

My first day at Edelbina González High School as a researcher, as I was waiting in the teachers’ lounge for Milka to finish up the first 15 minutes of homeroom with her students to meet with her. I observed the spaces in this, the most closed up space for students. I was surprised to find a mirror with a sticker of a youth anarchist group promoting social chaos and violence to destroy the state. When I walked closer to the mirror, I also noticed that a big trashcan in the teachers’ lounge was graphited with the following message: “Con mis pies aparto toda etiqueta con la cual se pretende controlarme me tomo la atribución de cuestionar las verdades asumidas y de hacer profano lo que por siglos se a tenido sangrado”129 (March 8th, 2018). Later that day, I asked Marcela about these messages displayed in the teachers’ lounge, and she told me the students had written and posted those messages during the last school occupation in 2016 (March 8th, 2019). From that day forward, I noticed how politically active and feminist students engaged with

129 “With my feet, I remove all etiquette with which it is intended to control me I take the attribution of questioning the truths assumed and of doing profane what for centuries has been considered sacred”
space within their schools to send political messages to the community. Even though authorities curated the area, it also showed a cacophony of voices and events in time essential for the students. In the school space, there were institutional messages (like the paintings to commemorate the 110 years of the school in chapter six), teacher-approved temporary art expositions, and walls, corners, or halls taken by force by the feminist and politically active students. I have already shown how institutional space messages produced students at the school. Students, in the context of contentious feminist politics in 2018, also used spaces to produce themselves and achieve feminist goals.

The utilizations of the school space by students that were not sanctioned by authorities physically reflected a struggle between the students and institutional power. Just like the message written in the trashcan of the teachers’ lounge during the last school occupation, the students had painted a mural of Pachamama that clashed with the feminine Jean D’Arc statue at the entrance of the school. The mural presented a circle with Mapuche symbols and, in it, a land space representing the Mapuche ancestral lands. Embracing this circle, they painted a naked brown woman with flowing black, brown, and purple hair who held this representation of the world in her bosom. Her image was surrounded by unfinished text written in Mapuzungún and Spanish (April 10th, 2018). When I asked the students what this mural meant for them, most of them said that it represented nature, a different way of being a woman, and the legacy of the Mapuche culture in Chilean society (e.g., Camila, September 7th, 2018; Violeta, September 14th, 2018). Mati was the one that told me those murals had been painted during a school occupation by students. That was why it was unfinished in certain sections. She said that all graffiti were erased from the walls of the school, but this mural was never painted over because it was beautiful (Mati,
October 26th, 2018). The stories around the mural reflect the struggle and resistance towards the institutional use of school space and how students managed to use the school space as a platform to engage in collective gender/political self-making.

The struggle for the physical space was reflected in the material remnants in that same space. During April, around the time the 2018 student government was campaigning to be elected, I could observe the display of different and sometimes contradictory messages by various members of the school. In one classroom door, I saw graffiti written by students campaigning that said: “Avisa, organiza y Lucha.” This message was accompanied by a female symbol (June 5th, 2018). This was a political message on how students should enact their gender/political subjectivities by being alert women who call out political problems, organizing, and participating in the political Lucha. On the other hand, that same week, there were messages displayed by Mrs. López in the library board that produced desired citizenship in a gender-neutral tone and stressed peaceful coexistence as a central citizenship value (June 5th, 2018). The messages displayed in the library with permission of the institution and the graffiti in one classroom door produced citizenship in conflicting ways. The students generated a gendered citizenship which embraced conflict, while the school reproduced a peaceful and responsibility driven citizenship. Following Mouffe’s theory, the students adopted an antagonistic conflictive model, and the school a liberal citizenship model where conflict was to be erased.

The struggle for the school space was even more apparent in other places appropriated by students without permission from the institution. Sometimes political messages were left incomplete, or school personnel attempted to erase these messages:

130 “Stay vigilant, organize, and Lucha”
The first is a photograph of the floor of the primary schoolyard. The last "stop" was left incomplete. The graffiti was painted during one feminist reflexive strikes and was probably left unfinished because a teacher or other school worker might have chased the students away. The other two images are paper signs glued to the walls of the school by students.

You can see how the school authorities attempted to have these posters removed, but were not able to pull them all out. These half-ripped posters with their feminist, and politically powerful messages reflect how, during the context of feminist politics during 2018, Edelbina González High School was a field of struggle between what the students produced as their desired gender/political subjectivities and what the school allowed and curated. The students presented themselves as remembering beings (concerning the history of the left, and also of the murdered women because of their gender) by raging, breaking the rules, and expressing that they would always refuse to forget. The students produced their gender/political subjectivities as resisting and opposing institutional power. Nevertheless, for feminist students, the production of their subjectivities did not always reflect a clear-cut process.
7.2. Disidentification

In the previous section, I explored how the student community struggled against institutionalized power, taking traditional Student Movement political strategies to achieve feminist goals. When it came the time to discuss radical political strategies there was conflict between the students. The feminist student in this project disapproved road-blockings and occupations - both strategies identified as radical -, but struggled to explain their disapproval and the position they put themselves in when they rejected these. In this section, I will argue that this conflict was related to disidentification processes experienced by the feminist students concerning the “radical” (subversive was also used as a synonym) and “yellow” subjectivity labels.

As I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, participating in or supporting radical political strategies produced subjects involved in a positive light within the Student Movement. A halo of revolutionary heroism surrounded radical political strategies at Edelbina González. The opposite of radicalism for the students was politically mild or “yellow.”¹³¹ The processes of identification with radical political strategies were not clean-cut for the girls because of the sway that radicalism held over feminist and politically active students. There were awkward moments when the feminist students were crossed by desires to be identified as radical, or at least not to be recognized as “yellow” but also have a voice to oppose specific strategies they felt were not right at the moment. I considered these moments as times when disidentification came to light in the production of students’ gender/political subjectivities. Butler (2011) describes disidentification as an “experience of misrecognition, this uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does and does not

¹³¹ In Chile, being politically yellow means being in the center of the political spectrum without compromising with a cause.
belong” (p.166). I would add to this definition that disidentification has to do with desires involved in the experience, for example the desire to be recognized under a particular sign. Disidentification processes happen because there were certain “regulatory norms” by which a label -a sign that marks what is and what is not- was materialized (Butler, 2011, p.xiii).

During my fieldwork, I could sense the desires attached to radical strategies and, therefore, radicalism as a label with which feminist students experienced disidentification.

In this section, I explore how students expressed their desires to belong to the “radical” sign or label. Then I show conflict between the student community in regards to specific radical political strategies, and how students struggled with their desires to be and not be recognized under the radical and yellow labels. Here I argue that students defend themselves from the yellow label through different discursive methods related to the usefulness or democratic value of the radical political strategies in question. I do not judge if the strategies were indeed useful or democratic, but I produce this “talk” as part of the disidentification process and the “uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does and does not belong” (Butler, 2011, p.166). Finally, I close this section by examining how the feminist students stopped defending themselves and embraced disidentification to work this uneasy sense into political caring, as much more crucial political strategy.

Feminist and politically active students worked intensively, and produced their gender/political subjectivities as recognizable under the “radical” label, or at least not under the “yellow” label. For example, Violeta worked to identify with the radical political left when she told me that she and Camila were asked to do a short interview for a conservative news show during one feminist march. She said, “Al principio les dijimos que no porque
era pa la prensa burguesa, pero después decidimos que mejor decir lo que pensábamos.”

(Violeta, June 3rd, 2018). Identifying the concept of bourgeois with the alterity corresponds to Marxist imaginaries from which Violeta drew to forge a radical political subjectivity for herself.

During the embroidery workshop I conducted in the second feminist reflexive strike, I asked the students to produce a piece that reflected how they felt as a woman or their preferred gender. Violeta embroidered an exploding bomb from which flowers were spreading (June 26th, 2018). She later showed me another embroidery she had made inspired on her political identity, which she had stitched in the back of one of her jackets: a Christian church engulfed by flames (October 5th, 2018). Violeta identified with that radicalism and artistically expressed anger towards one of the symbols that represented systemic violence against women. I analyzed her symbol in conjunction with her embroidery of the exploding bomb and flowers, as Violeta producing herself as a radical feminist, using images that spoke of violence turned against oppressors.

![Figure 18: Violeta’s embroidery](image)

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132 “At first we said no because the interview was for a bourgeois news channel, but then we decided it was better to share our point of view”

133 The feminist movement during 2018 made a point of its opposition with the catholic church in the country, mainly because the catholic attempts to control women's bodies and reproductive systems. During marches, feminists had attacked catholic symbols, engaging in rage, and the desire to be rid of centuries of religious oppression.
As shown before, Camila and Mati also worked during their interviews to produce themselves as subjects that could be woman and hold machine guns against their enemies for their political goals (Camila, May 25th, 2018), or reject alliances with the economic elite because they could never be real comrades in the political struggle (Mati, October 26th, 2018). On March 29th, Camila's 2017 student government democratically approved a road-block\textsuperscript{134} of a main avenue near their school under the motto “Joven Combatiente, \textit{Lucha hasta la Muerte}”\textsuperscript{135} The students used their bodies to block traffic, sitting and standing in the way of vehicles holding posters and signs about the “el día del joven combatiente”\textsuperscript{136} commemorating the event of the murder of the Vergara brothers at the hands of the dictatorship on March 29th of 1985, and claiming themselves as young fighters. The last moments of the road-block were spent escaping or defying the police that had come to make the student leave and help resume traffic (FP, March 29th, 2018).

Through these actions and discourses the feminist students produced themselves as brave, - e.g., “fighting until death,” confronting the police- living coherent lives in accordance to their political values - e.g., rejection of bourgeois press, rejection of the economic elite as allies- and celebrating the violent treatment of the political opposition - e.g., the embroidery of the burning church.

Nevertheless, these processes of identification with radical strategies were crossed by conflict that lead to disidentification. The road-block described in the previous

\textsuperscript{134} Road blocking, as the name explains, consists of a large number of students, sometimes the whole school student population, walking out of school and blocking a vehicle transited road to cut traffic and call attention to a particular political topic. Students have options to block roads. The mildest ways consist of the students using their bodies to block the street by sitting or standing in the middle of it holding signs that reflect their political issue. The most radical forms of road blocking consist of students or protestors building barricades and lighting them on fire.

\textsuperscript{135} “Young fighter, fight until death.”

\textsuperscript{136} “day of the young fighter”
paragraph was the only successful one of that academic year. Road-blocking was perceived as one of the most “radical” political strategies because it meant that at some point during the activity, the police would arrive and attack them or even detain them. Road-blocking was then intertwined with fighting the police. This implied and assumed certain bravery from the part of the students involved. Sometimes the feminist students disidentified with this radical strategy, producing discourse regarding the usefulness of road-blocking.

Adeyadelis repeatedly critiqued road blocking as a pointless political activity during our interviews:

> Participé una vez en un corta-calle. No veo como quemar un caucho en una calle, hacer que los carros paren, va a hacer que se acabe una violación o va a hacer que el que violó a una mujer se sienta mal. Hay otro tipo de cosas que podríamos hacer, como hablar con las personas afectadas por la violencia machista, ayudarlas, hacer actividades para ellas. Acá mismo en la escuela se podrían organizar conversaciones para que la gente se cuente las cosas que les han pasado a las chicas. Me gustaría tener un espacio más privado donde se pudieran contar cosas y que hubieran personas que han pasado por lo mismo que yo. He sabido de niñas que sufren violencia de parte de hombres y sus parejas. Hablando con ellas y haciendo charlas se podría ayudar a esas personas.137 (Adeyadelis, July 3rd, 2018)

She also repeated, almost verbatim, her judgment on road-blocking during our second interview (Adeyadelis, October 3rd, 2018). Adeyadelis’ perspective on this political

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137 “I participated in one road-block. I don't see how burning rubber tires in the street, and making vehicles stop will make rape end, or make a women rapist feel bad. There are other things we could do that would be better, like talking to people affected by sexual violence, or help them, or making activities for them. Here in our school, we could organize chats so that students tell each other the things that have happened to them as girls. I would love to have a more private space to tell those sorts of things and talk with people that have gone through the same things I did. I know of girls that have suffered violence from men or their partners. Talking and listening to them would help.”
strategy was negative. She produced road-blocking as disconnected and ineffective to achieve feminist political goals, and therefore, as a political strategy with which she did not identify. She instead advocated for other types of actions like organizing talks. I later refer to this discourse in particular. Whether road-blocking truly works concerning feminist issues and goals is not the point in this section. What is important is that Adeyadelis, as well as Yocelyn (e.g., Yocelyn, May 15th, 2018), produced discursive work to distance themselves from the radical strategy and thus the radical label, and excused this distancing not by challenging the value of radicalism, but by addressing its “usefulness.”

![Embroidery detail, flames](image)

**Figure 19: Embroidery detail, flames**

Another political strategy that caused much disagreement and conflict between students, and therefore prompted disidentification processes were school occupations.\(^{138}\) The presence of police, the illegality of the political strategy, and the iron opposition of the

\(^{138}\) A school occupation is a political strategy in which students occupy for several days, sometimes even months their school building prohibiting the entrance to teachers, other school workers, and police. During the occupation, students organize political activities within the school, similar to the activities done during reflexive strikes. There are two ways by which an occupation can end. If political negotiations with school and municipality authorities reach a satisfactory point for all the involved parts, students vote again to depose the occupation. If authorities are unwilling to negotiate, or if negotiations do not reach a point where all parties are somehow satisfied, the municipal authorities call the police to evict students. During 2018, Santiago's mayor stated that he would not negotiate with students engaging in occupations, that he would call the police to evict students if any school in his municipality was occupied, and he even threaten students that engaged in occupations with expulsion (El Dinamo, June 7th, 2018; Cooperativa, June 7th, 2018).
municipality’s Mayor in regards to school occupations produced this particular strategy as radical or subversive. At one time, on Friday, June 29th, a group of 10th-grade students attempted a spontaneous feminist school occupation. I was not observing that day. Next Tuesday, I was able to ask students their impressions regarding this event and watch an extraordinary assembly convocated by school authorities on this matter (July 3rd, 2018). When I entered the school, I noticed that the community was tense. At the side of the entrance hall, there were school chairs in piles, a sign that the students that had staged the attempt tried to emulate the use of chairs to block the entrance of their school, usually done in high school occupations (July 3rd, 2018). The participants told me that the 10th-graders, upset for the lack of participation of their school in the national feminist events, attempted to lead a feminist occupation in their school by force. At 3:30pm that same day the school authorities held an assembly to discuss the Friday events. During the meeting, Yocelyn told a particularly interesting story. She explained that her cohort group had gone to talk with the student government, and they tried to force them to vote either for an occupation or a phantom occupation, without a third option. Yocelyn then added that when they complained about this to the student government, they called them “amarillas culiás” (Yocelyn, July 3rd, 2018). According to Yocelyn’s story, students engaging in radical strategies policed opposing or disapproving students by producing them not as conservative, but politically mild or “yellow”. During my fieldwork, I learned that this was an easy and consistently used way to insult a politically active student. The issue of being “radical enough,” “too radical,” or “subversive” and the insult of being “yellow” provoked a cluster of desires which affected students. These desires were framed into

139 “fucking yellow”
disidentification processes, which happen because there were certain “regulatory norms” by which a label -in this case radicalism and yellowness- was materialized (Butler, 2011, p.xiii).

Students managed the “experience of misrecognition, this uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does and does not belong” (Butler, 2011, p.166) concerning the conflict around occupation, in several ways which I argue did not challenge the value of radicalism or its definition, and were consistent with pure disidentification moments. When I walked into the 12th-grade classroom that day and saw Yocelyn, she told me that the students that were organizing the occupation did not know anything and just wanted to miss class. She then said, “Fueron violentas y autoritarias y nos hicieron elegir entre toma o toma fantasma.” (Yocelyn, July 3rd, 2018). Ana also told me that the student government wanted to occupy the school for one day, but it was badly organized because it was by a show of hands. She stated, “eso no está bien, por algo el voto es secreto. Además ni siquiera estaban todos los cursos presentes en la votación” (Ana, July 3rd, 2018). After the assembly, I talked with Camila, Mati, and Violeta, and asked why they did not say anything during it. Camila told me that they had discussed similar issues with their cohort group classmates and that they opposed the process by which the students attempted the occupation. She said, “Hicieron todo mal desde una perspectiva del procedimiento politico que tenemos en nuestra escuela para tomar acciones políticas; el voto a mano alzada no es acceptable para votar.” (Camila, July 3rd, 2018). Again, I am not discussing whether the

140 “they were violent and authoritative and made us choose between occupation or phantom occupation”
141 “this is not right; it is for something that the vote is secret. On top of that, not every cohort group was present during that process”
142 “they did not follow the sanctioned political procedures we have in our school to take political actions; the show of hands is not an acceptable political procedure to cast votes.”
occupation action was or was not following the established rules of Edelbina González student democracy. The students were informed about these norms, and it appears their arguments were correct. What is interesting here is that these arguments seem to be a shield against being identified as not “on-board” with a school occupation as a political strategy, or being “yellow”. I argue that their defense of the established democratic mechanisms sustained in their school work as disidentification performances.

Here are further discursive examples of this argument. During Yocelyn’s interview, I asked her about the occupation attempt. She told me:

Yo creo que en la escuela se están como desvirtuando las cosas [políticas], ni siquiera es lo que quiere la masa, se está haciendo todo desordenado, yo he estado en muchos movimientos estudiantiles, en mi escuela anterior hacíamos muchas cosas por más desordenadas que salieran la mayoría de las personas las querían, y nunca pasamos a llevar lo que quería el estudiantado, nunca nunca nunca. Ahora creo que esta la caga, porque hacen las cosas que quieren. Acá si se pasa a llevar a la mayoría, es que las opiniones son muy diferentes, hay algunas que son muy activas políticamente y otras que no están ni ahí. Les importa más como lo individual, que cómo van a salir en la PSU\textsuperscript{143}, que no deja de ser importante pero es mejor el bien colectivo. ¿Qué es más importante, farrearte un año y que te vaya mal en la PSU y que estén pasando acá cosas [políticas] todos los días y que tu podáis hacer algo o todo lo que está pasando en el país? (…)Entonces eso les falta, más colectividad. Y yo creo que en general al movimiento le falta mucha colectividad porque están todos muy fraccionados, están encerrados en sus organizaciones y creo

\textsuperscript{143} College entrance exam.
que eso es lo que más me ha decepcionado de todas las organizaciones políticas que se ensimisman y solo la opinión de su organización cuenta, no debería ser así, no debería pero es.¹⁴⁴ (Yocelyn, July 4th, 2018)

Yocelyn was against the radical strategies attempted in 2018 by their school student government, but she still refused to relinquish her claim on the "radical" label. She made the distinction between her and her cohort classmates in regards to their political individualism, and also distanced herself from the too radical political organizations that did not respect student democracy. She expressed desire to be identified as a veteran student activist that took radical "messy" political decisions and strategies when the whole majority of students wanted those actions. She struggled to be considered radical, by excusing the times when she chose not to engage in these strategies as moments when this was not the best for the majority.

Camila had a different way to identify and, at the same time, disidentify with the radical label. On May 29th, I read a Facebook post on the student government site. Camila's student government had posted a goodbye note after the election of the 2018 student government. In the comments section, students mocked the 2017 student government calling them "yellow" and arguing that "they had done nothing" politically speaking (FP,

¹⁴⁴ “I think that in the school [political] things are being distorted; it is not even what the mass wants; everything is getting messy. I have been in many student movements, in my previous school we did many things no matter how messy they came out most people wanted them, and we didn't do anything that the student did not want, never ever. Now I think this [the way political strategies were being used in Edelbina González] is shit because they do the things they want. Here, they go against the majority. This happens because the opinions are very different, some are very politically active and others that are not interested at all. They care more about the individual, and how they will do in the PSU. That [the college entrance exam] is still a big deal, but the collective good is more valuable. What is more important? To lose a year because you did badly in the PSU? Or that [political] things happen here every day and that you can do something about everything that is happening in the country? That is missing here, more collectivity. I think that in general, the movement lacks collectivity because they are all very divided, they are locked in their organizations, and I think that is what has disappointed me most of all the political organizations that are self-absorbed and only the opinion of their organization counts. It shouldn't be that way, it shouldn't, but it is.”
May 29th, 2018). When I asked Camila about this post during our second interview, she was noticeable discontent with the issue and defended their government's political work, while speculating into why they were called yellow:

"Our management was good; we always worked; we were always in it; we always tried to have something. Perhaps we were not a populist student government. We tried that the political conscientization and *Lucha* were permanent and spaces were opened for dialogue and student participation. We put aside the political option of road-blocks; we stopped having occupations as an option, and also left a little aside the internal strikes strategies. We stopped being subversive, and that was what shocked many people because the student government before us was the opposite; it was super radical, super mobilized, but it all led to nothing. Let's say that it was the fault of that student government [2016] that the doors of participation closed, that we lost..."
The way Camila weaves this story and turns the concept of yellowness around is interesting. She does recognize some "non-radicalism" in their student government conduct, but she turns the yellow negative adjective, and characterizes their politics as "not populist." The word populist has a negative connotation, which absolves their political work as mature and responsible while accusing those who took other political options of being irresponsibly swayed by the demands of the mass. She even gives examples of how their student government was better politically speaking in the long run, while at the same time reclaiming the Lucha. She implies that it is easy to talk about being politically radical, but it is much harder when you have to handle political options responsibly.

Violeta also struggled concerning the regulatory norms to be identified as radical. During her second interview, we talked about the multiple cases in all-male high schools where students had used violent and extreme political strategies, such as spraying fuel on their teachers and burning school property. When I asked her opinion, she explained:

No me gusta la violencia en ninguna manera, pero eso de rociar bencina, ya pasó los límites. Yo entiendo que exista represión dentro de los mismos educadores, pero yo creo que la lucha no está ahí, contra ellos, son gente con rango más alto que ellos. O sea con los pacos ya lo entiendo, porque a veces ellos también hacen montajes y llegan y dejan la pura embarrada en el Liceo, y entiendo el descontento de los cabros. Igual es como agresión mutua en ese caso con los pacos, pero en cuando

the confidence of teachers, students, and all members of the school community. [The 2016 student government] had a two months school occupation, with no political demands, and it was never democratically ratified by voting. It also had no real impact, and not many students from the school participated in it. Our government did not employ these kinds of strategies, but other types of activities and they were successful. For example, our feminist reflexive strike and feminist fair in 2017. The new student government started with a whole idea of chaos and revolution, but now they got it that it is not that easy. And now, all students are complaining that they are doing nothing and are frustrated just because they want to be like all the other schools that are in feminist occupations now.”
Violeta was torn about the issue of fuel spraying. There were constant signs, like “mmmm” and pauses that gave away that she was still processing how to maintain a radical political stance and reject the idea that lighting teachers on fire was a viable radical political strategy. She also said that she disliked violence in any form, but this is the same student that embroider a burning church and an exploding bomb, and that finished her reflection saying that she still felt “direct action” - meaning violent strategies - were ok to “defend

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146 This movement does not call itself Fascist, but "Patriotic Social Movement." Nevertheless, during August and September, when they started to get more noticed, all news outlets recognize this group as a far-right movement with fascist political goals. During September 2018, there were some coordinated actions taken by the youth faction of the PSM, which called itself "Student Mutiny" that rattled student political leaderships (La Tercera, September 24th and 25th, 2018; Diario U de Chile, September 25th, 2018). There were so few students involved in that faction that eventually, they stopped gaining attention.

147 “I do not like violence in any way, but spraying fuel [on teachers], I think it crosses a limit. I understand that there is repression from the part of some teachers, but I believe that the fight is not there against them. The fight is against people with a higher rank than them. I mean... with the pacos I understand it because sometimes they also make montages and arrive and leave a mess in the school, and I understand the discontent of the boys. I mean... that is mutual aggression in that case with the pacos, but... when I knew the thing with the fuel... it was like... mmm... I don't know; I don't support that. And maybe those guys really... I don't know, actually... Sometimes - I don't want to generalize either - they see direct action as more important than radical change built through a process, perhaps more methodical. The feminist movement is more methodical than subversive this is because it has been built on constant work and spaces for dialogue. Anyways... direct action must be taken against the pacos and against the Chilean fascist movement. In those cases...perhaps we must be tougher, because they arrive violently and we must also defend ourselves.”
ourselves.” The way she manages to juggle with the regulatory norms of radicalism is by playing with possible scenarios where the political antagonists are some well-hated groups in Chilean protest culture: the police or pacos, and the Chilean fascist movement. She played with disidentification giving responsibility to another group when some direct actions were concerned, and reclaiming the “us” when talking about fighting the police or fascists.

Although these explored examples describe processes of disidentification with “radicalism” as the force that shaped feminist students’ gender/political subjectivities, some elements also point towards something more. For example, after the occupation-theme assembly, and Camila explained the undemocratic nature of the occupation attempt, Mati and Violeta nodded in agreement, but then Violeta added another explanation regarding their disagreement with the occupation attempt:

Igual algunas compañeras se les cayó su feminismo el viernes en la toma. Fueron violentas con mujeres trabajadoras. Por ejemplo, la directora y si bien es la representación de la institución igual es una mujer trabajadora.148 (Violeta, July 3rd, 2018).

Violeta, as well as Adeyadelis and her opinion about road-blocks, introduced sorority and taking care of the women around you as something more feminist than just engaging with radical political strategies.

For her part, and during our last printing workshop, Camila sculpted a symbol that represented her political identity, to stamp it in various media. When she finished, she

148 “Some of those compañeras [the ones involved in the occupation attempt] showed how fake their feminist compromise was. On Friday, they were violent against women working in our school. For example, they attacked the principal; even though she represents the institution, she is still a working woman.”
showed her art piece; it was a rose in bloom crossed by a sharp knife. She explained: “me gusta mucho esto porque siempre como que mi vida ha sido como… es la dualidad de las cosas y nunca me he podido definir como una sola.”¹⁴⁹ (October 19th, 2018). At first, I viewed this as a disidentification response reflecting strong desires to be and not be identified in specific ways. During my second round of analysis, I started to feel that, even though there were disidentification elements in these stories, I was missing something important. This was not just a process of struggle and critique against particular labels but also an affective process that involved desires to displace and create something more, something that re-defined the notions on radicalism sustained until that point. In the following section of this chapter, I will show that the dissidentification+ processes experienced by the feminist students produced “political caring” as both a feminist goal and a political strategy that was reflected in different types of actions.

¹⁴⁹ “I really like this because my life has always been like... It is the duality of things, and I have never been able to define myself as one.”
7.3. Political Caring

During the many feminist 2018 marches, I started to see particular details that caught my attention. Feminists in the streets demonstrated courage and bravery in many ways. It filled me with wonder how feminists fought, even physically, against the destruction of public property done by male protestors. In one of the biggest marches, May 16th, I saw how feminists worried about the fires started near houses, and how they put out those flames. When we reached the stage were a feminist Chilean comedian was supposed to give a speech at the end the march, she talked through the speakers to the young men and the police that were fighting each other nearby and tried to calm them down, so no one reaching the stage got injured (May 16th, 2018). During another march, a young feminist woman was cleaning up the mess from the streets after some fights between the police and protestors (June 6th, 2018). I felt somewhat confused about these particular actions during the marches. Later on, during my second interview with Camila and then Violeta, I heard them weave new strands around political radicalism and direct action that somehow gave meaning to these actions. In this section, I will address the production of political caring as a radical feminist political strategy and goal. Then I will describe how political caring was reflected in two types of political repertoires.

Political caring was not just exercising a rational kind of empathy for fellow students or women. It meant being transversed by pains and suffering, some shared, some imagined, and acting in a way that attempts to care responsibly for another person. The students produced this kind of critical political caring; it did not rely on promises or fuzzy feelings; it did not romanticize the idea of caring in normative gendered ways. It was hard work, not comfortable natural feelings, which some would argue are innate in females.
Political caring consisted of considering the cartographies of power relations, political responsibilities, and possible lines of flight and liberation. The radical caring political strategies described by the feminist students can be better understood under the lens of critical theories of care. Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) explains that "caring" for and being affected by another is composed of three elements: labor/work, affect/affections, and ethics/politics (p.5). According to her,

we must be careful not to become nostalgic for an idealized caring world: caring or being cared for is not necessarily rewarding and comforting. A feminist inspired vision of caring cannot be grounded in the longing for a smooth harmonious world, but in vital ethico-affective everyday practical doings that engage with the inescapable troubles of interdependent existences." (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012, pp.198-199).

Caring sometimes was not rewarding. Caring for other women in the streets seldom left Violeta scared and shaking, as shown in chapter six. Puig de la Bellacasa states that “caring is more than an affective ethical commitment: it implies the material participation in sustaining interdependent worlds, forms of engagement that need to face resistance, exhaustion and controversies” (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012, pp.198 -199).

Political caring transfixed radical political strategies, it was messy, exhausting, but still was more than just negotiating with the norms of particular labels. In chapter five, Mati laughed at the “road-blockers Instagram anarchists wannabes” (Mati, October 26th, 2018). I understand her critique as going beyond breaking or maintaining the borders around the “us-them” antagonistic political system. Her laughing might have implied that to the contrary of the “Instagram anarchists,” true radicalism relates to political caring even when
there is no celebration or applause on Instagram, but only controversy and resistance. As “Feminist killjoys,” the Edelbina González feminist student that engaged with this research desired more and were never frozen in one system of signifiers: they pushed, again and again. Political caring can be understood as a feminist political goal as well as being part of specific political strategies. In this section, I first analyze how political caring took form in the feminist students’ discourse. Then I explain some types of political repertoires that reflect political caring and feminist actions: testimonios and embodiment-related strategies.

With Camila, we were discussing different political strategies and a spontaneous march in Edelbina González during 2017, motivated by the sexual abuse of a teacher towards a student. Camila first dealt with the issue of radicalism, and then introduced political caring as a radical strategy, to then exemplify how they exercised political care:

Las chiquillas [del centro de estudiantes 2018] notaron también que no es llegar y hacer weas, que uno tiene que ser responsable por todo un alumnado, por todas las chiquillas y no es llegar y decir vamos a cortar calle, porque qué pasa, si le pasa algo a una de las chiquillas, quién es la primera responsable, las que organizan la wea. Me tienen chata las subversivas que no piensan en la seguridad de las niñas. (…) Igual entiendo que quieran experimentar cosas, pero igual uno tiene que ser responsable por el que tenía al lado, estoy en un colegio, no estoy en otra parte, y hay niños chicos hay personas que no están ni ahí y hay que respetarlas igual. (…) [La marcha espontánea de fines del 2017] alguien gritó ‘a la calle’ y nosotras no las íbamos a dejar solas, compartíramos o no la opinión, las cabras iban a salir y éramos responsables de ellas, eso siempre fue lo que nosotras hicimos, tratar de ser responsable por el piño. (…) Al día siguiente fuimos a dar la cara a dirección para
The way in which Camila continued dealing with the desires attached to being perceived as radical displaced this label. This could be read as a disidentification move, but I have come to feel that this analysis still positions the processes of gender/political subjectification as somehow being related to only responding to label norms. Instead, she was not only responding but building something more, something that for the feminist students had to do with sorority: political caring. Camila took the responsibility to care for her classmates, which meant being implied in “the material participation in sustaining interdependent worlds” - in the analyzed case, going to the streets with their classmates-, facing resistance and confronting head-on “exhaustion and controversies” (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012, pp.198 -199)- which meant for them in this situation turning themselves into the authorities.

Violeta also expressed her understanding of political caring while she grumbled about the attempted occupation in 2018, and argued that this was practically anti-feminist, while also describing the work implied in political caring:

Había chicas encerradas adentro [de la escuela] por unas cabras anarca-feminista que en realidad no les interesa la integridad de las cabras más chicas, niñas inmigrantes que no tiene papeles… yo estaba muy enojada. (...) Como dije, hay

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150 “The girls [2018 student government] realized that it is not just go and do shit, they are the ones that have to be responsible for all the students, for all the girls. It is not like “yeah let's go block a road,” because what happens if there is something wrong with one of the girls? Who is responsible? the one that organizes that shit. (...) I am fed-up with subversives, they don't think about the safety of the girls. (...) I still understand that they want to experience things, but one has to be responsible for the person next to you, we are at a school, not elsewhere, and there are small children, there are people who disagree, and you have to respect them the same. (...) [In the spontaneous march last year] someone shouted "To the streets!" and we weren't going to leave them alone, whether we shared the opinion or not, the girls were going out, and we were responsible for them. That was always what we did; we tried to be responsible for the group. (...) The next day we even turned ourselves in to the principal so that the girls did not endure penalties for leaving school.”
niñas que son extranjeras y que se pueden ir deportadas y uno no sabe po, y son
chicas y hay niñas llorando desesperadas y yo en el patio bordando, y ‘mm ¿qué
esta pasando?’ (...) hay que partir de la base, de lo básico que es respetarse entre
mujeres, y yo creo que esto se da en mi mucho antes de conocer el feminismo, por
ejemplo siempre carreteando ayudaba a las niñas en el baño, preguntando como
estoy, andai con alguien, estoy bien, y siempre preguntando en la calle igual, quizás,
no solo a mi quizás me ha pasado, a varias quizás antes de conocer lo que era la
sororidad quizás ya nos dábamos ese apañe, entonces ahora las que sabemos lo que
es la sororidad, quizás más se intensifico y se trabaja más en eso, y en tener
cuidado, no andar teniéndonos mala por nada, la sororidad tampoco significa que
nos vamos a amar, pero si yo veo a alguien que me cae mal en peligro igualmente la
voy a ayudar.¹⁵¹ (Violeta, September 14th, 2018)

Violeta explained the importance of sorority and argued that it was one of the essential
tenements of feminism, which involves, even demands, political caring. Being rash and
radical seems to be produced as less subversive than political caring. She described that
"caring" for and being affected by all the students in the community meant that feminist
students needed to work to learn the particular circumstances of each compañera at school
and understand how that information related to the political actions being sustained. She

¹⁵¹ “There were girls locked inside the school by other anarcho-feminist girls who aren't really interested in
the integrity of the younger girls, or immigrant girls who don't have papers... I was very angry. (...) As I said,
there are girls in the school who are foreigners and can be deported, and we don't all know about their
immigrant status. There were little girls crying desperately, and I was in the yard embroidering, and thinking,
"mm, what is going on?" (...) We must start from the basics, as women, we have to respect each other. I
believe that this happened to me long before knowing feminism. For example, at parties, I always helped girls
in the bathroom, asking, "how are you? Are you with someone? Are you fine?" and also doing this in the
streets, if needed. Before knowing what sorority was, perhaps we already gave ourselves support. Now we
know what sorority is, perhaps these strategies are more intensive, and we work more on them too, and also
on being careful and not being mean with others over nothing. Sorority does not mean that we are going to all
love each other, but if I see someone who dislikes me in danger, I would help her”
also argued that being affected by these possible consequences and being politically ethical in the process of implementation was necessary. Her political caring contained the three elements described by Puig de la Bellacasa (2017), labor/work, affect/affections, and ethics/politics (p.5)

Both Camila and Violeta told personal stories that they produced as the fundamental rocks in their consideration of the importance of political caring and feminism:

[Camila]: quiero ser un actor social de cambio

[Violeta]: [laughs] Yo escribí “Viva la Insurrección” [laughs] siempre me ha gustado no quedarme con lo que me dejan.

[Camila]: Como trabajadora, no quiero ser nunca indiferente a las injusticias que me rodean

[Violeta]: quiero ser empoderada. Siempre que veo situaciones en la calle me meto, salvo cuando mi integridad está en riesgo.

[Camila]: Te cacho. Cuando era chica mi papá le iba a pegar a mi mamá y yo me metí entremedio. Desde ese momento me volví mamá protectora.

[Violeta]: Me pasó también. Muchas veces pare peleas, una vez mi papá trató de pegarme con una silla. Por eso me di cuenta de temas relacionados con la violencia y por eso me molesta la violencia, incluso aunque me molesta, me meto a defender a las personas.¹⁵² (Camila & Violeta, October 19th, 2018)

¹⁵² [Camila]: I want to be a social actor that promotes change
[Violeta]: [laughs] I wrote “long live the insurrection” [laughs] I've always liked not just accepting what they tell me.
[Camila]: As a worker, I never want to remain indifferent to the injustices that surround me
[Violeta]: I want to be empowered. Whenever I see situations on the street, I get in, except when my security is at risk.
[Camila]: Yeah, I understand. When I was a girl, my dad was going to hit my mom, and I got in between, from that moment, I became a protective mom.
Camila and Violeta started the activity of the workshop by immediately claiming and hoping to be strongly committed and critical women in the present and future. They told stories of violence that engendered their desire to care for other women, the origin story of their political caring. They grounded their feminist-inspired vision of caring “in vital ethico-affective everyday practical doings that engage with the inescapable troubles of interdependent existences.” (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012, pp.198-199). The troubles of interdependent existence for both students meant that guarding their moms from violence involved confronting violence themselves and taking this responsibility considering these material consequences as systemic parts of the worlds they inhabited.

As explained in chapter six, testimonios were vital for the feminist students. They needed their voices and experiences to be witnessed by others to produce gender oppression as a real tangible systemic problem that even threatens female and gender non-conforming lives. The testimonios strategy has a long tradition within Latin America, and in the Chilean women’s movement: women during the dictatorship worked hard to tell the stories of violent repression and murder of their relatives for political reasons. In recent years the testimonios political tradition has been used by young feminists in different media to accumulate experiences that were once qualified as “exceptional” and show the world their immense impact in female and gender non-conforming lives (e.g., Errázuriz, 2019). Testimonios also relate to political caring. Feminist mottos like “NI UNA MENOS” reflect desiring that structural patriarchy is recognized as a real living assemblage, but also a [Violeta]: that happened to me too. Several times I stopped fights, and once my dad tried to hit me with a chair. That's why I realized issues related to violence, and that's why violence bothers me, but even though it bothers me, I still go to defend people when they need it.
caring push so that people feel the pains of gender violence as a constant in female and gender non-conforming lives.

During my time in Edelbina González High School, I had many opportunities to hear about testimonios, or even witness testimonios being told -beyond those I elicited for research. As discussed in chapter six, both Yocelyn and Adeyadelis volunteered to participate in a school comprehensive testimonios project, and both of them expressed the political importance of this type of strategy, while at the same time exposed their pains and sufferings so that other people could feel they were not alone.

On August 4th, the student government shared a testimonios campaign through their Instagram account and asked students to share their experiences anonymously. They had a whiteboard in the schoolyard where people could come up and write something and also gave the students the chance to write directly to them to share their stories with more privacy (August 4th, 2018). During our second interview, Violeta wanted to share more of her thinking about using personal stories and memories as testimonios. She had already told me during her first interview how she used personal experiences and testimonios to attract new feminists and allies to the movement when she said: “We all have something to tell, even if it’s minimal, personal stories are the basics for realizing oppression.” (Violeta, June 5th, 2018). As I have showed in chapter six, during her second interview, she expanded her explanation:

Creo que es importante el rescate de la memoria en el movimiento feminista porque las mujeres son violentadas desde niñas de muchas formas - por ejemplo hacerle aros a las guaguas. Es importante re-alimentar la memoria e incluso hacer reintrospección en tu vida misma, y cuando escuchas discursos quizás te identificai
como ‘oh a mi también me pasó esto’, o ‘a mi mamá también le pasó esto’, o ‘mi abuela’, es como que llega a una reflexión más grande quizás, como siempre he estado oprimida y en realidad no me he dado cuenta, o sientes empatía y tristeza o melancolía por las cabras que ya no están, por en general todo, porque de repente uno ve en la calle y eso y no hay que quedarse callada. Sirve para darse cuenta de patrones y para cortarlos y cortar la normalización. Para no olvidar quienes somos, de dónde venimos, y qué estamos haciendo, y qué estamos trabajando para mejorar nuestras condiciones de vida digna.153 (Violeta, September 14th, 2018)

Witnessing testimonios for Violeta was a transformative experience, one that might lead to political caring, to realize oppression, and mobilize people into action. For her, it was essential to “feel” and to embrace sadness and melancholy during a testimonio. It was not about celebrating life or putting on a brave face, it was the sadness and melancholy that could lead to political caring, and even rage that moved to action. Testimonios for the participants were intimately linked to radical political caring, and again Lucha against patriarchy. Feminist students strived to produce “affective ethical commitments” through testimonios.

Embodied strategies, meaning exploring, performing, and representing different female bodies, was a central tactic in many feminist political actions in Chile during 2018. During feminist marches, using the body in fun, creative ways was important. Protestors

153 “It is important to rescue memory in the feminist movement because women are violently treated since childhood in many ways -for example, piercing female babies' ears. It is important to feed memory and even do introspection in your life. You can hear stories with which you may identify like, "oh this happened to me too," or "this happened to my mother too," or "also to my grandmother," you come to a bigger reflection, like "maybe I have always been oppressed, and I have not really noticed," or you feel empathy and sadness or melancholy for women who are gone. Suddenly one sees these stories repeated on the streets, and you don't have to keep quiet. It serves you to realize patterns of behavior and cut them at the root, cut normalization. Rescuing memory serves to not forget who we are, where we come from, what we are doing, what we are working for, and to improve our living conditions.”
queered feminine makeup and body practices to visibilize feminist issues, and challenge
gender norms. During one of the most prominent feminist marches, on May 16th, I was
able to observe dancing crews, percussionists crew, and a large group of female university
students doing topless and using burgundy capuchas decorated with rhinestones, glitter, and
embroidery. There were many girls putting makeup and glitter on their faces and sharing
with other protestors. (May 16th, 2018). The topless performance was consistently
reproduced in 2018 marches (e.g., June 6th, 2018), and continues to be repeated in feminist
circles in Chile today.

Embodied political strategies in Edelbina González High School were related to
exploring, performing, and representing different female bodies and connecting these to
caring political messages. One way in which this happened at the school was through the
creation of art pieces that represented female bodies in subversive or critical ways. During
my embroidery workshops, many students drew and embroidered female bodies. For
example, Mati drew and embroidered her own body with a phrase around itself that read
“self-love” with a glowing heart. She explained that she had always had issues with her
body, and never felt comfortable, and even though at one point that she might be a young
man. She said that currently, she was doing political work to love herself completely (June
22nd, 2018). During the workshop I conducted in the second feminist reflexive strikes, I
asked students to represent how they experienced their gender identities. Many drew and
embroider female bodies that called attention to gender norms, or troubled gender
production. For example, one was a drawing of two female torsos naked touching each
other. They had a small heart shape drawn in their chests. The bodies were beautiful in not
traditional ways, and also challenged compulsory heteronormativity. Another embroidery
project showed a perfect ballerina trapped by ventriloquist strings. The student explained that those strings represented society’s control of women’s bodies, and peoples’ demand that women should be perfect (June 26th, 2018). The ballerina was the gendered body and norms that produce it. The student critiqued these processes as unnatural and oppressive.

Both projects transpire feminist resistance and political caring. One embroidery project was about representing oppressive gender norms, and the other produced and imagined a better world for those who break gender rules and compulsory heteronormativity. The whole-body experience of embroidery was not only related to the actual students' bodies, but also to the embroidered testimonios which represented female bodies as places of resistance and change.

During my observations in July, I had the chance to observe teacher sanctioned art projects all around the school. The art project was to build some installation with multiple prints of students' drawings. Most of the pieces I could observe were devised as feminist political embodied messages. For example, one showed multiple prints of a naked female
bodies with stretch marks, posted as a frame for a note that read: "Mirrors tell us how we look, not who we are, society imposes stereotypes that do not represent us" (July 3rd, 2018). In another yard, the students had posted many prints of a drawing of another female body that held a sign saying "no more abuse" (July 3rd, 2018).

The students used the opportunity of the art project to spread feminist political messages. Using female bodies and feminist demands, they colonized spaces designed by authorities to produce them as feminine neoliberal girls. These art projects stayed in the school walls for months as echoes of the feminist movement raging through the country. The particular art pieces evoked caring messages for students identifying as women to love their bodies and resistance to gender violence and oppression.

Students also engaged in gender play to perform gender in subversive ways. They used gender play and gender-neutral language as political tools to denounce gender and sexual-orientation based violence. On August 8th, the day before "Student Transvestite Day," the student government encouraged their schoolmates to participate. The activity had low student participation, but it was still produced as a viable political option available for
feminist or activist students. The Instagram Post used to promote the activity said: "Compa, si tienen vestimenta escolar de hombre en la escuela estamos haciendo intercambio. Participe en la jornada de transvestismo" (IP, August 8th, 2018). The next day the Student government Instagram account posted photos of the female students dressed and posing as male students, not only using male public-school uniforms but also mirroring the embodied male demeanors. For one day in the year, the students engaged in gender play and transformed their bodies into male bodies to point out how gender is produced and not an innate and natural thing. Resisting gender norms in this way moved past just resistance and, during this occasion, posited that a different school community is possible, a world where gender is considered fluid.

Figure 27: IP promoting the “Student Transvestite Day”

Strategies related to bodies (particularly female bodies) were useful for political newcomers, who thought these were fun and engaging and motivated them to continue participating. Adeyadelis manifested her excitement about her first LGBTQI march and told me about the costumes, performances, and music of that occasion (Adeyadelis, July

154 "If you have male school uniforms, in our school we will be exchanging male for female uniforms. Participate in the transvestite day!!")
Ana was even keener to show and reflect on her enthusiasm for these kinds of political strategies:

Me gusto la marcha por las manifestaciones artísticas que hay al medio como las batucadas y bailes, lo encontré entretenido. Fui con otras amigas que no son de la escuela. Somos amigas por la orquesta musical en la que participo. Después de esa primera marcha me gustó y decidí ir a las otras que siguieron. Me gusto ir a las marchas, los gritos, la forma de manifestarse. Son bien llamativas, una vez vi a una batucada que todas tenían un pañuelo morado con una bomba que le salían flores. Todas andaban con algo que las identificaba y tenían una coreografía. Con mis amigas estamos tratando de juntar a las más grandes de la orquesta para armar un colectivo y tener algo que nos identifique a todas, como algún pañuelo.\textsuperscript{155} (Ana, June 21st, 2018).

Embodied performances for the students were not just about resistance or sending messages to the onlookers; they also worked as a political strategy to connect with others, engage them, and make them care about the social justice issue in question. For Ana, this type of performance produced an affective connection with feminism. She felt she could be a part of embodied political strategies regardless of how much she knew or not about feminism.

Embodied carnival performances have been used in the Student Movement for a long time. In this sense (e.g., "thriller for education" wailox, April 25th, 2011, Youtube

\textsuperscript{155} “I liked the march because of the artistic manifestations that are in the middle, like percussion groups and dance crews. I found it very fun. I went with friends from another school. They are my friends from the orchestra. After participating in that first march, I liked it, and that's why I decided to go to others that followed. I liked going to marches, the screaming, the way people manifest themselves. They are very striking; once I saw a percussion group in which all the girls had a purple scarf with an embroidery of a bomb from which flowers came out. All had something that identified them and a choreography. With my friends, we are trying to gather the women from the orchestra to put together a collective and have something that identifies us all, like a handkerchief.”
video). Nevertheless, feminism in Chile has taken over embodied performances not just because it is a fun and engaging way to act politically, but also because the issues brought up by feminism are directly related to the particular difficulties of embodying "woman" in the country and the world. The university girls with capuchas in topless were not showing her breasts because it was fun; they were calling attention to how women's bodies have been produced and used by patriarchy. Just like the performances described by Ana, the ones identified by Adeyadelis, and the figure of the feminist encapuchada, these political strategies cannot be analyzed and assessed as carnival protest, but as feminist embodied strategies to make people care about particular political issues.

7.4. Feminist Strategies, Disidentification, and “Ethics of Joy”

The processes of gender/political subjectification related to the feminist students' engagement with political strategies reflected Braidotti's "ethics of joy," which aim to move beyond an antagonistic stance and produce change in the world. The desires attached to radical strategies were transfigured by the community of feminist students who within their schools move towards what I interpret as the second, third and fifth steps in Braidotti's (2018) "ethics of joy":

The second step consists in mobilizing a subject’s ontological desire – the vital potentia of the subject – by reframing it in disruptive directions capable of resisting codes and powers. (...) The third step is to create a laboratory of the new. (...) A fifth step for an ethics of joy entails sustaining processes of subject-formation that do not comply with the dominant norms. (p.223)

The space shared by feminist students in high school was, in a sense, a collective laboratory of the new, and a subject position where students sustained subject-formation processes
which resisted and challenged dominant norms producing something more. Edelbina González's high school was a space where students had to endure the "entrapments of power subjective positions" (Braidotti, 2018, p.221) but could be used, through collective organizing and engagement with political strategies, as a platform to engage in change.

There is one story built by the participants in this research collectively, which exemplifies how the feminist students at Edelbina González High School used political strategies and enlarged them through disidentification and political caring. I will use this story to close the chapter and argue that how the feminist students chose to answer the question of "how do we fight" can be understood as collective enactments of "ethics of joy," a theoretical concept which expands other ways to understand gender/political subjectification and resistance.

In 2017 at the end of my pilot study, I saw that the Edelbina González High School feminist website had uploaded a student letter that accused a male teacher of abusing a student in that institution. The letter gave names and details, and I decided to exclude this sensitive material from my pilot. When I started my fieldwork, I had forgotten about this episode, but the students remembered it as a significant event in their school. At the end of 2017, an anonymous letter was delivered to the members of the community. In the letter, the author explained in detail how a male teacher had used his position to sexually abuse a student while she was a minor and his pupil. The letter also explained how the high school administration and teachers had attempted to "cover-up" this situation. This letter caused an impromptu march to the education department at the municipality to protest the case. Camila told me,
La carta empezó a circular y cuando corrió esa carta todas se emepzaron a enojar.

Todas salieron todas al patio enfurecidas, se podía sentir la efervescencia en el aire.

Las cabras estaban muy enojadas y nos echaban la culpa como centro de estudiantes, y nosotras les decíamos que les habíamos dicho. Yo las entendía porque se sentían pasadas a llevar. Hubo una asamblea improvisada y la profe Milka las trataba de calmar pero fue imposible.156 (Camila, May 25th, 2018)

Adeyadelis also engaged in telling this story but from the perspective of a newcomer to the country and this particular context,

Cuando las niñas se enteraron se enojaron y preguntaban cómo dejaban entrar a profesores así al colegio. Se pusieron molestas porque todos los profesores sabían y no habían dicho nada. Después de que leyeron la carta, todas se pusieron furiosas a protestar. Yo no se cómo hicieron hasta carteles en ese segundo y se fueron a protestar allá enfrente. Yo fui pero le tenía mucho miedo al guanaco. Todas estaban furiosas, y cómo hacían tanto desorden el guanaco les tiró agua. Yo salí corriendo y estaba tan asustada que perdí un zapato por allá. Me dijeron que me podían meter presa o pegar. Yo les pregunté ‘¿cómo a ustedes les gusta hacer tanto pasa calle por cualquier cosa, a mi me daría miedo que me pegara un pacó, que me empuje, que sin querer me pegue en la cabeza?’ Mis compañeras son tan valientes.157

(Adeyadelis, October 3rd, 2018)

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156 “once the letter started to pass from hand to hand around the high school, everyone started to get angry, you could feel the effervescence and the air fizzling, all the school went to the yard and started shouting and screaming in an improvised assembly. They were really angry at us [student government] for not doing anything, but we told them that we had said something. A teacher tried to calm everyone down, but it was impossible”

157 “All the girls were really angry and asked how the school let teachers like that in. They were mad because all the teachers knew about this and said nothing. After reading the letter, everyone started protesting and shouting. I really do not know how they made all those posters and signs right that second, and then left the school to protest. I went with everyone, but I was so, so scared of the water-throwing police bus. They [other
I understand these testimonios as stories told to produce affective collective gender/political student subjectivities as a continuum of entrapments and possibilities. Camila talked about the fizzling air and Adeyadelis of the productive rage that made students shout, take the schoolyards, and create signs and posters in seconds. Camila and Adeyadelis used their testimonios also to explore their desires regarding these events. For one part, Camila attempted to defend her role as student government, and on the other, Adeyadelis expressed her distress at the events, her fear of being violently treated and imprisoned, her desire to be well behaved but also her awe at the combative nature of her classmates.

These testimonios were manifestations of affects that were "to be understood as transversal, non-human forces that need to be assessed in terms of their impact on subjects and the world" (Braidotti, 2018, p.221). The forces that started with the letter crossed the students taking the space of their school to rage and then walked out to march, and continued having an impact at the time the stories were shared. Camila and Adeyadelis explored the affects that crossed spaces and bodies at the moments they described and also produced their desires concerning those moments. First, the story showed how students engaged in common political strategies, like A/P, marching, or fighting the police. Second, the testimonios told were examples of disidentification with radical political strategies, but also, as shown previously in this chapter, they were testimonios about expanding political violence strategies with political caring. Third, the cause of the protest, the impromptu organization in the school space, and the embodiment of politically driven affects (e.g., rage, distrust, shouting and production of political messages in the form of posters)

students] were all so furious and caused such a mess that the police threw pressered water at them. I was so scared, and I ran so fast that I lost one shoe there. My classmates also told me that the police could hit me or send me to jail. I told them, 'I don't know how you like road blocking so much, I would be scared of being hit by a policeman, that accidentally he hits me in the head.' My classmates are so brave."
reflected the struggle for the school space and other political strategies evaluated in this chapter.

The events described in the testimonio are a collective group of students' enactment of "ethics of joy" and "nomadic consciousness" (Braidotti, 2011, 2018), which combines many of the describe political strategies and analysis in this chapter. Even though the school space is one of the entrapments where students experienced gender norms and violence, and engaged in performative resistance towards these norms, the structural and discourse analysis theoretical approach could invisibilize certain disruptive elements. Braidotti's (2011, 2018) concepts can help understand this event not just as collective identification and resistance towards structural gendered power, but also as a process that has another by-product which exceeds these interpretations. The feminist students in these testimonios (both the ones within the story, and the ones telling the story) used their nomadic consciousness rejecting and resisting "hegemonic, fixed, unitary, and exclusionary views of subjectivity" (Braidotti, 2011, p.58). Although Camila and Adeyadelis engaged in processes of disidentification with the "radical" strategies in this story, through political caring for their classmates, they rejected "dualistic oppositions." They presented themselves and the students in the story "as differential modulations of a common matter" (Braidotti, 2018, p.221). They also addressed the problems related to the production of gender and sexual difference -in this case, sexual violence- by exploring their embodied experiences as women (Braidotti, 2011, p.154). They illuminated new knowledges through these stories and engaged in the processes of subjectivity production, reflecting never-ending elucidations (Braidotti, 2014, p.6). As angry feminists, the students refused to forget the
injustices in the story, "their memory [was] activated against the stream; they enact[ed] a rebellion of subjugated knowledges." (Braidotti 2011, p.60).

The students -the characters in the story and the ones telling the story- enacted an "ethics of joy," which "does not deny the reality of pain, trauma, and violence" (Braidotti, 2018, p.223). Based on "the belief that negative relations and passions can be transformed through an engagement in collective practices of change" (Braidotti, 2018, p.222). They engaged with bodies, spaces, and political goals to change the present conditions under which they were understood and recognized as women. The students telling the stories employed "a dynamic view of passions and affects, even those that freeze us in pain, horror or mourning." (Braidotti, 2018, p.222) to describe themselves, and engage with the disidentification they experienced. They showed the conditions of bondage they had to endure in their schools and the world, attempting to represent power. They also engaged and mobilized their desires in disruptive ways to break codes, debilitate power, and create a laboratory of the new in their high school where they sustained "processes of subject-formation that do not comply with the dominant norms." (Braidotti, 2018, p.223).

The feminist students who engaged in "ethics of joy" and nomadic consciousness produced their gender/political subjectivities as nomadic becomings, which were "neither reproduction nor just imitation, but rather emphatic proximity, intensive interconnectedness." (Braidotti, 2011, p.27). Their processes of subject formation were not just about structural norms, resistance, and reproduction. Through affects and collectivity, they were able to do something more than just dialogue with structural power; engage in change.
Chapter 8: The Legacies of the “Daughters of the *Lucha*”:

**Gender/Political Education and the Crisis of Neoliberalism**

This chapter will explore how the findings in Chapters five, six, and seven contribute to how we construct political education for youth amidst the crisis of neoliberalism. The first section will first summarize the findings and arguments presented in chapter four, five, six, and seven, and explain how these three last chapters answer the research query which started this research project. The second section will explore how this research engages with theory and how this theorizing can be productive in subjectivity research. Then I will review the argument of the dissertation and how it contributes to the field of gender and political education. The final section will examine some possible implications for gender and political education. The section will be closed with a small homage/vignette devoted to the feminist performance of “a rapist in your path”.

**8.1. Antagonism, Gender Violence and Norms, Nomadism and “Ethics of Joy”**

The essential contextual knowledge to fully understand the processes and testimonios described in this work is that the 2018 Chilean context of contentious feminist politics was the product of a tradition of student and feminist social movements and political organizing in the country. The feminist students, participants in this study, have grown up and nurtured themselves in a context where politically active public high school are normal, and where legal student political organizations have been used to challenge patriarchy and dictatorship’s neoliberal legacies, while at the same time using them to participate in national social movements. This context responds to the concept of body/community/Pacha based on Paredes’ post-colonial theories: is this Pacha that nurtures and helps the students produce their subjectivities as feminists.
In chapter five, I examined how students took up the question of “Who are we?” I found that they used and disputed historical symbols and collective memories from the socialist efforts of the 70s and the fight against the dictatorship during the 80s in the country. I also analyzed how they symbolically used the confrontation against militarized police and the critiques towards the neoliberal model sustained by the Student Movement to produce themselves. Even though these uses of collective memory and history sustained the production of collective political subjectivities within the Student Movement model, the feminist students in this research project produced figure of the feminista encapuchada as a relevant feminist icon to produce themselves.

The main argument in Chapter Five is that students used collective memory and historical narratives and merged political history with the feminist movement interpreting their own gender/political subjectivities as part of these collective struggles. This process was fraught with affective intensities, which made the production of a gendered/collective “we” as a never-ending critique, forgetting to erase dissent between the members of a political community. These collective “becomings” crossed by affects as intensities should be understood as “affectivisms” or gendered/political forces that struggle against “contaminants and management” (Niccolini, 2018, p.103). The “feminist killjoy” and “mestiza” collective subject positions used by the feminist students surpassed rationality and intentions and produced collective feelings as essential aspects of the Lucha. In other words, the female public high school students who identified as feminist or politically active produced a collective gender/political “we” in the 2018 context of contentious feminist politics through affectivism and never-ending becomings both processes strengthening their gender/political subjectivities.
In chapter six, I explored why participants’ fight. I analyzed tales of gender and sexual violence and the importance of these experiences for them as political actors and their high school’s oppressive and sometimes violent mechanism of gender and political subjectification. The students’ collective answer to “why do we fight?” question relates to the oppressive processes by which different agents, particularly their schools, produce them as subhuman disposable bodies, feminine, caring, quiet, successful, resilient professional neoliberal girls. The students and I identified experiences of violence to norm female bodies in their homes and the streets, and also processes of subjectification as feminine neoliberal girls through naturalization and biologizing of gender differences, erasure and silencing practices, school-sanctioned gender and political participation rites, curricular documents, and spaces exclusive and oppressive knowledges, and discipline and policing practices. The high school processes of producing students’ gender/political subjectivities comes from a modern and neoliberal political framework which attempts to erase conflict and produce successful girls citizens individually capable of bracing the future (Mouffe, 1997, 2002, 2013). In the encounter with the students’ antagonistic political framework, the school strived to re-interpret their gender/political identities in particular ways, which render politically active and feminist students as dumb, neglected, lazy, or some mix.

The main argument in this chapter is that the stories of the normative discourses and embodied processes by which the student where “being-made” in and out of their schools (Ong, 1996) were essential in the production of feminist and politically active gender/political subjectivities. Being able to call out these processes was a necessary process for their subjectivity formation. The feminist students told tales about their imperfect performances of the terms to be recognized as “women,” and how they were
caught by normative violence as a result of policing. They identified these processes as both personal and structural issues affecting female and gender non-conforming bodies. In these stories, the students assembled themselves as collective resisting bodies that link these forces attempting to produce them to “a wider class (or gender) system.” (Raby, 2005, p.158). The same acts by which feminist students recognized and pointed out the processes to “make-them” and explained these were un-natural, were failed performances of gendered/political citational practices of resisting bodies. Engaging in “thick oppositions,” the students oriented their gender/political subjectivities to organize and challenge structural power (Raby, 2005, p.158). The students “thick” resistance or opposition through their testimonios took the form of the first step in an “ethics of joy” (Braidotti, 2018) which consists of the production of collective cartographies of the present conditions of gender/political bondage, which include affects, desires related to the oppression, horror, pain, and rage related to these norms. Even though researchers argue that resistance might not be “necessarily linked to progressive actions,” and they distinguish “resistant intentions from effects” (Raby, 2005, p.160), this chapter shows how these particular processes of resistance towards gender norms were productive in the sense that they mobilized forces and desires “in disruptive directions capable of resisting codes and powers” (Braidotti, 2018, p.223). The students identified as feminist or politically active produced themselves within a patriarchal system through productive resistance. They were capable of orienting their affects in disruptive directions to produce change for social justice.

In chapter seven, I analyzed how the feminist students chose to answer the question of “how do we fight.” The main argument in this chapter is that students engaged in political strategies as collective enactments of “ethics of joy” (Braidotti, 2018), a theoretical
concept which expands other ways to understand gender/political subjectification like “resistance” and “performativity.” The strategies to challenge patriarchy developed by the students were not just processes of collective identification and resistance of structural gendered power, but also strategies that had consequences which exceeded reproduction or resistance. Disidentification processes endured by the feminist students towards radical strategies cannot be analyzed as just that, but also the creation of something new like, for example, feminist political caring strategies. These political caring strategies were “neither reproduction nor just imitation, but rather emphatic proximity, intensive interconnectedness.” (Braidotti, 2011, p.27). The strategies employed by the feminist student do identify structural oppression and conditions of bondage moved forward with “a dynamic view of passions and affects, even those that freeze us in pain, horror or mourning” (Braidotti, 2018, p.222). They changed the terms for recognizability as “women” in their school, creating a laboratory of the new and engaging and sustaining “processes of subject- formation that do not comply with the dominant norms.” (Braidotti, 2018, p.223).

This research project has been guided by the question, how do female public high school students in Chile who identify as feminist or politically active produce their gender/political subjectivities in the 2018 context of contentious feminist politics? Throughout these past chapters I have explored how students used affectivisms, productive resistance, and political caring to achieve political goals and produce themselves. The students involved in these practices were not only able to challenge structural oppressive forces, but also change the conditions for recognizability for themselves, producing their subjectivities as powerful, creative, resisting bodies, which can move from horror and pain
towards creating not just livable conditions but justice-oriented and caring subject positions for themselves.

8.2. Thinking About Theory

In this section, I theorize how my research shaped my engagement with philosophical concepts, and explore what potential benefits this engagement with theory can have. I will analyze my use of the “us/them” social movements’ concept, antagonism, mestiza, nomadism, difference, resistance, creativity, and change. I will argue that hybrid theoretical engagements can help us better address certain elements in research concerning subjectification.

The findings in this research are an example of how subjects can engage both in the process of creating political cohesive groups and adversaries and engage in constant movement, fracturing those unities for political gain. The political model from Benford, Davies, and Fine (2002) serves to understand how subjects in social movements produce the boundaries around those who are identified as “us” and those identified as “them” using collective narratives, affects, and passions. For her part, Mouffe’s political antagonistic model (1997, 2002, 2013) and her critique of neoliberal political attempts to erase passions and dissent from the public sphere points to the inescapable political processes of producing a “we” with a corresponding “them” towards which political conflict is oriented (Mouffe, 1997, p.386; 2002, p.615,). She proposes to acknowledge the “we/them discrimination in a way that is compatible with pluralist democracy.” (Mouffe, 1997, p.386). These theoretical tools do not imply there is no movement in the configuration of the collective political identities and binaries, but alone could serve to produce analysis that shows a somehow still picture, which rests on a binary understanding of gender/political
subjectivity formation. Even though some theorists (e.g., Braidotti, 2011) have claimed that we should not rely on binarism to understand the world, I believe that in a particular political context the binary “us/them” and the antagonistic model are useful to produce and address collective subjectivities, collective affects, and the political force behind specific causes. As Mouffe has argued antagonism should be managed in society because of its potential pitfalls (e.g., de-humanizing the antagonists). The processes of analysis of antagonisms can be combined with more movement-oriented theoretical perspectives. Anzaldúa’s mestiza figure connects the production of borders with movement. The mestiza regularly crosses and moves through the borders and borderlands, which are formed by “emotional residue of an unnatural boundary, a constant state of transition” (Anzaldúa, 2007, p.25). Movement between unnatural boundaries is what defines the subjectivity production of the mestiza, if we understand the feminist students processes of subjectivity production as collective mestiza processes this could render much richer understandings of the construction of the “us/them” binary that would account for movement, affect, and change, and help with some of the pitfalls inherent in confrontative structural analysis.

The findings and argument in this study also allow us to see how structural understandings of gender, or political categories, and difference binaries can also work together with theoretical perspectives centered on change. This dissertation also shows the benefits of seeing these theoretical understandings work together. Butler (2011) and Gargallo (2007) explore the production of gender and sexual difference but center their argument on the performative power in the phallologocentric social order. Both philosophers have done an extraordinary job creating analytic tools that can be used to understand the processes and norms which are imposed through institutionalized power or
other positions of privilege to produce—in the case of this dissertation—public school working-class female subjectivities. Butler (2011) explains that to be recognized as a viable (worth living) subject, one has to engage in performances that are guided by those norms. She explains that from the failed citational practices, and the discomfort some experience in the performances of their subjectivities is that critique and resistance emerges. In this way, both Butler and Gargallo analyze resistance and critique as forces that necessarily dialogue with structural power. They both give importance to the analysis of the terms to be recognized as a viable subject, to underscore their unnaturalness and the almost unlivable conditions they produce for some subjects. Even though I agree that exposing these processes is essential (feminist) political work, I also think that this macro focus on those forces might just—as Braidotti (2018) explains—“freeze us in pain, horror or mourning” (p.222), instead of focusing on how to change the phallogocentric power structure. For their part, both Braidotti (2011, 2018) and Paredes (2014), analyze how “our bodies are the form of our being (...) [and] place us in the world and in the social relations that the world constructed before we arrived into it” but also are sites of resistance and creativity (Paredes, 2014, pp.98-99). The idea of considering resistance in relation to creativity is a powerful theoretical tool to analyze social movements and school processes of subject formation. Paredes argues that the body has a collective existence that connects it to their community and context; these connections and rejection of classificatory processes could be potential tools to create new social structures. For her part, Braidotti thinks that resistance needs to be enlarged by engaging with affects (understood as forces that move outside bodies) and redirecting these in disruptive creative ways. This research has addressed Butler’s and Gargallo’s task (chapter six), but it has also attempted to show how feminist students were
able to move forward and produce change collectively. This does not mean that I argue that any oppressed subject must take the responsibility to challenge and change structural power, but that we need to consider how those subjects are already engaging in creative change, and how their understanding and experiences are central to feel, imagine and think new more just social orders.

8.3. Contributions to the Field of Gender and Political Education

Through this research, I have been building on and contributing to several areas in educational research. In my literature review chapter, I identified several contributions this study could make to the field of education and gender/political subjectification. In this section, I will outline some of these contributions.

Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to answer how do Chilean high school female students develop their gender/political subjectivities in the context of contentious feminist politics. I have argued that feminist students produce themselves as nomadic mestiza bodies engaging with pre-existing political frameworks but, at the same time, building something more. Even though students assembled themselves within the us/them framework of the Student Movement, and their high school attempted to reproduce them as feminine, successful, conflict-free girls, the feminist students displaced both the antagonistic and neoliberal model producing their bodies as nomadic, ever-shifting, vulnerable, strong, and connected with collective memories and historical narratives. The production of the feminist students' gender/political subjectivities through “affectivism,” resistance, and political caring renders the participants as nomadic mestiza bodies, always becoming, and collectively connected and empowered by one another to produce political change. This argument builds on the research on communitarian student struggles against
structural oppressions (e.g., Taft, 2011) and addressed the gaps in the literature related to the analysis of the students’ own organization. It also points towards the importance of considering processes of subjectification within the interrelation of structural power and possibilities of change. Feminist students in this study proved that in this context, they could move past resistance into political change. Both mapping the conditions of bondage and the points of resistance, they used these to produce themselves as competent and valid feminist political interlocutors.

In chapter two, I argued that in Chile, there was little to no research from a critical gender perspective that considers how students’ gender/political subjectivities are produced in schools and other educational settings, and how students take up these processes. In contrast, my study approached gender education from a different frame than “stereotypes.” In chapter six, I analyzed processes of production of gender norms for recognizability. My findings confirm what other authors have explored in different contexts (see chapter two); the institutionalized production of students’ gender subjectivities usually are oppressive and even violent because, as Butler (2011) explains, subjects can only perform these norms by erasing elements which do not fit within them. Through the students’ testimonios and observations, I have analyzed the continuum of gender violence experienced by students in their school and streets with variation of intensities and consequences for their bodies. This is not a new finding in gender education research but still is essential in the Chilean context.

In chapter two, I also argued there was a gap in regards to the gender neoliberal citizen in Chilean educational discourse. Through my findings, I have also approached this gap exploring how gendered subjects are produced within a neoliberal system by
institutionalized power. In this neoliberal structure, institutionalized power has coopted particular feminist, and queer tenements and principles, like the condemnation of physical gender violence, and the production of female students as feminine successful active girls in the future. Nevertheless, this “politics” system refuses to acknowledge social conflict and hegemonic structures that produce the continuum of violence for those who are identified as women or gender non-conforming. The erasure of patriarchy as a living social organism that mutates to produce sexual difference in pejorative forms still is critical to understand and challenge gender/political oppressive subjectification processes. Even though the feminist students in this research accomplished change through their political engagements, the institutionalized powers went to extreme lengths to erase the possibilities of students to rebel, resist, and produce change. This dissertation continues analyzing the conditions of bondage in diverse contexts and contributes to visibilize the responsibilities and possibilities within the grasp of institutionalized power.

Finally, in this study, I have addressed not only students’ political engagements, but also how this organizing interacted, or not, with formal political education; albeit citizenship education. During my time at Edelbina González High School, I realized that the students learned how to become politically active subjects in the processes of engaging with student politics (e.g., voting for a new student government), and through friendship relationships. Even though students were politically knowledgeable and active, the truth is that these knowledges and practices were rarely celebrated or used by teachers in formal political education. The institutional power’s production of student politics as incorrect ways to become gendered/political subjects was somehow effective in the classroom space. As other researchers have argued, it seems that in formal school spaces citizenship
education, “political participation” is a thing produced and reproduced as something that will come in the future and through formal political institutions (Mayorga, 2017b).

I have examined in chapters six and seven how Edelbina González High School and the municipality education department did everything they could to debilitate student political engagement and political conflict attempting to produce school as a politically neutral space. As Mouffe has argued, a neoliberal “politics” framework erases passions and antagonism and “offers us a picture of the well-ordered society as one from which antagonism, violence, power, and repression have disappeared.” (Mouffe, 1997, p.392). In this framework or this “consensual dream.” (Mouffe, 2002, p.615) the processes by which the system is produced are presented as neutral. As Mayorga (2017a) has argued, in the current Chilean “politics” system, schools are perceived as fields where the political should be erased to achieve political “neutrality.” At Edelbina González, the student politics system could be described as an “antagonistic” model, so, understandably, both the school and the municipality department of education attempted to erase it in their efforts to produce schools as part of the “consensual dream” and politically neutral fields.

These issues relate to the apparent contradiction I referred to in chapters one and two of this dissertation. The apparent disconnect between what Chilean female high school students are experiencing as organizers of social movements, and what researchers and educational experts report as a crisis of civic disengagement in political education -as I explained in my literature review chapter- is connected to the “consensual dream” of institutionalized power. While different adult actors in Chile are agitated about the supposed civic disengagement from youth, the “consensual dream” has made them turn a blind eye, or directly attack (e.g., Santiago Municipality’s Mayor) how students are acting
citizens worried for their community in the present. In the current Chilean context of social uprising and the crisis of the neoliberal model not just in Chile (Mayol, November 20th, 2019), but worldwide (BBC, November 11th, 2019), influential social actors still have trouble letting go of a “consensual dream” democracy.

8.4. Implications for Political and Gender Education.

These contributions to the research field have some possible macro and micro implications in regards to gender and political education. Considering these contributions, I argue that citizenship education could gain much from attempting to dismantle this “consensual dream,” include passions, antagonism, and harness the students’ pedagogical knowledges. I am here arguing for a nomadic mestiza model of antagonism and conflict, which allows students and teachers to avoid being trapped in particular political subject positions, and where they can cross the set boundaries around labels again and again. In this sense, I argue that citizenship education should explicitly include and involve political education. We could start dialogues about what sort of democracy should be considered viable. The feminist students in this dissertation demonstrated their capacities to be effective gendered political actors even while their high school attempted to erase their engaged subjectivities and actions. We could explore what could happen if we do not eradicate these. I am not claiming that we should include students in the “consensual dream” but erase that dream all together acknowledging and attempting to change hegemonic structures while engaging in political conflict in nomadic mestiza ways.

This argument implies the need to produce in-depth reform of the structures and processes of knowledge production in the field of education. This is urgent and extremely important, particularly if public figures wish to move from claiming they care about gender
equality and civic engagement to produce it. It is not enough to end same-sex schools, give more hours to teach sexual education, or create a new course of citizenship education (e.g., Santiago Municipality’s mayor, 2018 Minister of Education). I have analyzed those proposals and argue that they are still within the promise of the neoliberal “consensual dream,” in which political agents cannot (and also wish not to) acknowledge conflict and the structural character of privilege. This is why this implication leads me to the following query: what could be the necessary steps to prompt in-depth educational reform?

This research’s contributions can also be transformed into some pedagogical knowledges regarding citizenship and gender education. In a transformative citizenship education -which dialogues with political education- teachers could start dialogues about what particular political issues are relevant for students in the present, and inquire into possible ways in which students are already engaging in political actions. I have argued that one place to look for these engagements is in social media (Pilot; Errázuriz, 2019), but this is not the only place where students engage with political issues, particularly in the Chilean context.

Second, the processes of teaching and learning about student politics employed by participants were horizontal and happened in the process of engaging with the established system within their schools. Teachers could help produce these flat spaces of teaching and learning politics. A third implication for citizenship education relates to how students employed collective memories and historical narratives to produce themselves as competent and valid political interlocutors and also to draw from the political knowledges developed by others in the past. Citizenship education usually does not include the figures and historical processes that seem relevant for politically active students. At least in Chile, the
formal citizenship and history curriculum is curated so that only certain political actors and strategies which reproduce the current social order are included (Errázuriz, 2017). A teacher might attempt to include these excluded knowledges (e.g., the mentioned replacement teacher, Milka), or a student also might try to do this (e.g., Yocelyn), and those moments can be productive inputs for students.

These pedagogical knowledges could be useful in the processes by which teachers and students engage in “being made” and “self-making” as gender/political subjects. However, these “practical applications” cannot be taken as neutral recipes for success without considering the macro forces that rule educational institutions, and the possible fractures or lines of flight that might be discovered to produce change. For example, students’ horizontal modes of teaching and learning and their learning by doing was not politically neutral; it differed radically from Paula’s activity in which students had to create a fictitious political party and campaign. The things that students were at pains to learn from each other were political strategies related to issues that mattered to them in the present and could have a real impact. They were not simulating; they were living politics. Attempting to reproduce these pedagogical knowledges as “simulations” would not have affective forces working in its favor.

There are also some micro implications and pedagogical knowledges regarding education for gender justice. Even though in an ideal world, we could create a space where female students can freely engage politically with their male classmates, the all-female space of Edelbina González school provided particular tools and subject positions that made it easier for the students to rebel and craft less oppressed gender/political subjectivities. The feminist students’ school was an all-female space, but not anymore. At
the end of 2018, the institution changed this with the blessing of Santiago’s municipality. This action happened despite the current conditions of bondage for female minors.

This all-female space could be analyzed from a feminist perspective as an “in the meantime” solution. The students managed to use the school as a platform to produce their gender/political subjectivities in radically less oppressed ways. This could mean that all-female spaces could harness certain benefits at the moment. Movement and change are of critical importance to address issues related to the production of oppressive gender terms for recognizability. I am not here arguing for all-female spaces everywhere but—as Braidotti (2011, 2018) and Paredes (2014) have mentioned—careful considerations of movement, change, and the relation of bodies, communities, and spaces are necessary in our efforts to challenge structural powers. It is a complicated process that needs to balance hopeful desires and pessimistic assessments, and re-evaluate these over and over, always open to change projects and actions. More than an implication, I want to open a query that might prompt productive thinking in regards to this matter: what could be necessary to ensure spaces with available subject positions to resist and use lines of flight for students that identify as a woman or gender non-conforming?

Another important implication for gender education and social justice driven citizenship education is to focus not just on oppressive structures but also in the lines of flight already happening, use them, and engage in anti-oppressive change in the present. I have attempted throughout this research process to orient myself towards the possibilities opened up by these feminist students’ processes of gender/political subjectification. Even though some actions and testimonios described in the dissertation seemed to reflect the power of the phallogocentric system, students were engaged in resistance and change. In
those performances, they were producing more and opening avenues that dismantled piece by piece the current conditions of bondage.

The Lucha must indeed continue because the neoliberal phallogocentric system adapts and changes. However, in the current Chilean context of social upheaval and neoliberal crisis, I am more hopeful than pessimistic. Even though the Lucha will not end, it might gain sufficient traction to bite off more significant pieces of the conditions of bondage and produce bodies, communities, and contexts that are not just endurable for oppressed bodies. Teachers, policymakers, and feminists could embrace the different forms in which subjects that identify as women and gender non-conforming are already creating such subject positions for themselves and others, and employ them in their teaching, policymaking, and political organizing.

I want to finish this dissertation through a brief analysis and homage to the Chilean feminist movement in which it is included the four-women activist collective “Lastesis.” In the context of the Chilean crisis of the neoliberal model and social protest, these four young women created an embodied performance -“A Rapist in your Path”- to directly point out the systematic problem of violence against those who identify or are identified as women (La Tercera, November 26th, 2019). They created a chant and dance that spread not just in Chile, but also around the world in only a few days (BBC, December 13th, 2019), and in which some of the feminist students in this study participated (Camila, Violeta, Mati, personal communication 2019). I understand their actions as creating collective subject positions that, in the moments of the performance (and maybe afterward), were not just useful to survive. They created a new -possibly temporary, perhaps not- frame to be recognized as women and political actors. They changed the rules of what counted as
political engagement, and they produced a space for affects (as forces) that transmitted rage, and also luchadora related emotions. It is true that the message of this performance was directed towards patriarchy and show resistance but, the affects that crossed observers and me -as I write this epilogue-, are related to rage, hope, strength, and pride, which surpass and exceed resistance in order to survive.

Figure 28: Embroidery, last version at the time of this dissertation deposit
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## Appendix A: Summary table of participants and others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marcela</td>
<td>Teacher in academic unit</td>
<td>Participates in the archive project * Informant * Neutral regards student mobilizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paula</td>
<td>Civics Teacher</td>
<td>Teaches civics and history in other grades * Head of history department at Edelbina González * Negative perspective in relation to student mobilizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego</td>
<td>History Teacher</td>
<td>Teaches world and Chilean history * Veteran teacher * Neutral in regards to student mobilizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milka</td>
<td>Literature Teacher</td>
<td>Identifies as Feminist * Informant * positive perspective towards student mobilizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. López</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Former Edelbina González student * Against student mobilizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camila</td>
<td>12th grade Student</td>
<td>Chilean * Identifies as Feminist * 2017 Student Government President * Veteran politically involved student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violeta</td>
<td>12th grade Student</td>
<td>Chilean * Identifies as Feminist * Worked in 2017 Student Government * Veteran politically involved student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mati</td>
<td>12th grade Student</td>
<td>Chilean * Identifies as Feminist * Worked in 2017 Student Government * Veteran politically involved student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>12th grade Student</td>
<td>Chilean * Identifies as Feminist * Newcomer to feminist and student politics * Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adeyadelis</td>
<td>12th grade Student</td>
<td>Not Chilean * Newcomer to LGBTQI and student politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yocelyn</td>
<td>12th grade Student</td>
<td>Chilean * Identifies as politically active and sympathizer of the feminist cause * Veteran politically involved student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Other mentioned students</td>
<td>Some feminist and some activist students, some to give context to conversations and interactions happening in school.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Brief simplified explanation of Research Project

Teachers College, Columbia University  
525 West 120th Street  
New York NY 10027  
212 678 3000  
www.tc.edu

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCHER SCRIPT  
CITIZENSHIP AND GENDER EDUCATION IN CHILEAN SCHOOLS

My name is Valentina Errazuriz. I am a Ph. D. candidate in the Social Studies Education program at Teachers College, Columbia University in New York City.

I am doing a study on gender and citizenship education. I want to understand the different political education practices in which female high school students like you participate and use to build your citizen identities. I want to know what do you think about feminism, politics, and history, and how have you learned about what it means to be a woman in Chile.

I will give you a document that explains the research in detail and what I am asking of you. If you and your parents (if you are younger than 18) accept to be part of this study, you will see me around in classes and during recesses and lunch. I will also invite all of you who identify as feminists in this cohort group to participate in individual interviews and art workshops where we will learn how to do stitching art expressions and collage art. You can ask me questions at any time, and if you do not feel comfortable with my presence or my questions, you can ask me to stop at any time too.

Could someone please explain what I’m supposed to be doing here? Thank you!
Mi nombre es Valentina Errazuriz. Soy una candidata a Doctora en Educación en Ciencias Sociales en Teachers College, en la Universidad de Columbia de Nueva York.

Estoy haciendo un estudio sobre educación ciudadana y de género. Quiero entender las diferentes prácticas de educación política en las que estudiantes secundarias mujeres como ustedes participan y usan para construir sus identidades ciudadanas. Me interesa saber que piensan sobre feminismo, política e historia, y como han aprendido lo que significa ser mujer en Chile.

Les entregaré un documento que explica esta investigación en detalle y qué es lo que les estoy pidiendo. Si ustedes y sus padres (si es que son menores de 18) aceptan ser parte de este estudio, me verán observando sus clases de historia, los eventos cívicos y durante los recreos. También invitare a todas las estudiantes de este curso que se identifiquen como feministas a participar en entrevistas individuales y talleres artísticos donde aprenderemos a realizar bordado artístico y collage. Me pueden preguntar cosas en cualquier momento y si no se sienten cómodos con mi presencia o mis preguntas, pueden detenerme en cualquier instante también.

¿Podría alguien explicarme que estoy haciendo? ¡Muchas gracias!
Appendix C: Personal and Parental consent

Teachers College, Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
New York NY 10027
212 678 3000

PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM

Protocol Title: Gender and citizenship education in Chilean Schools
Principal Investigator: Valentina Errazuriz Besa, Ph.D. candidate in Social Studies
Education, Teachers College, Columbia University
(+56)9 40195260, ve2147@tc.columbia.edu

INTRODUCTION
Your child is being invited to participate in this research study called “Gender and citizenship education in Chilean Schools” Your child may qualify to take part in this research study because they are female students in an all-female Chilean high school. Approximately 30 students will participate in this study. Depending on the activities they participate it will take a minimum of 60 minutes and a maximum of 4 hours of your child’s time to complete, distributed across 9 months.

Funding for this study has been provided by the Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (CONICYT)- Chile.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?
This study is being done to understand the different citizenship and gender education practices in which high school students engage, in the context of contemporary Chile.

WHAT WILL MY CHILD BE ASKED TO DO IF I AGREE THAT MY CHILD CAN TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?
If you decide your child to take part in this study, your child will be observed during their history and social studies classes during the school year, and in other settings where they might engage in citizenship education practices. These observations will not disrupt their normal activities and they will not be asked to do anything in particular during these.
Your child might also be selected to be interviewed by the principal investigator. During the interview, your child will be asked to discuss their perceptions about their History and Social Studies classroom and school experience as females, about the past and present Chilean political scenario, about feminism, and about their present and projected citizenship participation. This interview will be audio-recorded. After the audio-recording is written down (transcribed) the audio-recording will be deleted. If you do not wish your child to be audio-recorded, your child will still be able to participate. Your child might be interviewed two times during the school year, and each interview will take approximately one hour. Your child will be given a pseudonym or false name in order to keep their identity confidential.

Your child might also be selected to participate in a workshop run by the principal investigator where students will learn to tell stories and experiences through art. This will be audio-recorded. After the audio-recording is written down (transcribed) the audio-recording will be deleted. If you do not wish your child to be audio-recorded, your child will still be able to participate. Everyone will be asked not to discuss what is being spoken
about outside of the workshop but it is impossible to guarantee complete confidentiality. Each workshop will be conducted after school and take about two hours.

WHAT POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS CAN MY CHILD EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

This is a minimal risk study, which means the harms or discomforts that your child may experience are not greater than your child would ordinarily encounter in daily life while taking routine physical or psychological examinations or tests. However, there are some risks to consider. Your child might feel embarrassed to discuss personal experiences. However, your child does not have to answer any questions or divulge anything they don’t want to talk about. Your child can stop participating in the study at any time without penalty. You might feel concerned that things your child might say might get back to their teachers. The principal investigator is taking precautions to keep your child’s information confidential and prevent anyone from discovering what they say or their identity, such as using a pseudonym instead of their name and keeping all information on a password protected computer and locked in a file drawer.

WHAT POSSIBLE BENEFITS CAN MY CHILD EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no direct benefit to your child for participating in this study. Participation may benefit the field of education to better understand the different ways in which high school students engage with citizenship and gender education practices inside and outside of school.

WILL MY CHILD BE PAID FOR BEING IN THIS STUDY?

Your child will not be paid to participate. There are no costs to your child for taking part in this study.

WHEN IS THE STUDY OVER? CAN MY CHILD LEAVE THE STUDY BEFORE IT ENDS?

The study is over when the school year finishes and, in case your child is interviewed or participates in a workshop, when your child has completed two interviews and two workshops. However, your child can leave the study at any time even if they haven’t finished.

PROTECTION OF YOUR CHILD’S CONFIDENTIALITY

The investigator will keep all written materials locked in a desk drawer in a locked office. Any electronic or digital information (including audio recordings) will be stored on a computer that is password protected. What is on the audio-recording will be written down and the audio-recording will then be destroyed. There will be no record matching your child’s real name with their pseudonym. Research data concerning children will be kept for five years.

HOW WILL THE RESULTS BE USED?
The results of this study will be published in journals and presented at academic conferences. Your child’s name or any identifying information about your child will not be published. This study is being conducted as part of the dissertation of the principal investigator.

CONSENT FOR AUDIO RECORDING
Audio recording is part of this research study. You can choose whether to give permission for your child to be recorded. If you decide that you don’t wish your child to be recorded, they will still be able to participate in this study.

_____ I give my consent for my child to be recorded

____________________________________________
Signature

_____ I do not consent for my child to be recorded

____________________________________________
Signature

WHO MAY VIEW MY CHILD’S PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY

_____ I consent to allow my child’s written, and/or audio taped materials viewed at an educational setting or at a conference outside of Teachers College

____________________________________________
Signature

_____ I do not consent to allow my child’s written, and/or audio taped materials viewed outside of Teachers College Columbia University

____________________________________________
Signature

OPTIONAL CONSENT FOR FUTURE CONTACT

The investigator may wish to contact you in the future. Please initial the appropriate statements to indicate whether or not you give permission for future contact.

I give permission to be contacted in the future for research purposes:

Yes ________________________   No_______________________
Initial          Initial

I give permission to be contacted in the future for information relating to this study:

Yes ________________________   No_______________________
Initial          Initial

WHO CAN ANSWER MY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS STUDY?
If you have any questions about taking part in this research study, you should contact the principal investigator, Valentina Errazuriz Besa, at (+56)9 40195260 or at ve2147@tc.columbia.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you should contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) (the human research ethics committee) at 212-678-4105 or email IRB@tc.edu. Or you can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 1002. The IRB is the committee that oversees human research protection for Teachers College, Columbia University.

**PARTICIPANT’S RIGHTS**

- I have read and discussed the informed consent with the researcher. I have had ample opportunity to ask questions about the purposes, procedures, risks and benefits regarding this research study.
- I understand that my child’s participation is voluntary. I may refuse to allow my child to participate or withdraw participation at any time without penalty. I understand that my child may refuse to participate without penalty.
- The researcher may withdraw my child from the research at his or her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to allow my child to continue participation, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research study that personally identifies my child will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- I should receive a copy of the Informed Consent document.

My signature means that I agree to allow my child participate in this study

Child’s name: ______________________________________________

Print Parent or guardian’s name: __________________________________

Parent or guardian’s signature: __________________________________

Date: __________________
FORMULARIO DE PERMISO PARENTAL

Título del protocolo: Educación de género y ciudadana en las escuelas chilenas
Investigadora Principal: Valentina Errázuriz Besa, candidata a doctora en Educación en Ciencias Sociales, Teachers College, Columbia University
(+56)9 40195260, ve2147@tc.columbia.edu

INTRODUCCIÓN
Su hija ha sido invitada participar en un estudio titulado “Educación de género y ciudadana en las escuelas chilenas”. Su hija puede participar de este estudio porque es actualmente estudiante en una escuela secundaria chilena de niñas. Aproximadamente 30 estudiantes participarán de este estudio. Dependiendo de las actividades en la que participe, completarlo le tomará a su hija un mínimo de 60 minutos y un máximo de 4 horas, distribuidas a lo largo de 9 meses.
La investigadora principal de este estudio es becaria de Becas Chile-CONICYT Chile.

¿CUÁL ES EL OBJETIVO DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
El objetivo de este estudio es comprender las distintas prácticas de educación de género ciudadana en las que participan las estudiantes secundarias, en el contexto del Chile de hoy.

¿QUÉ SE LE PEDIRÁ A MI HIJA EN CASO DE QUE ACEPTE PARTICIPAR DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
Si usted decide que su hija forme parte de este estudio, ella será observada durante el año escolar, mientras realice sus actividades cotidianas en clases de historia y ciencias sociales y otros espacios en los que pueda participar de prácticas de educación ciudadana y/o de género. Estas observaciones no interrumpirán sus actividades normales y no se le pedirá a su hija realizar nada especial durante éstas.
Su hija también podría ser seleccionada para ser entrevistado por la investigadora principal. Durante la entrevista, se le preguntará a su hija sobre su percepción y experiencias como niña en sus clases de historia y ciencias sociales, sobre el pasado y el presente político de Chile, sobre su opinión al respecto de feminismo y sobre su participación ciudadana actual y futura. La entrevista será grabada (solo audio). Una vez que la grabación sea transcrita (pasada en limpio), ésta será borrada. Si usted no desea que su hija sea grabada, aun así, podrá participar del estudio. Su hija será entrevistada dos veces durante el año escolar y cada entrevista tomará aproximadamente una hora. En la transcripción, se le dará a su hija un seudónimo o nombre falso, para mantener su identidad confidencial.
Su hija también podría llegar a ser seleccionada para participar de un taller liderado por la investigadora principal, donde se aprenderá a contar historias a través de técnicas artísticas. Esta conversación será grabada (solo audio). Una vez que la grabación sea transcrita (pasada en limpio), ésta será borrada. Si usted no desea que su hija sea grabada, aun así, podrá participar del estudio. A todos los participantes del taller se les pedirá no discutir lo
que allí se converse, aunque es imposible garantizar que no lo harán. Este taller tomará alrededor de dos horas y se realizará después del horario escolar.

¿QUÉ POSIBLES RIESGOS O INCOMODIDADES PUEDE ESPERAR MI HIJA AL PARTICIPAR DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

Este es un estudio de mínimo riesgo, lo que significa que los riesgos e incomodidades que su hija pudiera experimentar no son mayores de los que normalmente encontraría en su vida cotidiana, tomando exámenes físicos o psicológicos de rutina. Sin embargo, hay ciertos riesgos que considerar. Su hija podría sentirse incómodo de discutir experiencias personales. Por ello, ella no tiene que responder ninguna pregunta que no desee o hablar de algún tema que no quiera. Su hija puede detener su participación en este estudio en cualquier momento sin ninguna penalización. Usted también podría estar preocupado/a de que lo que diga su hija fuera a ser conocido por sus profesores. Por ello, la investigadora principal tomará todas las precauciones necesarias para mantener su información confidencial y evitar que cualquier persona pueda descubrir o adivinar la identidad de su hija o lo que diga (precauciones como usar un seudónimo en vez de su nombre y mantener toda la información en un computador protegido con contraseña y guardado bajo llave).

¿QUÉ POSIBLES BENEFICIOS PUEDE ESPERAR MI HIJA SI PARTICIPA DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

No hay beneficios directos para su hija por participar de este estudio. Su participación puede contribuir al campo de la Educación, ayudando a entender mejor las distintas formas en las que las estudiantes secundarias participan de prácticas de educación de género y ciudadana dentro y fuera de los espacios escolares.

¿SE LE PAGARÁ A MI HIJA POR PARTICIPAR DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

No hay pagos asociados a la participación de su hija en este estudio. No hay tampoco costos para su hija asociados a su participación en este estudio.

¿CUÁNDO TERMINA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN? ¿PUEDE MI HIJA ABANDONAR LA INVESTIGACIÓN ANTES DE QUE TERMINE?

El estudio concluye cuando el año escolar termine y, en el caso de que sea entrevistada o participe de un taller, cuando haya completado dos de cada una de estas actividades. Sin embargo, su hija puede abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento, incluso si aún no ha finalizado.

PROTECCIÓN DE LA CONFIDENCIALIDAD DE MI HIJA

La investigadora guardará todos los materiales escritos bajo llave en su oficina. Cualquier información electrónica o digital (incluyendo grabaciones de audio) serán guardadas en un computador protegido por contraseña. El contenido de las grabaciones de audio será escrito y luego las grabaciones serán destruidas. No habrá ningún registro que conecte el nombre real de su hija con su seudónimo. Regulaciones federales requieren que la data de la investigación relativa a menores de edad sea guardada por al menos cinco años.

¿CÓMO SE USARÁN LOS RESULTADOS DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
Los resultados de este estudio serán publicados en revistas académicas y presentadas en conferencias. El nombre de su hija y cualquier información que le identifique no serán publicadas. Este estudio forma parte de la tesis doctoral de la investigadora principal.

CONSENTIMIENTO PARA SER GRABADO (SÓLO AUDIO)
Cómo parte de este estudio, su hija podría ser grabado en audio. Usted puede decidir si dar permiso para que su hija sea grabada. Si usted no quiere que su hija sea grabada, de todos modos puede participar del estudio.

_____ Consiento que mi hija sea grabada (audio)
____________________________________
Firma

_____ No consiento que mi hija sea grabada (audio)
____________________________________
Firma

¿QUIÉN PUEDÉ VER LA PARTICIPACIÓN DE MI HIJA EN ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

___ Yo autorizo que material escrito o grabado relativo a mi hija pueda ser visto en espacios educacionales o conferencias fuera de Teachers College __________________________
Firma

___ Yo no autorizo que material escrito o grabado relativo a mi hija pueda ser visto en espacios educacionales o conferencias fuera de Teachers College ________________
Firma

CONSENTIMIENTO OPCIONAL PARA FUTURO CONTACTO

La investigadora puede querer contactarle en el futuro. Por favor escriba sus iniciales en la declaración correspondiente para indicar si otorga o no permiso para ser contactado/a nuevamente.

Yo doy mi permiso para ser contactado/a en el futuro por motivos de investigación:

Sí ________________________ No_______________________
Iniciales Iniciales

Yo doy mi permiso para ser contactado/a en el futuro por información referida a este estudio:

Sí ________________________ No_______________________
Iniciales Iniciales
¿QUIÉN PUEDE RESPONDER A MIS PREGUNTAS SOBRE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre su participación en este estudio, debe contactar a la investigadora principal, Valentina Errázuriz Besa, al (+56)9 40195260 o al ve2147@tc.columbia.edu.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como sujeto de esta investigación, debe contactar al Institutional Review Board (IRB) (el Comité de Ética en investigaciones) al 212-678-4105 o al email IRB@tc.edu. O puede escribir a IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 1002. El IRB es el comité que supervisa la protección de los sujetos de investigación en Teachers College, Columbia University.

DERECHOS DE LOS PARTICIPANTES

- He leído y discutido el consentimiento informado con la investigadora. He tenido amplia oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre los objetivos, riesgos y beneficios relacionados con esta investigación.
- Entiendo que la participación de mi hija es voluntaria y que puedo rehusarme a autorizarle a participar o retirarle de la investigación en cualquier momento sin ninguna penalización. Entiendo que mi hija puede rehusarse también a participar de este estudio sin ninguna penalización.
- La investigadora puede retirar a mi hija de la investigación a su discreción profesional.
- Si durante el desarrollo de la investigación surge nueva información que pueda afectar mi voluntad de permitir a mi hija participar del estudio, la investigadora me la proveerá.
- Cualquier información derivada de esta información que identifique personalmente a mi hija no será voluntariamente publicada o comunicada sin mi expreso consentimiento, con la excepción de aquellos casos en que la ley determine lo contrario.
- Recibiré una copia del documento de Consentimiento Informado.

Mi firma significa que autorizo a mi hija a participar de este estudio

Nombre de la menor: __________________________________________________________

Nombre del apoderado/a: _____________________________________________________

Firma del apoderado/a: _______________________________________________________

Fecha: __________________
INTRODUCTION
You have been invited to participate in this research study called “Gender and citizenship education in Chilean Schools”. You qualify to take part in this research study because you are a female student in an all-female Chilean high school. Approximately 30 students will participate in this study. Depending on the activities they participate it will take a minimum of 60 minutes and a maximum of 4 hours of your time to complete, distributed across 9 months.

Funding for this study has been provided by the Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (CONICYT) - Chile.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?
This study is being done to understand the different citizenship and gender education practices in which high school students engage, in the context of contemporary Chile.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO IF I AGREE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?
If you decide to take part in this study, your will be observed during your history and social studies classes during the school year, and in other settings where were you might engage in citizenship education practices. These observations will not disrupt your normal activities and you will not be asked to do anything in particular during these.

You might also be selected to be interviewed by the principal investigator. During the interview, your will be asked to discuss your perceptions about History and Social Studies classroom and school experience as female, about the past and present Chilean political scenario, about feminism, and about your present and projected citizenship participation. This interview will be audio-recorded. After the audio-recording is written down (transcribed) the audio-recording will be deleted. If you do not wish to be audio-recorded, you will still be able to participate. You might be interviewed two times during the school year, and each interview will take approximately one hour. You will be given a pseudonym or false name in order to keep your identity confidential.

You might also be selected to participate in a workshop run by the principal investigator where students will learn to tell stories and experiences through art. This will be audio-recorded. After the audio-recording is written down (transcribed) the audio-recording will be deleted. If you do not wish to be audio-recorded, you still will be able to participate. Everyone will be asked not to discuss what is being spoken about outside of the workshop but it is impossible to guarantee complete confidentiality. Each workshop will be conducted after school and take about two hours.
WHAT POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS CAN YOU EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
This is a minimal risk study, which means the harms or discomforts that you may experience are not greater than what you would ordinarily encounter in daily life while taking routine physical or psychological examinations or tests. However, there are some risks to consider. You might feel embarrassed to discuss personal experiences. However, you do not have to answer any questions or divulge anything you don’t want to talk about. You can stop participating in the study at any time without penalty. You might feel concerned that things you might say might get back to your teachers. The principal investigator is taking precautions to keep your information confidential and prevent anyone from discovering what you say or your identity, such as using a pseudonym instead of your name and keeping all information on a password protected computer and locked in a file drawer.

WHAT POSSIBLE BENEFITS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
There is no direct benefit for participating in this study. Participation may benefit the field of education to better understand the different ways in which high school students engage with citizenship and gender education practices inside and outside of school.

WILL I BE PAID FOR BEING IN THIS STUDY?
You will not be paid to participate. There are no costs to you for taking part in this study.

WHEN IS THE STUDY OVER? CAN I LEAVE THE STUDY BEFORE IT ENDS?
The study is over when the school year finishes and, in case you are interviewed or participate in a workshop, when you have completed two interviews and two workshops. However, you can leave the study at any time even if you haven’t finished.

PROTECTION OF YOUR CONFIDENTIALITY
The investigator will keep all written materials locked in a desk drawer in a locked office. Any electronic or digital information (including audio recordings) will be stored on a computer that is password protected. What is on the audio-recording will be written down and the audio-recording will then be destroyed. There will be no record matching your real name with your pseudonym. Research data will be kept for five years.

HOW WILL THE RESULTS BE USED?
The results of this study will be published in journals and presented at academic conferences. Your name or any identifying information about you will not be published. This study is being conducted as part of the dissertation of the principal investigator.

CONSENT FOR AUDIO RECORDING
Audio recording is part of this research study. You can choose whether to give permission to be recorded. If you decide that you don’t wish to be recorded, you will still be able to participate in this study.
_____ I give my consent to be recorded  
_____________________________________________  Signature  

_____ I do not consent to be recorded  
_____________________________________________  Signature  

WHO MAY VIEW MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY  
___ I consent to allow written, and/or audio taped materials viewed at an educational setting or at a conference outside of Teachers College  
_____________________________________________  Signature  

___ I do not consent to allow written, and/or audio taped materials viewed outside of Teachers College Columbia University  
_____________________________________________  Signature  

OPTIONAL CONSENT FOR FUTURE CONTACT  
The investigator may wish to contact you in the future. Please initial the appropriate statements to indicate whether or not you give permission for future contact.  

I give permission to be contacted in the future for research purposes:  

Yes ________________________   No_______________________  
Initial                  Initial  

I give permission to be contacted in the future for information relating to this study:  

Yes ________________________   No_______________________  
Initial                  Initial  

WHO CAN ANSWER MY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS STUDY?  
If you have any questions about taking part in this research study, you should contact the principal investigator, Valentina Errazuriz Besa, at (+56)9 40195260 or at ve2147@tc.columbia.edu.  

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you should contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) (the human research ethics committee) at 212-678-4105 or email IRB@tc.edu. Or you can write to the IRB at Teachers College,
Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 1002. The IRB is the committee that oversees human research protection for Teachers College, Columbia University.

**PARTICIPANT’S RIGHTS**

- I have read and discussed the informed consent with the researcher. I have had ample opportunity to ask questions about the purposes, procedures, risks and benefits regarding this research study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw participation at any time without penalty. I understand that I may refuse to participate without penalty.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his or her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue participation, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research study that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- I should receive a copy of the Informed Consent document.

My signature means that I agree to participate in this study

Name: ____________________________________________

Signature: ______________________________

Date: __________________________
FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO PARA ESTUDIANTES MAYORES DE 18

Título del protocolo: Educación de género y ciudadana en las escuelas chilenas  
Investigadora Principal: Valentina Errázuriz Besa, candidata a doctora en Educación en Ciencias Sociales, Teachers College, Columbia University  
(+56)9 40195260, ve2147@tc.columbia.edu

INTRODUCCIÓN
Has sido invitada a participar en un estudio titulado “Educación de género y ciudadana en las escuelas chilenas”. Puedes participar de este estudio porque eres actualmente estudiante en una escuela secundaria chilena de niñas. Aproximadamente 30 estudiantes participarán de este estudio. Dependiendo de las actividades en las que participes, completarlo te tomará un mínimo de 60 minutos y un máximo de 4 horas, distribuidas a lo largo de 9 meses.  
La investigadora principal de este estudio es becaria de Becas Chile-CONICYT Chile.

¿CUÁL ES EL OBJETIVO DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
El objetivo de este estudio es comprender las distintas prácticas de educación de género ciudadana en las que participan las estudiantes secundarias, en el contexto del Chile de hoy.

¿QUÉ SE ME PEDIRÁ EN CASO DE QUE ACEPTE PARTICIPAR DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
Si usted decide formar parte de este estudio, será observada durante el año escolar, mientras realice sus actividades cotidianas en clases de historia y ciencias sociales y otros espacios en los que pueda participar de prácticas de educación ciudadana y/o de género. Estas observaciones no interrumpirán sus actividades normales y no se le pedirá realizar nada especial durante éstas.  
También podría ser seleccionada para ser entrevistada por la investigadora principal.  
Durante la entrevista, se le preguntará sobre su percepción y experiencias como niña en sus clases de historia y ciencias sociales, sobre el pasado y el presente político de Chile, sobre su opinión al respecto de feminismo y sobre su participación ciudadana actual y futura. La entrevista será grabada (solo audio). Una vez que la grabación sea transcrita (pasada en limpio), ésta será borrada. Si usted no desea ser grabada, aun así, podrá participar del estudio. Será entrevistada dos veces durante el año escolar y cada entrevista tomará aproximadamente una hora. En la transcripción, se le dará un seudónimo o nombre falso, para mantener su identidad confidencial.  
También podría llegar a ser seleccionada para participar de un taller liderado por la investigadora principal, donde se aprenderá a contar historias a través de técnicas artísticas. Esta conversación será grabada (solo audio). Una vez que la grabación sea transcrita (pasada en limpio), ésta será borrada. Si usted no desea ser grabada, aun así, podrá participar del estudio. A todos los participantes del taller se les pedirá no discutir lo que allí se converse, aunque es imposible garantizar que no lo harán. Este taller tomará alrededor de dos horas y se realizará después del horario escolar.
¿QUÉ POSIBLES RIESGOS O INCOMODIDADES PUEDE ESPERAR AL PARTICIPAR DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

Este es un estudio de mínimo riesgo, lo que significa que los riesgos e incomodidades que pudiera experimentar no son mayores de los que normalmente encontraría en su vida cotidiana, tomando exámenes físicos o psicológicos de rutina. Sin embargo, hay ciertos riesgos que considerar. Podría sentirse incómodo de discutir experiencias personales. Por ello, no tiene que responder ninguna pregunta que no desee o hablar de algún tema que no quiera. Puede detener su participación en este estudio en cualquier momento sin ninguna penalización. Usted también podría estar preocupada de que lo que diga pudiera ser conocido por sus profesores. Por ello, la investigadora principal tomará todas las precauciones necesarias para mantener su información confidencial y evitar que cualquier persona pueda descubrir o adivinar su identidad o lo que diga (precauciones como usar un seudónimo en vez de su nombre y mantener toda la información en un computador protegido con contraseña y guardado bajo llave).

¿QUÉ POSIBLES BENEFICIOS PUEDE ESPERAR SI PARTICIPA DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

No hay beneficios directos por participar de este estudio. Su participación puede contribuir al campo de la Educación, ayudando a entender mejor las distintas formas en las que las estudiantes secundarias participan de prácticas de educación de género y ciudadana dentro y fuera de los espacios escolares.

¿SE ME PAGARÁ POR PARTICIPAR DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

No hay pagos asociados a la participación en este estudio. No hay tampoco costos asociados a su participación en este estudio.

¿CUÁNDO TERMINA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN? ¿PUEDE ABANDONAR LA INVESTIGACIÓN ANTES DE QUE TERMINE?

El estudio concluye cuando el año escolar termine y, en el caso de que sea entrevistada o participe de un taller, cuando haya completado dos de cada una de estas actividades. Sin embargo, puede abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento, incluso si aún no ha finalizado.

PROTECCIÓN DE LA CONFIDENCIALIDAD

La investigadora guardará todos los materiales escritos bajo llave en su oficina. Cualquier información electrónica o digital (incluyendo grabaciones de audio) serán guardadas en un computador protegido por contraseña. El contenido de las grabaciones de audio será escrito y luego las grabaciones serán destruidas. No habrá ningún registro que conecte su nombre real con su seudónimo. Data relativa a la investigación será guardada por cinco años.

¿CÓMO SE USARÁN LOS RESULTADOS DE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

Los resultados de este estudio serán publicados en revistas académicas y presentadas en conferencias. Su nombre y cualquier información que le identifique no serán publicadas. Este estudio forma parte de la tesis doctoral de la investigadora principal.
CONSENTIMIENTO PARA SER GRABADO (SÓLO AUDIO)
Cómo parte de este estudio, podría ser grabado en audio. Usted puede decidir si dar permiso para ser grabada. Si usted no quiere ser grabada, de todos modos puede participar del estudio.

______Consiento ser grabada (audio) ______________________________________ Firma

______No consiento ser grabada (audio) ______________________________________ Firma

¿QUIÉN PUEDE VER LA PARTICIPACIÓN EN ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
___Yo autorizo que material escrito o grabado relativo a mi pueda ser visto en espacios educacionales o conferencias fuera de Teachers College ____________________________ Firma

___Yo no autorizo que material escrito o grabado relativo a mi pueda ser visto en espacios educacionales o conferencias fuera de Teachers College ____________________________ Firma

CONSENTIMIENTO OPCIONAL PARA FUTURO CONTACTO
La investigadora puede querer contactarle en el futuro. Por favor escriba sus iniciales en la declaración correspondiente para indicar si otorga o no permiso para ser contactada nuevamente.

Yo doy mi permiso para ser contactada en el futuro por motivos de investigación:

Sí ________________________   No_______________________
Iniciales     Iniciales

Yo doy mi permiso para ser contactada en el futuro por información referida a este estudio:

Sí ________________________   No_______________________
Iniciales     Iniciales

¿QUIÉN PUEDE RESPONDER A MIS PREGUNTAS SOBRE ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?
Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre su participación en este estudio, debe contactar a la investigadora principal, Valentina Errázuriz Besa, al (+56)9 40195260 o al ve2147@tc.columbia.edu.
Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como sujeto de esta investigación, debe contactar al Institutional Review Board (IRB) (el Comité de Ética en investigaciones) al
212-678-4105 o al email IRB@tc.edu. O puede escribir a IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 1002. El IRB es el comité que supervisa la protección de los sujetos de investigación en Teachers College, Columbia University.

DERECHOS DE LOS PARTICIPANTES

- He leído y discutido el consentimiento informado con la investigadora. He tenido amplia oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre los objetivos, riesgos y beneficios relacionados con esta investigación.
- Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria y que puedo rehusarme a participar o retirarme de la investigación en cualquier momento sin ninguna penalización. Entiendo que puedo rehusarme también a participar de este estudio sin ninguna penalización.
- La investigadora puede retirarme de la investigación en base a su discreción profesional.
- Si durante el desarrollo de la investigación surge nueva información que pueda afectar mi voluntad de participar del estudio, la investigadora me la proveerá.
- Cualquier información derivada de esta investigación que me identifique personalmente no será voluntariamente publicada o comunicada sin mi expreso consentimiento, con la excepción de aquellos casos en que la ley determine lo contrario.
- Recibiré una copia del documento de Consentimiento Informado.

Mi firma significa que autorizo mi participación en este estudio

Nombre: _______________________________________

Firma: _________________________________________

Fecha: ____________________
This study’s objective is to understand the different political education practices in which female high school students like you participate and use to build your citizen identities. I want to know what do you think about feminism, politics, and history, and how have you learned about what it means being a woman in Chile. In order to understand how students that identify as feminists experience politics and history I will ask some of you to be interviewed and to participate in art workshops where we will learn testimonios-telling through certain forms of art two times during the year. You also will be observed during the first the school year of 2018, while in your History and social studies classroom and other settings where you might participate of citizenship education practices. All the information you share with the principal investigator will be kept confidential and no one else will have access to it.

I ______________________ (student’s name) agree to be in this study, titled “Gender and citizenship education in Chilean schools”.

What I am being asked to do has been explained to me by Valentina Errazuriz Besa.

I understand what I am being asked to do and I know that if I have any questions, I can ask Valentina Errazuriz Besa at any time. I know that I can quit this study whenever I want to and it is perfectly OK to do so. It won’t be a problem for anyone if I decide to quit.

Name: __________________________________________________
Signature: _____________________________________________
Witness: _____________________________________________ Date:

Investigator’s Verification of Explanation
I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research to __________ in age-appropriate language. She/he had the opportunity to discuss it with me and knows that they can stop participating at any time. I have answered all of their questions and this minor student has provided the affirmative agreement (assent) to participate in this research study.
Investigator’s Signature ________________________________
Date ________________
Forma de Asentimiento para Menores

Título del protocolo: Educación de género y ciudadana en las escuelas chilenas

Investigadora Principal: Valentina Errázuriz Besa, candidata a doctora en Educación en Ciencias Sociales, Teachers College, Columbia University
(+56)9 40195260, ve2147@tc.columbia.edu

El objetivo de este estudio es entender las diferentes prácticas de educación política en las que estudiantes secundarias mujeres como ustedes participan y usan para construir sus identidades ciudadanas. Me interesa saber que piensan sobre feminismo, política e historia, y como han aprendido lo que significa ser mujer en Chile. Para entender cómo estudiantes que se identifican como feministas experimentan la política e historia, le solicitaré a algunas de ustedes ser entrevistadas por mí y participar en talleres para aprender a expresar testimonios a través de arte dos veces al año. También, serás observado/a durante el año escolar 2018 mientras estés en tus clases de Historia y Ciencias Sociales y otros espacios en los que puedas participar de prácticas de educación ciudadana. Toda la información que compartas con la investigadora principal será mantenida en la más estricta confidencialidad y nadie más que ella tendrá acceso a ésta.

Yo ______________________ (nombre de la estudiante) acepto formar parte del estudio, titulado “Educación de género y ciudadana en las escuelas chilenas”.
Lo que se me está pidiendo hacer en este estudio me ha sido explicado por Valentina Errázuriz Besa.
Yo entiendo lo que se me está pidiendo hacer y sé que si tengo cualquier pregunta puedo hacerlas a Valentina Errázuriz Besa en cualquier momento. Sé que puedo retirarme de este estudio cuando lo desee, y que no será un problema para nadie si decido hacerlo.

Nombre: __________________________________________________
Firma: ________________________________________________
Testigo: __________________________ Fecha: _______________

Verificación de la explicación por parte de la Investigadora

Yo certifico que le he explicado cuidadosamente el objetivo y naturaleza de esta investigación a ______________________________ en un lenguaje apropiado a su edad.
Ella/él ha tenido la oportunidad de discutir este estudio conmigo y sabe que puede detener su participación en éste en cualquier momento. He respondido todas sus preguntas y esta/e estudiante menor me ha proveido con su consentimiento afirmativo (o asentimiento) respecto a su participación en este estudio.
Firma de la investigadora __________________________________
Fecha ___________
Appendix D: Original Interview protocols

Interview and workshop guidelines
Individual interviews with feminist students

1. Find a comfortable and private space to conduct the interview, I will propose a coffee shop near the school where there rarely is any school authority present.
2. I will propose to buy a coffee and/or pastry to the interviewee to help set a relaxed mood.
3. I will explain the purpose and dynamics of the interview and my research.
4. Explain that at any point she can stop the interview with no consequences or refuse to answer any question.
5. Ask for demographic information: age, preferred gender, race, ethnicity, where are you from. Explain that this is just regular demographic information, important to identify participants. Explain that it might be weird to answer this. What is your age? What is your preferred gender identity? How do you identify in terms of race? How do you identify in terms of ethnicity? (might be the same), Where are you from? How many years have you spent in formal education?
6. Ask for permission to audio record the interview and explain confidentiality things, also explain that she can refuse: Would you mind if I record this interview? All information is going to be confidential, names will be changed in the paper and erased from the data and all data will be stored in my password-protected computer. If she agrees to be recorded, say can you repeat that you agree to be recorded on tape?
7. Open-ended questions or prompts that can be used in any particular order:
   7.1. What is your earliest memory of feeling that you were a woman? Can you describe the event? Can you describe your feelings and emotions related to that memory?
   7.2. What sort of women do you feel/think are common in your social studies school content? What can you rescue from those? What do you think can be better?
   7.3. How does your school make you feel like a woman? Are there direct commands? Are there hidden rules?
   7.4. Have you ever felt uncomfortable or comfortable as a woman? In your school? In the street? In your family? With your friends?
   7.5. How does participating in feminist activities relate to you identifying as a woman? Does it change the meaning of the category? What have you learned? What do you think could work better?
   7.6. At what time in your life did you decide to become a feminist? Was there a detonating event? What moves you to participate? How do you think other young people could be motivated?
   7.7. What would your ideal social studies classes be like? Does that relate to feminism in any way?
   7.8. How do you see yourself in the future? Was feminism relevant in that scenario? How?
7.9. Is there anyone or anything in the past, form general or personal history that motivates you to take action as a feminist? What/who? Can you describe that/them and why they motivate you?

8. After taking notes about the answers I will revise these notes with the participant to see if she agrees with my descriptions and possible initial assessments.

9. I will finish by explaining that I will ask her to continue the interview at the end of the school year.

10. The second interview will use the prompts not used in the first one, and also explore the meaning of some of the events that both the interviewee and me attended together.

Art-based testimonios workshops

1st Workshop

1. Explain the dynamic of the workshop and what are we supposed to do in it.
2. Explain that if at any point anyone feels uncomfortable or distressed they can walk out of the room, participation is not obligatory, they can remain quiet if desired.
3. Ask for permission to audio record the workshop and explain that anyone can refuse and I will just take notes. Explain that all names will be changed in the paper and erased from the data and all data will be stored in my password-protected computer. Explain to students that confidentiality depends on all of us and that all things discussed in the workshop must remain in that space and request that they do not talk about them with other people not present.
4. I will show examples of biographic creative literature, and art-based exploration connected with social justice (Violeta Parra stitching art, and poetry), and ask for their opinion regarding certain works of art.
5. I will then ask students to write a short story in literary format of their choosing that exemplifies how they have experienced “being woman” in their lives.
6. Next, I will ask that they share this short story with another peer.
7. Then I will teach stitching experimentation, and ask students to work together to construct a stitching based art expression of their conversation.
8. Finally, I will ask that they share their art with the rest of the group.
9. I will request to photograph their art expressions and volunteer to save them in case that they do not want to bring them home.

2nd Workshop (see below version in Spanish)

Guía para las entrevistas y talleres

Entrevista individual con las estudiantes feministas

1. Encontrar un lugar privado para realizar entrevista, propondré un café cerca de la escuela done no haya autoridades escolares.
2. Le propondré comprarle un pastel o café para establecer un ambiente relajado.
3. Le explicaré el propósito y dinámica de la entrevista y de mi investigación.
4. Le explicaré también que en cualquier minuto de la entrevista ella puede detenerla o decidir no contestar una pregunta sin ningún tipo de consecuencia.
5. Preguntar por información demográfica: edad, género preferido, etnicidad, raza, de dónde es su familia. Explicar que esta información demográfica puede ser
raro contestarla. ¿Cuál es tu edad? ¿Cómo te identificas en términos de género? ¿Cómo te identificas en términos raciales o étnicos? ¿De dónde es tu familia? ¿Cuántos años has pasado en la escuela?

6. Pedir permiso para grabar el audio de la entrevista. Explicar que puede rehusarse y que la grabación, así como mis notas, serán guardadas en un archivo y computador con clave. ¿Te importaría si grabo el audio de esta entrevista? Toda la información va a ser confidencial, los nombres se cambiarán en papel y se borrarán de los datos recolectados, además todos los datos van a ser guardados en un archivo y computador protegido por clave. Si aceptas ser grabada por favor dilo en la grabación.

7. Preguntas abiertas que pueden ser usadas en cualquier orden:
7.1. ¿Cuál es tu memoria más temprana de sentirte “mujer”? ¿Puedes describir ese evento? ¿Puedes describir que emociones te evoca ese recuerdo?
7.2. ¿Qué tipo de mujer sientes que es común en el contenido de historia y ciencias sociales del liceo? ¿Qué encuentras rescatable de esa mujer? ¿Qué piensas podría estar mejor representado?
7.3. ¿Cómo crees que el liceo te hace sentir que eres una mujer? ¿Son ordenes directas? ¿Hay reglas escondidas?
7.4. ¿Alguna vez te has sentido incomoda como mujer? ¿Dónde fue? ¿En el liceo, la calle, tu familia, con tus amigos?
7.5. ¿Cómo se relaciona tu participación en actividades feministas con tu identidad de género? ¿Cambias en esas actividades el significado de mujer? ¿Qué has aprendido? ¿Qué piensas que podría ser mejor?
7.6. ¿Cuándo y por qué decidiste que eras una feminista? ¿Hubo algún evento especial que te empujara hacia el feminismo? ¿Qué te mueve a participar? ¿Cómo crees que se podría motivar a otras/os jóvenes a participar?
7.7. ¿Cómo serían tus clases de historia y ciencias sociales ideales? ¿Se relacionan con el feminismo de alguna manera?
7.8. ¿Cómo te ves como mujer en el futuro? ¿Es el feminismo importante para tu vida en ese futuro imaginario? ¿Cómo?
7.9. ¿Hay alguien o algo del pasado, puede ser de tu historia personal o la historia nacional que te motive a tomar acciones como feminista? ¿Quién o qué? ¿Puedes describirlo? ¿Puedes explicar cómo te motivan?
8. Luego de tomar notas sobre algunas respuestas revisaré estas notas con la estudiante para ver si está de acuerdo con mis descripciones y posibles análisis iniciales.
9. Terminaré explicando que continuaremos la entrevista a finales del año escolar.
10. En la segunda entrevista usaré las preguntas no utilizadas durante la primera, y también exploraremos el significado de algunos eventos que yo y el estudiante hayamos participado en juntas.

Talleres de arte y testimonios
Primer taller
1. Explicar la dinámica del taller y que se supone que vamos a hacer en él.
2. Explicar que si en cualquier minuto alguien se siente incómoda o molesta pueden salir de la sala, la participación no es obligatoria y también pueden permanecer en silencio si lo desean.
3. Pedir permiso para grabar el audio del taller y explicar que cualquiera puede rehusarse, y si esto sucede sólo tomaré notas de lo conversado. Explicar que todos los nombres serán cambiados en papel y borrados de la data, y toda la data se guardará en un archivo y computador con clave. Explicar a los estudiantes de la confidencialidad del taller depende de todos, y que todas las cosas discutidas en este espacio deben quedar ahí y no ser contadas a personas que no estén presentes.

4. Mostraré ejemplos de literatura biográfica creativa y exploraciones artísticas conectadas con la justicia social (bordados y poesía de Violeta Parra) y pediré sus opiniones al respecto de obras de arte seleccionadas.

5. Solicitaré a las estudiantes escribir una historia corta en formato literario de su elección que ejemplifique como han experimentado “ser mujer” en su vida.

6. Después solicitaré que compartan esta historia en parejas.

7. Después enseñare bordado artístico y solicitaré a las estudiantes que en las mismas parejas construyan una obra de arte usando esta técnica y basándose en su conversación al respecto de sus historias.

8. Finalmente les solicitaré que en parejas compartan su obra con el resto del grupo.

9. Les pediré fotografiar sus expresiones artísticas y me ofreceré a guardarlas en caso de que sea necesario y no las quieran llevar a su casa.

Segundo taller
Lugar: Café Matucana 100
Horario: viernes de 2 a 5pm (fecha exacta por definir)
Participantes: Total 8

1. **Escribir motivado por:**

1) Como mujer:
   Yo soy en el país…
   Yo fui en el Liceo…
   Yo seré en la sociedad…

2) Ser mujer en mi contexto social y ser activa políticamente hablando significa…
   Ser niña en el Liceo y ser activa políticamente hablando significaba…
   Ser trabajadora en el futuro y ser activa políticamente hablando significará…

3) Una vez vi/me pasó/escuché algo que me llevó a (hacer algo al respecto de la siguiente manera)…

2. Dibujar diseño pequeño de algún símbolo que represente lo escrito y/o la propia identidad

3. Muestro ejemplos tallado matrices en goma, muestro mi ejemplo, muestro opciones de papel y otros materiales para timbrar
4. Trabajo con tacos de goma y gubias
5. Experimentación con papel y otros medios
6. Mostrar obras y explicarlas
7. Foto obras y escritos
## Appendix E: Interviews and Workshops Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of participants</th>
<th>Number and dates of interviews</th>
<th>Duration of interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camila</td>
<td>2, May 25th, 2018 and September 7th, 2018</td>
<td>1 Hr and 1 Hr 22 Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violeta</td>
<td>2, June 5th, 2018 and September 14th, 2018</td>
<td>40 Min and 1 Hr 24 Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adeyadelis</td>
<td>2, July 3rd, 2018 and October 3rd, 2018</td>
<td>1 Hr 15 Min and 1 Hr 25 Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>1, June 21st, 2018</td>
<td>30 Min*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yocelyn</td>
<td>1, July 4th, 2018</td>
<td>40 Min*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mati</td>
<td>1, October 26th, 2018</td>
<td>1 Hr 23 Min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* I was constantly in class and during breaks with Ana and Yocelyn were I conducted multiple informal interviews. They were unable to schedule the second formal interview because of senior year issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workshop type and date</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Embroidery, June 8th, 2018</td>
<td>Yocelyn, Ana, and others</td>
<td>1 Hr 45 Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embroidery, June 22nd, 2018</td>
<td>Camila, Mati, Ana, and others</td>
<td>2 Hr 20 Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embroidery, June 26th, 2018</td>
<td>Violeta, Ana and others</td>
<td>3 Hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing, October 5th, 2018</td>
<td>Camila, Violeta, and Mati</td>
<td>30 Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing, October 19th, 2018</td>
<td>Camila and Violeta</td>
<td>3 Hr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F: Workshop Materials

Embroidery workshop materials
BORDADO COMO TRADICIÓN
DE MUJERES QUE LUCHAN

Tradición usada para expresar
experiencias relacionadas con luchas
estructurales por la justicia
Por la causa feminista
Para protestar la dictadura
Protestando el capitalismo
Llamando a la sорoridad
EXPLORANDO IDENTIDADES

Responder preguntas en papel:
¿Cuál es mi identidad de género? (ej. Mujer, hombre, mujer trans, hombre trans, género no conforme, género no binario)
¿Qué significa ser esta identidad de género para mí?
¿Qué experiencias positivas o negativas en mi vida me han hecho sentir que soy esta identidad de género? Por favor escribe 1 de estas experiencias.
Compartir en grupo cuando terminemos.
¿Cómo podemos realizar diseños que represente estas experiencias?
DISEÑA
Usa una hoja de papel para dibujar posibles diseños que representen la experiencia que compartiste para poder bordar
RECUERDA, intenta dibujar formas y líneas simples
CONSIDERA EN TU DISEÑO POSIBLES APLICACIONES DE FIGURAS DE TELA
TIPOS DE PUNTOS

PUNTO ATRÁS O LÍNEA SIMPLE
PUNTO CADENA

PUNTO PLANO O RELLENO
PUNTO FESTON PARA PEGAR APLICACIONES DE TELA

¡GRACIAS!
Cualquier pregunta...

Encuéntrame en Facebook o por mail
Valentina Errázuriz Besa · ve2147@tc.columbia.edu

24
Completa en la hoja las oraciones con experiencias relevantes en tu vida.

En el grupo comenta al menos una de tus respuestas.

El grupo puede hacer preguntas para saber más.
Reflexiona en torno a la conversación grupal y a las frases que redactaste e imagina un concepto que se pueda plasma en un diseño visual figurativo o abstracto que te represente.
DISEÑO DEL TIMBRE EN LINOLEO
A partir de lo que imaginaste, has un dibujo en la hoja en blanco detrás de lo que escribiste.

DISEÑA TU GRABADO, RECUERDA QUE TENDRÁS QUE TALLAR UN LINÓLEO DEJANDO EN RELIEVE LAS LINEAS QUE QUIERES QUE QUEDEN MARCADAS EN PAPEL Y HACIENDO SACADOS EN LAS PARTES QUE QUIERES QUE QUEDEN EN BLANCO
EJEMPLO

PONER TINTA Y APLASTAR CONTRA EL PAPEL
PRUEBA DISTINTOS MEDIOS Y TINTAS PARA GRABAR CON TU TIMBRE
Actividad personal

Completa las siguientes oraciones a partir de experiencias relevantes para ti.

1)
Como mujer para el país soy__________________________________________________
Como mujer para el Liceo
fui__________________________________________________
Como mujer para la sociedad seré______________________________________________

2)
Ser mujer en mi círculo social y ser activa políticamente hablando significa…
Ser niña en el Liceo y ser activa políticamente hablando significaba…
Ser trabajadora en el futuro y ser activa políticamente hablando significará…

3) Una vez vi/me pasó/escuché algo que me llevó a (hacer algo al respecto de la siguiente manera)…
**Appendix G: Codes**

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Appendix H: Weekly Analytic Memos Template

Analytic memo NºXX: Week XX to Week XX, Date

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These weeks:

National level: XX

local level: XX

Relevant participants: XX

Themes this week and their relevant quotes, vignettes or photos as evidence:

1) XX

2) XX

Answer research questions:

1. How do female public high school students in Chile produce their gender/political subjectivities in the context of feminist contentious politics?

1.1. How do female public high school students in Chile produce their gender/political subjectivities while engaging with formal political education in school?

Answer
1.2. How do female public high school students in Chile produce their gender/political subjectivities while engaging with feminist discourses and practices in and outside of school?

Answer

1.3. How do female public high school students in Chile produce their gender/political subjectivities while engaging with historical narratives?

Answer
Appendix I: Embroidery of the Dissertation Process
Appendix J: Vulnerability and Reflexivity Questionnaire

Vulnerability questionnaire
1. “Who is this woman who is writing about others, making others vulnerable?
2. What does she want from others?
3. What do the others want from her?
4. What kind of fulfillment does she get - or not get - from the power she has?
5. What, as she blithely goes about the privilege of doing research, is the story she isn't willing to tell?” (Behar, 1997, pp.19-20)

Reflexivity questionnaire
1. “How can I engage with my research without appropriating the voices of my participants and without exploiting them?
2. How can I avoid the trap of turning my research into a surveillance tool?
3. What are we going to do with the research and who ultimately will benefit from it?
4. Who gives us the authority to make claims about where we have been? How will our work make a difference in people’s lives?” (Miled, 2017, p.4)
5. “How do we reflect upon and evaluate our own purpose, intentions and frames of analysis as researchers?
6. How do we predict consequences or evaluate our own potential to do harm?
7. How do we create and maintain a dialogue of collaboration in our research projects between ourselves and others?
8. How is the specificity of the local story relevant to the broader meanings and operations of the human condition?
9. How – in what location or through what intervention – will our work make the greatest contribution to equity, freedom and justice?” (Miled, 2017, p.6)
10. “How can investigators successfully negotiate the role of adult researcher as they work to gain access to youth worlds, breakthrough “fronts,” and develop meaningful rapport?
11. What issues emerge when adult researchers also consider the significance of race, nationality, gender, class, and sexuality to our social experiences and interactions in the field?
12. How can adults interpret and write about youth realities given the distance that exists between their worlds and our own?
13. What role does adult memory play in research and in what ways does it limit understanding of the complex facets of youths’ worlds today?
14. How can researchers develop more sensitive and empowering ways to study youth and children, while also addressing key ethical considerations?
15. How have prevailing conceptualizations of and cultural assumptions about youth and children narrowed our understanding of them, the social organization of the worlds they traverse, and the social relations therein?” (Best, 2007, p.8)
16. “What kind of change [do I want to produce through my research]?
17. Change as defined by whom?
18. What does it mean to align oneself with a political struggle, a social movement, or an organized group, when these entities are fractured with their own politics and inequalities?” (Dyrness, 2008, pp.39-40).