

Political Activism of Chilean Women Exiled in Spain (1973-1990)



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INTRODUCTION

On November 20th, 2019, in Valparaíso, Chile, the feminist group *LasTesis* performed an act that would become a global movement. Translated as “The rapist is you,” it was a form of protest to stand against gender violence perpetrated by Chilean security agents during the social rebellion of October 2019 in Chile. The protests are fighting against not only a culture of gender violence but also State violence committed against women that have prevailed since the military regime of Augusto Pinochet in place between 1973 and 1990¹. This performance not only became a global trend² but also intergenerational where Chilean women over 40 years also participated in said performance³ in Chile and around the globe.

As a master’s student in Europe, I had the opportunity to participate and observe the political activism of Chileans in both the Netherlands and Spain. One of the most memorable parts was the participation of older Chilean women, who immigrated during the military regime in Chile. I started discussing with some women from the Chilean community and second-generation exiles and realized that their experience was silenced and replaced by the male perspectives of their father, grandfather, and brothers. This aroused my curiosity on the collective memory of Chilean exiles, realising that the female narrative has been little explored.

In this thesis, I systematically look into the female narrative on political activism and transnationalism of Chilean women exiled in Spain in an effort to contribute to the general literature on political exile, where the gender bias overlooks women’s experience. I chose the case of Spain instead of the Netherlands, because I had greater access to the women who exiled to Spain during Pinochet’s regime. Also, given the unique context of the Spanish society during the 1970s and 1980s, this case results interestingly different from most country-based studies as most of Chileans arrived without an asylum visa, remaining an understudied case⁴.

¹ Darinka Rodríguez, “Ellas son las chilenas que crearon ‘Un violador en tu camino’”, *El País*, November 28, 2018. https://verne.elpais.com/verne/2019/11/28/mexico/1574902455_578060.html

² Gaby Hinsliff, “‘The rapist is you!’: why a Chilean protest chant is being sung around the world”, *The Guardian*, February 3, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/feb/03/the-rapist-is-you-chilean-protest-song-chanted-around-the-world-un-iolador-en-tu-camino>

³ ‘El violador eres tú: miles de mujeres llevan performance feminista al Estadio Nacional de Chile’, *El Comercio Perú*, December 4, 2019 <https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/latinoamerica/protuestas-en-chile-el-violador-eres-tu-miles-de-mujeres-llevan-performance-feminista-al-estadio-nacional-videos-noticia/>

⁴ Mario Olgún, “Exilio político chileno en España (1973-1990/1994). El caso de Zaragoza. Acercamiento al estudio, avances y discusiones de la investigación”. *International Congress ‘Veinte años de congresos de historia contemporánea (1997-2016)’*, (2016): 405

This thesis argues that gender roles acquired from Chile influenced the way Chilean women got involved in political activism and transnationalism during their exile in Spain. This argument is divided in two sub-arguments based in my interviews:

- a) Gender stereotypes, expectations and attitudes towards Chilean women influenced their decision on when to leave Chile as well as their social identity as a political exile
- b) Gender stereotypes, expectations and attitudes towards Chilean women influenced the forms of political activities they engaged in, in and outside of the Chilean community

The empirical research for this thesis is based on oral histories and archival research at the Spanish National Library in Madrid, the International Institute of Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam, and the Spanish Women Institute within the Library of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport. I carried out in depth interviews with eight Chilean women exiled in Madrid between July 2020 and May 2021 which have been the main source for data collection. Additional material came from a memoir written by the late Alicia Herrera Rivera⁵, who arrive in Spain in 1977 as her third exile destination. She was a former Chilean Judge of the Court of Appeals in Santiago and wife of a renown socialist senator.

In this first section, I address the historiography on Chilean exile, gender and political activism. Then I explain the theory on gender and politics, political exile and the conceptual framework that is involved in this research. Subsequently, I present the materials and methods used for this research as well as a brief description of the interviewees who contributed to this research. Finally, I provide a general historical background to better understand the phenomenon of Chilean exiles in Spain.

The following chapters go in depth with the analysis of the primary sources and are divided according to the main findings from oral histories. In chapter I, I address their narratives regarding their reasons to decide to leave Chile (self-exile), as well as their experiences as a political exile. In chapter II, I analyse the relationship between gender stereotypes, political activism, and transnationalism by looking into their activities within Chilean associations and political parties; and as part of the Chilean women association *Tralún* located in Madrid. In addition, I use Alicia Herrera Rivera's case to better

⁵ Alicia Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado..* (CESOC: Santiago, 2007) 294.

understand gender stereotypes amongst Chileans in Spain. Each analysis chapter provides a summary of the main findings discussed. Finally, there is a conclusive section which reflects on this thesis contributions, the main difficulties that I encounter while carrying out this research, as well as suggestion for further research.

Historiography and Theory

Literatures on Chilean exile after the coup on September 11th of 1973 is well-provided. The multidisciplinary field goes beyond anthropology and sociology to include studies on memory⁶; trauma⁷ and mental health⁸; incorporation to the host society, belonging and uproot⁹; return to Chile¹⁰; as well as cultural production¹¹ and political activism in exile¹². While there are some literatures that include the female experience,

⁶ Steve Stern, “De la memoria suelta a la memoria emblemática: hacia el recordar y el olvidar como proceso histórico (Chile 1973-1998)” in *Las conmemoraciones: Las disputas en las fechas "in-felices"*, in ed. Elizabeth Jelin (Spain: Siglo XXI, 2002).

⁷ María Angélica Benavides, “Exilio chileno y violencia política. Relatos de vida e imágenes de dos generaciones, mujeres sus hijos e hijas”, *II Jornadas de Trabajo Exilios Políticos del Cono Sur en el siglo XX*, (2014) 1-18.

⁸ Jasmine Gideon, “Mental Health and Forced Migration: The Case of Chilean Exiles in the UK” In *Handbook of Migration and Health*, ed. Felicity Thomas (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016), 318-339.

⁹ Diana Kay, “The Politics of Gender in Exile”, *Sociology* 22, no. 1 (1988) 1-21; Claudio Bolzman, “The Transnational Political Practices of Chilean Migrants in Switzerland”, *International Migration*, 49, no. 3 (2011) 73-94; Paula Larrea and Joao Filipe Marques, “‘Vivir tres vidas diferentes’. Trayectorias e identidad de exiliados chilenos en Portugal”, *Atenea* 515 (2015) 113-136; Carolina Ramírez, “It’s not how it was’: The Chilean Diaspora’s Changing Landscape of Belonging”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 4 (2014) 668-684; Anita Gutiérrez, “Chilenos en el exilio: Diáspora, prácticas transnacionales e integración social en Holanda” (MA thesis, Leiden University, 2014) 1-59; Carolina Espinoza Carter, “Modos de incorporación de la inmigración chilena en España: el constante aquí y allí en dos estudios de caso”, (MA thesis, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2015) 68; Paola Adriana Bayle “El exilio como fenómeno transnacional. Marcas del exilio chileno en intelectuales del Reino Unido. The Latin American Bureau (1977-2019)”, *Intellèctus*, 2(2019)163-185.

¹⁰ Loreto Rebolledo, *Memorias del Desarraigo: Testimonios de exilio y retorno de hombres y mujeres a Chile* (Santiago: Catalonia, 2006) 1-217; Erik Olsson, “From Exile to Post-Exile: The Diasporisation of Swedish Chileans in Historical Contexts”, *Social Identities* 15, no. 5 (2009) 659-676; Loreto Rebolledo, “Exilios y Retornos chilenos”, *Revista Anales* 7, no. 3 (2012) 175-187; Shirin Hirsch, “Chilean Exiles, Reconciliation and Return: An Alternative View from below”, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 29, no. 1 (2016) 82-97; Luis Roniger, “Displacement and Testimony: Recent History and the Study of Exile and Post-Exile”, *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society*, 29, no. 2(2016) 111-133.

¹¹ Carmen Norambuena, “El exilio chileno: río profundo de la cultura iberoamericana”, *Sociohistórica: Cuadernos del CISH*, 23-24 (2008) 163-195; Francisco Godoy, “‘conelchilenoresententearte’, Solidaridad: Chile Vive, una Exposición en España contra el Chile Dictatorial”, *Aisthesis* 48 (2010)186-204; Jacqueline Adams, “Exile, Art and Political Activism: Fighting the Pinochet Regime from Afar”, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012) 436-457; Dani Monsálvez and Nicollet Gómez, “‘Chile-America’ 1974-1983: Una revista del exilio chileno”, *ESTUDIO*, 39 (2018) 49-67.

¹² Franka van Schaik, “Chilean exiles in the Netherlands. Activism, memories and traumas”, (MA thesis, University of Utrecht, 2010); Jacqueline Adams, “Exile, Art and Political Activism: Fighting the Pinochet Regime from Afar”, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012) 436-457; Yvette Marcela García, “El trabajo militante del exilio chileno en Francia: contextualización, descripción, micro-medios de comunicación e impacto”, *Revista Izquierda* 17(2013)81-92; Mariana Perry, “‘With a Little Help from My

most of them focuses on the male experience, excluding a detailed analysis of the female experience. In the next section, the concept of political exile is addressed and deepens on the current state on Chilean exile literature highlighting the most important contributions on those who have looked at the female narrative.

a) *Political exile: legal status and the exilic condition*

According to Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger¹³, the concept of exile has become an umbrella term which refers to a variety of experiences e.g., legal, political, cultural, social, and psychological, linked to forced displacement, experiences of *desarraigo* (uprooting), *destierro*, expulsion, asylum, refuge, translocation, and several others showing the complexity around this concept¹⁴. Nonetheless, basing on their discussion about what they call “the exilic condition”, political exile involves a formal and an informal dimension. Formally, a refugee is granted legal asylum, resulting from proven direct State persecution and, for the Chilean case, expulsion sentences¹⁵. This status comes with benefits and some form of economic support from the host country, which for the countries in Western Europe like France, Sweden, The Netherlands, and Germany, or from East Europe like the Soviet Union (USSR) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) Chileans were provided housing, health, jobs, and schooling for their children¹⁶.

On the other hand, the informal dimension does not necessarily include a direct State persecution which gives access to a legal status for asylum. However, it does involve forced displacement because of the systematic institutional exclusion to a group of people because of their political ideas based on a variety of coercive mechanisms that hinders them from participate of the social and political life. These mechanisms push them to leave the country “voluntarily”, however it involves coercion which prevents them from

Friends': The Dutch Solidarity Movement and the Chilean Struggle for Democracy”, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 101(2016) 75-96; Mario Olgún, “Exilio político chileno en España (1973-1990/1994). El caso de Zaragoza. Acercamiento al estudio, avances y discusiones de la investigación”. *International Congress Veinte años de congresos de historia contemporánea (1997-2016)*, (2016) 401-412; Carolina Espinoza Carter, “Vinculo político con el lugar de origen en la inmigración chilena en España: el constante aquí y allí de los exiliados”, (PhD diss., Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2019) 349.

¹³ Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger, *The politics of exile in Latin America*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 11-39.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 13.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 15.

¹⁶ Thomas Wright and Rody Oñate, “Chilean political exile”, *Latin American Perspectives*, 155, no. 34 (2007): 37.

returning until political and social circumstances change¹⁷. Therefore, the concept of refugee, as stated in laws and public policy, may not ‘be static or mutually exclusive’¹⁸ in consideration to the broader concept of political exile beyond the legal framework.

For this research, the informal dimension of exile becomes more accurate to describe the case of Chileans who arrived at Spain during the 1970s and beginning of 1980s. Most of them left legally through airports and with their passports. Nonetheless, without arranged asylum upon their arrival to Spain, lacking support from the Spanish authorities also due to the country’s socio-political conditions of transition from late Francoism to a democratic society. Often Chilean exiles were seen as economic migrants due to their impossibility to find a job in Chile, yet their motivation to emigrate was highly politically driven. One of the mechanisms that Pinochet used to pressure left-wing activists and sympathizers to leave the country was by removing from their jobs to those related to activities like labour unions, Allende’s campaigns and/or working in his administration and in state companies¹⁹. They were listed on government blacklists that hindered them from accessing other types of jobs²⁰. Denied employment added to the dire global economic conditions due to the oil crisis of 1979, forced Chileans to emigrate²¹. Then, because most of my interviewees arrived without asylum visa, they were considered tourists or economic migrants and, like many, do not appear on any list of refugees and were not formally political exiles. Because of this fact, throughout this thesis I address to my interviewees as “political exiles” and not “refugees”, as they never got access to this legal status in Spain.

¹⁷ Sznajder and Roniger, *The politics of exile in Latin America*, 15.

¹⁸ Marlou Shrover and Deirdre Moloney, *Gender, migration and categorization. Making distinctions between migrants in Western Countries, 1945-2010*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2013) 8.

¹⁹ For more detail on Allende’s economic plan, look at Julie Shayne, “Political Seed of exile and resistance”, in Shayne, J. *They Used to Call Us Witches. Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism* (London: Lexington Books, 2009).

²⁰ Wright and Oñate, “Chilean political exile”, 34.

²¹ *Ibidem*, 31.

a.1. Chilean exile in Europe: Location and asylum

Literature on Chilean exile has focus on Europe basing on the size of the Chilean community by host country which was related to the number of asylum visa granted to Chileans²². Hence, most scholars have focused on cases like France²³ or Sweden²⁴, which granted the highest numbers of asylum visas; as well as cases like The Netherlands in light of their impact on Dutch and Chilean politics²⁵. Also, the case of Chilean refugees in Germany has been highly studied because East Berlin became the Head Quarters of the PSC abroad²⁶.

Within Europe, Spain is also a country where many Chileans went to exile, however compared to its significance the phenomenon remains understudied. This is because most Chileans arrived in Spain without a refugee admission stamp or because they relocated from other European countries, being Spain their second or more exile destination²⁷. This was the case of most of the women on this research, hence, I will address to them mainly as ‘exiles’ and not ‘refugees’ as they were never granted this legal status.

a.2. Female narrative in Chilean exile literature

Most literature on Chilean refugees and exiles overlook gender, particularly the political involvement of Chilean women prior to and during exile²⁸ because of they are seen under ‘subsidiary protection’ as wife or daughter of the main refugee through family reunification²⁹. Nonetheless, there have been notable attempts to address female

²² Mario Olguín, “Exilio político chileno en España (1973-1990/1994) [...]”, 405”; Carolina Espinoza Carter, “Vínculo político [...]”, 143-144.

²³ Yvette García, ‘El trabajo militante del exilio chileno en Francia: Contextualización, descripción, micro-medios de comunicación y sus impactos’, *Revista Izquierdas* 17(2013) 81-92.

²⁴ Fernando Camacho, *Una vida para Chile. La solidaridad y comunidad chilena en Suecia (1979-2010)*, Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos (Santiago 2011)

²⁵ Mariana Perry, “‘With a Little help from my Friends’: The Dutch Solidarity Movement and the Chilean Struggle for Democracy”, *European review of Latin American and The Caribbean Studies*, 101(2016) 75-95.

²⁶ Claudio Rojas y Alessandro Santoni, ‘Geografía política del exilio chileno: los diferentes rostros de la solidaridad’, *Perfiles Latinoamericanos* 41(2013) p. 135.

²⁷ Mario Olguín, “Exilio político chileno en España (1973-1990/1994) [...]”, 402; Carolina Espinoza Carter, “Vínculo político [...]”, 143-144.

²⁸ Carolina Espinoza Carter, “Exiliadas chilenas: una aproximación de género en las memorias del exilio”, *ÉNDOXA Series Filosóficas*, 44 (2019): 155-184.

²⁹ Nathalie Jammet Arias, “Mujeres en el exilio, ¿Mujeres libre?: el caso de las mujeres chilenas refugiadas en Francia a partir de 1973”, *IV Jornada de Trabajo. Exilios Políticos del Cono sur en el siglo XX* (2018): 3.

narratives in aspects like integration to the host society³⁰; woman's emancipation through labour market and feminist movement in host countries; memory, trauma³¹ and activism³².

Many women were politically active since the years prior to Salvador Allende's government until their time of exile³³. For them exile meant irruption into their lives³⁴, compelling them to start from scratch in a new and hostile environment. This led women, different than man, to a rapid incorporation to the host society being the one in charge of procedures like visa, schooling and health for their children which promoted language proficiency, essential to their incorporation to the labour market³⁵. Men dedicated exclusively to the Chilean activities in exile many times hindering Chilean women's chances to participate in the Chilean activities as main caregivers in the household, remaining politically inactive specially during the first years in exile³⁶.

In addition, their rapid incorporation to the labour market gave them economic independence which many times was not welcomed by their Chilean partners because their economic advantage in the household started to question their roles inside the family³⁷. Likewise, many Chilean man started to have affairs with women of the host countries which were perceived as more liberated³⁸. Race also became a key factor for

³⁰ Marita Eastmond, "Reconstructing Life: Chilean Women and the Dilemmas of Exile" In *Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities*, ed. Gina Buijs (London: Routledge, 1993) 35-53; Loreto Rebolledo, "Mujeres exiliadas. Con Chile en la memoria", *Cyber Humanitatis*, 19 (2001); Belén Rojas, "Mujeres chilenas exiliadas en Grenoble, Francia: Tensionando comprensiones del exilio y la nostalgia", *Quaderns de Psicologia*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2019) 1-23

³¹ María Angelica Benavides, Leonor Cartera Espinosa and Roberta De Alencar, "Exilio chileno y violencia política. Relatos de vida e imágenes de dos generaciones, mujeres sus hijos e hijas", *II Jornada de trabajo. Exilios Políticos del Cono Sur en el siglo XX* (2014) 1-19

³² Diana Kay, "The Politics of Gender in Exile", *Sociology* 22, no.1 (1988) 1-21; Julie D. Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches: Chilean exiles, culture and feminism* (United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2009) 1-313; Mainer Moreno and Yvette Marcela García, "Los procesos de autonomización de las mujeres de la Unidad Popular exiliadas en Francia", *III Jornada de trabajo. Exilios Políticos del Cono Sur en el siglo XX. Universidad Nacional de la Plata* (2016) 1-26; Jasmine Gideon, "Gendering activism, exile and wellbeing: Chilean exiles in the UK", *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25, no. 2 (2016) 228-247; Nathalie Jammet Arias, "Mujeres en el exilio, ¿Mujeres libre?: el caso de las mujeres chilenas refugiadas en Francia a partir de 1973", *IV Jornada de Trabajo. Exilios Políticos del Cono sur en el siglo XX* (2018) 1-17; Carolina Espinoza Carter, "Exiliadas chilenas: una aproximación de género en las memorias del exilio", *ÉNDOXA Series Filosóficas*, 44 (2019) 155-184; Mainer Moreno, "Un doble exilio: militancia de mujeres chilenas exiliadas en Francia", *Cuestiones de género y la diferencia*, 14(2019)527-545.

³³ Javier Maravall Yáñez, "Las mujeres en la izquierda chilena durante la Unidad Popular y la dictadura militar (1970-1990)", (PhD diss., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2012): 269.

³⁴ Mainer Moreno and Yvette García, "Los procesos de autonomización [...]": 6.

³⁵ Sznajder and Roniger, *The politics of exile in Latin America*, 294-295.

³⁶ Mainer Moreno and Yvette Marcela García, "Los procesos de autonomización [...]": 8.

³⁷ Nathalie Jammet Arias, "Mujeres en el exilio, ¿Mujeres libre?: el caso de las mujeres chilenas refugiadas en Francia a partir de 1973", *IV Jornada de Trabajo. Exilios Políticos del Cono sur en el siglo XX* (2018) 1-17.

³⁸ Mainer Moreno García and Yvette Marcela García, "Los procesos de autonomización [...]": 15.

those who went to North Europe as the stereotype of European beauty, quite different from Chilean women, raised the attention of Chilean men, involving in affairs and stressing even more their relationship with their Chilean female partners³⁹. Overall, the arrival of the second feminist wave specially to Central and Northern Europe resulted in many Chileans' getting divorced in exile, which was legal in most of European countries, making it easier to end their marriage under the protection of the law⁴⁰.

b) *Gender, political activism, and transnationalism from exile*

Patrizia Gabrielli provides a good general theoretical framework from which to investigate political activism of Chilean women in exile. By analysing the exile of Italian antifascist to France in the 1930s, Gabrielli discusses how the heroic story telling of man has monopolized the narrative on Italian political exile, which has also been reflected in the discipline of history and politics that pays special attention to traditional forms of political activism embodied in the militancy in political parties⁴¹. The power relations based on gendered division of labour have made the political sphere an exclusively masculine space until recently, in which political parties were the main figure of political participation until the end of the twentieth century⁴². The party organizational structure also suffers from gendered power relations in which women rarely reached leadership positions, giving their male counterparts the main visibility⁴³. This is replicated when talking about political exile due to most asylum visas are granted to men, usually high on political party structure, as the main refugee and women are typically associated to a secondary role as wives, daughters or mothers, ignoring their personal involvement with the political sphere both in the country of origin as well as the country of destination⁴⁴.

³⁹ Andrew Shield, *Immigrants in sexual revolution. Perceptions and participation in Northern Europe* (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) 71.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 71.

⁴¹ Patrizia Gabrielli, "Présence et absence des femmes dans l'émigration antifasciste italienne en France" in ed. Morelli Anne, *Femmes exilées politiques* (Brussels: Editions de L'Université de Bruxelles 2009): 45

⁴² Andrew Reynolds, "Women in the legislatures and executives of the world: Knocking at the highest glass ceiling", *World Politics* 51 (1999)547–72.

⁴³ Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris, *Gender and Party Politics* (London, SAGE Publications, 1993); Monica Threlfall, "Explaining Gender Parity Representation in Spain: The Internal Dynamics of Parties" *West European Politics*, 30, no.5 (2007) 1068-1095; Teresa Sacchet, "Political Parties and Gender in Latin America: An Overview of Conditions and Responsiveness". In ed. Anne Marie Goetz, *Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Reform* (New York, UNRISD, 2009) 148–74; Vivian Roza, "Gatekeepers to Power: Party-level Influences on Women's Political Participation in Latin America", (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2010) 1-228.

⁴⁴ Anne Morelli, "Exhumer l'histoire des femmes exilées politiques" in coord. Anne Morelli, *Femmes exilées politiques*, Brussels 26(2009) 11.

There are several dimensions when talking about transnationalism and migration⁴⁵. In a broad definition, transnationalism involves a process in which, migrants maintain social connections with the country of origin⁴⁶ through a diversity of practices which may be economic, cultural and political. This last two has been the main characterization of Chilean transnationalism in exile. However, the contributions of Mügge⁴⁷ show that there is a gender bias when researching political transnational activities of migrants, in which most literature highlights the role of men showing the male dominance on the narrative on this phenomenon where ‘gender is not considered in studies on migrants’ political participation and their organizational networks in the receiving country’⁴⁸. Literature on Chilean exile and transnationalism also suffers from this bias as it has been mentioned.

b.1. Chilean women, transnationalism, and political activism

Political activism and transnationalism in host countries have been deeply discussed on Chilean exile literature, however, with regards to Chilean women it has been the least explored dimension of their experience. Nonetheless, exceptional contributions have been made so far. Already in 1988 Diana Kay’s research⁴⁹ on the experience of exile between Chilean man and women in Britain highlighted the conflicting experience between the private and public sphere among refugees as well as differences according to class. For the case of man most of them were constantly referring to feeling powerless because of their forced detachment from the Chilean politics when becoming a refugee that in many cases meant the loss of Chilean citizenship and prohibition to participate in clandestine Chilean political parties abroad⁵⁰. For the case of women there were different experiences depending on their class. Upper class women, who usually had a strong involvement in politics during *Unidad Popular* in Chile and worked full time, they had to abandon their political activism after exile and when arriving to the UK had to become a fulltime housewife or getting mainly involved in domestic work, which felt like a form of subordination. For middle to low class Chilean women, who overall did not perceive

⁴⁵ Anita Gutiérrez, “Chilenos en el exilio: diáspora, practicas transnacionales e integración social en Holanda”, (MA thesis, Leiden University, 2014), 12

⁴⁶ Ibidem, 11.

⁴⁷ Liza Mügge, “Women in transnational migrant activism. Supporting social justice claims of homeland political organizations”, *Studies in Social Justice*, 7, no. 1(2013): 66

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Diana Kay, “The Politics of Gender in Exile”, *Sociology* 22, no.1 (1988) 1–21

⁵⁰ Ibidem, 6.

much difference with respect to their lives in Chile, they did start to experience an increasing empowerment through economic independence as well as getting more involved in Chilean's activities in exile⁵¹.

Julie Shayne's research⁵² about Chilean women exiled in Canada has become an exceptional and innovative work that recovers memory, political activism, and transnationalism. From the lens of gender, Shayne looks at the specific experience of Chilean women within Chilean Solidarity movement, highlighting the influence of gendered division of labour to understand the kind of activities and work they engaged in⁵³. Looking at culture as a political arena based on Antonio Gramsci's contributions, her findings show that women usually performed activities related to organisation of events, teaching children traditional dances, sewing their costumes, as well as food supply and childcare during *peñas*⁵⁴. Accordingly, women became the main channels through which Chilean culture was transmitted to children, resulting in a critical role of women in preserving Chilean identity in exile as well as memory construction. By looking at gender and culture, Shayne questions "the definition of 'doing politics'"⁵⁵. By cooking and sewing, organizing in traditional music bands and selling *empanadas*, they were driven by political goals. These specific skills were transfused into the feminist movement, articulating through culture their view on gender inequality as Latin American women⁵⁶.

In addition to Shayne's contributions, Maider Moreno⁵⁷ looks into militancy among Chileans in France highlighting the tension between political party structures and non-traditional forms of political activism held by Chilean women that stress the 'neutral' category of *militante*⁵⁸. Like Shayne, Moreno argues that activities inside political parties and organization were assigned according to gendered division of labour. Women performed activities related to domestic work like cooking, cleaning, decor for events or

⁵¹ Ibidem, 7.

⁵² Julie D. Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches: Chilean exiles, culture and feminism* (United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2009) 313.

⁵³ Ibidem, 233.

⁵⁴ This is how Chileans called the political gatherings and cultural events with party-like functionality that brought together exiles and their supporters as well as collect money to be sent to support Chilean organizations in *el interior* referring to those remaining on Chile. Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches*, 23.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, 234.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, 232.

⁵⁷ Maider Moreno, 'Un doble exilio: militancia de mujeres chilenas exiliadas en Francia' *Cuestiones de género y la diferencia*, 14 (2019): 537

⁵⁸ Word that comes from the army jargon it has been systematically used in Spanish to refer to members of a political party but Moreno extends this category to political activities in general, therefore she questions this definition.

deal with payments and money while men “represented the intellectual and political values”⁵⁹. The apparent exception to this sex-based inequalities and dynamics were high-class women, nonetheless Moreno finds contradictions in their narratives⁶⁰. Secondly, many women decided to get involved in activities outside the political party or divorce from their partners, also members, as a way to resist sexist dynamics⁶¹.

Finally, for the case of Spain, the exploratory research of Carolina Espinoza⁶² becomes significantly interesting as she talks about similar dimensions as the Chilean exile scholars already mentioned but unveiling the involvement of Chilean women in political activism in Spain. Espinoza exposes the figure of the former Chilean judge Alicia Herrera Rivera mentioned by her interviewees who became very relevant in the Chilean Solidarity movement in Europe and, particularly, in Spanish politics by leading the debate on violence against women in the 1980s. Likewise, Espinoza mentions a Women’s organization called Tralún, located in Madrid as a formal way of political involvement aside from their male compatriots. I took Espinoza’s research as a starting point and delved into this organization and Alicia Herrera Rivera’s experience.

All these contributions, specifically the investigations of Shayne, Moreno and Espinoza, have inspired this research to do a more profound analysis on the experience and forms of political activism of Chilean women in Spain, a case that stands out in consideration of the socio-political context of transition and rebirth of the Spanish democracy since Francisco Franco’s death in 1975. On the next section, I give a brief historical background on Chilean exile which will be further developed according to the necessities of each analysis chapter.

Historical Background

Ostracism is part of Chile’s history since the beginning of the Republic in 1810, yet exile was a very isolated phenomenon until the coup of 1973 when sentence to exile and human rights violation became a systematic way of repression and persecution by the State⁶³. On September 11th, 1973, after increasing social and political tension, a *coup d'état* was held by the Commander-in-chief Augusto Pinochet against the Chilean

⁵⁹. Mainer Moreno, ‘Un doble exilio [...]’, 537.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, 536.

⁶¹ Ibidem. 537

⁶² Carolina Espinoza Carter, ‘Exiliadas chilenas [...]’, 174.

⁶³ Sznajder and Roniger, *The politics of exile in Latin America*, 229.

socialist president Salvador Allende, which ended his life as well as the country's longstanding democracy. This event started what it turned out to be 17 years of authoritarianism, systematic persecution⁶⁴ and violation of human rights against everyone who might be considered a threat to the national order⁶⁵. At least 3,227 people were killed, more than 28,000 were tortured and between 200,000 and a million⁶⁶ were forced to exile as a result of Law 81 of 1973 and Law 504 of 1975 which allowed the expulsion of people because of political reasons.

Many fled to neighbouring countries like Argentina, but because of the coup and dictatorship of the Army General Jorge Videla in 1976, countless started to flee to Europe arriving mainly to countries like Sweden and France, but also to Spain. By 1984, 10 per cent of the total number of expatriates landed in Spain,⁶⁷ becoming the third country in Europe where Chileans exiled (Table 1)⁶⁸. In regard to gender, most of the exiled were men following a broad tendency pointed out by the literature on diaspora and political

⁶⁴ Persecution also took place outside of the national border. The most organized was the program called *Operación Condor* (1975 - 1989) a collaboration between Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina, supported by the United States intelligence, to assassinate, hunt and give back any person that was or were suspected to be opposers to the regime.

⁶⁵ This was called National Security Doctrine, a policy that started to be implemented after the Cuban revolution as part of the United States foreign policy against communism in the context of the Cold War in most Latin American countries, reaching its highest point in the dictatorships that took place in South America during the 70's and 80's. For more information on this read Daniel Feirestein "National Security Doctrine in Latin America: The Genocide Question." In eds. Donald Bloxham and Dirk Moses, *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine. the Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 2008); Jorge Tapia Valdés, *La doctrina de seguridad nacional. El terrorismo de Estado*, (Santiago: Nueva Sociedad, 1980).

⁶⁶ Numbers are not clear as a result of the control of information from the regime during the dictatorship and the resistance of Chileans to contact any official Chilean institution like the consulates and Embassies during that period for fear of persecution. Nonetheless, according to the official number collected in the Valech report which is similar to the numbers given by *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, one of the main human rights organization that helped persecuted during the dictatorship, 226.000 were granted asylum for political reasons. There are other organizations like Amnesty International and CODEPU that claimed around 1 million people in considerations to those who escaped without a clear verdict from Chilean Tribunals and/or Military Courts or without refugee visa. <https://www.indh.cl/destacados-2/comision-valech/>

⁶⁷ Sznajder and Roniger, *The politics of exile in Latin America*, 233.

⁶⁸ Although it is not represented on this Table, there were other European countries that became relevant in providing refuge to Chileans with an important role in the Chilean centre and left-wing parties. East Germany gave asylum to Clodomiro Almeyda, former President of the Chilean Socialist Party (PSC) and its Secretary General Carlos Altamirano, opening the door for many others socialist militants of middle rank to exile in East Berlin, which became the official headquarters of the Central Committee of the party in Europe. For the case of leaders of the Communist Party, the USSR and Rumania were also important in providing asylum. Yet, many of them ended up exiling in countries outside the Soviet axis because of the deprivation of liberties under these regimes. Finally, Italy was the main country of asylum for some politicians of the Christian Democrat Party who after the coup where against Pinochet because of the violation of human rights. These was the case of Bernardo Leighton, José Viera Gallo, Esteban Tomic Errazuriz and Julio Silva Solar, the later from the Christian Left Party - *Izquierda Cristiana*, who created the magazine Chile-América which became one of the most read and distributed magazines of Chileans in exile.

exile. Nonetheless, for the Chilean case overall, more than 30 per cent were women⁶⁹ and for those who arrived at Spain, by 1986 represented 45 per cent of the Chilean community⁷⁰.

Table 1: Estimation of Chilean population by country of exile between 1973 and 1984⁷¹

Country of destination	Number of exiles	%
Argentina	42,000	21
Sweden	34,000	17
Mexico	30,000	15
Canada	30,000	15
Peru	30,000	15
France	24,000	12
Spain	2,000	1
Other	8,000 ⁷²	4

As Table 1 shows, Spain was the sixth country in the world, third in Europe, where Chileans went to exile. Although, with regards to asylum visas by the coup in 1973 none of the European countries had an asylum agreement with the Chilean government, which made it more difficult to arrange asylum immediately after the coup. Therefore, many exiled at first to countries inside Latin America like México, Argentina and Venezuela⁷³. Additionally, as the historian Fernando Camacho argued, the reception of refugees depended on the stance of the host countries government regarding Pinochet's regime as well as their ambassadors. Then, some contradictions occurred like in the Spanish case which was under Francisco Franco's regime and received more Chileans than countries like the United Kingdom or Denmark⁷⁴. Despite this by 1976 most of European countries granted formal asylum to Chileans, by the exception of Spain.

⁶⁹ Norambuena, Carmen, "Exilio y retorno. Chile 1973-1994". In *Memorias para un nuevo siglo. Chile, miradas a la segunda mitad del siglo XX*, eds. Mario Garcés, Pedro Milos, Myriam Olguín, Julio Pinto, Mara Teresa Rojas and Miguel Urrutia, (Santiago: LOM, 2000) 173-188

⁷⁰ Ximena Leiva, *Revista Mujeres*, nr. 14, November 1986, 77.

⁷¹ Carolina Espinoza Carter, "Modos de incorporación de la inmigración chilena en España [...]", 26.

⁷² A very characteristic aspect of the Chilean diaspora is that they exiled all around the world. According to Wright and Oñate, between 110 and 140 countries became exile destination of Chileans (ibidem.: 36).

⁷³ Wright and Oñate, 'Chilean political exile', 36.

⁷⁴ Fernando Camacho, "Los asilados de las Embajadas de Europa Occidental en Chile tras el golpe militar y sus consecuencias diplomáticas: El caso de Suecia", *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 81(2006) 22-23.

In 1973 Spain was still under Francisco Franco's regime and as a result, several international agreements that came after the World War II were not signed until the end on the 1970s after Franco's death. Among them, the Geneva Convention (1951) and the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (1967) were signed in October of 1978 just a month before the approval of the Spanish constitution which ended with the transition to democracy⁷⁵ and when, for the first time, asylum is explicitly referred to in the Article 13.4⁷⁶. Nonetheless, it was not until March of 1984 that these agreements were incorporated onto the Spanish legal system when the first Asylum and refuge law was approved⁷⁷ during the socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez. The same occurred with the first General Migration Law in Spain after the 1978 Constitution, approved the 13th of July of 1985⁷⁸ which resulted from Spain's incorporation to the European Economic Community (EEC) in June of the same year⁷⁹. Therefore, during most of the time when Chileans along with Uruguayan's, Argentineans and Brazilians arrived at Spain escaping from their regimes did so without the support of the Spanish government as political exiles making the Spanish case overlooked on the Chilean exile literature. These elements affect to some extent the experience of Chilean women in relation to their chances to be politically active upon their immediate arrival to Spain which is furtherly addressed on the chapter I.

⁷⁵ The period of transition to democracy is still a very debated aspect among historian, yet because this topic is not part of the discussion on this research, I divide this period based on the formal aspect of writing and approval of a new Constitution, in force until today.

⁷⁶ "La ley establecerá los términos en que los ciudadanos de otros países y los apátridas podrán gozar del derecho de asilo en España". BOE-A-1978-31229. Constitución Española. Capítulo primero. 'De los españoles y los extranjeros' (1978)1- 40, 5.

⁷⁷ Ministerio de la Presidencia, Relaciones con las cortes, y memoria democrática, "Ley 5/1984: reguladora del derecho de asilo y de la condición de refugiado", *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, no. 74, 8389 - 8392. <https://boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1984-7250> (Accessed May 7, 2021)

⁷⁸ Ministerio de la Presidencia, Relaciones con las cortes, y memoria democrática "Ley Orgánica 7/1985: sobre los derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España", *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, no. 158, 20824 - 20829. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1985-12767> (Accessed May 7, 2021)

⁷⁹ Before this law there were other laws which meant to regulate specific aspects of immigrants in Spain, being the most recent ones during Francisco Franco times where the Real Decree 118/1969 which regulated the social rights of foreigners from Latin America and the Philippines; Law 522/1974 which regulated the regime of entry, stay and exit of foreigners. And after the Constitution of 1978 was the Law on Labour and Social Security Regime for Equatorial Guinea workers residing in Spain. Therefore, the 1985 migration Law created the first general law the unified all the previous ones and incorporated new aspects relevant to the migration policy of the EEC.

Material and Methods

a) *Oral history and remembering as an act of empowerment*

The act of telling one's story is not only a process in which the narrator presents an account of the facts related to the topics addressed in the interview. It also involves several aspects in which the person takes part as an actor of the story, having the chance to become the main character⁸⁰. Therefore, the act of remembering may become an act of empowerment through the process of self-awareness as an active part of a broader phenomenon and its narrative, being this case the collective memory about Chilean transnationalism and political activism from exile.

As Lapovsky argues⁸¹, dealing with oral history involves also a process in which the researcher reconsiders their supposable place of objectivity, being also subjectively driven to research on certain issues and ask certain questions. Therefore, the empowerment role of telling one's tale is one of my main motivations for doing this research in consideration that, memory depends many times on passing through lifetime stories, making memory a living phenomenon. And, as this research shows, the silent female narrative on Chilean exile may be a result of women not perceiving their involvement in activities in exile as their own. Carmen Rojas, one of my interviewees said:

The other day I was talking with Regina and I said to her "It is impressive how this girl has made me remember how I got into Tralún, how did I do it to be there"... I refused for a long time to assume that there were things that I helped to be born, which is part of history. So of course, you refuse to be a part of history.⁸²

By telling their own story and being listened to, there is the chance for their acknowledgment in history. So far, only a few have asked them to tell their story. Therefore, by carrying out in depth interviews and asking them the questions usually

⁸⁰ Marcela Cornejo, Francisca Mendoza and Rodrigo C. Rojas, "La investigación con relatos de vida: Pistas y opciones de diseño metodológico", *PSYKHE*, 17, no. 1(2008): 31.

⁸¹ Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, "Telling tales: Oral History and the Construction of Pre-Stonewall Lesbian History", *Radical History Review* 62 (1995): 58-79.

⁸² Carmen Rojas, skype interview by author, October 8, 2020. Original quote: *el otro día estaba conversando con la Regina y le decía "Es impresionante como esta chica me ha hecho recordar cómo me metí yo al Tralún, cómo hice yo ahí para estar" [...] me negué por mucho tiempo a asumir que habían cosas que nacieron que yo ayude al nacimiento de eso, que es parte de la historia. Entonces claro tu te niegas a ser parte de la historia.*

addressed to their male counterparts, I look into the political activism of Chilean women exiled in Spain between 1973 and 1990 in order to contribute to the memory of Chilean exiles. These oral histories thus complement the few well-known narratives, such as the memoirs of the late Alicia Herrera Rivera⁸³, former Chilean Judge of the Court of Appeals of Santiago and wife of the socialist senator Alejandro Jiliberto who arrived at Spain after refugeeing in Rumania and East Germany becoming relevant in Spanish politics and the Spanish feminist movement.

b) Cases

Eight women, who arrived at Madrid between 1973 and 1985, were interviewed, five of them held face to face in Madrid, and the other three I had Skype and Whatsapp video sessions. Five of them were contacted thanks to the help provided by the journalist and researcher Carolina Espinoza Carter who put me in contact with them. The others were contacted using the snowball method.

Most of them arrived at Spain because of self-exile only with a tourist visa to then prolong their stay in the country. Three of them were Spanish republicans' descendants, all exiled in Chile by the end of 1930s granting them access to Spanish nationality before exile or immediately upon arrival. Also, for two of the interviewees Spain was not their first country of arrival. Ana María Flores first exiled in Cuba to then refuge in East Germany with her husband and two daughters by the end of 1974 and stayed until 1981. She and her family were granted asylum in those countries, yet not in Spain, arriving with a tourist visa. On the other hand, Emma Landaeta first escaped to Argentina a few weeks after the coup in Chile in 1973, staying for almost 8 years to then flee again from Argentina to East Germany. After the Socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez won the elections in October of 1982, she decided to leave East Germany and settle in Spain arriving also with a tourist visa. These were the years when the arrival of Chilean exiles started to increase⁸⁴.

The average age of the interviewees is 70 years old and most of them started their exile between the age of 20 and 30 years old. Five of them were married by the time of exile, three of them with a Chilean partner with whom they migrated, also political activists. Two of them got divorced from their partners after a few years of arrival to Spain. Three migrated alone from which one of them got married to a Spanish citizen.

⁸³ Alicia Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado. Memorias*. (Santiago: CESOC, 2007), 294.

⁸⁴ Mario Olguín, 'Exilio político en España (1973-1990/1994) [...]' 406.

Four of them went to exile with children and said that they had to juggle between their maternity role and activism.

All the interviewees had some kind of political activism between their year of migration until 1990. Five of them were members of a Chilean political party and three of them maintained their affiliation during exile with the Chilean Socialist Party (PSC) and *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR) that organized in the host country. Two of them changed their affiliation to the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) sometime after their arrival to Spain. Four of the interviewees were involved in woman's organization, all of them members of the Chilean Women's Association called *Tralún* that advocated for woman's rights and campaigned against human's rights violations in Chile incorporating woman's voice. Two of them, Regina Rodriguez and Carmen Rojas also founded a feminist organization with some fellow Spanish feminist women called *Ágora Feminista*.

Most of the interviewees were middle or upper class by the time they decided to emigrate. All of them had high levels of education which in most cases eventually gave them more opportunities to access jobs related to their studies, something that has been mentioned on the literature⁸⁵. However, as most of them arrived in Spain with tourist visas, they had difficulties incorporating into the labour force, pushing some of them to very vulnerable circumstances. In addition, despite the shared history and language with Spanish society, all of them stated having difficulties to relate to the host society, but those who had direct relationship with Spanish Political Parties were able to adapt faster than those who did not.

c) *Archives*

To complement the oral histories, I used additional archive material from the Spanish National Library in Madrid, and the International IISG located in Amsterdam. The IISH materials include a press article from *Boletín de la Conferencia Mundial de Solidaridad con Chile*⁸⁶. The "Newspapers and Magazines"⁸⁷ archive of the Spanish National Library⁸⁸ offered digitalised press articles from newspapers all over Spain which

⁸⁵ Carolina Espinoza, "Vinculo político con el lugar de origen en la inmigración chilena en España: el constante aquí y allí de los exiliados." (2019) 159.

⁸⁶ Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG). <https://iisg.amsterdam/en>

⁸⁷ Also called "Sala Larra"

⁸⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Sala Larra, Periódicos y Revistas. Hemeroteca Digital <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/index.vm>

have been reviewed in order to roughly look for press coverage of Chilean women in Spain. Additionally, several editions of the magazine *Revista Mujeres* from the Spanish Women Institute in Madrid, directed by Regina Rodriguez between the years 1984 and 1987, have been reviewed highlighting three publications that address the activism of Chilean women in Spain and Chile. This magazine is stored in the Library of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport, also in Madrid⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ Additional copies of this magazine are also available in the archive of *Museo del Traje* in Madrid.

Table 2: Descriptive table of interviewees and oral sources

Name	Alicia Tellez	Ana María Flores	Regina Rodríguez	Pilar Santana	Emma Landaeta	Carmen Rojas	Magaly Chamorro	Beatriz Lorenzo	Alicia Herrera Rivera
Age of migration	32	25-26	26	24	26	35	30s	23	50s
Year of emigration from Chile	1973	1974	1976	1976	1973	1985	1985	1973	1974
Year of arrival to Spain	1973	1981	1976	1976	1982	1985	1985	1973	1977
Went back to Chile	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Level of Education	Bachelor	PhD	Bachelor	Bachelor	MA	Bachelor	PhD	Bachelor	Bachelor
Party Affiliation during exile	No	Yes (PSC and PSOE)	No	Yes (MIR)	Yes (PSC)	No	No	Yes (PSC and PSOE)	Yes only in Spain (PSOE)
Participation in Woman's Organization in Spain	No	No	Yes <i>Tralún</i> (Chilean) <i>Agora Feminista</i> (Spanish)	No	Yes <i>Tralún</i> (Chilean)	Yes <i>Tralún</i> (Chilean) <i>Agora Feminista</i> (Spanish)	No	Yes <i>Tralún</i> (Chilean)	Yes Themis (Spanish) <i>Tralún</i> (Chilean)

CHAPTER I: “I was not formally a refugee, but in practice I was a political exile”⁹⁰. The exilic condition of Chilean women in Spain.

The title of this chapter recovers Carmen Rojas word, who I interviewed on October of 2020, which highlights a shared experience among my interviewees when they were describing their state upon their arrival to Spain. As a result of the violent coup led by the Army General Augusto Pinochet on September 11th, 1973, at least 200,000 Chilean men and women were forced into exile during his 17 years of dictatorship, based on the number of asylum visas granted. However, the figure rises to over 1 million when considering all those who self-exiled without an asylum stamp⁹¹. All the women researched for this thesis left Chile to escape the Pinochet regime between 1973 and 1985. Most of them, different from most cases that have been studied so far, arrived in Spain without an asylum request or visa. In the following section of this chapter, I delve deeper into the reasons that made them decide to leave Chile and analyse how gender roles and stereotypes about women affected their decision on when to leave Chile. I do this by analysing their narratives behind their storytelling.

Reasons for exile

According to Moreno and García, many Chilean women who went to exile where involved in some form of political activism during Allende’s government of *Unidad Popular*⁹², however their roles were usually seen “as mothers and perceived as ‘companions and comrades’ of the revolutionary process”⁹³. Looking at oral histories, this perception as secondary actresses and mothers argued by Moreno and García, is also present in my interviewee’s narratives, which in some cases may be reinforced by their male partners. It is interesting to highlight that in one of my interviews, the husband of my interviewee was keen to participate, maybe as he is used to embody the social identity of the “political exiled” and being the one always interviewed. However, he was surprised as he realized that this time, his wife was going to be interviewed. This is a clear example

⁹⁰ Carmen Rojas, on Skype call with author, October 8, 2020.

⁹¹ Mario Olgún, ‘Exilio político en España (1973-1990/1994)[...], 404.

⁹² *Unidad Popular* was the name of the coalition of left-wing political parties that supported the presidential candidacy of Salvador Allende in 1969, a name the new government kept after winning the elections in January 1970.

⁹³ Maider Moreno García and Yvette García, “Los procesos de autonomización [...]”, 6.

that captures what Gabrielli⁹⁴ defines as the “heroic narrative” of exiled men which traditionally displace women’s narrative⁹⁵.

For most of the interviewees who were married and/or had children by the time of the coup, two elements are highlighted that played a critical role in their decision to leave: the role of their partners in politics; and maternity. First, looking at the structure of their storytelling it’s possible to see a self-awareness with regard to their political involvement as they explain they were activist and political party members. However, they downplay their activism by comparing to their partners, who the interviewees portray having a more relevant role in politics than them, losing along the way their importance on their storytelling. Words like “us” and “we” were used by most interviewees to explain their own political involvements.

Yes, I participated in the socialist youth, at the university...I was a student leader...[but] my relevance was small inside the movement, I was not a leader at a national level...but my partner, who was a lot older than me, was a socialist leader of relevance. So, the real reasons that lead to my departure from Chile had more to do with the fact that I would not be use as a hostage so that he would surrender...basically the reason was not because of me, it was because of him⁹⁶

This fragment of Beatriz Lorenzo’s story shows both Gabrielli’s and Shayne’s point about how women’s involvement in politics is often overlooked due to a more visible role taken on by their partners. They are viewed as taking on more minor roles inside labour unions and university movements⁹⁷, largely remaining hidden behind their partners⁹⁸. Consequently, in most literatures about Chilean exile, women have been portrayed as mere companions to their male partner, who was granted a refugee status due to their more visible role in politics and greater exposure⁹⁹ An interesting aspect of Beatriz’s story is how she portrayed herself as being politically active, yet when deciding

⁹⁴ Patrizia Gabrielli “Présence et absence des femmes [...]”, 45.

⁹⁵ Anne Morelli, ‘Exhumer l’histoire des femmes exilées politiques’, 10.

⁹⁶ Beatriz Lorenzo, on WhatsApp call with author, October 16, 2020. Original quote: *Sí, yo participaba en las juventudes socialistas, en la universidad...era dirigente estudiantil...[pero] mi significancia era pequeña dentro del movimiento, yo no era ninguna dirigente a nivel nacional...pero mi pareja, que era bastante mayor que yo, si era un dirigente socialista significativo...entonces en realidad las razones que llevan a mi salida de Chile tiene más que ver con que yo no fuera usada de rehén para que él se entregara...básicamente la razón no era por mí, era por él.*

⁹⁷ Julie Shayne, *They Used to call us Witches*, 164.

⁹⁸ Anne Morelli, ‘Exhumer l’histoire des femmes exilées politiques’, 11.

⁹⁹ Mainer Moreno, ‘Un doble exilio [...]’ 534.

on exile, she became a tool to get to her husband, him becoming at the centre of the story. Aware that her own involvement was not necessarily a threat to the regime, her own political involvement is displaced in light of her husband's, pointing him as the main reason for leaving Chile. Beatriz eventually left Chile by the end of 1973 with her daughter and her partner.

Alicia Tellez is another example of a woman who decided to leave Chile due to her partner's involvement in politics. She herself was supporting Salvador Allende's campaign and government. However, when asked what led her to leave Chile, she mentioned her husband. His close relationship to Salvador Allende put her and her children at risk. An interesting aspect of her storytelling is that, when explaining her personal story she refers to his. The majority of her story revolves around her husband, and even when explicitly asked about her own personal experience, she continued to mention her partner or downplays her activism. She left Chile along with her five children and her husband with the help of Hortensia Bussi, Salvador Allende's wife who arranged a safe-conduct through Mexico. Like Beatriz Lorenzo, Tellez arrived at Madrid by the end of 1973.

Like Beatriz and Alicia, Ana María Flores also reinforces this argument. She was a member of the PSC, and because of her activism she was imprisoned by the Service of Military Intelligence¹⁰⁰. Her husband was also a member who had a close relationship with party leaders. Once she was set free, the PSC arranged her escape, which helped her get asylum in Cuba with her daughters. Her husband was exiled in East Germany where the leaders of the PSC settled their headquarters. After one year, Flores and her children joined him in East Germany by request of her husband to the Party. By the beginning of 1981, they decided to leave for Spain. In Flores' case, she highlights her own political involvements that led to her arrest, however, when deciding on exile and destination she displaces herself from the story, pointing to the Party and her husband as the decisive element on exiling, despite her initial resistance¹⁰¹.

¹⁰⁰ Known as SIM, *Servicio de Inteligencia Militar*, was a division inside the Chilean Army that during the first years after 1973's coup was in charge of arresting left-wing politicians and supporters, taking them to clandestine detention centers.

¹⁰¹ Ana María Flores, interviewed by author, Madrid, July 21st, 2020. 'I left to Germany because my husband left to Germany and asked the Party to flight me in, he went to Germany and of course [he said] "I want my wife here" and I would say "Why don't you come here" but then I went because, I think it was María Elena Carrera, says to me "look you are going because from Berlin they have decided that you are going and in Berlin is the headquarters of the Party."'. Original quote: *yo cuando me fui a Alemania fue porque me mandó a buscar el Partido porque Manolo se fue a Alemania, salió a Alemania y claro él "Yo*

On another hand, motherhood was also another big reason behind the decision to leave. Most of those who had children, their story starts to change according to the moment where they became mothers. They start by explaining that their political involvement was the main reason to decide on exile, however, the story shifts once they became mothers, something that according to them, experienced differently from their partner:

I left in March 1976 because we were involved in politics for a far-left party. We used to work with syndicates. After the coup we started to collaborate in *solidarity*¹⁰² things like gather money, freeing people [from prison...] Until then I had always been participating, I was a single girl, I studied journalism and in January of 1974, I became pregnant. When I was eight months pregnant, the repression started to worsen and for the first time in my life, after all those years I gain a conscience, sure because of my son, that I could not stay there, I had to leave. My husband did not want to leave because he had the [political] commitment, but I said, “I’m leaving.”¹⁰³

This fragment from Regina Rodriguez story becomes interesting to capture the struggles of women who are politically active, under a threatening context, and have children showing the conflict between her political-self and her mother-self. She initially explained her greater participation in politics after marriage and university activities, but after giving birth to her son, her attitude changes.¹⁰⁴ Her new role as a mother gave her a moral obligation and a new sense of perceived risk that she had not considered before the birth of her son. Likewise, when referring to her husband opposing to emigrating

quiero a mi mujer aquí” y yo pensando y decía “Y por qué no te vienes tu acá”. Pero después viene ya no sé si era la María Elena Carrera y me dice “Mira, te vas porque en Berlín han decidido que te vas, en Berlín esta el centro del Partido”

¹⁰² Among interviewees and Chilean refugees, *solidaridad* or solidarity is a word used to refer to activities related to give support (economic, legal, human resources and more) to those who directly suffered from repression in Chile, from abroad or inside Chile.

¹⁰³ Regina Rodríguez, interviewed by author, Madrid, July 23, 2020. Original quote: *salí en marzo del 76 porque nosotros estábamos metidos en política en un partido de ultraizquierda...hacíamos trabajo sindical, sobre todo. Después del golpe empezamos a colaborar en cosas tipo solidaridad, juntar dinero, ayudar a sacar alguna gente [de prisión...]yo hasta ese momento siempre había estado participando, chica soltera, estudié periodismo y en enero del año 74 me quedé embarazada. Cuando yo estaba con ocho meses de embarazo entonces empezó a apretarse la mano de la represión y yo por primera vez en todos esos años tuve una conciencia, seguro por el hijo, de que ahí no podías quedarte, había que irse. Mi marido no quería irse porque esta con el compromiso [político] y yo dije ‘no, yo me voy’.*

¹⁰⁴ Nancy G. McGleen, ‘The impact of parenthood on political participation’, *The western political quarterly* 33, no. 3(1980) 297-313.

given his commitment to the political struggle shows a subtle comparison where her political commitment is displaced by her maternal commitment, different from her partner. At this point she becomes at the centre of the story redefining herself according to the maternal role, reclaiming and owning the decision on exile blurring the lines between the public and private dimensions of her life. Regina, her child, and husband arrived at Madrid in January of 1976.

However, Carmen Rojas' narrative challenges this argument to some extent. While the safety of her daughters was the biggest reason behind her exile, she continued to be involved in clandestine political activities with her husband for 12 years after 1973's coup, as a member of the political party *Izquierda Cristiana* and one of the leading members of Chilean feminist movement in the 1980s. In her storytelling, she is the main actress taking pride of her political activism during those years under the regime, aside from the fact that her two daughters were born during the same time. In 1985, they decide to self-exile to Spain after persistent harassment.

We both were in everyone's sights, I participated with women's groups and in political parties and my husband too and we were very afraid for our daughters... I didn't want to come, but when the children are the priority, they are not guilty of what you do and these guys [the secret service¹⁰⁵] knew from where they were threatening us...and in the end we ended up here"¹⁰⁶

Another case that challenges these arguments is Alicia Herrera Rivera. Despite that the final decision was made after her husband asked her to go in exile with their children, she dedicates several chapters to explain her political involvement that finally led to consider exile, showing ownership in Rivera's story. According to her memoir, before the coup Rivera started gaining more visibility at a national level given her judicial career in the Chilean courts. During the campaign of Salvador Allende, she mobilized and ran the support of many judges to Allende's elections¹⁰⁷ and during the government

¹⁰⁵ The *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* (DINA) was the name of the Chilean Secret Service during Pinochet's regime responsible for tortures, imprisonment, and disappearance of left-wing activist.

¹⁰⁶ Carmen Rojas, on Skype call with author, October 8, 2020. Original quote: *ambos estábamos en la mira de todos, yo participando con los grupos de mujeres y en partidos políticos y mi marido también y teníamos mucho miedo por nuestras hijas...yo no me quería venir, pero cuando los hijos están por delante, ellos no tienen la culpa de lo que tú haces y ellos [la DINA] sabían por donde nos amenazaban...y al final terminamos aquí.*

¹⁰⁷ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 102.

of *Unidad Popular* she started working in the Ministry of Justice leading a reform inside the judicial system which made her very unpopular among the opposition¹⁰⁸. She was not affiliated to a political party, yet her husband, Alejandro Jiliberto was a member of the PSC.

During the coup her older son and her husband were imprisoned, and Alicia used all her knowledge and networks, inside and outside the country as a renowned judge, to first take her son out of the National Stadium¹⁰⁹ and then take her husband out of prison, even saving him from execution only a few hours before the event¹¹⁰. He then was transferred to a concentration camp in Dawson Island¹¹¹ and during a year she advocated not only for her husband but for all those women who were looking for their family members¹¹², which after became the Group of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees¹¹³, the predecessors of the Chilean feminist movement of the 1980s¹¹⁴. This gave her even more visibility becoming a target to the regime, yet because of the support of several ambassadors and international¹¹⁵ figures, she managed to remain free nonetheless still subject to harassment and intimidation¹¹⁶. As a result, in a visit to her husband to prison, he asked her to go to exile with their children. Then she arranged asylum which had been already offered by the Ambassador of Romania who then managed to free Alejandro and join her in Bucharest.

After a year in Romania and being in contact with the existing socialism and limitation of rights she asked her husband to arrange asylum in East Germany with the support of the PSC which was granted¹¹⁷, nonetheless the same problem was perceived there. During all this time she remain advocating for Chile around Europe. In a trip on March 26th, 1976 to a Conference of Socialist French Lawyers in Paris she met Felipe Gonzalez who back then was the president of the PSOE. Gonzalez asked her to visit Spain

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, 104

¹⁰⁹ The Chilean National Stadium was used during the beginning of the regime as a concentration camp where the military and the police tortured detainees, sent them to other camps in the extreme parts of the country or killed like the case of the folk musician Victor Jara.

¹¹⁰ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 128-148.

¹¹¹ Many renown political leaders were sent to Dawson Island at *Tierra del Fuego*, on the Straits of Magellan the last piece of land between America and Antarctica. This ensured that family members as well as human rights organizations could not have access to visit political prisoners and thus, not only deteriorate their morale but also hide what was happening in those prisons.

¹¹² Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 143.

¹¹³ *Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos*.

¹¹⁴ Julie D. Shayne, *The revolution question: Feminism in El Salvador, Chile and Cuba*, (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004) 90-114.

¹¹⁵ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 144.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, 151.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, 161-174.

for a few months to help him write a complaint to the inter-parliamentary union in Spanish Congress in September of 1977¹¹⁸. After some issues with the Communist Party in Germany, her family moved to Madrid in December of 1977¹¹⁹. Rivera's case challenges the displacement of political activism as she highlights her efforts to free her husband from prison the reason for exile. In Rivera's narrative, her advocacy made her a threat to the eyes of the Pinochet regime, instead of her husband.

Lastly, the interviewees mention being political exiles despite not arriving to Spain with a refugee stamp. In their experience, this social condition which is usually associated to men as the main political figure, was also something they identify with as they were also politically active before exiling. Espinoza's findings suggested that overall Chileans had a broad social recognition as "political exiles" in Spanish society despite not being formally granted asylum by Spanish authorities. Thanks to the support from Spanish Left they were able to rapidly incorporate to labour force "enabling Chilean exiles to insert [into the society] as equals like the rest of Spaniards"¹²⁰ as well as enjoy from the solidarity of the Spanish people. This social recognition is highlighted by all interviewees, which reinforced their social identity as a political exile despite feeling supporting actresses in their own stories before departure.

Summary

Overall, most of the interviewees cited motherhood and the political activities of their male partners as the main reasons for exile, displacing their political activism from their final decision. Despite this displacement shown in their stories, they saw themselves as political exiles in light of their political activism previous to their departure, as Carmen's words express at the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, their stories show a tension between their identity as political activists and their assigned roles as caregivers and wives, experiences that they remember as different from their male partners when deciding on exile.

The next chapter shows how gender roles also affected their experience with political activism and transnationalism within Chilean left during their exile and the forms they chose to advocate for human right and women's issues in Spain. Those who

¹¹⁸ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, (Chile 2007) 183.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 203.

¹²⁰ Carolina Espinoza Carter, "Vinculo político [...].", 159. Original quote: *dejó que los exiliados chilenos se insertaran de igual a igual como el resto de los españoles.*

remained in political parties or where not involved in women's organisations, their opinion was rarely asked, usually stood at the back of men in pictures or were not on them, or they rarely spoke in public for an organisation. They mainly were being required to perform 'domestic' tasks as main caregivers or 'feminine' task related to networking, administration and communications.

Chapter II. Political Activism and Transnationalism in Spain

All the political parties and organizations that had been of importance during the *Unidad Popular*, almost immediately after arrival to host countries re-established themselves, and with it the structures that were in force in Chile¹²¹. In this chapter, I argue that gender stereotypes and expectations regarding Chilean women, highly influenced their political activities carried out during their exile in Spain. Building on the studies by Julie Shayne¹²², Maider Moreno¹²³ and Patrizia Gabrielli¹²⁴ I analyse from the gender lenses how these women experienced being involved in political activities within Chilean community and their narratives about global and singular events where they reflect on the contradictions that took place among Chilean community.

This chapter is structured by first briefly addressing political activism and transnationalism of the Chilean exiles in Spain highlighting the Spanish socio-political context, deepen on the ‘feminine’ tasks that women were asked to perform and gender-based differences that they experiences while being involved in Chilean activities and political parties. Secondly, I highlight the story of the women’s association *Tralún* as a specific form that Chilean women chose to gather and advocate for human rights in Chile and women issues. Finally, I look into Alicia Herrera Rivera’s memoirs in order to give a cleared background on these gender dynamics inside Chileans in Spain, highlighting the tension between the class struggle and the women’s struggle.

Chilean community, transnationalism and gender in Spain

There is evidence that Chilean exiles were active in Spain during the 1970s and have been studied mainly by Mario Olguín¹²⁵ and Carolina Espinoza Carter¹²⁶. However, this activism was mostly from the end of 1978 onwards which increased after the socialist Felipe Gonzalez was elected president in 1982. Different for most cases on Chileans in Europe, both authors agree it was due to Franco’s regime in place by the time of the coup

¹²¹ Maider Moreno, “Un doble exilio [...]”, 533.

¹²² Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches* (2009)

¹²³ Moreno, “Un doble exilio [...]” (2019)

¹²⁴ Gabrielli, “Présence et absence des femmes” (2009)

¹²⁵ Mario Olguín, “Exilio político en España (1973-1990/1994). El caso de Zaragoza, acercamiento al estudio, avances y discusiones de la investigación”. *Veinte años de congresos de historia contemporánea (1997-2016)*, (2017) 401-412.

¹²⁶ Carolina Espinoza Carter, “Vinculo político con el lugar de origen en la inmigración chilena en España: el constante aquí y allí de los exiliados.”, (PhD diss., Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2019)

in 1973 and complex situation during the Spanish transition after his death in 1975¹²⁷. Therefore, according to these studies, most Chileans that arrived between 1973 and 1981, were timidly active during late Francoism and transition. Once circumstances began to stabilize and Spanish left-wing parties re-joined politics, the Chilean community increased their activism significantly.

For the case of Chilean women, this element was also mentioned by the interviewees. However, they had added difficulties particularly related to motherhood as they were the main caretakers, in line with traditional gender roles inside the family. Also, similar to findings of Shayne and Moreno, many women inside political parties and Chilean organisations in Spain were assigned ‘domestic’ activities like cooking, taking care of children during events as well as in charge of organising events like fund raising or dealing with administrative tasks like writing memos and contacting Spanish politicians; while men were in charge of giving the speeches, something that Carolina Espinoza was able to identify in her last research.¹²⁸

Ana María Flores, who I got in contact with through Carolina Espinoza, reflects on how women were usually invisible because they were never the public faces of the Chilean movement in Chile and after exile, despite being the ones who did most of the networking and public relations like talking to syndicates, political parties, municipalities and members from the Spanish Senate and Congress needed to find support: “I never talked, except at universities. But at the Chilean acts I never spoke, I organised...[and] my permanent group of work were always women”¹²⁹. As she mentions, she mainly worked with other women, however men were usually the ones that took credit for it. Like Ana, all women could identify these dynamics among Chileans in Spain.

Gendered power relation inside Chilean political parties even got to serious cases of exploitation and subordination of female members. Alicia Herrera Rivera talks in depth about the case of Adriana¹³⁰, the wife of a renowned lawyer of the Chilean Communist Party, with whom Alicia worked to free people like Luis Corvalán¹³¹, Carlos Lazo¹³² and

¹²⁷ Olguín, “Exilio político en España (1973-1990/1994) [...]”, 406.

¹²⁸ Espinoza Carter, “Exiliadas chilenas [...]”, 168.

¹²⁹ Ana María Flores, interviewed by autor, Madrid, July 21, 2020. Original quote: *yo nunca he hablado, salvo en las universidades. Pero en los actos chilenos nunca hablaba, yo organizaba...[y] mi grupo permanente de choque éramos todas mujeres.*

¹³⁰ In Alicia Herrera Rivera’s memoirs Adriana’s full name is not provided maybe because she was trying to protect her, especially in consideration to the severity of Adriana’s experience.

¹³¹ Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party between 1958 and 1990.

¹³² Renown member of the Chilean Socialist Party.

Erich Shnake¹³³ imprisoned in Chile. Adriana, according to Rivera's memoirs, was constantly watched by a man who they call 'Montecino' from the Chilean Communist Party. She was rarely paid for her work and was allegedly a victim of human trafficking. When Rivera and Adriana had to travel to a hearing that was held in Nuremberg in a case against Pinochet regime where they had to present a report, political party leader took Adriana's money arguing necessity for party activities, as well as retained her passport and travel ticket¹³⁴.

Although this case was inside the Chilean Communist Party in East Germany, Rivera chose this case to illustrate how power relations between the sexes in Chilean society affected the experience of women who were actively involved in Chilean transnationalism, dynamics that were even stronger inside the structures of the Communist party and which could become more violent depending on their importance inside the structure. Alicia Rivera, not being a formal member of any Chilean party, was mainly working with the Socialist party and did not suffer such extreme humiliations. However, she does highlight how the organization, led by men, was not exempt from unbalanced gendered dynamics. While Alicia was never paid for her work during all her years of service, her husband was.

Nonetheless, by the first International Conference of Solidarity with Chile, celebrated in Madrid between November 9th – 12th, 1978, a group of women gathered and did a special session on Chilean women claiming that "Chilean women have become, in some cases, the motive force for moving the international solidarity, which has compelled the Dictatorship to free prisoners and make concessions, against their will, in relation to Human Rights¹³⁵." They resolved that economic, legal and political support was needed for female-run organizations in Chile, and called for all women around the world to organize and mobilize against Latin American dictatorships. This event showed for the first time, political activism of Chilean women abroad as well as Chilean women's fight against Pinochet's regime. I was able to find several articles in Spanish press about the political activism of women in Chile against Pinochet's regime. In magazines like

¹³³ Senator of the Socialist Party.

¹³⁴ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 187. "He told me that her passport and travel ticket were held by the Party and that the two hundred dollars had been taken from her by Sergio Insulza for Party expenses". Original quote: *Me dijo que el pasaporte y el pasaje lo tenía su Partido y que los doscientos dólares se los había quitado Sergio Insulza, según dijo para gastos del partido.*

¹³⁵ Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), *Conferencia mundial de solidaridad con Chile*, Boletín nr.5, p. 5.

Diario16 in 1979¹³⁶ or *Interviu*, Lidia Falcón, renowned Spanish feminist, referring to Chilean women when discussing about politicians overlooking the revolutionary role of women¹³⁷ show an increasing interest among Spanish press on Chilean women role in Pinochet's regime, as well as an increasing support from Spanish feminist to Chilean women in Chile and in Spain.

“More than to make empanadas”: Activism and the case of Tralún.

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The association *Tralún*, which means ‘Strength’ in *mapudungún*¹³⁹, was a group of Chilean women exiled in Spain active since the beginning of the 1980s. Its goal was to advocate for the human rights of Chileans, highlighting Chilean women views from exile. Four of the women interviewed were founders and/or members of this association, in addition to Alicia Herrera Rivera, who is remembered by the interviewees with great respect and admiration. Similar to the case researched by Shayne, these women in light of their experiences among Chileans identified the need to gather aside from the Chilean community events so they could share and channel their experiences during exile, relation to host society and family struggles in Spain. In addition, they helped women in Chile by sending them money, support them in complaints about illegal detentions of family members from abroad, and or even with domestic affairs like sending them shampoo¹⁴⁰. Many of them were single mothers and got separated from their partners a few years after arriving in Spain. There were others who arrived being single and without a solid social network.



¹³⁶ Leonardo Cáceres, “El trabajo de las mujeres en el Chile de Pinochet”, *Diario16*, November 12, 1979, 4.

¹³⁷ Lidia Falcón, “¿Y nosotras qué? Las mujeres igual”, *Interviu*, March 11, 1981, 96.

¹³⁸ Tralún's logo. Colección Laura González Vera, Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos, no. 00000546. <http://www.archivomuseodelamemoria.cl/index.php/43407:isad>.

¹³⁹ Language of the *Mapuches*, ‘people of the land’, one of the biggest indigenous communities in Chile.

¹⁴⁰ Beatriz Lorenzo, on WhatsApp call with author, October 16, 2020. ‘Through almost family networks with other women that where in Chile, we tried to get acquainted to what they were going through, what worried them, what they needed even in the most domestic things, if they asked us to send them shampoo, then [we sent] shampoo’. Original quote: *a través de redes casi familiares con otras mujeres que estaban en Chile empezamos a tratar de saber qué les pasaba, qué les preocupaba, qué necesitaban en casi lo más doméstico incluso, si se podían mandar encomiendas de Champú, pues eso, [se mandaban] encomiendas de Champú.*

In addition, as Beatriz explains these women, from different parts of Chile, socioeconomic status and ideology, were brought together in the need of being heard:

The need [was what brought us together], because there were many single mothers, who were not political party members[...] And it was a time when they began to speak publicly about violence against women. In those spaces [Chilean gatherings], we began to discover that we could do things ourselves and it did not matter that Pati was a Christian Democrat, Regina was in the MIR, I was in the Socialist Party or my mother in the Communist Party [...] There was *the* great point of agreement, which was that we believe that we are not mentally handicapped and that the things that occurred to us made sense [...] Arriving in Spain, arriving in Europe was not easy because it was expensive. Most of us came from middle-class families with university education [but] there were also those who did not [...] those who had been farmer leaders or labour leaders with basic studies and yet there [in Tralún...] for the first time they had been taken into account for something more than to make *empanadas*¹⁴¹

This fragment from Beatriz Lorenzo story embodies something also said by the other interviewee's members of *Tralún*, and several aspects become interesting to discuss. First, Beatriz mentions the lack of spaces among Chilean community to address struggles that were particular to women, as well as how the gendered division of labour is reproduced in Chilean gathering as discussed in the previous section. Secondly, it reflects on the diversity of women that were part of *Tralún* from different parts of the country and ideological spectrum, as well as level of education and social class. Despite the differences, it encouraged collaboration rather than confrontation among them, something that had been criticized by Chilean political parties abroad¹⁴². There was something greater that united them and it was the shared experience of being women, ignored among

¹⁴¹ Beatriz Lorenzo, on WhatsApp call with author, October 16, 2020. Original quote: *La necesidad [fue lo que nos reunió], porque había muchas mujeres solas con hijos, que no eran militantes...Y fue una época en que se empezó a hablar públicamente del maltrato femenino...y en esos espacios [reuniones de chilenos] empezamos a descubrir que podríamos hacer cosas nosotras y no importaba que la Pati fuera demócratacristiana, la Regina en el MIR, yo hubiera estado en el Partido Socialista, mi mamá en el partido comunista...había sobre todo el [emphasis] gran punto de acuerdo y es que 'creemos que no somos unas minusválidas mentales y que las cosas que se nos ocurran tenían sentido'...llegar a España, llegar a Europa digamos no es fácil porque es caro, la mayoría veníamos de familias de clase media con educación universitaria, también habían las que no[...] eran gente que habían sido dirigentes campesinos o dirigentes obreros con estudios básicos y que sin embargo ahí...por primera vez la habían tomado en cuenta para algo más que para hacer empanadas*

¹⁴² Espinoza Carter, "Vínculo político [...]", 106

their peers, who started to see themselves as “objects of specific discrimination”.¹⁴³ *Tralún* became a place where their voice was heard beyond their supposed ‘domestic’ tasks, being able to discuss their everyday struggles as well as giving meaning to their view on human rights as Chilean as well as Latin-Americans, crossed by gender-based issues.

Additionally, interviewees mention that *Tralún* served as a coping mechanism where the grief of exile was addressed differently from the Chilean community and political party events, something identified by them as “typically female”¹⁴⁴, more ‘playful’ through activities that denounced unjust imprisonment or violation of human rights in Chile, but also that channel their grief in a way that they had fun as well as attract media attention.

I think that the main characteristic of that group is that it had this playful thing, the type of marches, the type of slogans that were made, this same thing of the boats at *El Retiro* [...] we did a different demonstration, that would attract attention, speak against the dictatorship, but we were only the women of the *Tralún*, so those kinds of things were done¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Julieta Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile: las feministas y partidos políticos*, (Santiago: Flacso, 1987) 49. Original quote: *se visualizaron a sí mismas como objetos de una discriminación específica*.

¹⁴⁴ Beatriz Lorenzo, on WhatsApp call with author, October 16, 2020. There was one thing that was very particular, which I also believe is something very typical of women's associations or groups, and that is that we liked to have fun and not suffer. So, we liked to organize things in which we had fun...maybe because we all came from having such a bad time that continue to suffer did not make sense, to ripping slits and morning...so we wanted to do things that showed what was happening and that echoed in society, but not always that sad Chilean thing, with those songs, with Víctor Jara [and all that]. Original quote: *había una cosa que era bien particular y creo también algo bien propio de las asociaciones o grupos de mujeres y es que nos gustaba pasarlo bien y no sufrir. Entonces nos gustaba organizar cosas en que nos divirtiéramos...era divertido quizás porque todas veníamos de haberlo pasado tan mal que seguir sufriendo no tenía sentido seguir rasgando hendiduras y haciendo duelos...entonces queríamos hacer cosas que mostraran lo que estaba pasando y que hicieran eco en la sociedad, pero no siempre esa cosa del chileno triste, con esas canciones, con el Víctor Jara [y todo eso]*.

¹⁴⁵ Regina Rodríguez, interview conducted on July 23 of 2020. ‘I think that the main characteristic of that group is that it had this playful thing, the type of marches, the type of slogans that were made, this same thing of the boats at *El Retiro*...we did a different demonstration, that would attract attention, speak against the dictatorship, but we were only the women of the *Tralún*, so those kinds of things were done’. Original quote: *Yo creo que la principal característica de ese grupo es que tenía esta cosa lúdica, el tipo de marchas, el tipo de consignas que se hacían, esta misma cosa de las barcas de El Retiro... hicimos una manifestación distinta, que llamara la atención hablara contra la dictadura, pero éramos solo las mujeres del Tralún entonces ese tipo de cosas si se hizo*.

Like Regina, they all recall a strike they performed at El *Retiro*'s park in Madrid recovered by the newspaper *El País*¹⁴⁶. These types of demonstrations highlighted by the interviewees is something that has also been pointed out on the literature as very characteristic strategy used by feminist activists in the US and Europe during the 1970s and 1980s, which allowed them to bring media attention to their claims and install gender issues on the debate¹⁴⁷.



Also, the interviewees mention how *Tralún* lacked hierarchical structure, different from Chilean organizations led by men.

[...] there was no structure [*orgánica*], which was something nice about this group. There, no one was the boss nor the leader. Some were Party members, and they came with their set of instructions from the Party, but nobody ordered anyone around, saying “You, do this” [or that].¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ N.N. “Pinochet critica la falta de apoyo a los heridos en el atentado de Santiago”, *El País*, June 28, 1986, 5. *Hemeroteca Digital*, BNE.

¹⁴⁷ Joyce Outshoorn, “The Feminist movement and Abortion Policy in the Netherlands” in Drude Dahlerup ed. *The New Women’s Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA*, (London 1986), cited by Andrew DJ. Shield, *Immigrants in sexual revolution. Perceptions and participation in Northern Europe* (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) 118.

¹⁴⁸ Regina Rodríguez, interview conducted on July 23 of 2020. Original quote: [...]no había una orgánica, eso era lo bonito de ese grupo, ahí nadie era jefe ni nadie era líder, lo éramos todas. Algunas eran militantes y venían con instrucciones del partido, pero no era una cosa que alguien pudiese digitar y decir ‘hagan esto’[o lo otro].

This non-hierarchical aspect of the association is common among organizations run by women¹⁴⁹ and interviewees expressed that this enabled them to act quicker and more effectively compared to other Chilean organizations, usually run by men. Beatriz recalls an event where, thanks to the non-hierarchical dynamic, they were able to fill Chilean courts with appeals for protection¹⁵⁰ for a group of Chilean women that were detained in Chile during a strike. This did not result in their release, but it did disclose their cases, which prevented the regime from making them disappear.

On the other hand, there was collaboration between Chilean women and Spanish feminist groups, a bond that was strengthened with the arrival of Felipe Gonzalez government which created the Women Institute as an attempt to channel public policy on women issues in Spain. According to interviewees, looking to make visible their work in light of the rising Chilean feminist movement in Spain and in Chile, they visited the Institute and met Regina Rodriguez, who was by that point the Director of *Revista Mujeres*, the magazine written by the Institute. For the first time Regina and *Tralún* shared experiences as Chilean women exiled in Spain and Regina joined the association. This meeting started an intense collaboration with the Institute in light of Regina's network, connecting *Tralún* to government organizations and other Spanish women associations. Also, she was able to grant several articles in the institute's magazine dedicated to *Tralún*, the situation of Chilean women in Spain and their activism¹⁵¹. From this platform with the support of her editorial team, Regina was able to discuss gender issues in Chile and Latin America, human rights and highlighting the female experience on this in many numbers of this magazine. Finally, the interviewees mention that the Institute gave them full support and access to a shared office with other women groups, where they could meet and organize events related to feminism and human rights in Chile and Latin America¹⁵².

¹⁴⁹ Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches*, 234.

¹⁵⁰ Known as *Recurso de amparo*, right granted to every person who has been possibly unconstitutionally deprived of liberty or threatened their individual security against the Constitution. Therefore, this action is taken with the main purpose that 'this person be brought before a judge to review the legality of the deprivation of liberty' (Library of the Chilean Congress. <https://www.bcn.cl/leyfacil/recurso/recurso-de-amparo>)

¹⁵¹ Ximena Leiva, 'Chilenas en España. Tralún, fuerza en Mapuche'. *Revista Mujeres*, no. 14, November 1986, 77.

¹⁵² N.N. "Convocatoria a Mesa redonda sobre la situación de la mujer en América Latina, organizada por el colectivo de mujeres chilenas Tralun. Salón de actos del Instituto de la Mujer. Almagro 28", *El País*, December 13, 1985, 36; N.N. "Convocatoria. La asociación de mujeres chilenas invita a la proyección de los videos Somos más y Más allá del silencio. Salón de actos del Instituto de la Mujer, calle Almagro 28", *El País*, March 20, 1986, 40.

**LAS MUJERES
SE ORGANIZAN**

Chilenas en España

De acuerdo a los datos obtenidos en el "Estudio Socioeconómico de los Chilenos en España", investigación que durante el año 1986 ha estado desarrollando un equipo de investigadores en el Centro de Estudios Salvador Allende en España, basada en una encuesta aplicada en ocho Comunidades Autónomas a una muestra de 340 individuos sobre un total de 25.000 en España, se ha podido constatar que la proporción de mujeres exiliadas es menor con respecto a los varones, y la gran mayoría se encuentra en España como esposa o compañera de un exiliado (45 % del total del colectivo).

Se caracterizan principalmente por ser jóvenes: el 70 % tiene menos de 45 años, ubicándose la mayoría entre los 26 y 35 años.

Con respecto al estado civil, el 47,1 % de las mujeres son casadas, el 36,8 son solteras y el 8,8 son separadas o divorciadas. Sin embargo, es interesante recalcar que por lo menos un 10 % de cada una de estas categorías mantiene una situación de convivencia, independientemente de su estado civil.

La situación legal de este colectivo de mujeres se distribuye como sigue: el 5,9 % posee el Estatuto de Refugiada, el 30,9 % se ha nacionalizado española, el 39,7 % ha obtenido Permiso de Residencia (aunque la mayoría sin Permiso de Trabajo), el 11,8 % solamente tiene Permiso de Permanencia y el 7,3 % se encuentra en el país de forma ilegal.



Dos momentos de la marcha realizada por Tralún en Madrid, el pasado mes de julio, como solidaridad con la huelga general de Chile.

Tralún, fuerza en mapuche

Casi tres años lleva funcionando en Madrid el colectivo de mujeres chilenas "Tralún", palabra que en lengua mapuche quiere decir fuerza. La necesidad de un espacio en el que pudieran debatirse los problemas específicos de las mujeres, la reflexión compartida con otras mujeres en el aprendizaje "a ser mujer", según palabras de sus integrantes, y un acercamiento a la realidad social y política de su país a través de la mirada femenina, fueron las principales motivaciones en la creación de este grupo. Durante estos tres años el grupo ha realizado debates y coloquios, muestras de reali-

zaciones culturales de algunas de sus integrantes y de otras mujeres y han participado en actos de solidaridad con Chile.

Próximamente, el colectivo realizará una primera jornada de trabajo para evaluar el camino recorrido, y esperan sacar de él una plataforma programática y un programa de acción a corto y medio plazo, poniendo especial énfasis en la reflexión y dinamización del propio colectivo, para vincularse al proceso que están realizando las chilenas dentro del país, por la construcción de una sociedad auténticamente democrática que no excluya a la mitad de la población.

Ximena LEIVA

This enabled Tralún to become very active in advocating for human rights of Chileans and in specific about women issues in Spain, under a context of uprising feminist movement in Spain, Chile and the world.

¹⁵³ Picture of the article about *Tralún* in *Revista Mujeres*, no. 14, November 1986, 77.

‘The topic about women – they say – divided the working class’. The case of Alicia Herrera Rivera, reborn feminist, social capital, and patriarchal structures

Alicia Herrera Rivera was the former Chilean Judge of the Court of Appeals of Santiago and the wife of the socialist senator Alejandro Jiliberto. She led the idea of presenting appeals for protection from abroad before Chilean courts, to publicize the illegal detentions perpetrated by the Pinochet regime abroad¹⁵⁴. These legal actions increased the pressure on the Chilean judiciary and regime in light of the support of great figures of European law and politics, which Alicia archived by building networks as a renowned magistrate during her exile in Romania and East Germany, organizing big congresses, meetings and working groups in Europe, along with other Chilean lawyers and supporters of the Chilean solidarity movement, in order to defend detainees and their families in Chile.

In one of these events, she meets Felipe Gonzalez, the president of the PSOE at the time for whom she wrote a complete report on human rights violations in Chile, and on the cases of Erich Schnake¹⁵⁵ and Carlos Lazo¹⁵⁶ for him to present it to the Spanish Parliament and then plan his visit to Chile in 1977¹⁵⁷. These actions led by Gonzalez and sustained by Rivera’s work, allowed the commutation of their prison sentence with exile. In 1977, she is forced to start a third exile from East Germany, choosing Spain as her destination¹⁵⁸. Upon her arrival, she made contact as a lawyer with cases of violence against women becoming a fervent feminist inside the Spanish feminist movement as a member of the collective *Abogadas Feministas*¹⁵⁹ in Spain in 1978. As part of this group, she began to vocalize the structural gender inequalities reinforced by the legal framework inherited from the Francoism¹⁶⁰, as well as the arbitrariness of judges and police officials when processing and trying cases such as violence, abortion and divorce¹⁶¹. After some

¹⁵⁴ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 179.

¹⁵⁵ Chilean socialist senator

¹⁵⁶ Renown Chilean socialist

¹⁵⁷ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 181-183.

¹⁵⁸ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 202

¹⁵⁹ Feminist lawyers in English.

¹⁶⁰ Alicia Herrera Rivera et. al. “Divorcio: estamos donde estamos”, *Diario 16*, December 3, 1980, 2; Alicia Herrera Rivera, “Cartas al Director: La mujer”, *El País*, April 21, 1981, 19; Marisa Flores, “Debate sobre las exigencias legales y sociales hacia la madre soltera”, *El País*, June 6, 1981, 29; Salchez, Mayka. “Alicia Herrera, abogada chilena exiliada en España: El trabajo en la vida de la mujer juega un papel transcendental”, *Diario La Hora Leonesa*, May 27, 1982, 6.

¹⁶¹ Alicia Herrera Rivera et al. “El caso de Gemma”, *El País*, November 12, 1983, 10.

time, she became a legal advisor to the Advisory Cabinet for Women in Fuenlabrada, in charge of informing women about their rights.

This activity and commitment led her to meet with figures of power within the Spanish public administration and government, leading to the creation of the *Comisión de Investigación de Malos tratos a la mujer*¹⁶² (CIMM) in 1983, in support of the Women's Institute. She became the organization's first president thanks to the work of Alicia and renowned Spanish feminists, the first figures in Spanish territory on violence against women were obtained, allowing not only to make visible this deep-rooted phenomenon in Spanish society¹⁶³, but also to develop public policies and reforms aimed especially at women issues and to end with institutional gender discrimination¹⁶⁴. Through her management in collaboration with Milagros Rodríguez Marín, who was the Director of the advisory cabinet on women's rights in Fuenlabrada¹⁶⁵, the foundation *Solidaridad Democrática* sponsored by PSOE, and the *Unión General de Trabajadores*¹⁶⁶ was able to create the first house in Spain to shelter women and their children who are victims of domestic violence, located in Madrid¹⁶⁷. Her work led her to travel throughout Spain collecting information on this problem as well as encouraging women to take legal actions, the creation of shelter homes in all Spain¹⁶⁸ and place the administrative and political authorities to take responsibility in this matter. During this time, she was also advocating for human rights of Chilean women, questioning gender roles inside the community and organizing with other women to create *Tralún*.

Despite her visibility, power inside the Chilean community and in Spanish society, she explains in her memoirs how she was also subject to resistance from Chilean political parties, especially in Germany and Spain. All women interviewed in this thesis had a high social capital, in some cases enabling them access to more visible spaces, like Regina and Alicia Herrera Rivera. This may reinforce the argument that women with a higher social capital have more chances to buffer patriarchal structures inside social movements and

¹⁶² 'Investigation Commission on abuse against women' in English.

¹⁶³ Salchez, Mayka. "Alicia Herrera, abogada chilena exiliada en España: El trabajo en la vida de la mujer juega un papel trascendental", *Diario La Hora Leonesa*, May 27, 1982, 6.

¹⁶⁴ Criado, Azucena. "Constituida la Comisión Regional de Malos Tratos a Mujeres" *La Provincia*, December 4, 1983.

¹⁶⁵ City in the autonomous community of Madrid, Spain.

¹⁶⁶ General Union of Workers of Spain, in English, is the Spanish labor union organization founded in 1888.

¹⁶⁷ Amelia Castilla, "La única casa-refugio que existe en Madrid para mujeres maltratadas se llenó el día de su inauguración", *El País*, September 22, 1984. https://elpais.com/diario/1984/09/22/madrid/464700257_850215.html

¹⁶⁸ "Mujeres manchegas: Casa de acogida y centro asesor", *Revista Mujeres*, no. 6, April 1986, 61.

organizations¹⁶⁹. Yet, all women on this research who achieved greater power were through organizations related to women issues, mainly outside of Chilean community, and the case of Alicia Herrera Rivera result quite revealing against the argument on social capital buffering them from divisions of labour inside the Chilean Left. Therefore, in this section I reflect on how the case of Alicia as well Tralún, to some extent, contradicts this argument.

Looking at Alicia's trajectory on political activism and transnationalism she was indeed able, to some extent, channel her initiatives despite the opposition of the party structures as a result of her perseverance and creativity to mobilize her initiatives, which were based on her prestige as a Judge before her exile. In consideration to this, it's plausible to argue that because of her social capital as a renown Chilean Judge she was able to develop networks that enabled her to overcome patriarchal structures during exile. Nonetheless, this only lasted a few years. As she explains in her memoirs her most visible activity during exile ed up being women issues and gender violence in Spain, which cost her a new "ostracism" from inside the Chilean Solidarity movement and Chilean political parties.

Suddenly, we realized that men looked at us disdainfully. We were talking about women and that topic, apparently, was not worthy of being touched[...]The topic about women – they said – divided the working class. They were not thinking that violence against women, in violent homes, children were accustomed to endure abuse and exploitation by their bosses¹⁷⁰

As this fragment shows, she was outcasted from Chilean community once she started to advocate for women's rights.¹⁷¹ It reflects how there was a different interpretation on socialist ideas in which Alicia and other women from the Chilean community understood, against their male counterparts, that female issues where necessarily involved in breaking the exploitation of the working class, starting from home, the private space. Therefore, these issues were not welcome among Chilean men

¹⁶⁹ Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches*, 164.

¹⁷⁰ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 248. Original quote: *De repente observamos que los hombres nos miraban en forma despectiva y crítica. Estábamos hablando de las mujeres y ese tema, al parecer, no era digno de tocarse...El tema de la mujer -decían- separa a la clase trabajadora. No pensaban que los maltratos a la mujer, en los hogares violentos, acostumbraban a los hijos a soportar el abuso y la explotación de los patrones.*

¹⁷¹ Shield, *Immigrants in sexual revolution. Perceptions and participation in Northern Europe*, 165.

and even only by discussing these issues in barbecues and social gathering increased a threat perception by questioning social structures that persisted after exile¹⁷². These reflections are confirmed during a visit to one of my interviewees. When mentioning Alicia, the interviewee's husband remarks, after applauding her intelligence, that she was not very liked in the community; was too strong of a character and that she was too outspoken and rigorous-strict¹⁷³.

When reflecting on becoming feminist, Alicia remembers an event when a Chilean lawyer arriving to Madrid from France explained to her how the Chilean community in Spain perceived her:

She said to me that the first thing she did when arriving in Madrid was to ask a [Chilean] socialist lawyer my information and that he warned her “Don't mess with Alicia, she has lost her reputation [...] In Romania, Germany and at the beginning in Spain, I was always respected and highly considered by all Chileans in exile. During those years, I was always asked to attend congress, meetings, seminars, meetings of lawyers who studied the defence of political prisoners[...]From one day to the next, they no longer called me. In truth, by becoming a feminist I had lost my prestige, such as comrade Parrau said to the lawyer Nena Montt, when she wanted to meet me in Madrid. I hadn't realized until that moment. Most Chilean politicians did not understand my feminism, or they considered it as a betrayal of the Chilean people and the political causes that they defended.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 246. “Little by little, I realized that if I talked about these tragedies, or what the judges and the police had done, a certain discomfort arose in the group, it always implied a criticism to myself for worrying about matters that they apparently considered trivial, of uneducated people, or that it did not deserve the least interest”. Original quote: *Poco a poco fui advirtiendo que, si yo hablaba de las tragedias, o de lo que habian hecho los jueces o la Policia, se producía en el grupo un cierto malestar, siempre entrañaba una crítica hacia mi persona por preocuparme de asuntos, que al parecer estimaban triviales, de gente inculta, o que no merecían el menor interés.*

¹⁷³ *Puntillosa* was the word used which is usually a belittling word used to refer to someone very conscientious, meticulous and rigours.

¹⁷⁴ Herrera Rivera, *Desde el Tejado*, 246. Original quote: *le pregunté si algún chileno le había dado mi dirección o mi teléfono. Me respondió que, lo primero que había hecho al llegar a Madrid, había sido preguntarle a un abogado socialista [chileno] mis datos y que él le había advertido: “No te metas con Alicia Herrera, que esta muy desprestigiada”[...]en Rumania, Alemania y al principio en España, siempre fui muy respetada y considerada por todos los chilenos del exilio[...]durante esos años, siempre se me solicitó asistir a congresos, encuentros, seminarios, reuniones de abogados que estudiaban la defensa de los presos[...] De un día para otro, ya no me llamaron más[...] En verdad, al hacerme feminista había perdido el prestigio, tal como dijo el compañero Parrau a la abogada Nena Montt, cuando ella quiso encontrarse conmigo en Madrid. Hasta ese momento no lo había advertido. La mayoría de los políticos chilenos, no comprendían mi feminismo, o lo estimaban como una traición al pueblo chileno y a las causas políticas que ellos defendían*

Herrera Rivera's realisation that her feminist activities affected the way that others in the Chilean community saw her, may explain the media gap that Herrera had in the Spanish press between 1977 and 1980. Various newspapers¹⁷⁵ show brief appearances of Herrera on press as one of the spokeswomen and leader of Chileans exiled in Spain¹⁷⁶. However, based on these articles she no longer leads Chilean events since September 1977 and reappears on press when she starts signing opinion columns¹⁷⁷ as part of the collective *Agogadas Feministas* mentioned previously. In 1983, most of her presence on Spanish press is within this association and as President of the CIMM, becoming one of the most visible faces of women rights in Spain. After her high coverage on all national press -newspapers, TV, radio, conferences – Herrera Rivera starts to be mentioned in some Chileans events next to the Spanish Association of Human Rights with its president José María Mohedano¹⁷⁸. Likewise, she is able to give interviews in relation to the Chilean struggle¹⁷⁹, however never explicitly endorsed by Chilean organizations or political parties. Therefore, possibly due to her exposure and influence in Spanish politics, she gains back relative access inside Chilean transnationalism and party politics, however, only as a strategy to increase press coverage on the Chilean issue.

Summary

This chapter shows that Chilean women continued to be affected by gender roles and stereotypes in their political activities in Spain, as they were still required to perform so-called female tasks based on sexual division of labour. They were rarely asked to be the face or voice of any Chilean events or political parties, despite being just as active as men. For those who challenged these division of labour eventually left the Chilean community and started building their own networks related to women's rights with other

¹⁷⁵ Based on the results from the search of "Alicia Herrera Rivera" on the Press and Magazines archive browser of the Spanish National Library between 1973 and 1990, 22 newspapers and magazines through all Spain mentioned Alicia or Alicia wrote in. All those are: *El eco de Canarias*, *El País* (ed. impresa. Madrid), *Diario 16*, *Diario La Hora Leonesa*, *Diario Faro de Vigo*, *Diario La Voz de Almería*, *Ideal* (eds. Almería and Jaén), *El Periódico de Catalunya*, *Diario de Avisos* (Santa Cruz de las Palmas), *La Provincia* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria), *Diario de Mallorca*, *Diario de Las Palmas*, *La Nueva España*, *Diario de Ibiza*, *Cambio 16*, *Canarias 7*, *La Tarde de Madrid*, *El correo de Zaragoza*, *Economía 16*, *Tribunal de Actualidad*, *El Mundo*, *Época* and *Tiempo*.

¹⁷⁶ "Acto chileno en la sede del P.S.O.E. Condena a Pinochet: Se expuso la lucha del pueblo contra la Junta Militar", *El Eco de Canarias*, September 12, 1977, 3.

¹⁷⁷ Alicia Herrera Rivera et. al. "El divorcio una Carrera de obstáculos", *El País*, February 2, 1980, 22

¹⁷⁸ N.N. "La convocatoria en favor de la vuelta a la democracia en Chile fue apoyada por organizaciones de todo signo", *El País*, June 15, 1983, 3.

¹⁷⁹ "El pueblo chileno puede ser oprimido, pero no gobernado por Pinochet", *Ideal* (Ed. Almería), September 11, 1983, 1.

Chileans and Spanish women, like Tralún. Using Alicia's story as a background it's possible to see that traditional gender roles were always at play inside Chilean community, even for those who had a high social position and prestige. Consequently, this research shows that there were three forms of political activism of Chilean women in Spain:

- a) Within the Chilean community and political parties carrying out 'female' activities like organising, writing and administrating, in charge of communications and networking, cooking and taking care of children. All 'invisible' tasks.
- b) Outside the Chilean community by organising in women groups advocating for human rights in Chile from a feminist point of view, or from the platforms that their work provided, like Regina Rodriguez as a journalist in *Revista Mujeres* and Rivera as a lawyer and former judge.

CONCLUSIONS

I have looked into the experiences of Chilean women in Spain between 1973 and 1990 and argued that preconceived gender roles and stereotypes based in sex from Chilean society affected the experience of these women during their exile. Chapter I shows that the two main reasons for their exile, as highlighted by the interviewees, were motherhood and their partners' role in Chile's left-wing party. I found out that, when asked about their decision on exiling most of the interviewees talk about their political activism inside political parties and associations prior to their departure. However, on their storytelling their role as main caregivers and wives of more powerful and visible man in party politics and movement, take over their narrative embodying the breaking point toward exiling. Then, their political activism gets displaced from the centre of their narrative, becoming these two elements the main arguments to decide on exile, strongly framed by gender roles and stereotypes based on sex. Despite this conflict, they see themselves as political exiles as they were equally committed to the socialist project of Salvador Allende, despite not being as visible as their partners and were forced to emigrate in light of this fact. This shows a conflict between their political identity and their social identity crossed by their experience as women in Chilean society.

On chapter II, I analysed gender roles, stereotypes and sexual division of labour inside the Chilean political parties and community in Spain, to then address the case of the Chilean Women association in Spain called *Tralún* and Alicia Herrera Rivera's experience. Findings show that

1. The gendered division of labour resulted in women being expected to perform so-called "female tasks" at Chilean gathering and political parties. These activities have been traditionally overlooked as a form of political involvement because it is normalization as women's responsibilities.
2. These practices neglected the discussion on women issues inside the Chilean community as part of the overall advocacy on human rights which resulted in a group of women organizing outside the traditional organics of the movement to advocate for humans' rights in Chile and Latin America incorporation the struggles and role of women on these regards.
3. By looking into Alicia Herrera Rivera's case, their advocacy on women issues resulted in a second ostracism from inside the Chilean community despite their

high social capital and prestige, to the extent that they challenged gender roles within Chilean society supposedly divided the working class. Therefore, gender roles and expectations about women had an impact on the form that their political activism took in Spain choosing other spaces to channel their fight on human rights which included women's view.

After this analysis, I can conclude that Chilean women were affected since the beginning of their migration journey by gender roles and stereotypes of Chilean society which prevail in exile. By analysing their stories, I have tried to highlight how patriarchy has affected not only their experience with regards to exile and political activism, but fundamentally have excluded women's narrative from the memory of the Chilean exile and transnationalism during Pinochet's rule.

Methodological challenge

Throughout my research, I have encountered various challenges. I strongly agree with Aristoteles that we humans are *zoon politikon*, or political animals. I think that being a political animal involves a process in which all aspects of our existence are politically driven or are potentially political. Consequently, the distinction between private and public sphere are not such to the extent that both spheres are dialectally related, and where "domestic" practices may impact the political world as its traditionally conceived. Because of this idea, when I thought about the case of Chilean women exiles it was obvious to me that they must have had political activism in various ways.

However, when conducting interviews, I realized that in most cases there was only one way to channel their political being: as a member of a political party. Alicia Tellez's interview for example became difficult because in her words 'I'm not a good militant, I'm more on my own...I've never signed [for a political party] ...sorry, maybe I'm not the best one for this¹⁸⁰. She, like many of my interviewees, initially expressed difficulty to explain their activities outside the political party. This goes in line with what Julye Shayne argues based on Antonio Gramsci's idea that culture is a political ground¹⁸¹ or what Maider Moreno mentions about the concept of militancy and non-traditional form

¹⁸⁰ Alicia Tellez, interviewed by author, Madrid, July 21, 2020. Original quote: *Yo no soy buena militante, soy un poco por mis aires...nunca firmé [por un partido político] ...Perdón, a lo mejor no soy la mejor para esto.*

¹⁸¹ Shayne, *They used to call us witches*, 16.

of political involvement¹⁸². This led me to think different ways in which I could ask about their transnational practices and involvement beyond the political party making the interviews a developing process. For instance, for those that I visited again, they started to perceive their past activities as politically driven including those normalized as their female responsibilities. Because the act of remembering and storytelling is a process in which the interviewee ‘travels’ to their past affected by present experiences, I suggest for future research that includes interviews, to consider planning several interviews to trigger memory in light of the findings¹⁸³. This allows the interviewees to deepen into their memoir’s oral histories from a new approach, as Pilar Santana said to me in our interview: “back then you don’t realise because it was the norm [but] now looking back then and because you asked me [yes, there were differences] but I didn’t notice before”¹⁸⁴. Overall, this thesis reinforces the need to research on non-traditional ways to channel political commitment by carrying out research through the intersectionality framework which including several identities and factors in defining a person’s experience.

Researching in times of pandemic

On March 11th, the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 as a global pandemic¹⁸⁵. By March 13th, Europe saw one of its highest numbers of people infected with the coronavirus¹⁸⁶. Therefore, travelling was suspended, and all non-critical organizations closed their facilities. As a result, I was not able to carry out my research plan which involved conducting several interviews in Spain also to a population at high life risk as elderly; and visiting different archives that do not have their sources digitalized or of free access. Therefore, it was difficult to plan longer than a month because of the international level mobility restrictions, but also inter-city restrictions inside Spain.

With regard to the interviews, I was able to conduct most of them during the gap of mobility restrictions of the summer of 2020. I was able to conduct more interviews via videocalls, but at cost of not being able to observe other elements involved in the process

¹⁸² Maider Moreno, ‘Un doble exilio [...]’, 540

¹⁸³ Marcela Cornejo, Francisca Mendoza and Rodrigo C. Rojas, ‘La investigación con relatos de vida: Pistas y opciones de diseño metodológico’, *PSYKHE*, 17, no. 1(2008)

¹⁸⁴ Pilar Santana, interviewed by autor, Oviedo, August 20th, 2020. Original quote: *en ese momento uno no se da cuenta porque era lo normal [pero] Yo ahora mirándolo y viéndolo porque me lo has preguntado tu [si había diferencias] pero yo la verdad es que no me había dado cuenta.*

¹⁸⁵ Jamie Ducharme, “The World Health Organization declares COVID-19 a ‘Pandemic’. Here’s what that means”, *Time*, March 11, 2020. <https://time.com/5791661/who-coronavirus-pandemic-declaration/>

¹⁸⁶ “Coronavirus: Europe now epicentre of the pandemic, says WHO”, *BBC*, March 13, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-51876784>

of doing qualitative research. With regards to access to archives, I was not able to visit most of them until two months prior to my thesis deadline. Some archives still remain closed, although for the case of the Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Culture, they agreed to grant me access to the *Revista Mujeres* as an exception.

Nonetheless, there is still material possibly relevant at the archives of The Spanish Red Cross which has reports of Chilean refugees and Spanish national repatriates¹⁸⁷. Also, the Spanish Commission for Help to the Refugee¹⁸⁸, which according to some interviewees, it clandestinely¹⁸⁹ helped many exiles during the years of late Francoism and transition and they may have relevant documentation about Chilean women upon their immediate arrival. Also, most of the material from the Women's institute is saved at the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sports¹⁹⁰ as well as at the *Museo del Traje* in Madrid.

It is important to add that because women in political exile have been overlooked, most of the digitalized materials available records participation from men, which is something that Anne Morelli also point out as one of the main difficulties when researching female political exile from the discipline of history¹⁹¹. Then, the chances of doing a digitalized source research during the pandemic were practically impossible, save for the online archives at the *La Vanguardia*.¹⁹² However, there was not enough on Chilean women in Spain to carry out a thorough analysis and I was only able to access more newspapers once the archives were open and mobility restrictions relaxed in the last month of research. This challenged not only research on social sciences but in specific in the discipline of history on which archive research remains as the main data resource even for recent history analysis that may overlook none-traditional forms of political activism and transnationalism.

¹⁸⁷ Code CRAC, Folder 8, Box 1755, File 1.

<https://a3w-cruzroja.odilo.es/portalArchivo/registro?id=00013975>

¹⁸⁸ *Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado* (CEAR)

¹⁸⁹ The Commission was officially created in 1979 after the Spanish constitution was signed, which lead to a formal recognition of asylum in Spain. Nonetheless they were active before its official constitution.

¹⁹⁰ *Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte*. <http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/mc/amc/portada.html>

¹⁹¹ Anne Morelli, "Exhumer l'histoire des femmes exilées politiques", 9.

¹⁹² *Hemeroteca La Vanguardia*.

<http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/edition.html?bd=21&bm=09&by=1978>

Further Research

This research is a good start to better understand how gender roles affected the experience of Chilean women in Spain as well as their political activism. However, there are additional elements that this research has not been able to address or prove. For example, many interviewees mentioned that their status as an immigrant affected their odds to be politically active. On the other hand, those that obtained Spanish nationality immediately upon their arrival were able to become members of Spanish associations and political parties faster than others.

For those who were undocumented, the findings of this thesis were not sufficient to build strong conclusions in consideration to gender. There are elements that may show a relation between marriage and residence permit that could force some of my interviewees to stay undocumented. One interviewee mentioned that according to Spanish law, only ecclesiastical marriage was recognized, excluding civil marriage, being this last one prevailing among interviewees that were married. For those without papers, this may have hampered the chances to access residence permit once their husbands did because their marriage did not exist under Spanish law. This was the case of Regina Rodriguez and Carmen Rojas who remained undocumented after their husband were granted a residence permit in Spain. However, I was not able to contrast these claims, especially those like Carmen Rojas who explains being undocumented as a result of the arbitrary of a migration officer who denied her visa. Nonetheless, it is still a fact that they remained undocumented even though their partners already had papers. Then knowing that their migration status in some case partially affected their political activism, this may be an interesting line of research.

Additionally, the magazine *Revista Mujeres* is a good source for future researchers to analyse the role of this magazine in voicing Chilean and Latin American issues from the lenses of gender, as well as a platform to gather migrant women with Spanish women during the reestablishment of democracy in Spain. Finally, all women on this research were college educated, being revealing to look at class as an additional element that imposed different experiences of political activism among Chilean women.

In conclusion, the contribution of this thesis lies in paying attention to silence and consider the absence of narratives not as inexistent but overlooked narratives. Originality comes from looking at these women's stories and their experience with political activism, which gives them the right to be called *political exiles*. By recognising them as such, beyond wives and companion, they become a visible part of Chilean memory of exile and more specifically, Chilean transnationalism. I started this thesis by mentioning the *LasTesis* performance and its global impact shedding light on prevailing dynamics from the 17 years of Pinochet's dictatorship, and with it a practice in place since the 1970s: denouncing violation to human rights from abroad and looking to impact political and social reality in Chile. Building memory implies an act of recognizing multiple narratives and actors that make up the society we live in today. Today, we can observe a similar phenomenon as in the 1970s and 80s in Spain: Protests of Chilean women abroad, gathering together to organize and claim spaces that were usually taken by men, and occupying public spaces to attract media coverage in Spain and Chile. Back in the 1980s in the boats at the park *El Retiro* and nowadays performing 'The rapist is you' at *Puerta del Sol* in Madrid¹⁹³, women who arrived 40 years ago meet with those who arrive today uniting the past and the present and discovering a story rarely told and barely known.

¹⁹³ Colectivo chilexs en Madrid, "Tras la performance de esta mañana, volvimos a ser parte de la intervención creada por #Lastesis "un violador en tu camino", esta vez en la Puerta del Sol. #ElMachismoMata #ChilenosenMadrid", *Twitter*, 30/11/2019.
<https://twitter.com/chilenosnmadrid/status/1200554478497345541>

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