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Women's subjective well-being in Chile's coastal communities

by

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## Committee Approval

To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of Jillian Everly find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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## **Dedication**

Dedicated to my mother. From her, I've learned a woman must encompass multitudes.



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Thank you to my graduate advisor Dr. Sarah Ebel who taught me opportunities are limitless, barriers are temporary, and to have big dreams is absolutely acceptable. Without your formative mentorship none of this work would have been possible. Thank you to my committee members: Dr. Ebel, Dr. Reedy, and Dr. Hearn. Your respective backgrounds in gender equity and fisheries have sparked insightful conversation and contributed greatly to this work. Thank you to the Idaho State University Center for Ecological Research and Education for their funding to continue my thesis research in Chile. Thank you to my family for their undying support and ingraining in me the importance of passion and a work ethic, and to all my friends for being a part of the journey. I am fulfilled and forever grateful to have each one of you as close as a phone call away. Lastly, to my Chilean friends, family, and interviewees: I consider each one of your houses a warm and welcoming home; I am forever indebted to your hospitality.

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## Women's subjective well-being in Chile's coastal communities

Thesis Abstract–Idaho State University (2023)

Globalization has created a shift away from subsistence to forms of wage labor at the local scale which has differentially impacted women in natural resource-dependent communities. As wage labor draws women away from subsistence and into large-scale industries, women's well-being, livelihoods, and previously defined roles also change. I documented how women's well-being in Chile's Lakes Region is impacted by global change. Through integrating ethnography, participant observation, and photography, I have produced a visual and narrative story of women's subjective well-being that illuminates not only how their livelihoods, social relations, and work are affected by the interaction between globalization and the local culture, but also the feminist perspectives and sustainable actions they take as a result.

Key words: Globalization, women's well-being, fisheries, Chile

## Foreward

A friend once described a social movement like a burning house—it's not that the other houses aren't important, it's that the houses on fire need to be extinguished first. To apply this metaphor to women: it's not that hardships are uniquely experienced by women, it's that traditionally women's roles have been undervalued, their opportunities severely limited, and their well-being taken for granted. We must now give our attention to those who have historically received so little of it.

During Latin America's colonial era of invasions, Indigenous women played key (undocumented) roles in the strategic defense and care of the sick and dying. Socolow (2015) described their undervalued support: women nursed and rallied defeated troops, fed soldiers before themselves, washed their clothes and wounds, and loaded defeated men's cannons. For example, Micaela Bastides, a *mestiza* wife of a commander, led the acquisition of food, supplies, and weapons. She also organized and oversaw strategies and tactics for battle (Socolow, 2015). Inés Suárez (1507-1578)—one key figure in history—was known for being a mistress to the conqueror Pedro de Valdivia. Those who wrote the textbooks subtly overlooked her leadership position during attacks, benevolence when her Spanish male counterparts employed “no mercy” tactics, and active participation in many roles—both inside and outside of the home (Sánchez 2018; Portocarrero, 2010). The new narrative incorporates documents and words that rewrite history such as those of Pedro de Valdivia quoted in Portocarrero (2010): “*Esa Inés nada tenía de vulnerable o inocente, era mas bien intimidante, pura energia, como un ciclón contenido.* [There was nothing vulnerable or innocent about this Inés, she was rather intimidating, pure energy, like a contained cyclone.]” I provide these examples to highlight women's undervalued

roles and invisible labor during important historical events—first in colonialism and now during globalization.

### Mothers

Peerless, curveting in elegant white

They glide and mime and main their famous first flight

An attempt at bracing the weary

A mark to ground the sullen

Never failing to lift the heartless dozen

They're your mothers

And just about everybody's

Fathers, sons, and brothers

When distortion hits

And the men throw up their fists

In a succumbing to grievance

In a detest of defiance

In their final state of mourning

This is when the mothers

Must also be

Your

Fathers, sons, and brothers

After the colonization of Latin America, the Spaniards brought with them a *machismo* [chauvinist and sexist] culture and an image of the woman as “mentally inferior, fragile, weak, and prone to error...inconsistent, gossipy, overly emotional, irrational, changeable, deceitful, and profligate...they were sexually promiscuous, unstable, melancholic, and slow to learn...” (Socolow, 2015). This viewpoint was pervasive across western society and perpetuated a shared fallacy.

As I listened to the stories of my women interviewees, I understood this comical description could not be further from incorrect. How women provided social and economic stabilization in a politically and environmentally precarious Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship is underrated and brushed aside. Lasting from 1973 to 1990, the regime would signify seventeen years of oppression and impact on the Chilean people, disproportionately affecting women and for years to follow (Daughters, 2019). In Clara Han’s (2012) ethnography of debt and violence in Chile, she appropriately restated one of her interviewee’s roles as an *amortiguadora* “a mechanism, material, or solution that absorbs and compensates for shocks, jolts, the brightness of light, and the intensity of sounds” to her husband’s tendencies toward depression and unsteady job opportunities.

This is not an isolated occurrence. Chilean women frequently, invisibly and visibly, act based on need, whether that be leading political movements such as the *Movimineto Pro-Emancipacion de la Mujer Chilena* to promote women’s rights or informally and illegally cooking in the streets for their starving communities under an oppressive Pinochet regime (Han, 2012; Federici, 2019). My interviewees championed similar sentiments, from leading environmental conservation initiatives and fishing unions to reducing the vulnerability of their community’s sea-dependent livelihoods by supplementing the family income despite their

husband's orders to work only in the home. These women are the backbone of the family through sickness, struggle, and death. Who do we all turn to in these times of hardship? As one of my interviewees blatantly stated: The woman. It is the wife, the mother, the grandmother, the aunt, the sister, the daughter, the woman in the room who diverts life's blows to herself, tends to the dying, lifts their loved ones, and fights for justice in the mean streets afterwards. That is my image of a woman, for they are the ones resilient enough (not "fragile" or "weak"), skillful enough (not "prone to error"), emotionally available enough (not "overly emotional"), honest enough (not "deceitful"), consistent enough (not "changeable") to support an individual, a family, a community, a whole country on their backs and their backs alone.



## A Story to Start

I shifted uneasily in my seat, sitting across from the mother (my interviewee) and the daughter of one of my *fútbol* club teammates for the Puerto Montt San Luis Damas. It was June 13, 2022 my second trip to Chile, 9 months away from home, and 10 days until my mother's 59th birthday that I'd have to celebrate late. As a budding anthropologist, but one who had spent enough time in Chile to have made connections and a community, here was a connection in a coffee shop located in downtown Puerto Montt that I congratulated my timid, shy self for securing: a single mother, a grandmother, and the matriarch of a family made up of her three children and seven grandchildren. My nervous movements stopped, my insecurities of understanding one of my first interviewees alone and without a translator, diminished. Of course I would understand her. I looked across the table and saw my grandmother and myself, side by side. I sat in the comfort of bickering between detached generations, I listened to the banter of two attached persons, and I laughed cautiously—missing home.

My 60 year old interviewee 43, Juliana, unpacked her story. She and her family were dependent on what the sea could provide and the precarious subsistence based livelihood of her husband, a small-scale, artisanal fisher. The *machista* culture into which her husband was born and bred kept her from working to feed her hungry family. The globalized world she was freshly acute to, supported commercial over subsistence, large-scale over small-scale. Her goals were clear: to feed her family; her barriers transparent: a *machista* culture and a globalized Chile.

## **Chapter 1: Sociopolitical and Cultural History**

Two irreversible and irreparable events in Chile's history, as introduced above, were colonization and globalization, as a result of Spanish colonial rule and Pinochet's dictatorial regime, respectively. With an intensification of such catalytic culture, Chile experienced forced catholicism, strict binary gender identity, gender-based violence, and general oppression of women's voices and agency. The effects of colonialism had sweeping impacts, differentially affecting women and specifically their socially held roles within newly colonial controlled Latin America—forever steering life trajectories on paths not chosen.

Despite this adversity, women have persevered, drawing upon their adaptability, resistance, and maneuverability within inflexible confines such as that of colonization and the more recent dealings of globalization. Globalization in Chile, a result of the Pinochet's dictatorship that overthrew Chile's socialist democracy and imposed neoliberal markets and governance on Chile's people, had and has direct impacts on cultural, social, political, economic, and environmental contexts as we will explore more in the next chapter. In addition, this relatively recent phenomenon in Chile, also has indirect positive impacts on women both anecdotally and empirically. Within neighborhoods and within the workforce, the recent (early 2000s) construction of roads, access to a wide variety of goods, potable water and electricity benefited women's livelihoods. I found a reduction in gender-based violence in the homes of younger compared to older generations, as women became financially independent from previous male dominated and supported households.

Profound historical events faced by Chile were no accident but their relevance both directly and indirectly have forever shaped Chilean society and women in particular (Federici, 2019; Han, 2012). Let us not mistake women's inferior lived realities—nor the strength of the

Chilean woman as a result: “*Chile siempre fue fuerza de mujer* [Chile has always been a woman's strength] (interviewee 43).

## **Chapter 2: Introduction**

The globalization of economic markets, resulting in the growth of industry, have had profound impacts on trade and the commodification of resources, including the exploitation of natural resources and shifts in labor structure at the local and regional scale. These local-to-global interactions, called “friction,” (Tsing, 2005), result in new forms of culture (Tsing, 2005). These emergent cultural forms often produce outcomes that negatively impact local communities through the overexploitation of resources and changing relationships with the environment (Tsing, 2005; Brockington, 2011), but simultaneously facilitate new opportunities in the development of new social relations and economic structures as well (Coulthard and Britton, 2015; Daughters, 2019; Ebel, 2021; Haenn, 2006; Igoe, 2004; Lazo and Carvajal, 2018; Tsing, 2005). As a result, friction fosters the merging and ever-changing nature of social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political structures at the local and regional scale and produces differing and often conflicting objectives (Oded et al., 2008). Perceptions of these benefits and impacts of friction are varied as natural resource sustainability, Indigenous ways of life, and local livelihoods adapt to these shifting political, economic, social, and environmental contexts (Lazo and Carvajal, 2018; Haenn, 2006; Igoe, 2044; Tsing, 2005).

The impacts of friction on local communities have differentially impacted marginalized or minority groups in natural resource-dependent communities. Women, one large, yet underrepresented, group in the literature on friction and conservation in natural resource-dependent communities, are especially impacted by social and economic change (Aneja, 2019; Lazo and Carvajal, 2018; Weeratunge et al., 2010), whether these impacts work in favor of or

against women (Meertens, 2015). Despite their underrepresentation, women are highly involved in the harvesting, processing, and conservation of natural resources, as well as active in the home, specifically as caregivers. In small-scale fishing communities throughout the world, women often take on multiple roles including, but not limited to, rearing children, managing household and investment affairs, community organization, resource conservation and management, fish processing, and nearshore fish and seaweed harvesting (Calhoun et al., 2016; Marks, 2012). However, as wage labor opportunities, such as in the aquaculture industry, draw young women away from small-scale fishing and subsistence harvesting, women's well-being, their livelihoods, and their previously defined gender roles may change (Ramírez and Ruben, 2015). The sharing and creation of new cultural forms, created through friction, has unintentionally shaped new gender ideologies and the roles in which women hold in society (Robinson, 2009). Friction, therefore, has defining impacts on the women bound to these changing global economies. Thus, my research asks the following questions to understand how women are affected by the changing and embedded economic, social, cultural, environmental, and political structures that may determine their well-beings:

1. How do women in natural resource-dependent communities experience “friction” and transitions in local-to-global economies?
2. How do these transitions affect women's subjective well-being across generations?

To answer my research questions, I used a case study of women living and working in the Lakes Region of southern Chile. This region has been impacted by the introduction of the globalized aquaculture industry, and over the past two decades, has seen exponential growth of the industry which has created new opportunities for women to enter the workforce, transitioning their

lives from subsistence livelihoods to wage labor. As Lazo and Carvajal (2018) state, the shift of women living in this region into wage labor positions has increased as technology has improved and visitation by outsiders too has increased—made possible by the ease of access, maintenance of roads, and construction of bridges. Specifically, the relatively similar job skills women have acquired from working as *recolectores*, independent seaweed harvesters (Gallardo-Fernández and Saunders, 2018; Lazo and Carvajal, 2018), has perhaps eased their transition (along with the ease of access and effects of globalization) into *salmoneras* [salmon fish farms] and *pesquerías* [hatcheries] or the commercial version of seafood harvest (Lazo and Carvajal, 2018). Generational differences between women arose due to the conditions under which women live and work, their relationships to their communities, and their adapted gender roles (Antonucci et al, 2007; Tafere, 2013; Wright, 2016).



Map 1: The Island of Chiloé (map by friend and fellow colleague Jessica Lauren Reynolds).

## 2.1 Methods

This study was approved by the Idaho State University Institutional Review Board (IRB-FY2022-74). Over a period of six months (October 2021 to January 2022; May-July 2022; November-December 2022), I conducted 49 semi-structured interviews with women between the ages of 18-80 years old, some of whom have remained in their communities as subsistence harvesters and others who travel for work in wage labor positions in aquaculture farming. I asked women about how they perceive their well-being and what contributes to their desired ways of life. As a participant observer, I took extensive field notes while I spent time with women in their homes and places of work. Interviews were recorded, transcribed (by a research assistant), and analyzed using content analysis in Atlas.ti software to elucidate variation in well-being and family structure across generations. I originally was accompanied by a Spanish to English translator; however, as my Spanish comprehension progressed, I either conducted interviews alone or employed a research assistant to accompany me on interviews conducted only in Spanish. My advisor, Dr. Sarah Ebel [hereafter, Sarah], accompanied me on two interviews between the months of November and December 2022.

Participant observation allowed me to observe women in their daily lives, and their actions and interactions in sometimes discrete and invisible forms to serve their communities and families. Anthropologist Clara Han, author of *Life in Debt*, used similar methods. She was not an outside observer but an active participant in the community in which she studied. She attended therapy group sessions to better understand the *depresión neoliberal* (neoliberal depression) epidemic in Chile, shared tea and meals with her participants, and returned to her community, not only as a researcher, but as a friend. When desired by her participants, she writes testimonial narratives in their voice to directly translate their life stories and perspectives.

In addition to traditional ethnographic methods, I have paralleled Han's methods of research. While interpretation of results remains subjective, I use direct quotes, and interactive, rather than passive, participant observation to understand the complex subjective well-being of my interviewees. I have shared meals and celebrations in the homes of my interviewees and continue to maintain relationships through communication and visits. In addition, I've included photographs portraying women's livelihoods and associated poems that serve as a medium to relate information with the future goal to turn my work into physical books to distribute to my interviewees.

Visual art is an effective medium to convey information to make environmental social science, specifically global environmental change, both relevant to academia and accessible to the public (Johnson and Wilkinson, 2020). Photographs often are expressive and interesting, drawing the attention of more viewers and quickly conveying meaning through images. Additionally, images may be a more impactful method to capture emotional or expressive scenes that words alone cannot do justice, as seen in Anthropologist Jennifer Syvertsen's piece: *Death poems for Cindy* (Syvertsen, 2019). Through poetry and photography, Syvertsen's work offers an alternative representation of Cindy, an immigrant drug-addicted sex worker from Mexico, where Cindy was portrayed in a more accurate light that humanized her among readers. Because prejudices often result from socially constructed stereotypes and a misunderstanding of people's lived experiences, the general public may fail to recognize and understand a person's background and story. In the context of my project, the public may often misunderstand how women's lived experiences are influenced and affected by humans' reciprocal relationship with the environment and the impacts of global change. Thus, the combination of qualitative data collection through interviews and oral histories, along with storytelling, give voice to women's lived experiences in natural resource-dependent communities.



By integrating ethnography, including oral histories, with poetry and photography, I produced a visual and narrative story of women's subjective well-being that focuses on perceptions of their livelihoods, social relations, and working conditions embedded in cultural and generational representations. While my research is specific to Chilean women working in fisheries related jobs, my findings are pertinent and relevant to other local economies in which the well-being of women and their communities are dependent upon natural resource industries.

## 2.2 Thesis Organization

There is potential in organizing my thesis among the following contexts: political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental, that accurately mirror the globalization of natural resources—effectively contributing to the differential impacts experienced by women. However, I've instead decided to emphasize how undoubtedly these contexts are interconnected and therefore cannot be separated (Miller, 2019; Gibson-Graham, 2011; Gibson et al., 2010; Besky, 2014). Common themes contributing to women's well-being include: Family and Community, Labor and Livelihoods, Feminist Perspectives, Sustainable Actions, and Spirituality in Health. These themes will be utilized as sections, intermixed with generational similarities and differences throughout and complete with transcribed quotes and field notes grounded in literature for context, photographs as visual representations, and poems that are written in the voice of my interviewees based on both my interpreted observations and interviews. Through my poetry and photography, I seek to make my art collaborative and utilize it in a way that accurately portrays women's well-being. All recordings and photos were taken with permission and I was given oral consent to include their photographs in my research. For the privacy of the interviewee I will use numbers in place of names referring to the order in which they were interviewed. Where names are necessary, they will be changed for privacy.

I initially constructed my research questions based on the literature regarding women's subjective well-being and the sea-dependent economy of Chile; however, I revised the interview script based on preliminary interviews. Through interviews with women from both subsistence or artisanal and commercial or large-scale aquaculture fisheries as well as a wide range of ages from 18 to 80, I was able to understand generational differences in well-being as well as observe and understand how well-being may differ across livelihoods influenced by the changing contexts. Insights are based in a Chilean fisheries context; however, results may be applied in other natural resource industries and communities as well. Additionally, women's well-being may be individual, based on cultural contexts, or even shared universally among humankind. Below are shared cultural examples of my findings surrounding women's well-being in Chile. The family, being one integral and fundamental base of women's well-being, is highly connected to other well-being requirements. For example, to provide for one's family, one needs their health, and one needs the agency to maintain their livelihood. In order to maintain livelihoods and provide for one's family and community, one takes actions that may be considered feminist and sustainable. However labeled, these reactions may be acts of survival and inherent in nature.

"Well-being? To be well, I don't know *po* (Chilean slang used for emphasis), in every sense. To be well economically, emotionally. To be well in 100% of everything. To be well at home, at work, with your children. I think that is the well-being that one looks for in every person, in every sense" (Interviewee 33).

"I think that well-being would be something like being calm, right? Well-being, I say it should be something like being calm and doing what you already do, trying to do what you do most and being with your family. I don't know, *po*. And try to find something for oneself, to survive tomorrow, because we are all getting old, and the idea is that later, when we cannot work, we'll see what we

can do. So, we have to have that already solved before we reach old age. But we don't know the twists and turns of life. God is in charge" (Interviewee 31).

"Well-being with the family. *Pucha* (shoot or damn) I hope everyone is healthy, that no one gets sick. I don't know, I mean, just to be happy...to be happy with my people" (Interviewee 25).

J: What does well-being mean to you?

HU: Oh, that we are well.

39: We are fine.

HU: That we don't lack anything. We have what [we need] to walk, we have a place to live. We don't lack anything.

39: We have our children who adore us. The two children, the grandchildren, and that gives us strength to continue living.

Another underlying finding consistent in Chilean culture was how my interviewees responded to difficulties in their lives with: "one can be accustomed to." Whatever hardship, malady that has passed, whatever challenge the women I interviewed had and continue to face, they would all answer the same: *uno se puede acostumbrar a...*

J: Is it difficult for you because [work] is not consistent?

24: No, because we are accustomed to it, to going out to sea with [a] bad, bad sea, with bad weather conditions.

Conditions in Chile as elsewhere are changing everyday—as we well know, change is the only constant. For this reason, I aim to leave the reader not with any definitive answers but an understanding of a changing culture and one that is only based on my interpretation. However consistent, however much time I spent with individuals participating in their lives in various ways, helping them cook, clean, take care of their children, play fútbol, cruise parks and climb, sleep on

their beds and couches, floors and kitchens, receive keys to their homes and their hearts, when the opportunity presented itself to help them with their work duties of collecting and processing seafood, however much trust I feel I gained by being brought into the back of their *tiendas* and their businesses not as a researcher but as a friend to share yerba mate, invited to fiestas to drink out of *cuernos*, *vino en cacho* [wine in a horn], however much they opened up to me about their sorrows of their lives, their achievements, however many times they cried or laughed with me does not matter, my interpretation remains subjective. Therefore, I leave further interpretation up to the reader, to decide any further realities.

### *2.3 The Differing Domains of Well-being*

Women's responsibilities in the home, as well as their changing roles in communities including shifts to wage labor positions, may affect their livelihoods and overall quality of life or well-being. The definition of well-being is dependent on an individual's health and their desirable way of life (Coulthard et al., 2014; Coulthard, 2008; Britton and Coulthard, 2013). Broad values such as: "self-direction," "stimulation," "hedonism," "achievement," "power," "security," "conformity," "tradition," "benevolence," and "universalism" may encompass an individual's well-being (Schwartz et al., 2012). Well-being may include tangible needs as well as emotional needs, abstract in nature, for example social interaction and positive feelings of belonging (Coulthard et al., 2014). Multiple factors including social (family, friend relationships, community), economic (ability to provide financially for themselves and/or a family), and health (both physical and mental) may contribute to a person's overall well-being (Britton, 2012; Van Holt et al., 2016; Blount et al., 2015). Additionally, McGregor et al. (2015) stated humans share certain domains of well-being, including: 1) material well-being (i.e. having enough food, assets, work); 2) bodily well-being (health, appearances and physical environment); 3) social well-being

(being able to care for, bring up, marry and settle children); 4) self-respect and dignity; 5) peace, harmony, good relations in the family/community; 6) security (civil peace, a physically safe and secure environment; personal physical security; security in old age; confidence in the future); 7) freedom of choice and action; and 8) psychological well-being (peace of mind, happiness, harmony including a spiritual life and religious observance).

Other requirements that make up a person's well-being may be subjective and differ based on personal needs and cultural context, which may vary across human groups and individually from person to person (Gough and McGregor, 2007; Jackson, 2011). Subjective well-being is defined as individual requirements necessary for a high quality of life, and while it may be defined by the environmental, economic, and social contexts in which they live, it is nevertheless determined by the individual's wants and needs (Gough and McGregor, 2004; 2007; McGregor, 2004; McGregor et al., 2015). For example, two people with similar lifestyles may regard their well-being differently. As Jackson (2011) said: "...it is how one bears the burden of life that matters, how one endures the situation in which one finds oneself thrown. Well-being is therefore less a reflection on whether or not one has realized one's hopes than a matter of learning how to live within limits to withstand disappointment and go on in the face of adversity imparts quality to life" (pg. 61). Subjective well-being requirements may be tied to culture and what a person perceives as necessary to have a well-lived, high-quality life may be based on the environment, social, and cultural factors that have shaped a person's idea of what constitutes well-being. For instance, a rural community may have different objectives than an urban community and thus their requirements for well-being too will differ. As Jackson (2011), said: "as a general principle...in small-scale, traditional society, experiences that are conducive to the well-being of the community will be reinforced, rehearsed, and retained, while experiences that jeopardize social integrity will

be suppressed.” This suggests that a person, their interests, and personal goals and requirements should not be overlooked when discussing the well-being of a person and often cannot be defined or understood solely through a cultural lens but must also be apprehended in the context of the differing and varying needs of the individual in question.

Lastly, what constitutes well-being may vary between generations and may vary in different places and between individuals (Jackson, 2011). Small communities may feel the effects of differences between generations more so than in larger cities, where the elder generation may be more exposed to new ideas, profession, and ways of life. In addition to the globalization of resources, there is a globalization of ideas and a sharing of culture that has transferred across the globe. As Jackson (2011) describes the “...tug of tradition comes into conflict with the allure of modernity” as seen in Sierra Leone when children wish to go to the United States for a “better life.” This also occurs in small-town fishing communities of Chiloé in Chile (Daughters, 2019). Often younger generations move away, find stable positions with higher pay outside of fisheries, and leave the fishing culture behind—one that the older generations still desperately cling onto (Carothers, 2008; Daughters, 2019). If young people do not receive opportunities to sustain themselves in their hometowns, or if there are better options elsewhere, they will inevitably move away, leaving the older generations often nostalgic for the past ways of life. For example, Daughters (2019) quotes one nostalgic interviewee: “It was a pleasant life. It was a very natural life, and, I would say, a very romantic life. I have dreamt that life many times, and whenever I have the time, I try to go back to those times.” Therefore, not only do cultural and subjective definitions determine well-being, but generational differences across cultures can also make a difference in how one perceives their well-being.

## *2.4 Women's Well-being*

In many natural resource dependent communities, shifts in ecologies, economies, and gender roles affect women's well-being, which may be culturally defined and dependent on the contextual circumstances (Coulthard et al. 2011). As friction produces emergent forms of culture, it may create a wide range of new roles women are expected to fulfill while also providing new opportunities that afford women independence, including making their own decisions while men work far from home, higher levels of education, and having fewer children to care for (Ramírez and Ruben, 2015). These varying opportunities and challenges may have differential impacts on women's overall well-being.

While the well-being of women is often sacrificed or pushed aside for that of their families' well-being and the needs of the household (Britton 2012; Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988; Pettersen, 2018; Calhoun et al., 2016), their well-being may shift as opportunities in the workforce have increased with the reduction of fewer barriers to entry (Ramírez and Ruben, 2015). Although some impacts may be perceived as negative, such as having less time with family, other impacts, such as women's ability to join the workforce and obtain new opportunities, may also positively contribute to their subjective well-being and overall quality of life through increased sense of independence and freedom (Britton, 2012), autonomy and self-actualization (Coulthard, 2012), work that is both enjoyable and challenging (Coulthard and Britton, 2015), and an ability to have and maintain friendships and a social life outside of the home (Britton, 2012). What contributes positively or negatively to women's subjective well-being within the context of global change is largely unexplored, and characteristics of what constitutes a high quality of life and satisfactory well-being may differ across temporal and spatial scales. Furthermore, women's well-being may be defined culturally based on shared requirements of a community living in the same place,

individually based on how a person defines their subjective well-being, and/or generationally as seen in the differences between older and younger generations.

### **Chapter 3: Family and Community**

*Con la familia, no más* (when I would ask what people did in their freetime, the most common response was they passed the time “with the family, nothing more”)

J: What do you wish for your children?

37: *Bueno* (well), the only thing for my children is health, for them to be as they are, calm. Because I consider that I grew up with children who have never given me any problems. They are hard workers just like their father, they are economical. My children are great, I have nothing to say about them. And they help us just as much. They help us as much as they can, of course, especially when there are illnesses, when I was sick. And a lot of help with their father too. I don't know, I can't change my children for others.

J: Do you desire anything for your children, grandchildren, and your family?

43: Well, for my children, first of all to be happy. Because happiness doesn't come from money, it doesn't come from welfare. It comes because they understand, they understand and respect each other.

...

43: More than anything else, that they have their culture, their values, that they never lose their human values, humility or respect, this more than anything else. And from there, well, the rest I am seeing with time and with them. For example, work, it will depend on their intelligence to develop and grow, because no matter how well you tell them "hey, do this because this is good for you", they are the ones who have to decide.

J: You were born here?



39: Of course, yes, always from here. And we don't leave here. The children tell us "*Mamita*, come to Puerto Montt" and I say: "But why go to Puerto Montt? What for?", when you go out, not even the dogs look at you. But not here, [I] go out to the street and [I] have a friend and we talk. [When] I was sick, they asked me: "How are you, *mi vieja* [endearing term that directly translates to old lady], my friend?"

Generational differences exist in a globalized Chile. For example, the lack of job opportunities in the countryside have encouraged many young adults to move to the cities where they may find wage labor and consistent work for maintenance of their lives as well as that of their families. In addition, opportunities to make and save money foster dreams of world travel for those on the side of the spectrum with the monetary means to do so.

In a conversation with Roma (interviewee 24), I asked about how she felt about her daughter Romita (interviewee 16) leaving home to travel for a few months. A professional at hiding her emotions for the sake of the happiness of others, she looked away and said: "I'm fine, she needs to take advantage of the opportunity. She doesn't have any children or responsibilities at this moment." Other family members, professionals at reading their mother, offered countered perspectives of how their mother really felt.

I asked her if she was worried about Romita traveling for three months away from home. Romita told me her mother was sad about her leaving and Nicola (interviewee 20) told me her mom worries when the four of them are out at sea for months at a time. But like all mothers who put up fronts, like all mothers who fake happiness for the sake of their *hijos*' happiness, she told me (loosely translated):

"No, I'm not worried, she's been away on *barcos* [ships] for 3 months before and she needs to *aprovechar* [take advantage of] the moment, take advantage of her youth and lack of

responsibilities, lack of children. Once you have kids you can't do everything you'd like to do, you have less freedom to travel, and a responsibility to establish a stable life for your kids. Nicola can't travel as she'd like to. When she's not working, she's with Mateo. And when she is working, I establish a schedule for Mateo. We get up early, walk to school, and then at the end of the day, eat, bathe, and go to bed. Because if I'm not here one day or his mom, God forbid, he needs to understand how to live. You never know when it's your time to go, only the guy in the sky makes those decisions."

I asked, "When you had Marta (interviewee 15) at 22 did you wish you had more time to travel?" She answered, "No, I prefer to be in the home, *mas tranquilidad* [peace of mind]." I pressed, "Really, never?" "*Osea* [I mean], I would like to know my country first and then if I had time, maybe, but I prefer my home." Roma also prefers to work (loosely translated): "I don't have to work. My kids and Panilla (boyfriend) bring me food, water for the house, everything I need they provide or help me create...I work because I want to, because I like driving around selling fish, I like being in the sea assisting divers." She shows me videos and photos of her and her family out on the boat. The clear days, the icy days, the choppy water, the water flat as glass—all variations are beautiful to her.

Older generations, however saddened they are by their children leaving home, understand the need to create a life for themselves and take advantage of the existing opportunities. Perhaps this is a universal feeling felt by mothers, and one not only embedded in a single culture. Perhaps this is a sentiment felt by all parents as they grapple with the dwindling time spent with their children.

Alandra sat in her wide-armed chair and looked down—distracting her mind with her cell phone. It was a few days until her first son Ricardo and his *polola* [girlfriend], Dela were to leave

for a few-month stint in the United States before living in New Zealand for two years. She was so happy for their awaiting adventure but no matter how many times she told me out loud, it didn't stop her from crying. I squeezed myself into her armchair and held her tight. She told me: "I won't cry in front of him, I'll never cry in front of him." We stared silently out her living room window of her and her family's plot of land—some of the last remaining green space in the well-to-do bustling town of Puerto Varas. Her *ovejas* [sheep] trudged behind the tree line munching on leaves and things, the various fruit trees Ricardo showed me months before were prepping for full bloom. The world outside continued moving not with an indifference, but an acceptance. They told us: "it's all the same, same, same."

### *3.1 Expanding the Family*

I met the friends: Ricardo and Valencio at a climbing wall in Puerto Varas the first week of my first trip to Chile. After that, with each of their families, I shared meals, mate, and lots of laughs. It was Perla's (daughter of Alandra, sister of Ricardo) last day in Puerto Varas, she had to catch a night bus back to Santiago where she attends university. So I walked her home, past the angry barking dogs, including the one that bit her leg a while back, and past her mom in the window who saw her coming but failed to see me. I surprised her by walking in first. "¡*Mi querida!*" She yelled with her happy smile. We embraced the same embrace as always. It had been a couple days, but we hugged about as hard as we hugged after months of not seeing each other. "*Quieres algo, té, quieres té? ¿Quieres un postre? ¿Para llevar? ¿Quieres once?*" "No," I told her more than once: "*Solo quiero decir hola.*"



Clockwise from left: Dela and Ricardo (their last *asado* [barbecue] lasted until the sun came up); Alandra from her perch in the window; Valencio climbing on a free wall; Perla and I.

Before dropping me and Valencio off because she didn't want us to walk back in the rain and before I said anything like "I love you" Alandra said: "I love you too." She gave me many hugs with cheek kisses goodbye, reiterating: "I love you, I love you, I love you" to ensure I heard. She sent me a picture and note via Whatsapp that said: "*Con todo mi cariño para que lo lleves, donde la vida y el universo te lleve*" [Please take all of my love and kindness with you wherever this life and the universe takes you].

If there was a line I unintentionally and out of vulnerability, social anxiety, and awkwardness drew between myself and Chileans, then they erased it, opened up their doors, told me to take a seat at the table, and embraced me as their own. There seemed to be a nonexistent

boundary between family and friends, a cultural trait that fostered inclusion and unconditional acceptance. Strangers sparked meaningful conversation and after our 20 minute encounters, accepted me into their homes for meals and familial celebrations.

Marta was one of the first people I met in Puerto Montt. She is the best friend/*hermana* [sister] of Sarah who put me into contact with her. I found that a friend in Chile will lead you to many more friends until you have a wide connection of people whom you may call friends and consider family. Marta immediately accepted me as one, she invited me to the celebration of her one year old son, Pablito below, and to her wedding.

In this there is beauty

There is beauty in the drive

The cutting of the *ajo*

Contrived

There is beauty in

The purpose

They look to you, the oldest one

To hurt less

There is beauty in the dance

The squander of time

Reading for the mind

The *desayuno* in the morning

The holding

During mourning

There is beauty in the work

The preparation

The *gorro*, the *traje*

To keep warm

And solitary peace

40 meters down

Accomplishing feats

There is beauty in the family

The questions of

“*Acompañarme?*”

The answers of

“*Sí, siempre*”

The kisses goodbye, the hello hugs,

The food made with love

In this there is beauty





Pablito's one year old birthday party complete with family and friends. The importance of both bleed into all aspects of life.



The kids and I at Pablito's party. They liked using my camera.

During the day of Marta's wedding celebration, I went back to Roma's house before the party where Nicola and Romita fixed me up. Romita, jokingly mad that I arrived so late, even though I was unaware I was supposed to be there, told me to shower and wait for her to help me with the dress she let me borrow. She put a bracelet on my wrist, and Nicola started to do my makeup and hair in a *trenza* [braid] across my forehead, and curled my eyelashes with a spoon

“the Chilean way.” They did all of this without my permission, which made me feel like part of the family, like I had sisters—something I’ve always wanted to experience.



Marta’s husband Leo dances joyfully with his father, Marta’s sisters Romita and Nicola enjoy time among friends and family, including their only cuñada [sister-in-law] as she proudly and jokingly likes to announce.



I tried my best to capture film of everyone dancing and marveled at how Roma cooked all day and danced all night and into the morning, making her way home around 6am. I sat in a chair, on and off dancing, ready to go to bed at 10pm. The sheer brute and grit of the Ballestero women is something I don't seek to ever match.

Chilean culture and well-being, especially that of the southern regions, is rooted in community. A subsistence economy, they've historically relied on *mingas* [reciprocal labor services], *trueque* [bartering], and *medanes* [gift giving] rather than monetary exchange (Daughters, 2019). These forms of economies were helpful in large-scale building projects and agricultural farming activities that required the labor of many, as well as to decrease vulnerability and enhance well-being during times of unpredictable environmental conditions resulting in inconsistencies in resources for survival (Daughters, 2019; Weeratunge et al., 2010). A shared need and unity, fostered a communal social structure with strong kinship ties between that of their families and neighbors.

With the Pinochet regime, a romanticized version of the past was lost (Daughters, 2019). Despite neoliberal Chile becoming dominant in its modes of production, traces of their social culture persisted in community centered actions, in social solidarity— in inviting a *gringa* like me into their homes.

In Estaquilla, Roma watches her *novela* in the living room recliner bed, the same time every night. She is deeply concentrated on the characters' drama, their long pauses, their gasps, their profound kisses. Me and Nicola talk in the background, laugh, and her: "*a ver... vamos a ver.*" At first I thought: 'oh she wants us to share this special moment with her, she wants to share in the heartfelt happenings that are passing.' Nicola and I laugh again, talk some more and then without concern: "*a ver...shhhh.*" I sit back, realizing we were disturbing her TV time and

whisper in Nicola's ear: 'I love it when she does that.' The small coastal town of Estaquilla is considered the campo, rural and without road access up until 2016. Locals recount living without electricity and running water, they describe their relationship with the land and the sea, and the people performing in the two domains, together.

The island of Chiloé, south of Estaquilla, also has livelihoods dependent on the sea; however, Chiloé's geography and Indigenous influence contributes to unique cultural forms and ways of life. Anton Daughters's (2019) interviewee described Chiloé as "a place where peace reigns over everything, a place where solidarity, humility, hospitality reign...where harmony somehow still exists." The calm atmosphere of Chiloé may be related to a harmonized way of life, a historically subsistence culture where people are dependent on one another and work is dependent on the weather. In the summer months green and blue are the dominant color schemes. In the winter, rain comes and doesn't leave for months—lending a gray bleakness necessary for the optimistic warm months.

Puerto Montt, the largest urban center in the Los Lagos southern region, aligns closely with the weather patterns of Chiloé; however, as an industrial city it fosters wage labor, consistent work, and the dependence of a job over what the environment may provide. Despite the pressures to perform in such an involuntary work environment that may increase stress and decrease free time for others, Puerto Montt became a home of connections and community for me. Sick, sick, sick. Marta made *casuela*. Romita came over and we all danced and sang karaoke to both English and Spanish music in Marta and Leo's Puerto Montt based home. Leo and I stayed up the longest talking. He repeated in multiple ways throughout the night his love for Marta as she slept on the couch nearby: "Marta *es mi vida, mi todo*." He worked two days without sleep and I asked: "*Estás cansado después del trabajo?*" He said no because he loves his

family so much and is never tired around them...apparently. He asked if everyone in the United States is like me and I asked in which ways. He described me as happy and fun and I reassured him I am not always both. We ended the night with him telling me to ask for anything I needed...food, laundry...alcohol which is apparently stored in “my” room. I thanked him and went to bed coughing, hacking, and sneezing all night long. I thought to myself: “My” room and smiled in the dark.

Sato and Soto Alarcón (2019) describe members of a community acting outside a capitalist structure through actions of emotional, physical, and social support. Mayberry et al. (2017) describe a community of support through positive relationships as contributing to an individual’s overall well-being. Such actions become invaluable and impossible to price.

### *3.2 Opened Doors from the North to the South*

I took the *micro* [a small bus] from Cobquecura, a wealthy beach town in the north, where I spent a few days with my friend Julia interviewing vendors and small-scale fishermen, back to the main city of Concepción to catch a bus back to Puerto Montt. When my mobility pass was deactivated due to unattainable Covid regulations, I was denied my seat on the bus. My friend Julia’s mother’s friend, Marica, texted to make sure I made it back down safely. I said ‘they won’t let me on’ and she drove me back to her apartment affirming it was no bother: “*no te preocupes*, Concepción is very dangerous and if my kids were traveling alone, I’d hope someone would care for them the same.” Marica’s apartment was as she described it: “*Pequeño*” [small] and “*antiguo*” [antiquated]. To some extent that is an accurate description. She lit a match and threw it in a furnace to jump start hot water throughout her one level apartment with a connected kitchen and living room, a small room for herself, and a guest room with a window open to circulate the afternoon breeze. I threw my bag on the bed and decided the space was warm

enough to be a mansion. She had decorations, plants, Hindu statues, pictures of her family adorning the walls, food in the fridge and coffee on the shelf. The guest room, which was once her kids' room before they moved out, hosted a very comfortable bed which I slept in from 8:00 pm to 7:30 am. I slept soundly between the fresh sheets and fluffy pillows and recharged between the dull sounds of the city streets that re-lulled me to sleep. I skipped dinner because I was so tired from the day's endeavors that included the anxiety of being denied my bus ride back, getting lost in the city for a couple hours because I forgot her address, and feeling a little sick from my third covid vaccine. I woke up to a massive pot of pasta with capers. She told me to eat what I skipped the night before. She reaffirmed her apartment as antiquated, I reassured her space and acts of kindness were invaluable to me. The next day the ETM bus driver permitted me on with a negative Covid test and proof of my third vaccine. I returned to Puerto Montt, beaten and battered. An eight hour long bus ride mixed with the uncertainty of travel left me fantasizing of sleep and only sleep. I got out of the terminal, looking for Edwin, a past Uber driver that I kept on speed dial to pay future transactions in *efectivo* [cash]. He dropped me off at Romita's house around nine at night. I walked in assuring myself of promised rest. I exited just as quickly as I entered to follow Romita to another diver's house for an *asado*. I shrugged in acceptance of a life not in my control.

Life is something like that

Kitchen tools outside

I sit happy, dazed

Matching eye contact with those

Who happen across mine

Wine

And beer grace the hands of every individual

As do forgivings  
And givings  
*Weonas*  
And party laughs  
They hold them manually in the air  
Not worried  
Because their togetherness will never  
Cease to not  
Exist  
They dance  
With the hips  
As they sit  
On wooden logs  
Legs spread wide  
Elbows resting on knees  
It's been a long day  
*Carne* and *salsa* are passed around  
On a wooden slab  
(Cut from the very log  
They sit upon)  
By a fellow diver wearing a bandana & flip flops  
I'd prefer no other plate  
Than the one passed from the hands of  
A diver  
Who just came off the job  
For the night

To be a chef

For his friends and family

#### **Chapter 4: Labor and Livelihoods**

*Mira, cómo te explico?* (when I asked difficult questions my interviewees would usually start a sentence something like: “Look, how do I explain to you?”)

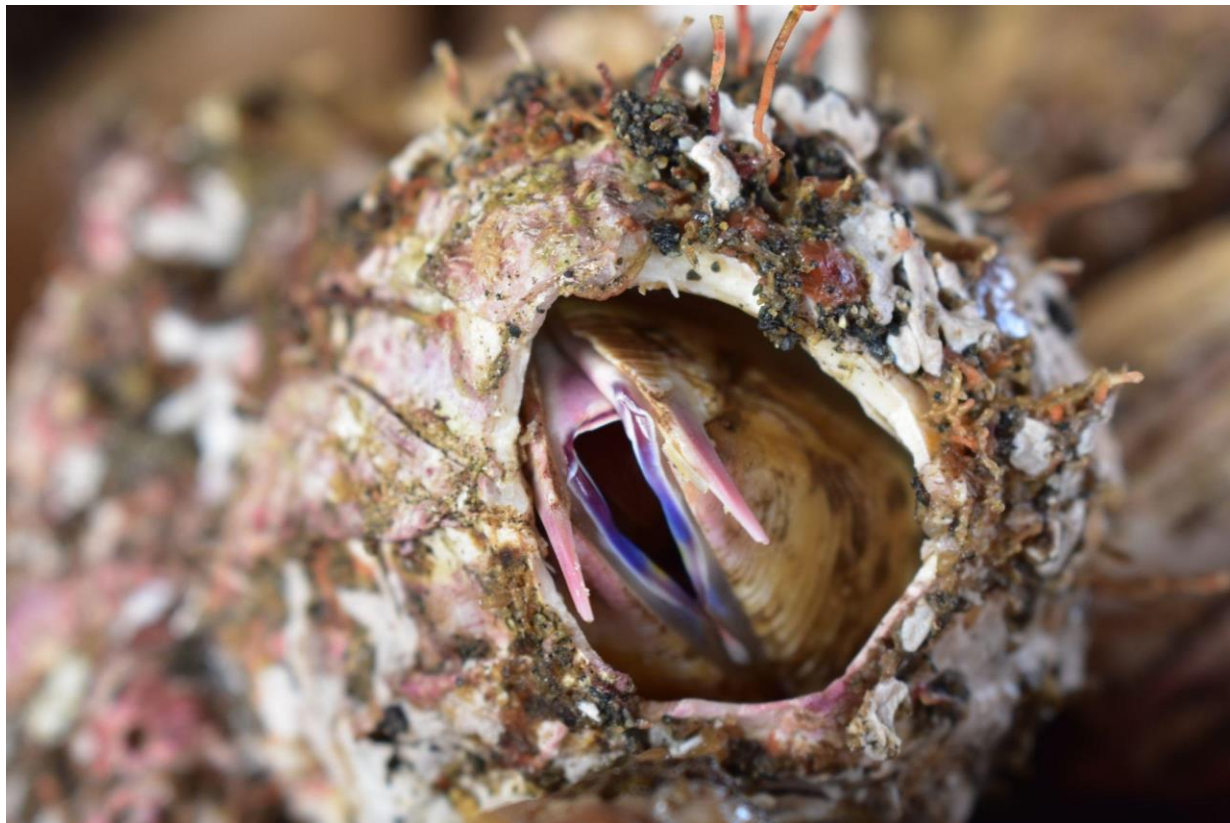
J: What do you do when you are not working?

23: It’s that I am always working.

“*Mira* at this subject, life itself taught me that I had to do something to live, because I don’t have a great education. And you know that life, I mean, suddenly when you need to say ‘what do I do’ God gives you the intelligence and the wisdom to do something for a living” (Interviewee 43).

Marta, a commercial diver, told me she didn’t start out that way. She was a subsistence diver, and her mother is still an assistant to divers during the *loco* harvest season. For Marta and her siblings, this was never a sustainable livelihood. The *loco* season is short, only 5 days per year. “I can’t support myself or my family with that money alone. There is no future for me there [in small-scale artisanal work].” Aquaculture, the *salmonera* fish farm industry she is in now, “pays good money.” She talked about how she works twenty days on with twenty days off. Her work is so close to home in Puerto Montt that she is able to come home every night for Pablito. Chaigneau et al. (n.d.) describes the negative well-being impacts a person may endure during family and community separation, and the juggling acts of a precarious lifestyle and the unknown “shocks and stressors” of an “uncertain” environment. The dangerous life she lives, the hard work she performs, and the different types of aquaculture jobs she has had to take to support herself who grew up poor and now with a family, has me reflecting on whether she ever had time to enjoy herself. Her big laughs, many friends, and *fútbol pichangas* [pickup soccer games] had

me thinking surely she does. When I asked what she does in her free time when she's not working, she promptly responded: "Work." We both laughed, she spoke of her duties to Pablito, diving, and her current studies to become a ship captain. Me, aware of her busy schedule, asked if she needed help with her son, and she—thinking in that very moment—handed Pablito to me. After a *buena pichanga*, and helping her cook dinner, we sat down at her table to eat, which she described as "small but has a big heart." I helped her step-daughter with her English homework and her niece and step-daughter tag teamed my Spanish. After a long day, I fell asleep easily, for the first time in a while, in her stove heated house.



Seafood in Carelmapu (*picoroco* above and *erizos* [sea urchin] below).





Small-scale fishermen in Cobquecura



Interviewee 14



Artisanal boat in Achao near Castro



Commercial boats in Castro





Artisanal boats in La Pasada near Carelmapu



Artisanal boat in Estaquilla



Oxxean's (salmon farm employer of interviewees 16 and 20) *barcos* docked in Puerto Montt.

#### 4.1 Sea-dependent Livelihood Types

Many livelihood types in Chile are dependent on the *mar* [sea], including *buzos* [divers], *recolectores* [seafood harvesters], *pescadores* [fisherpeople], *procesadores* [seafood processors], both in the *comercial* [commercial/large-scale] and *artesanal* [subsistence/small-scale] sectors.

“Aside from being the housewife, in the summer I work on the subject of the *luga* [seaweed type]. Yeah... I wish there was *luga* every day. I go to the *luga*. I love that. I love that. Yeah. I love being on the water. It's an adoration for me” (Interviewee 25).

As a subjective domain of well-being, labor and livelihoods are impacted by globalization.

Globalization has marginalized subsistence laborers—affecting their livelihoods, health, and well-being. Informal laborers lack government benefits and therefore, cannot retire and are forced to

work their whole lives until they are physically unable to. As globalization upholds marginalization, so too does post-colonialism. Utría National park in Colombia represents an example of how Indigenous and afro-descendants are marginalized in their inability to harvest resources within park boundaries and therefore not only maintain their environment but their culture and ability to survive through transitional livelihood methods (Acosta García, 2018; Ruiz-Serna, 2015). The Indigenous people of Chile also experience similarities in treatment. Living in rural communities along the coast, rights to Indigenous land were revoked by the government during Pinochet's dictatorship, and their agency severely restricted by such discrimination.

Sarah and I interviewed two *recolectoras* who live in the *campo* [countryside] outside of Ancud—an urban center in Chiloé (interviewee 48 and interviewee 49). Interviewee 48 is a part of an Indigenous *sindicato* [fishing union] concerned about how land-grabbing *Santiaguinos* [people from the city of Santiago] are limiting their access to harvesting marine resources. She has one daughter and works hard so she can go to University and find stable work. While interviewee 49 is a non-Indigenous *recolectora*, I found similar values between the two women and decided to write one joining poem including some of their interview quotes mixed with a few of my interpreted phrases. Health constituted happiness; love, a home.

#### De repente

No somos muchos, pero vivimos felices

Sin salud, there is no life

No love \

No house \ no home

I only have one daughter

She moves for her future  
The colors never stop moving do they?  
Eso como  
Cuando estás disfrutando tu tiempo  
Con amigas  
Y te dices  
Ahh I will miss this someday  
We are not much, but we are happy  
Without health, no hay vida  
Ni amor \  
Ni casa \ ni hogar  
Solo tengo una hija  
Ahh, tambien solo tengo una hija  
Ahh, soy la hija única  
I move for my future  
We move for her



Diving in general is a male-dominated profession and in terms of artisanal, small-scale, is only made up of males, as it is seen as socially unacceptable for women to dive. However, interviewee 48's daughter was persistent enough to be taught by her father how to dive.



Interviewee 48's daughter outside their house in the *campo*.

Interviewee 48 and her daughter walking back to their house from the beach in which they harvest *la luga*, among other seaweed species.



Interviewee 48 and her daughter harvesting *pelilo*



Artisanal divers and diver assistants waiting to bring their *loco* harvests to land. *Loco* season only lasts a few days out of the entire year.

Another urban center in Chiloé, further south than Ancud, is called Castro. After one ferry ride and an hour's drive away from Castro and into the countryside, exists the small town of Achao. I lived in Achao's bluest blues and greenest greens for two weeks with intermittent trips into Castro for official matters. My Airbnb host's ex-husband's friend Charli, offered to give me a ride into Castro where Diego, my Airbnb host's son, offered to take me to the municipality to argue for a mobility pass that couldn't care less about arriving. We hit the *moto* and flew down the magical countryside. It felt like magic because I confirmed in that moment: 'So this is what it feels like to fly.' I smiled to the wind, it suctioned my cheeks back in agreement.





Gastón at peace on an overlook in Achao.



The houses of Castro.

Diego and Gastón (Interviewee 8), also accompanied me one day in Achao. It was warm and the sea was beautiful, glimmering all the way to the horizon line. We walked along the coast and Diego and Gastón gave me a tour, we took a 20 minute catnap in the sunshine on an overlook of the sea, and Diego discussed how the vendor who buys *pelillo* (seaweed) from the *recolectoras* is very corrupt and takes advantage of the resource collectors by paying them very little for their efforts and then turns around to sell the product to the commercial market for much more. Diego described further injustices with the Norwegian company (MarineHarvest with the slogan “Excellence in Seafood”) who have established *salmoneras* at the expense of Chile’s coastal health, while keeping their own waters in Norway pristine. He described how other countries also take advantage of Chile’s resources. I responded with the United States, and he said: “Well I wasn’t going to say that but yes.” We all laughed at the revealed and uncontrollable truth.

When we got home, I wrote some questions to interview Gastón about his book that takes place during the red tide events of 2016. He, with his quiet, calm demeanor, started to open up to me a little more. He said he wrote the book because after listening to the small-scale, artisanal fishers affected, he became very passionate about their strife. I asked if he thinks the book can make a difference, an impact. His rather pessimistic or perhaps realistic response: “No, I don’t

think books can change the world.” But he enjoyed writing it and felt deeply for the people he listened to who were affected by the red tide event.

Per my Airbnb host’s ex-husband’s suggestion, I rode my bike down to the Achao beach. It was a fast ride, all downhill with many curves. Upon arriving I saw a *recolectora*, what luck! I asked if I could interview and record our conversation and she consented. She talked about how she has done this work and lived in Putique (near Achao) her whole life. She likes her job of harvesting *pellilo* [a type of seaweed] and other shellfish, and when I asked if I could take her picture she called herself *fea* [ugly], which I strongly objected to. The permanent dirt, sand, and marine debris stains on her hands made her beautiful. I asked if I could help her work and she graciously agreed. Another man helped too. While working, I asked if she harvested all the *pellilo* in the bags herself and she responded: “*Si, todo.*” After not much time of bending over, picking up large bags in which the *pellilo* was stationed, and spreading the *pellilo* out to dry in the sun—I started to feel pain in my back. Imagine an able bodied, 24-year-old already feeling the strain of the job after 10 minutes, working beside a 68-year-old woman who has done this work her entire life, every day, for hours at a time. I laughed to myself, and was simultaneously in such awe of the lady next to me, that she gave me the energy and spirit to work harder and faster. I forgot how much I enjoyed the monotonous physical labor, that is repeated motion. I also enjoyed how peaceful it was to work beside the sea, the waves and birds—the only sounds to break the silence between the three of us. Maybe all the women I have interviewed enjoy this work for that same reason—*tranquilidad*.

### Sea legend

I sped my borrowed bike past

Pastures

Cows having their fair fill

And the turkey vultures

Making their great escape

Over the wandering hillside

Where the light was high

Reaching points I noted and

Divots I couldn't quite

See

Only sudden sounds

Made me turn around

Like the

Dogs who saw me first

Fear of getting nipped

At the heels

I peddled faster

Bombed down

A chunky dirt road

Washed away

By larger forces

Hung a louie

And reached the beach

A truck of bags

And a woman working



Silently

*A recolectora*

For life she informed me

After a few minutes of

Helping dump *pellilo*

In between the free

Spaces

Of the beach

And spreading

The seaweed out to dry

I noticed her hands

Calluses

Her nail beds

Dirt filled

Sometimes the roughest hands

Catch us the softest

Though

When we fall

The sea rose and fell

Next to us

Chanting to their heroine

Sea legend

They still call



Interviewee 9 distributes the *pellilo* she harvested from the sea on the beach to dry and later sell to be processed commercially.



During other interviews I was lucky enough to pay research assistants that not only helped locate interviewees but they on occasion accompanied me on interviews to help translate Chilean slang back to “normal” Spanish or *castellano*. My research assistant at the time was Lola, the niece of interviewees 15, 16, and 20 and she let me stay with her, her partner, and their child for a week while we went around the *campo* where she lives near Carelmapu and La Pasada to conduct



interviews. She lived a taxing life as a mother. Her career aspirations were permanently put on hold as housework and the primary caregiver to her and her partner's child took priority. Her partner, an artisanal diver, was hardly ever home, he seemed to come and go at his leisure. It was the complete freedom of a diver—a liberating, albeit dangerous and exhausting life. I saw him as someone with immunity to the daily monotonous household tasks; whereas, she was more constrained and confined to the home and child. Artisanal and subsistence seafood harvesters have the freedom and flexibility to work according to the sea and their own schedules. Trimble and Johnson (2012) highlighted the “independent and autonomous lifestyle” of the artisanal laborer as contributing to their high standards of well-being.



Artisanal divers in La Pasada harvesting *piure*.



#### *4.2 Paid and Unpaid Labor—Acts of Love*

My week spent with Lola was overwhelmingly beneficial. I cannot thank her enough for letting me stay in her house and eat with her and her family, contacting people, driving me to houses, sitting in on interviews, and making sure I *aprovechar* the moment despite the demanding life and stressors motherhood has presented to her. Because as we well know...a woman's work is never done. She gave me the opportunity to take pictures of her *pareja* [partner] working and his friends bringing in the *piure*. I became a *procesadora* for an hour, helping her clean the *locos* and *sacar* [take out] the *piure*.





Helping Lola clean the *loco* her *pareja* harvested from the sea.

We also visited a *planta del proceso* [seafood processing factory] where her friend works. I took pictures and interviewed the *procesadoras*. It was extremely rewarding to see the process from start to finish, from the sea to the home or processing plant. Herself, unenthusiastic about the process of cleaning *mariscos*, but nevertheless *acostumbrada* [accustomed] to the process because her and her family's lives revolve around the sea and harvesting its products. Loosely translated: "I don't like doing it. I do it because my family is a fishing family and we are centered around the sea."



*Procesadoras* in the processing plant.

I felt like I was imposing on Lola's life; however, she confided in me how much she enjoyed working again. She found it entertaining to listen to women's stories and it broke up her unchanging routine that was becoming boring and draining as a mother of a son entering an obstinate state of his terrible twos. She told me: "Don't get me wrong, I love him and wouldn't change my life, but I used to work outside of the home and this is no longer possible." During a conversation with a *procesadora* who discussed her lack of responsibilities and therefore barriers to life goals, my research assistant turned to me and bluntly reiterated that the *procesadora* doesn't have children. I promptly turned to Lola to call her: *Pobrecita* [poor thing]. A transcribed version of the interview recording below.

RA= research assistant

35: So far I don't have any difficulties because I don't have children either, so nothing stops me. If I could work every day, I would work even harder to achieve my goals, as I said. I don't have any difficulties, nothing.

RA: She has *ninguna* [no] barrier.

J: *Claro* [right].

RA: For the moment.

J: *Claro*.

RA: She doesn't have children.

J: *Pobrecita*.

She says:

*Tengo metas*

Goals

Dreams

*Sueños*

Desires

*Tengo deseos*

I have hopes

*Esperanzas*

Beliefs

*Tengo creencias*

Personal successes

*Y éxitos*

That will go on

To consume my life

As I want them to

Within my control

And

Without barriers

*Sin trabas*

She says:

*“Hasta ahora no tengo ninguna dificultad*

*Porque no tengo hijos tampoco, entonces, no me detiene nada.*

*Si pudiera trabajar todos los días, trabajaría*

*Y más para cumplir mis metas, como le digo.*

*No tengo ninguna dificultad, nada.”*

My research assistant (RA) relays her words:

*“No tiene ninguna barrera.”*

Me:

*“Claro.”*

RA:

*“Por el momento.”*

Me:

*“Claro.”*

RA:

*“No tiene hijos.”*

I look at my RA who has a child whom I know well and say:

*“Pobrecita.”*





Factory workers organize mariscos [seafood] into individual containers to sell commercially. Factory workers do not receive health care or retirement benefits.

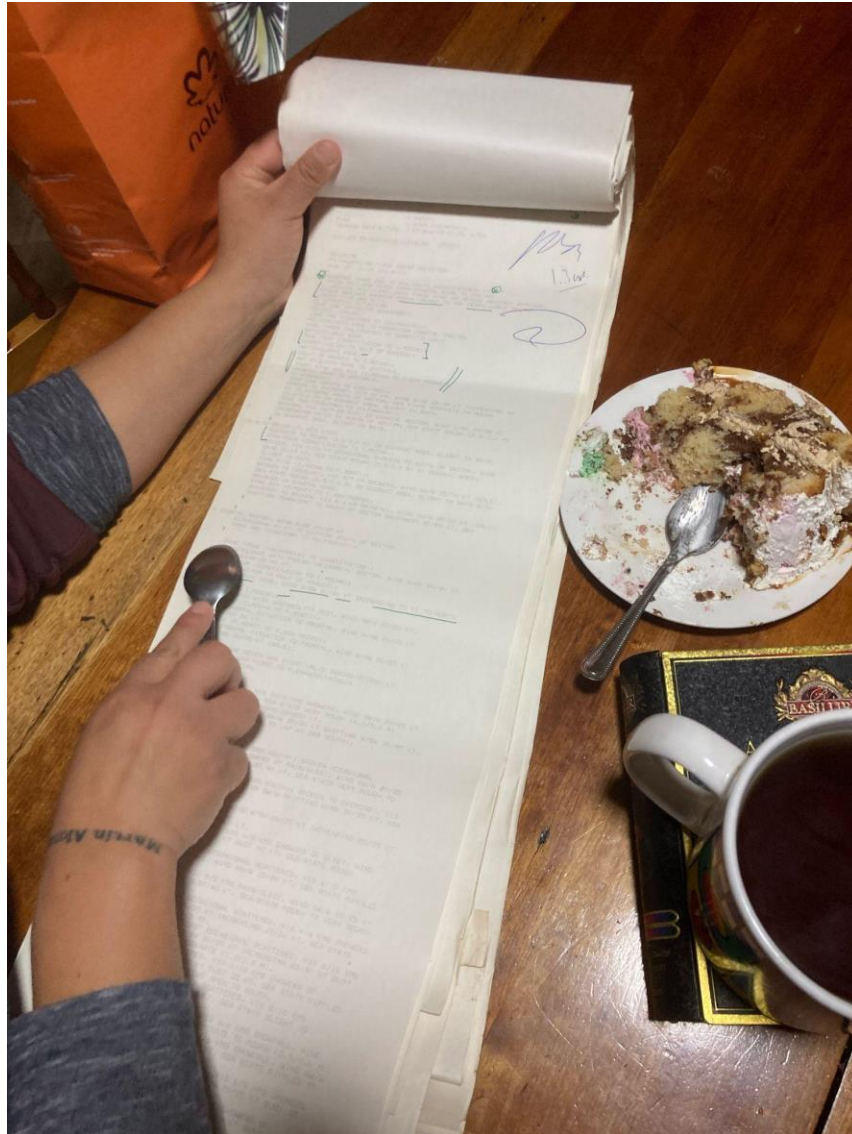
The women of processors and collectors of Carelmapu, Ancud, and Castro represent support. They are doers for their community, for their family. And without their sacrifices, holes are left, gaps are felt, and a collapse of the functioning of just about everything is apparent. They do without praise, they do regardless of recognition to perform out of love. As one interviewee tested out her English: “I love you.” I knew she meant to say she loves a lot. I concluded our interview with: “*Disfruta el amor*” and left her laughing with the other women in the processing plant. Their love is for their well-being, peace, tranquility, and the hope for a better future for their children, families, and communities as a whole.

In Estaquilla I helped clean windows, wrapped beds, swept floors, washed dishes, and prepared for the wedding guests’ arrival. Mateo (the son of Nicola) wanted to help but in reality, it just made everyone else’s jobs harder. His aunt, Romita and his grandma, Roma yelling at him: “*Ya po, vaya juega*” [yah go play] and Roma: “*Esta familia va a matarme*” [this family is going to kill me]. Around 10pm the crew started rolling in, Leo, Marta, Nicola, and Gerado, all the siblings and all their *parejas*, *niños*, and *pololos*. It was my second time meeting most of the family, having spent most of my time with Marta and Romita at this point. Nicola sat down next to me: “*Estoy suda como una yegua*,” a past teaching of hers. A Chilean saying that means: “I’m sweating like a horse.” They all love it when I say it. Without me speaking, she started teaching. She showed me how to tie *nudos* [knots] with her eyes closed and demonstrated her duplexity in both *manos* by writing Mateo’s name. Her energy, the same as his. She brought out a large book with which she studied for two years and four months to learn how to tie *nudos* and other knowledge required for divers to pass their exams. She speaks slow, simple Spanish for me and gesticulates with her hands and makes special effects with her vocals to drive home the points: “Chu chu chu” she says as she motions where she works all along the coast of Chile. A natural

teacher or just experience explaining complex concepts to kids, we joked about how little I understood but how much of an effort she was making to explain things to me. For this, among other reasons, I would come to know and appreciate her.

I spent the next day with Nicola and little did I know the next week solely with her, her mom, and Mateo. She described her mother's home in Estaquilla: "*Esta casa es acogedora" un lugar que te gusta estar, un lugar con mucho cariño*" [This house is cozy, a place you like to be with a lot of affection]. She taught me how to bake a lemon crème pie. We sat down at the end of the day for leftovers of *papas pure con hongos y cebolla* [mashed potatoes with mushrooms and onion] among other ingredients and ended up talking for a long time about her life as a diver and a mother. Interviews as conversations rather than solely a list of questions were now possible for me as I spent most of my time with her and began to tune my ear to Chilean Spanish.

She gave me insight into her interests such as her love of reading non-fiction because she has a thirst for learning. She collects weather reports over the years from the *barcos* she has worked on. Everytime a crew mate goes to throw them out, she says: 'no, no, I'll take them.' She laid her long scroll of weather reports on the kitchen table with the other end of the spoon aiding as her place marker and began to describe her desire to learn English while tapping blurbs that read "mild to rough wind... location zone 4... Valparaiso to..." What I might consider maybe dry reading, for her are prized collections to gawk over. I was happy to witness her joy in rereading them.



Nicola's weather reports. A spoon marks where she read from. Leftover cake from her sister's wedding adorns the edges.

From the way Nicola teaches lessons to Mateo to how she makes pies, she might occasionally start a project blindly, but the experimentation is a part of the *arte* [art], it's a part of the process, whether it's a small task or life altering, She proceeds with the intention of delivering. For each of Roma's children: Marta, Sebastian, Romita, and Nicola, they never sit down for too long, unless forced to due to an illness, need for sleep, or a mixture of the sort. And while there is usually haste in their efforts, it is never at the sacrifice of a job well done. Everything is completed to perfection with care.





A calm and persistent Nicola helps her overwhelmed son learn the alphabet in her mother's *casa acogedora*.

Nicola explained her brother as a *detaista, meticoloso* [meticulous] with his cars, I've observed Romita's *perfectionista* ways as we made and remade beds, and Marta, as a waitress, always received the best tips on ships because she catered to all needs, however outlandish and impossible requests came. Nicola described how it takes her a month to do what her *compañeros* [co-workers] do in a week. Her boss tells her to hurry up constantly, but she prefers to "take her time and make it right, the outcome is worth every meticulous minute it might take."

In addition to her meticulous nature, she enjoys jobs that fulfill her adrenaline fix. Not only has working as a *buzo* and *bombero* [firefighter] filled this need through running into house fires, saving her ship and shipmates from a deadly fire, and crashing into the sea on ships during stormy nights, but the work provides her with peace as well. "*Tranquilidad*, that's what I feel

when I look at the water and fire. " I watched her as we drove by the *laguna* [lake] looking back and forth from the road to the water. She is drawn to the elements, claiming to never fear but respect them. She further elaborated on the perils of diving: "sometimes it is so black that you can't see anything except your hands in front of you." I asked her how she can dive in complete darkness, and she responded: "*Uno puede trabajar sin mirar* [one can work without seeing]." There are threats from animals. Hungry *lobos* [sea lions] gravitate to the plethora of fish in the *salmoneras* but won't bother you if you stay calm. Smart animals, these *lobos* will attack if a knife is pulled, or an attempt is made to scare them away.

I talked about my one diving experience when I panicked and started hyperventilating. Marta said that has only happened to her once when she grabbed too many fish and attempted to resurface with the too great weight. She started panicking because she could not resurface with that much weight. "It's mental," she reaffirmed, "you have to control your breathing, many people die because they cannot control their breathing." She took deep breaths and started to climb the nets rather than swim to the surface, describing it as the only way she was going to survive. Your mind changes the further down you go. Past 30 meters the pressure causes you to feel drunk, you think and move slower. How far you are allowed to go down depends on your license. Marta, Nicola, and Romita have licenses that allow them to go a maximum of 40 meters. Women diving to these depths have to use other instruments for communication which includes three hoses--one to communicate, one for air, and an open hose to measure current depth and position, additionally they wear *máscaras faciales* [face masks].

### Reflective Interpretation

I don't know what it's like to be in your shoes

It's true

My interpretation

May be backward

Spread thin

When the consistency calls for thick

And clumped together in the middle

Lacking foundation in the fringes

My terminology may be incorrect

And my vocabulary lacking

I may not know what it's like

To continue breathing

40 meters below the sea surface

In a 1-inch thick *traje*

Or the feeling of trusting your life

In a stranger's hands

I may not know all the thoughts

Running through your head

During those minutes, hours

Underwater

But I know some of them

Because you told me

And I may not be able to

Empathetically feel what it means

When you say:

“*Uno puede trabajar sin mirar.*”

But I can sympathetically imagine

Because my thinking head

Processes this as:

“A damn impressive woman”

In the sea, *buzos* make three times as much as the average person. In four days, they can earn what the average Chilean does in a month, about 170 USD/day or 150,000 Chilean pesos per day. Nicola described her day. She wakes up early with the sunrise and eats little before work, maybe some milk for breakfast and very little for lunch, so she doesn't have to go to the bathroom while working. She rides ferries and gets paid to see the sights of Chile, all up and down the coast. The aquaculture company she and Romita work for is called Oxxean and seems similar in business function to the businesses in the time-crunch capitalist heavy United States. The white board of tasks, the documents folder with well...documents. The boss talks to her, then checks his one of two phones, runs his fingers through his hair in a controlled frustration, goes back to his computer festering, leaves her patiently waiting for a moment, before he goes back to her, back to his phone and other tasks, before she is finally able to sign her contract below in the administrator's office. Her work is consistent but unpredictable sometimes when she'll receive calls to work that are later canceled, then rescheduled for other weeks, and then changed to start a day early. Later this would change when Oxxean would sign her to a permanent contract, her and Romita one of the only women divers to receive. Work could last 3 months at a time on the same ship or 20, 15, 10 or a variation of a number of days, really whatever the *salmoneras* needed. Not only would the unpredictable schedule and inconsistent income drive me crazy, but the long extensive time away from family and the constant rekindling of new friendships that burn like a candle, hot and fast, over as soon as they start. I asked if this



was hard for her. She agreed, yes, they were hard for all those reasons but there are positives too. She is able to experience all the “*partes bonitas*” [beautiful parts] of the many individuals she meets. Knowing co-workers on this intimate level in which one eats, sleeps, and works with, has also always filled me with just that—the ability to experience the beauty of each individual, that I could not disagree with.

McGrego et al. (2009) claims “friends” as a factor contributing to one’s overall well-being. Artisanal and subsistence fishing is held together by friendship ties, given one collects, fishes, and dives within the community in which they live (Gerrard, 1975; Neis et al., 2013). Commercial diving, a profession that often relocates its laborers, may allow divers to make new friends but working alongside old ones and maintaining past relationships may be difficult.

I asked Marta the same question, if there was a shared camaraderie formed among the women she works with or not. She agreed there was and especially when she worked in isolated places on floating homes with the same women for months at a time. Now she finishes at 5:30 on ships close to home, and leaves at the end of the day. This is necessary because while she likes work and treats it as a break for herself, she “misses Pablito” after just 2 hours away from him. “I need to see him.” She stopped what she was doing to hug Pablito and said: “See, he needs a hug from me every 10 minutes and I do too.”

That same week, Marta picked me up in her low to the ground and compact light blue car. She had a burning headache, but we played in a *pichanga* with the Puerto Montt women’s club team all the same. On the way home, headache subsided, she decided to tell me a more in-depth version of her story. Her dad wanted her to be a secretary, but she didn’t want to live that humdrum life. He thought it too dangerous to dive so never taught her or her siblings. Her mother was passive in the process just trying to keep the peace. Diving for her; however, is not

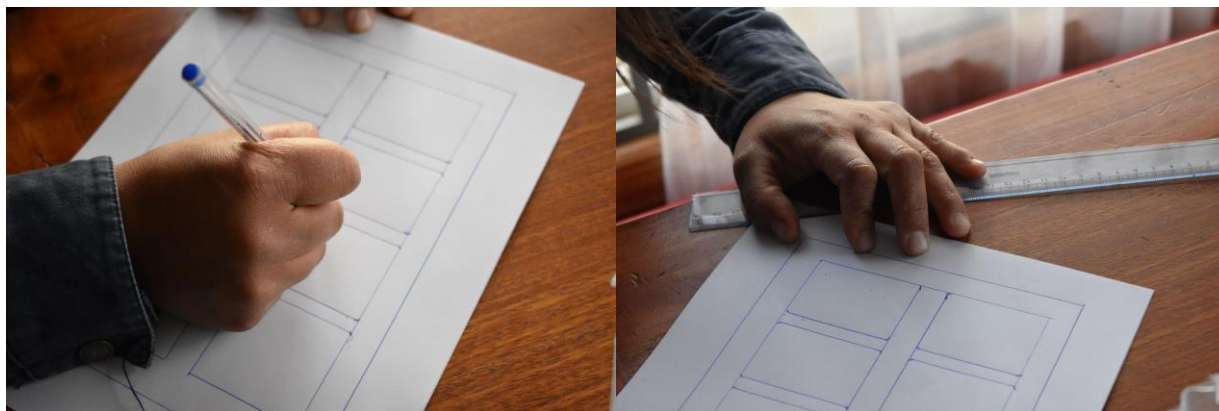
work, it is beautiful, and she loves her job “too much.” Her siblings have followed in her footsteps, all commercial divers. Marta first learned how to dive in diver school. While there, her instructor introduced her to the idea of working in commercial, aquaculture industries in lieu of the small-scale sector. She told her teacher: “But I know nothing about this.” And the teacher encouraged her: “But you can learn.” So, she began her career in aquaculture. Not only does she love her job as does her husband, an independent contractor for commercial diving, but she gets paid enough money as a professional diver to support herself and her family. She said: “I don’t know why but I advance.” I responded: “It’s probably because you’re a hard worker” and she replied humbly: “Yes, I think that’s why.”

When we got back to her house she told me: “You can put your bag in your room” making me feel as though I belong, and then began to draw me sketches of aquaculture farms complete with multi-dimensional, metered measurements. Her use of the ruler was fast and precise. The *peseras* [weighing machines] are 20 meters long and bowl-shaped and *redes de pesca* [fish nets] are used to cover all the *peseras* and *modulos*. The *redes* or nets are part of the second step in the series of *etapas* or stages and are necessary to keep the *lobos* out. Marta is involved in every stage of the process except *la primera etapa* [the first step] of foundation or *fonder el modulo*. This stage involves metal and *muertos* or cinder blocks weighing 6 tons to hold the metal down and *tensores* [tensioners] to keep the nets in place. She said “only men do this work because it [requires] big man power” as she flashed her muscles. I said “well you have big man power” and she responded “yah, yah, I know but it’s heavy, too heavy.” The last stage involves filling the *modulos* with small salmon. Her main job is to *mantener* or maintain the fish nets, including power washing the nets and monitoring the salmon. As a supervisor, when she is

not diving, her responsibilities also consist of watching surfacing bubbles of the divers to keep track of where everyone is at all times.

She talked about the Lift Up company and their job to extract dead fish 25 meters deep from the bottom of the nets to process fish flour that is used to feed the other live fish. Each *pecera* has a hose to lift up the dead fish. When we got back to her house she pointed some 100 feet away, “there’s the Lift Up company.” I noted how ironic it was that she lived so close to the company. She said it’s not really because this is the “*salmón cultura región*” [salmon culture region] and so many jobs and businesses revolve around aquaculture.





Interviewee 15 draws me a layout of the fish farms, giving me an idea of how deep they must dive to maintain the nets and salmon.

The next morning, Leo drove me to the *rotonda* [traffic circle] to catch a bus back to Puerto Varas before I was to interview another diver, Fernanda, interviewee 40, and cousin of Marta. He weaved in and out of cars, drove on the sidewalks, gunned it, floored it, and all the “its” to get there faster. It reminded me of Marta when she tried to parallel park– hit the person in front of her, backed up and tapped the person behind her a couple times, before frustratingly giving up to find a parking spot that her *camioneta* [little truck] would actually fit in.

Fernanda showed up, did up, hair and makeup, fixed in heels. We talked at Romita’s kitchen table over coffee, and she expressed her love of her job and the traveling it provided. She showed me the views from her most recent house she lived in while working and the sauna that makes her job feel more like a vacation. She hopes to become an international diver one day so she can travel to other parts of the world to work. This seems to be a common goal among those who can. We took a ride in her car. I saw the blown-out airbag and decided to not learn how to drive stick shift at that moment even though she offered. She talked more about the moment her cousin Marta encouraged her to become a diver. I told her: “But I can’t swim.” And Marta said: “Well if you don’t want to learn how to swim then you can’t be a diver.” She took the challenge and has been a *buzo basico* [basic commercial diver] for a full year, fulfilled and unwilling to

change professions for the world. Why do you like it I asked? Other than the job feeling like a vacation. “I am paid well. Without this job, I wouldn’t be able to live.”

J: How do you feel about your quality of life?

40: Good.

J: Why?

40: Because when I worked in an office in the city, I earned very little, very little money. Now that I have been working in diving for a year, I have a lot of money. Yes, the economic situation has improved.

J: What challenges do you face?

40: My biggest challenge was to study diving, *me cuesta mucho* [it cost me a lot]. I finished high school and that was it. I couldn't study because I had to take care of my little son, he was a baby. So I was never able to go to college. I didn't have the opportunity. And then I got this opportunity to study scuba diving and it was rewarding.

J: How did you know you could be a diver?

40: Marta. I didn't know how to swim and Marta told me: ‘let's go to the pool’ and I said ‘why am I going to the pool if I don't know how to swim.’ She said, ‘come on, you just take the course.’ So of course, we paid for the course. I learned to swim and then I said, ‘Marta, what's it like to dive?’ I was already curious, because I had already lost my fear of water. And she told me, ‘it’s *rico* [rich or amazing].’ ‘I'm going to study diving,’ I told her. And it went like this. So that's how it was.

#### 4.3 A Women's Movement

Young women, in particular, are shifting away from subsistence and commercial harvesting of seaweed and small-scale agriculture to work in wage labor positions in the aquaculture industry (Ramírez and Ruben, 2015). According to Ramírez and Ruben (2015), 81 percent of women in the central region on the island of Chiloé who work outside of the home, work in the aquaculture industry and globalization in general has significantly increased the mobility of women into *salmoneras* and other jobs within and outside of the fishing sector—successfully integrating women into the labor force (Lazo and Carvajal, 2018; Ramírez and Ruben, 2015; Pettersen, 2018).

Many of the women divers I interviewed, including interviewees 16, 20, 40, and 41, discussed their love of the job for the adrenaline, adventure, the fulfillment and peace it provides. Batz and Tay (2018) pull from the literature of Crossley and Langdrige (2005) and Pinquart and Sörenson (2001) to demonstrate the gender differences in what constitutes well-being: for men, it includes “sports, sexual activity, and quality social life” compared to women who include needs of “helping others and being loved” to be happy. Stacey et al. (2019) illuminate how gender differences in coastal livelihoods in Indonesia are linked to poverty, oppression, and inequality in the form of an “under-representation” in fisheries management, policy, and development projects. I agree that well-being differences exist between genders—due to institutional arrangements in the form of available opportunities, social norms and expectations that are culturally constructed, and biological factors such as women’s health disparities due to access to health care and the toll birth and child care has on a woman’s body, however, other aspects of well-being may remain subjective. Physically laborious jobs and sports laden lifestyles are not solely confined to the male gender, nor is adrenaline heavy activity experienced solely by men.

## Tranqui

Life is full of...

I mean

There's so much

Infiltrating

Our lil pea brains

Not to go mad

Don't you think?

Life is full of this.

And the sea?

Is a silent blanket

With which I use

To protect myself

From the rest

It's dangerous,

Yes.

But the risk

Is what slows me down.

When I'm under water

I don't think,

I only act

And what better way to live

As a human

Than that?

These shifts in labor may have a significant impact on women's well-being. In Chile, women have benefited economically as fishers in the labor force and have not only gained rights to fish through the formation of fishing unions, but have also found a passion and career across the marine sector in small-scale, large-scale, or aquaculture positions. Women's roles in fisheries have, in effect, not only strengthened the sustainability of seafood harvest, but also challenged previous gender roles and confining ideas of a woman's role in society (Gallardo-Fernández and Saunders, 2018). For example, women in the small fishing community of Coliumo in southern Chile benefited from their ability to form all-women unions and *sindicatos* to obtain their rights to fish under the TURFs act (Gopal et al., 2020). When women are empowered with diverse skill sets (such as diving, resource monitoring) through training opportunities to improve upon their knowledge and have the ability to gain access to resources, women can begin to form collective actions and make decisions regarding management of their harvested resources (Torre et al., 2019; Bennet, 2005; James et al., 2021). Ramírez and Ruben (2015) describe how positions open to women have given them the confidence to pursue other opportunities as well. They suggest that some women are empowered through their work to become leaders with a purpose and an increase in independence and income (Ramírez and Ruben, 2015; Torre et al., 2019). Shifts in gender roles and women-earned incomes, increases "women's economic power" especially in industries such as that of salmon aquaculture in Chile (Álvarez et al. 2017; Gallardo-Fernández and Saunders, 2018) this in turn positively impacts the economy. The 2006 World Economic Forum states: "countries which have improved gender equity have reached higher levels of economic growth and social well-being (Weeratunge et al., 2010)." Increased incomes, the increased opportunities awarded to women, and the resulting amplification of their voices has improved social relations among fishing communities and interacting stakeholders, and it is suggested that the use of



women's knowledge is essential to address the vulnerabilities of fishing communities, aid as buffers during unexpected shocks, and bring an awareness to sustainability (Calhoun et al., 2016; Neis, 2013; James et al., 2021). The establishment of Territorial Use Rights in Fisheries (TURFs) not only gave power back to local fishers previously hindered by the overexploitation and mass export of natural resources, but also empowered women by providing jobs to become financially independent and/or provide supplemental income for their families (Gopal et al., 2020).

I interviewed 3 women in Achao, outside of Castro, who worked in a mussel aquaculture industry. One was a cook, the second was an operations technician, and the third was a manager and assistant to the owner. Overall, the cook and operations technician were not forthcoming with too much information but were gracious and generous with their time to participate in the interviews. They gave no reasons for disliking their jobs. The first was especially grateful for the friends she worked with and expressed her need to always keep busy. Even at home she works in her yard and does housework. She has one child (each of the 3 participants have only one) with whom she spends all of her freetime. They all seem very family oriented, working not only for themselves but their families, their own well-being, and for the enjoyment of the job.

The manager of the plant (Interviewee 12) was less thrilled about work. When I asked if she likes her job she responded: "So-so, at times it is very stressful." She described how if you forget one thing or make a single small mistake, it could end in a disaster of domino effect issues. I asked them what else they would like in life and the assistant joked: "*más, más, más.*" All 3 expressed wants of money to buy *cosas* [things] and provide for themselves and their family. They didn't harp on anything too extravagant except what is necessary to live a good, happy life. I think what is necessary for a happy life may be different for the different participants though. For instance, the manager talked more about her desire to travel because

sometimes Achao is too quiet and boring for her. She talked about how she didn't grow up in the south, but the bustling northern city of Santiago where she received her Ph.D. in aquaculture engineering studies. She likes to go on bike rides, read, and write in her free time. She described how her work did not define her, she is more than the work she does. She, compared to the other two interviewees, had hobbies and passions other than work alone.

She elaborated about her life in University. Graduating with her degree was one of the best moments in her life other than the birth of her daughter. She said working in this field was and still is (although times are changing), a man's world in which she has been discriminated against. During her university studies, the men were very *machista* [sexist] and refused to include her in their study groups. I asked if it was hard for her to find a job after graduating, she said no because most men go to work in *salmoneras* and she chose to work with mussels.



Interviewee 12, the mussel aquaculture manager.



Interviewee 11, the cook in the mussel aquaculture plant.



Interviewee 10, the operator in the mussel aquaculture plant.

#### *4.4 Diversifying Livelihoods—Privilege or Persecution*

Generational differences may exist between the older versus younger generations due to globalization and the widespread information sharing of social media. While social media has ties to anxiety through “social comparison”, negatively impacting well-being (Kross et al., 2013; Twenge et al., 2015), it also provides an access to the world and an understanding of other experiences to be had. For example, women are taking advantage of different passions and experiences other than the traditional “woman’s work” of taking care of the children and a household. For example, interviewee 12 received her Ph.D and had lived and worked in a variety of jobs before settling outside of Castro to work as a manager in a mussel aquaculture company. She talked about all her hobbies and interests that are not so normal for women of older generations in that region to have experienced. Ahrens and Ryff (2006) suggest that educated

women, active in many different types of roles and sectors of life, exhibit “higher levels of autonomy”, contributing to a positive wellbeing. While social norms constraining women’s roles and growth, may contribute negatively to their overall well-being. Possibly due to her past experiences and globalization or the sharing of culture, influences from outside and other cultures had driven her to discover what she enjoys and embark on activities and desires that many women either are not privy to or traditional culture does not permit.

Romita age 28, Nicola age 27, and Fernanda age 32, at the time of interviews, similarly, had passions of travel and external hobbies, passions, and activities. Due to Romita’s schedule of working *viente por veinte* [20 days on, 20 days off] as is the case for many other commercial divers, she is able to fulfill her personal purpose as well as other obligations in her 20 days off. While their work may lack the freedom and flexibility of many subsistence and artisanal laborers of older generations and their work schedules may not align with those of their partner’s, garnering long periods of time away from their families; the lucky contracted ones are however, awarded the consistent and stable work that promotes a comfortable lifestyle. Romita likewise expressed that while she loves her job, she has other passions as well such as baking and creating art projects out of nature’s finest materials such as wood and shells she collects. She said “if my job was only about the money, I wouldn’t do it,” she wouldn’t be fulfilled, she wouldn’t be happy.

#### Después de la pena

If I know nothing more than

To lay my head in the dirt

On the 7<sup>th</sup> day then I will lay there

Trust the common stranger

Who passes for a moment

In a blue blazer

Tell my sister I love her

With gifts

And my brother with playful

Fists

And the other *hermana*

A 4-year sacrifice

Of my own happiness

If I know nothing more

Than to love

If I see nothing more

Than to be

I will find it eventually

If my job is

All

*Plata*

I don't want it

If my job

Is *plata*

*fisica*

And *paz*

I want

Nothing

More than

It

And in that 4<sup>th</sup> year

I will find *paz*

Fix my hair and my makeup

When I am lonely

Carefully script recipes

*Cuando estoy llorando*

And write a letter to God

Hoping I find *tranquila*

*En mi cabeza*

Then a man will come

Who always smiles

A man will come

Who hangs my *ropas* up to dry

Then the man will come

Who folds my clothes when they are done

Blends the mangos into *jugo*

When they are ripe

And wears my slippers

Awaiting my *regreso* home

After a day diving

For *plata y física y paz*.





Interviewee 16 with the *pan de pascua* she made for easter and her *galletas* which I gladly helped consume at her request.



Above and below, Romita is a woman of many hobbies. Based on conversation and observation, she is most fulfilled when busy. She finds plenty to do in her 20 days off such as collecting shells and cutting wood to make artwork that she gifts or sells.





Working temporary jobs or undertaking multiple careers is not only “entertaining” for some, but in the diluted promises of a resource dependent field, it is a means to increase economic resistance through diversified livelihoods (Ebel, 2018; Marks, 2012). Diversified livelihoods greatly contribute to well-being which according to Van Holt et al. (2016) incorporates security, flexibility, and viability. This form of living provides women room to work in many fields despite the insecurity of an uncertain environment. In addition, economic and financial independence may contribute to a woman's well-being as they are less reliant on the income of a spouse to survive and therefore chained to an unfavorable social situation (Gopal et al., 2020; Petterson, 2018; Gallardo-Fernández and Saunders, 2018). Interviewees stressed the want of their “*propias cosas*” [their own things] such as houses and cars to call their own.

When Marta and I conducted six interviews with either people she or her mother personally knew, many of them didn’t recognize her at first when they opened the door to her calls “*Alooo*” but after careful assessments of her face (a lot of squinting) and her introductions

of herself and me, they remembered and graciously let us in for a short interview. Upon arriving at the first house, I immediately changed my interview questions before even bothering to ask them. Questions largely centered around hobbies and fun activities clearly needed to go, the *campo* represented a different economic situation entirely. While I thought one question regarding what you do in your free time was necessary, I knew upon my arrival that this could not be the main focus of my interviews. Just from walking into the first home and seeing how the family lived made me realize these women only have time to work, many were elderly, and had many family members to care for and support. Animals outside, kids inside, stove tops boiling various types of food, dressed in clothes they either fashioned themselves or have owned for many years—it was not my place to ask if they played *fútbol*, went out to the movies, or even to a bar with friends in their free time. The main matron of the first household I visited (age 79) limped along slowly, smiled with no teeth, and kept a tidy, organized house that smelled quite good...a pot of *casuela* perhaps. It was not my place to try and understand her well-being from my own perspective of wellbeing. A privileged person such as myself sees food and shelter as a given and what contributes to my well-being and happiness, being active and going out with friends for no purpose other than my physical and mental health, had no place here. Survival for this woman and now I suppose many of the others in Estaquilla, was not a given, they must make it themselves, build from the ground up, construct everything with their own hands, from the animals and crops they maintain to the very house they helped build with their other family members. The friends are found in the sea, the family in the home, and the alcohol in the apples they grow themselves in the farm outback next to the free roaming chickens.

And so, many of the women gave similar answers to my questions. They all considered themselves *recolectoras* of shore species and seaweed and described their harvesting process as

collecting, drying, and preparing harvested species for sale in the *bodega* [cellar] close to both the shore and their houses. They work in all seasons and once or twice a day depending on the hours of low tide. One woman, aged 72, works both shifts (day and night) and I asked: “Don't you ever get tired?” and she responded: “*Nunca*” [never]. Most of them grew up on the beach and worked a majority of their lives as *recolectoras*. When I asked if they liked their jobs, they all said yes and when I asked why, they all responded with sentences like: “it's all I know” and “this is my only option.” I asked if they enjoy free time with friends and family. Most of them agreed with having friends at work and spending time with family at home, but as they reiterated, free time doesn't really exist in subsistence livelihoods. They are either working in the sea or chores in the home: cleaning, cooking, and caring for the children. They work odd jobs to provide additional income such as growing vegetables to sell to community members, raising sheep, cows, chickens, and selling meat and eggs to local vendors. If not that then most of them make *chombas* [Chilote sweaters], and warm weather clothes they knit themselves from the very sheep they raise. Marta pointed out to me a large container outside of one of the woman's houses that housed a sheep wool and water mixture describing it as the initial process.



One of my research assistants demonstrates *oveja* wool soaking in water to eventually be knitted into *chombas*, *calcitinas* [socks], or other wearable items either for the household or for sale to interested buyers in and outside the community.

Interviewee 38 below sells succulent plants that she arranges in wooden boxes in her free time to make extra money on the side to supplement a precarious subsistence diving career of that of her husband. During a conversation with interviewee 39 (age 80) and her husband, they discussed the instability of working in the sea and therefore defended their decisions to work multiple jobs with little to no freetime. They are now both retired, but that doesn't stop her from selling food such as homemade empanadas outside of her shack-like shed near their house. This not only provides her with supplemental income, but also aids the community indirectly because they can buy food from her for cheaper than other restaurants and food vendors in town.





Interviewee 38 with her boxed succulents. I bought one for Lola.

RA: She didn't work long in the *mariscos* [seafood].

HU: It wasn't stable.

39: But yes I did this work.

RA: She worked in seafood. For example, the clam that we saw just now...and the *alga*.

39: Everything on the beach... of course. And a lot of other things, then we started a business and I dedicated myself to that. After all that happened, because he [her husband] got sick and had an operation, we had a big truck.

HU: We made crates, conversale.

39: Also that big shed you see there, that was a small industry we had. We used to make crates for *mariscos*, they used to be sold in crates.

HU: For packing *mariscos*. We did many things, many kinds of work.

39: Many things, many things. Because none of us had, none of us were professionals. We were as this is called, “*braceros*” [migrant workers].

HU: When we first got married I worked 8 years in construction. I was also a construction instructor.

39: Construction of cement works, of tiles, over there.

HU: We did that in Argentina, but then when we came back we started working at sea.

J: And when you are not working, what do you do?

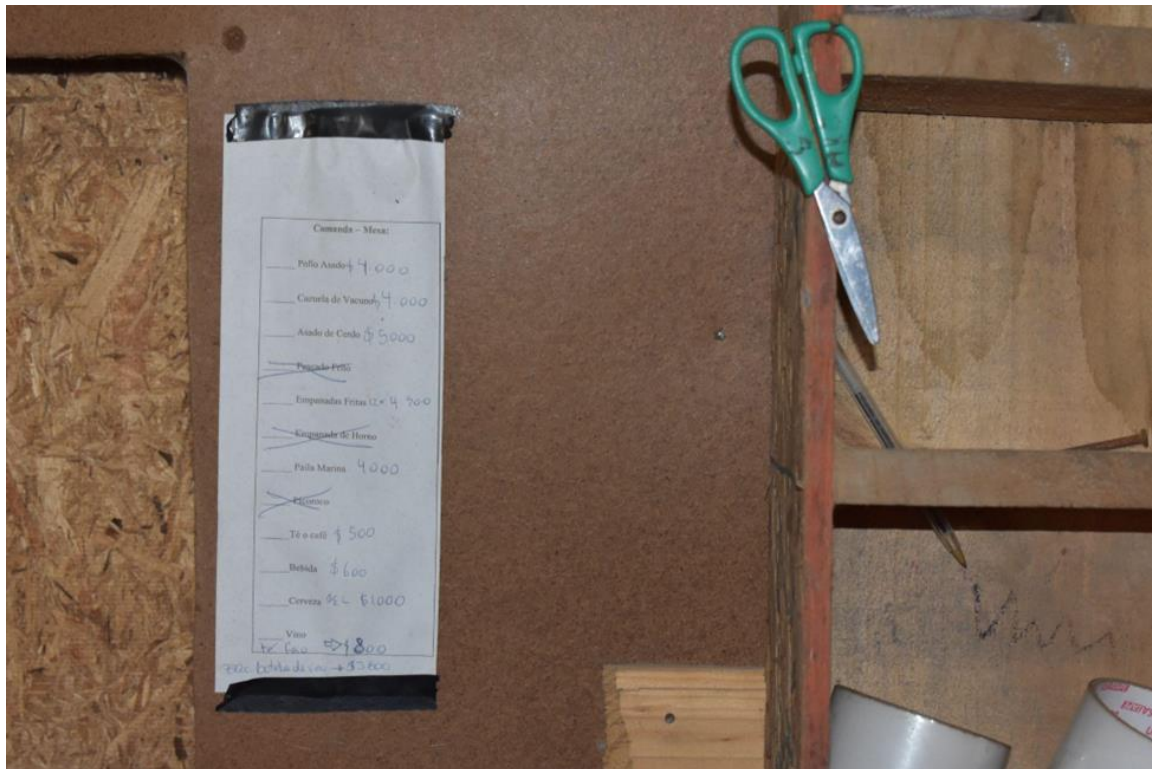
39: Well, we didn't lack what to do, because I was a woman who worked and made bread sometimes to sell, I made things to sell, *rosas* [fried artisanal doughnuts].

Whatever I could make and it all sold, while he was working on something else.

RA: But when he wasn't working, in his free time, what little free time he had, what did you do?

39: We almost never had free time.

HU: We set up a business and we were always there.



The list of food items interviewee 39 sells outside of her shed that sits next to her house.





Interviewee 39 demonstrating her ability to still chop wood.



Interviewee 39 and her husband stand, proud of their backyard plants and blooming flowers.





A recolectora turned vendedora's (interviewee 27) signs in Estaquilla. She sells empanadas and various other types of food that include the seafood she and others in the community harvest.

Marta gave me *pan con churrasco* (bread with tiny pieces of pork) that Leo made. And she talked more about how she used to like her 20 days on, 20 days off schedule but not anymore because she wants to be able to spend more time with family including Pablito. Instead, she'd like to work independently like Leo because he gets called and asked to work and can say yes or no depending on his schedule for the day. A month or so later her and her husband would work in their own company as independent divers, their own bosses.

#### *4.5 Discrimination in the Workplace*

Marta, talked openly about the discrimination women face in the male-dominated field of diving. Despite the often greater quality of work and consistency she provides than many of her male peers, she is not treated with respect and receives lower pay and less opportunity to work than the men. She talked more about the situation in which she got fired. The fight with her boss was about him wanting her to do a more dangerous job for the same amount of pay, "men get paid way more for the job he wants me to do." Her story of the day is as follows. She has been working in aquaculture for 8 years, the first 3 to 4 was only "calling and calling and calling" trying to find work. Employers would answer with responses like, "Do you know how to work?" and "Are you sure you can?" and "Sorry we are full." But with persistence, she was able to find work and then created a *sindicato* [diver union] for women to do the same. Her *sindicato* is made up of 52 women who have periodic meetings about their health, needs, and wage inequality. The group sends the novice divers notices for open positions and Marta—their unofficial mentor—provides advice on how to find steady work just as she has managed to do—up until the other day when she had a disagreement with her boss.

She is often frustrated with her boss because he never provides positive feedback and treats the men much better than the women, even though some of the men are bad workers. This isn't unique to her boss but treatment such as this is common across aquaculture industries. For independent dive work the men always get called first and if they are not available, then women will get called. Marta says: "We are working in a man's job...Leo gets calls all the time for independent work but I hardly ever." It doesn't matter if some of the women are better workers than some of the men, they are only called if all the men are not available for work.

We packed up in pursuit of conducting interviews with women in Estaquilla. As we passed by her father's grave, she made the catholic sign of the cross and continued talking about her life and how her mother made her and her siblings independent, strong, and self-sufficient. She lamented being fired from her stable job saying, "I don't know if I love aquaculture, but I love to dive." And further explained how she would like to do all the different commercial diving positions available such as welding. She's an independent, self-sufficient, and autonomous woman who loves to learn and try new things but her "problems with bosses" are consistent barriers to those objectives.

### *El jefe*

Before the party of Pablito, her one year old son

Marta came back from a meeting

With her boss

Crying in Spanish

To her sister and *marido*

I sat in the corner waiting to console her

But still not knowing what for

She later sits down with me  
And explains her story:  
Long days, long nights  
Calling and calling and calling  
You have to fight.  
“It’s a man’s job.  
My first 3-4 years of working in aquaculture  
Was only calling...  
And the bosses would say no,  
We are full...  
So I created a women’s *sindicato*”  
To notify other struggling women  
When positions opened up  
And to voice their concerns  
Both of the dangers of diving  
And health effects  
That differentially bereave women

“Now after 8 years I have moved up.  
I don’t know why but I do.”  
Probably because you’re a hard worker.  
She responds: “Yes I think that’s why.  
I am the best worker my boss has.  
But I hate him.  
Most of the time.”  
And this time?

The fighting caused a firing

What did you fight about?

“He treats all the men so well

Pays the men more than us

Even though they are bad workers

And I am a good worker,

He continues to put me down.”

“And this time he asked me to

Work a different diving job

One that is more dangerous.”

She refused because

He refused to pay her more.

Ahh a woman

To know her self-worth...

Sometimes it takes 8 years or

More.

Discrimination in the workforce is not an isolated circumstance but the common narrative shared by many women working in male-dominated industries such as that of commercial diving. In a conversation between Nicola (interviewee 20) and a male artisanal diver (Interviewee 22), they discussed their experiences and observations regarding the *machismo* male culture that exists as a cultural trend in Chile and especially in sea related work:

20: He [referring to any male co-worker] may disrespect you or he thinks that you want something more and that is not the case. As a woman you go to work, because you have children, because you have a family. But there are men who don't understand that and think women are there to *provocarlos* [provoke them]....

22: Or they play nice.

20: Of course. When you work as a woman, you don't go to other women for help, you go to the men. There is still machismo in Chile with respect to work. And we women who work at sea are at a disadvantage. If a man drinks, or arrives drunk or doesn't show up for work, it doesn't matter. They call him back. If I, as a woman, do the same, never again (Interviewee 20).

One young woman professional age 18 (Interviewee 29) seeking a position in the commercial aquaculture industry expressed similar grief regarding the *machismo* culture that so pervades all aspects of daily life in and out of the workplace. Interviewee 29 talked about the discrimination endured from male classmates. However, when I asked her if she had any difficulties or challenges she said no. Her mother spoke up and disagreed, reminding her the definition of *desafíos* and provided some examples she currently struggles with and possible future ones since *salmoneras* prefer to hire men.

M= Mother of interviewee 29

29: One day when I was practicing with my classmates, a boy asked me why I was there if I couldn't reach the curtains of some tanks. And I insulted him.

M: She insulted him...*Ándate a la chucha. Sí, vete a la mierda.* [Fuck you. Yes, fuck you.]

J: Do you have challenges in front of you?

29: No.

M: Challenges, like... Are there differences between you and your classmates? Maybe because they're men, they're going to find jobs a lot easier.

29: Oh, *claro* [right]. *Si, po*. They will find more. Because companies give jobs to men. More so at sea.

M: That is a challenge.

29: You have to live with men only. So, it is more difficult to find, but not as difficult as before.

Now it is easier to get a job at sea.

J: But companies prefer men?

M: Men.

RA: Men. Yes, so the challenge is for her to find a job.

J: *Claro*.

RA: Stable.

M: Be hired.

RA: In a company.

J: Yes, of course.

RA: That a company wants her.

M: To work.

### Challenges:

Do you have challenges?

No.

Challenges mean...

The *salmoneras* prefer men.

Men?

Men.

I mean...

Men,

To work.



Even though women are increasingly empowered in the workforce and are becoming more economically independent, they face challenges and barriers in the workplace. For example, women are discriminated against by men in the workplace due to norms and cultural customs that regard women as inferior and therefore limit their positions within fisheries (FAO, 2006; Porter, 2006; Okali and Holvoet, 2007; Weeratunge et al., 2010; James et al., 2021; Neis, 2013; Han, 2012). Despite their active roles in fisheries, women receive on average earn an estimated 200 USD per month less than men for the same type of work and have reduced access to resources to perform job-related tasks (Ramírez and Ruben, 2015; Gopal et al., 2020; Nishchith 2001; Weeratunge et al., 2010). Additionally, women are often not included in wage-labor statistics, due to cultural ideologies that seek to limit their participation in decision-making processes (James et al., 2021; Solano et al., 2021). Women have a “high capacity for collaboration, solidarity, and conflict resolution” and neglecting their participation in management according to FAO (2016) results in a decrease in socio-economic potential in terms of production, income, and well-being of communities (Solano et al., 2021; James et al., 2021). The need for policies concerning equality and equal distribution of pay among all individuals regardless of their gender and to be included in managerial roles is not only imperative for women’s well-being but for that of the fishing industries (Neis et al., 2013; Ramírez and Ruben, 2015; Gopal et al., 2020; James et al., 2021). Without addressing women’s needs, their welfare, and overall well-being, the sustainability of small-scale fishing and management is also threatened. Within this context, where women may have both positive and negative associations with changes to the environment and economy, it is essential to examine women’s subjective well-being across generations to see what affects their desired ways of life and the actions they are taking to obtain those ways of life.

Discrimination against females in sea related work as well as other heavily dominated male roles such as that of divers was a frequently discussed subject among those women working in the commercial *salomoneras*. In a few of my interviewees' cases, they were able to change the mentality of some of the men they have worked alongside such as in interviewee 41; in other cases such as that of interviewee 15, they were less fortunate and sought work and respect elsewhere.

## **Chapter 5: Feminist Perspectives**

*Arto po'* ("Conseguimos todo con arto esfuerzo" [We achieved everything with a lot of effort] Interviewee 39).

### *5.1 A Fortitude of Firsts*

Featured here: one of the first women to hold a managerial position in the Chilean aquaculture industry, the first woman *conductor para los barcos* [ship captain] in Chile, and the first licensed woman diver in Chile.

#### Mussel aquaculture manager:

"Everybody was male, in my class there were very few women. We were... I don't know, 10% women. We realized that it was difficult to enter the world of work with so many men. But then *uno sigue* [one goes on], and the world is changing too, so there we are haha... macho men... because they don't want women to join because of this gender difference" (Interviewee 12).

#### Ship captain:

20: There are ferries, there are passenger cruise ships, there are different types of ships. But there had never been a woman with my job on an oil tanker, *bencina* [benzine] *para alimentar* [to feed those big ships] there were no women. I was the first one.

J: In all of Chile?

20: Yes, I was the first. I said: 'I want to be there' and I walked a lot looking for work. The company told me: 'No. We don't work with women' and so did many companies. I went to Valparaíso for a week to look for work. I had a job, but I didn't want that job anymore, I wanted another job. And I went and walked: 'Can I work?' 'No, we don't work with women.' Another one: 'Can I work?' 'No, we don't work with women' and the last one, when I had gone through all of them, the last one said: 'Yes, we want to work with you' and I said: 'Really?', 'Yes.' I was short of courses, and they told me: 'Don't worry, we'll pay for those courses.' I was very happy. ...

20: Sometimes you need to not give up when they tell you 'no.' You go on and no. You go on and no. And somebody is going to say: 'Yes, I believe in you.' It happens. You look for the opportunities. Opportunities rarely come to you. And when they come, you take them. But if they're not there, you look for them. I think I made history. Somewhere they're going to say: 'She was here working and she was better than the men.' The bosses said I was better than my co-workers, than the men. The men messed up, they didn't work...they worked rough, brute force, strength. I worked here. [taps her head]

J: With the mind.

20: Yes, then you see what the rest don't see. And you can do more things. On a ship I didn't have the strength to carry things. [But] there was a forklift...you have to handle it.

#### Commercial diver:

"If the man sees a woman in this field, because it is a man's field, the man makes fun of you [they say] 'you are not for this...¿Cómo una mujer? [how, a woman?]' (Interviewee 41).

I found women to exist within a model of actions that were feminist and anti-capitalist by nature but were not semantically referred to as such. Their efforts are adaptive responses to globalization, capitalism, and climate change, necessary to support their families and

communities. Likewise, environmental and sustainable movements to combat ocean pollution and contamination were effective in maintaining family and community livelihoods dependent on the sea. Han (2012) documented Chilean women engaging in an economy of care through *pollas* or informal “rotating neighborhood credit associations” in which women pool together and share funds. Luis Razeto’s *economía de solidaridad* [economy of solidarity] highlights the “alternative value system” as “inherent in the way that the poor seek to face their problems” (Razeto, 1991; Han, 2012). I argue cooperative behaviors exist outside an economic context as well. For example, interviewee 24 brings food to elderly women who persist outside a capitalist model of benefits and care only awarded from a lifetime of formal wage labor—a largely understudied phenomenon as caretaking children migrate out of the countryside in search of wage labor positions.

Cara (Interviewee 41) walked into the coffee shop talking on the phone and left talking on the phone. Self-assured, consistent, and busy. She talked similarly about her love of the work. She is one of the first women divers to work commercially and one of the oldest at age 52. She loves the thrill and adrenaline of being a diver and she talked about her many hobbies including her latest: building her own kitchen table. I reflected on the many array of activities and abilities of other divers I interviewed and asked: “Do you think it is Chilean women or the *buceo* [diving] culture to be able to build their own houses, construct their own furniture, and have the ability to do many different things?” She replied: “I think it is the culture of women divers because we always need to be doing something.” I thought of Marta, who along with her husband, also built their house, an extension, and an additional house next to the sea where they plan to retire. Cara likewise enjoys the adrenaline, challenge, adventure, and stimulation of it all, and she values the

community she is a part of. Before she only worked with *hombres* [men], now she feels there is a community of women divers she can share her experiences with.

### La Pionera

I first started diving with my family

My dad and three brothers

They are *buzos*

We live

*La vida bonita*

*Quieta*

*Me gustó esa profesión porque*

*Es diferente*

*Igual tiene riesgo*

*Igual*

*Adrenalina*

I can't sit still

It's the mentality of the diver

After some time I started diving in the

*Salmoneras*

Never far away places;

Nearby in Puerto Montt

*Uno extraña mucho a la familia*

One misses friends too

*Siempre buscaba una colega, una amiga*

*Puras hombres*

Only men

*Yo era la única mujer*

The first

*Fui como pionera*

The man's *rubro*

The *machista*

The men will ridicule a woman

Take pride in her weakness

*Hasta que te ven*

*Y saben que sabes hacer...*

*Hacer el trabajo*

*Igual que ellos*

*Y ahí cambian*

*Cambian total*

When I am the supervisor

Their boss

I tell them:

*Vengo a cuidarlos*

Then they respect me,

Look at me seriously,

Then they protect me

From what the other men say

*Y después se consideran como familia*

She told me:

I'm sorry my daughter's secretary is calling

I have to go but

We can meet again

*Podríamos juntarnos*

*Podríamos ir para*

*Comer un poco de carne,*

*a tomar su vinito,*

*su cerveza,*

*conversamos,*

*nos tomamos unas copas*

*Y ahí tiene todos sus trajes ordenados*

*Por acá te esperamos para ir a bucear*

There we wait for you

*Puros amigas*

Only friends

My last month in Chile, I had plans to meet her again, to learn to dive, and share *comida rica* [delicious food] with her and her friends. I was unable to since I came home early from unforeseen circumstances that required knee surgery. I was disappointed, but never forgot the message she sent me: *Por acá te esperamos para ir a bucear* [Here, we wait for you to dive], her and her diving sisters.

*La Pionera*, Cara's experience is reminiscent of other labor contexts where historically extractive jobs are typically considered to be "masculine" Mueller (2021). However, in communities specializing in natural resource extraction, women take on more "masculine" roles and careers in wage labor positions to supplement income as men of the household struggle to



provide for their families. This may be due to the realization that families are unable to support themselves off one source of income alone (Ebel, 2018), therefore requiring women to take on multiple roles including joining the workforce in wage labor type positions (Endter-Wada and Keenan, 2005). In this way, the need to adapt and diversify livelihoods may differentially affect women. In addition to providing for their families in wage labor positions, women are also expected to manage household duties (Frangoudes and Gerrard, 2018; James et al., 2021). Trade-offs may exist as one field demands more of an individual's time and energy over another (Britton, 2012). This is particularly consistent for women as they are expected to consider the household and familial needs as well as providing a means to support themselves and/or their families in income earning positions (Britton, 2012; Coulthard and Britton, 2015; Frangoudes and Gerrard, 2018; Pettersen, 2000). For example, in Norway, women in fishing families are often expected to assist their husbands in family fishing operations, and in addition, many women have also sought careers outside of fishing to provide supplemental wages or provide the primary source of income to support their families (Pettersen, 2018; Gerrard, 2017; Pettersen and Alsos, 2007, Wiborg, 1997). Women in fishing-related careers not only raise their children and take care of the household, but they often repair their husbands fishing gear, participate or lead fish processing, and manage financial capital and investments for the monetary well-being of their families (Solano et al., 2021). In addition, they play active roles in the community, monitoring and patrolling the conservation of resources (Solano et al., 2021). Additional roles women must take do not come without cost. Marks (2012), describes a shrimper's wife as having trouble balancing duties of supporting her husband and taking care of her children and household responsibilities while also maintaining social connections. By having to take care of both the

household and work another job to support their families, women may have less time for social interaction and freedom to pursue activities outside of their daily duties.



Marta buckles Pablito into his carseat.

Changes in cultural and social ways of life caused by transforming economic and political contexts have differentially impacted women. In communities dependent upon marine resources, the globalization and commodification of fisheries has resulted in a power imbalance with industries largely controlled by a few, powerful, elites (Neis, 2005; Weeratunge et al., 2010). Women may be differentially impacted by resource exploitation and large corporation extraction for two reasons: (1) their lifestyle and roles change as a result of the changing economic climate and, (2) they are expected to take on multiple roles (Neis et al., 2013).

Han (2012) notes: “Feminist scholars of Chile have extensively elaborated how reliance on women’s roles in reproduction and domestic labor has been a central aspect of imaginations

of political community since the emergence of the [neo] liberal Chilean state and throughout dictatorship.” Federici (2019) calls it: “invisible labor.”



Marta and Pablito. Women often work full time jobs while being the primary caregiver.

### 5.2 They Don't Serve Us

I came home after a full day of *fútbol* and eating *curanto* (a mix of *mariscos*, *milcoa*, *papas*, *salchichas*), *ceviche*, *pan*, *merkin*, etc. in Puerto Montt, and skating in Puerto Varas to a very talkative Patty (my friend Valencio's grandmother and my new housemate). And just as naturally as I walked in the door, she naturally started talking about her life and how women's lives have since changed. Similar to Marta, she has participated in invisible labor. She discussed how in the past women didn't marry for love, they married to survive, they married men with jobs to support themselves and their families. Their lives were lived for others—for the husband and their children. As a young woman, Patty worked and went to school and took care of the

children all on her own. Her husband also worked but offered no support or help in the house; not with chores, nor in taking care of their two daughters—normal for the times. Women’s unpaid labor went unnoticed, invisible yet necessary to the survival of capitalism—necessary to the functioning of a society and an economic world that depends on such “invisible work” women provide (Federici, 2019). The trend continues today. Women’s work largely still goes unnoticed, and is taken for granted until their absence is present. However, nowadays it is possible to be economically independent despite divorce. It is now possible to survive without a man. And that’s just what Patty and her two daughters did. Now all three of them are divorced, as Patty said: “*ellos no sirven*” the men were useless to the three. Nowadays she added you can divorce whereas before it was not possible. I asked why she thinks that’s the case, because of access to jobs? “Yes, I think so.” Increased opportunities for women allow for their financial independence—they can support themselves alone, they can support their children without the man, they can garner freedom. She looked at me and said: “I have always had a passion for learning, for traveling, for experiencing the world, but I was unable to as a young woman because of my responsibilities in the home.” She found pleasure in my abilities to do what she could not. I told her, I will study and travel as much as I can for her.



Patty.

The patriarchal systems of Chile's core values of male dominance (Han, 2012) impose traditional social roles: men work outside, women inside; while inadvertently weakening others such as the sexual contract that historically placed men in a position of power over that of women which was upheld by law. The exclusion of women in the workforce due to social and political contracts, fails to recognize the negative livelihood and well-being impacts on women both in terms of a decrease in autonomy and increase in economic stress and financial insecurity (Weeratunge et al., 2010). The reproduction of women's disempowerment may be transgenerational and reproduced as a contingency of social norm conformation (Kabeer, 1999). Despite social norm discrimination, women are active in multiple outside roles through the harnessing of their purported lack of agency, they make decisions at the interface of being told not to—a common narrative of my interviewees based in this region of Chile.



Juliana, interviewee 43, featured in the beginning section: **A Story to Start** was also confined to housework and the rearing of her children. However, when her abusive, *machista* husband was not providing enough food through his subsistence fishing practices, she secretly worked outside of the house making traditional food such as empanadas and selling them on the street to earn enough money to feed her hungry family. Her story is as follows:

"...in all areas there has been machismo, today Chilean women have had to fight and deal with machismo. *Osea* machismo and apart from that, selfishness more than anything else. The fact that nowadays men have to be equitable because nowadays women are no longer "*paradas de ellos*" [slang for "do what they say"] that you have to cook, you have to worry about the children. Not nowadays, because women have evolved with their rights and duties, we have evolved a lot, because if you realize that women today study, it is no longer an impediment for them to be married and not be able to study, as it used to be. So this evolution has been, I believe, the greatest and the strongest for women. Allowing herself to value herself. To value herself as a woman, that is, to give added value to women in artisanal fishing, because if you notice, there are fishing unions today with only women."

...

"Before, unfortunately, my husband was not one of those who supported me to work, he was a *machista*. He always said no to fishing, but later I convinced him because later I worked with him "*en la pega*" [slang for "in the job"]. But I would sit next to him, because if I told him I was going to work alone, he wouldn't let me. I also had to accept it because fishing is very insecure, for example, there are days when you can fish and there are days when you can't" (Interviewee 43).

GD= Granddaughter of interviewee 43

GD: And what is being *machista*?

43: Machismo means that a man is selfish, and he doesn't let you go out, he doesn't let you grow,

he doesn't let you develop.

GD: I don't understand you.

43: You are too *chiquitita* [young/small girl] to understand. That is why you have to observe and listen, nothing else. Because even if we explain it to you, you will not understand because you are too small.

GD: Grandma, my birthday is two months away.

43: *El hecho* [the fact] that you turn 6 years old, 7, 8 years old...

GD: 8 years *po'* abuela, I am 7 [now].

43: *El hecho* that you are 8 years old, you are not an adult.

GD: I already know how babies are made. So I'm old enough to understand.

...

J: Are there other changes that you've seen in your life?

43: Yes *pues* [well]...The biggest change is that when women entered into fishing, they started to be independent, to earn their *lucas* [money], to sell their products, to create, to be creative with their products.

43: But not impossible as I tell many women. Because there are women who say: 'oh my husband...' And I tell them to convince him. And all this has been part of a dialogue *no más* [no more].

J: But now there is less machismo?

43: Now it is less, as I said, women today, the fact that they have a corporation, the fact that they have a union. Women can *sacar* their projects, they can present their first project.

J: Basically the culture is still machismo but women are doing many things?

43: Yes, for example, before you were waiting for the man to have a male union and if he wanted to, the woman was considered, if not, no. Today no, today women are doing a lot of things. Today women have their own union, that is, *el hecho* that women could group together and then they promised to get their legal status as a union.

GD: I am bored.

43: *No, aquí no corre el aburrimiento* [No, there is no boredom here].

GD: Then what do I do?

43: You have to get used to waiting, just sit there.

GD: No, I don't get used to waiting.

43: Then you have to stay locked up at home.

GD: *Mejor* [Better].

...

J: And how many daughters or sons do you have?

43: I have two female daughters and one male son, I have three in total...And I have seven grandchildren.

GD: Grandma you didn't tell me you had children. *Yo no sabía* [I didn't know].

43: *Usted piola* [slang for "you quiet"] I told you to be *tranqui*.

...

43: Always look ahead. Having a clear vision of what you want, you always come out ahead.

There is a downhill and then an uphill.

J: Yes there are little downs.

43: Yes, for example, I will tell you, I got married when I was 15-16 years old. My husband was a chauvinist, a womanizer, a drinker, violent. But look at the violence and his *machismo*, I said...

'Well, that's the way it is.' But I was happy watching my children. Watching them grow, watching them laugh. That they lacked nothing, even though they were very hungry because sometimes we [caught] fish and sometimes not.

...

And I remember one day I had no bread, I had just a few slices. And I said, if I eat a slice of bread, one of my children *va a faltar* [will go without]. But what I did have at my table was tears and tears because I had nothing, nothing, nothing. Do you know what it is like to have nothing to



eat? All I said was: 'My God, give me wisdom to know how to face this situation. I want to grow, I don't want to starve of hunger.' And suddenly I started to do things, to knit, to make things with fabric. I used to [take] courses behind my husband's back so he wouldn't know what I was doing, *imagine* [imagine]. And I made my things in fabric and I started to sell them. I made my paintings, I started to sell them. I sold all my weavings. And I said, sometimes you die of starvation because of sheer laziness. For not daring [to try], and when my husband went fishing sometimes he did very badly, but I had everything in the house, and he said: 'But how?' He thought that I had someone who was helping me and I told him: 'No.' Then I showed him everything I did. This is my work, I told him. Flowers, bridal bouquets for the first communion, which used to be done before. Because all this was done before.

...

### Sisters & Brothers

If there was a day in which we could get up  
From our place at the kitchen table  
Not to clear the plates  
Not to put the yellow gloves on for washing  
But to go out back  
Tend to the *ovejás*  
Chop the wood  
Crack jokes by the fire  
Like a bunch of freezing  
Sisters  
Then I think we would

...

43: We disappeared as artisans. Imagine before, you used to knit, buy wool and fabrics. Not today, today it is more expensive to buy wool than to buy a sweater.

J: Is it more important to buy things from women in the street and vendors in the street than from big companies because it helps the economy, it helps women?

43: Yes, it helps women to get ahead and to have their independence, because this way you have your independence and you are not asking for it.

J: And usually the quality of the products is much better too.

43: Yes, it is much better, much better.

...

J: Do you want something else in your life?

43: Let's see, what I want in my life is to become a great entrepreneur. I am already putting my story together, I am more passive, I am going slowly as things are happening. Yes, that all women, for example those who are stagnant today, get out of their stagnation, I always tell women: 'We women...' I remember a saying that was made some time ago in Sernam: 'Chile has the strength of a woman.' And I said: '*Chile siempre fue fuerza de mujer* [Chile has always been a woman's strength]' because a drunk man...who picks him up? A woman. A fallen man...who picks him up? A woman.

### The care of a woman

There is no greater care than that of a woman

Is it just in their nature to...

Run a bath for the tired friend?

Scrub the feet of a dirty child?

Wipe clean the lenses of an elderly man?

Hold the hand of an in pain patient?

Feed the forgotten diver?

I think it is in a woman's nature

Born and bred of necessity

Therein lies the care

Transformed out of pure air

While Bacigalupo (2013) suggests myths and superstitions among Indigenous people are common in Chile's sea-fearing history, I received little input from my interviewees regarding possible superstitious rituals associated with dangerous seawork such as that of diving.

Sexual myths in Chile; however, are in concert with Siason's (2001) idea of women bringing "negative energy" and "bad luck" to fisheries in the Philippines. Interviewee 43 described male fishers blaming her for killing the sea. She responded how if she were unlucky she wouldn't be a mother.

"And one fished the same way. For example, when I went to Cochamó with my husband, I went to throw nets and *róbalos* [species of fish] would come out.... it was really funny because the others didn't catch many *róbalos* and we were covered from one end to the other and when I arrived they would say 'that woman is coming to kill the sea, we are not going to catch *ninguna wea* [slang for not a thing] again today partner' and I would tell them 'gentleman, don't be like that, we women are not unlucky, otherwise we wouldn't be mothers.'

...

I have always been involved in organizations that fight for women to have their space, to have their rights. And I have been involved in two areas, soccer, which today there is already a women's soccer association and artisanal fishing, which today there are many groups. Today for example we have a corporation that was very difficult to have, to create an artisanal fishing corporation, with women shore workers, with women who worked in fishing, others who work in diving. Diving is such a risky job that it should not stop women, but it is risky. And it is just that it is not reported, but there are women who work in diving. And if you go further, for example to Carismati, there are a lot of women" (Interviewee 43).

*Uno puede sobrevivir o uno puede morir*

Sugar packets line

Your coffee

And your granddaughter

Gives me the biggest toothy smile

Gangly from growth

I sink with it

Drop into your unromanticized

Version of the past

You had to go behind your husband's back

To provide for your family

The violence, the denigration, the *machista*

Made it less his

And all yours

Your granddaughter: "What's *machista*?"

You explain with the knowledge of it all

And she: "I still don't get it...I'm bored"

And you: "You're too young to understand"

"Quiet child"

Or you'll be exposed to the

Bloody truths of a past

In which hunger struck me

"There is no boredom here"

This is life and death

*Uno puede sobrevivir o uno puede morir*

A question of do or die

And I...

Chose the former

Women of older generations commonly experienced husband and partner domestic abuse and violence. Nicola (rough translation) noted: “Sometimes inside the home could be more dangerous than on the street.” She recounted the norm of sexual abuse among children by “trusted” older male neighbors, friends, and family members and how her and her siblings narrowly escaped a suspect encounter that took place in their own house. A majority of my interviewees who are members of the older generation reported common experiences of domestic abuse and sexual violence, while the younger generations commented on no gender violence during current times.

I thought back to my understanding of violence against women during colonization. Men would beat their submissive wives because they were financially and legally bound to their husbands (Socolow, 2015). Asking for a divorce was in par with a death sentence—given men could dishonestly accuse their wives of adultery (punishable by death or prison) or women, prohibited to work socially and by law, may end up homeless and starving due to a lack of income (Socolow, 2015). I reflected: could recent globalization’s acceptance of women in the workforce and their newly financial independence be a factor of a reduction in partner dependence and therefore gender violence?

Women employed by aquaculture industries, where they are living on large ships for extended periods of time with male laborers, mentioned prohibited drinking and fighting between men, but no mention of targeted gender violence against them or any of the other women. The women I interviewed may have biased my findings. My interviewees were largely, strong, independent females. If their male co-workers had not immediately learned their place in relation to the women I interviewed, they eventually did.

Despite decades of the impacts of a patriarchal society, women seek, in their own ways, “freedom of choice and action,” a domain of well-being described by McGregor et al. (2015). Juliana is not filled with emotions that sit and fester but transform, they are reactionary. She, like many of my interviewees, was a feminist before the word was born and sometimes without calling themselves one. Each and every one, an activist without claiming the power of one.

Simultaneously, back in Estaquilla, a woman works silently in the garden, in the sea. She has many talents, but she’d never say so; many accomplishments, but she never talks about them. Roma is humble and stoic, *graciosa* and kind, as she makes food for the *pobres* [poor] because she believes no one should be left behind. When her daughters ask where she is and what she’s doing, Roma doesn’t mention her invisible efforts because every bone in her body is hardworking and giving. She doesn’t think to extoll her efforts.

She does talk about her life occasionally, and if you’re lucky and happen to be listening at the right time and have an ear tuned for her dialect of Spanish, then you might learn something interesting about her and the memories she has. When I was lucky, listening intently, and grasping the context, I learned about how her boat capsized once, causing her and her crew to have to swim for hours back to shore. The difference between her and her crew was that Roma was several months pregnant at the time of claiming a space in an originally deemed “male” environment. Gender roles are not necessarily reversed in her household (because she also does the majority of the cooking and cleaning, living alone most of the time) but gender roles are not accepted either. Her boyfriend cooks *almuerzo* [lunch] while she feeds the *chanchos* [pigs] and works on her wooden bedframe in the workshop. Romita comes in to have her drill fixed for her wood project and hands it over, not to the man of the house, but to her mother and sister. Nicola’s strong hands were the ones to recover the drill’s functioning.

### 5.3 *They Do Serve Us*

Interviewee 28 discussed her relationship with men in her life has always been culturally opposite. She learned from her mother how a man is supposed to treat her, how he should serve her.

#### Caught between the clouds and the sun

The grayness

That holds the *campo*

Drops and peaks

Like the tides you're accustomed to

Like the tides *recolectoras* are 30 plus years

Used to

But the atmosphere isn't all bleak

You come to meet

Nicola and I

With your arms drawn in

To accompany the sweater

But when we're inside again

The arms jet out

Like their first sunrise

You take us into

Your weathered arms

Your *flaca* shape

Talking a mile a minute

So much so that

I forget everything's



Measured in kilometers here

*“Quieren té... azúcar...?”*

I want to take nothing from you

But figured I’d be rude not to

The space inside is warmer

Bright blue holds it

And Jesus hangs upon it

As do dolls

And trinkets

You tell me of your illness...

Celiacs disease

You tell me of your tactics...

*Milcoa*

...of your husband...

Subservient

As it should be

“I learned it

from my mother”

“I believe learning always starts

In the home

with the mother”

My legs are numb now

For sitting so long

I’m not accustomed

To not moving  
And you're not accustomed  
To guests staying for  
Such a short period of time  
So I don't leave  
The space may reject me  
If I  
Make headway to the door  
The sunrises  
The happiness  
May be no more

So we stay  
And listen to your tune  
How it rings to the moon  
Controls the tides  
That oh so shine  
In your home  
With that sunrise  
In which you simply imply  
All that is mine  
Is surely everyone else's  
A sentiment  
I am surely unaccustomed to



Interviewee 28 in her house, where our interview took place. The poem: “Caught between the clouds and the sun” was written based on our conversation.

28: I can't stand it, at least I can't stand anyone raising their voice to me. I have a partner. The issues are, in a couple, the woman is not to be a servant. And we say that women are not to be servants. The woman is not property, she is not property of the couple.

...

Because my mother would say that a woman is for a man to love her, to respect her. That is the teaching I got from my parents.

...

My mom and dad were an exemplary couple. United. My dad never raised his voice to my mom. My dad [treated] my mom like a queen because he got up early in the morning. He would bring my mom breakfast in bed.

J: That's rare?

RA: That's very *raro* [rare]. A very good life because for the age that she is, imagine the years that went by, the age of her parents. [During] that time it was very, very strange for a man to cook or take care of the woman.

J: *Claro*.

RA: It was all reversed. It was very *macho*. The woman in the house with the children, work and work and work. And the man, after work, nap, TV.

28: After work, he would lie down.

RA: *Siesta*.

J: And why is that the case?

28: I think it goes back to how moms educate their sons. Most moms say: 'No, because he's a man, he doesn't cook.'

#### *5.4 The Clash of Empowered Women and Partner Expectations*

I celebrated Mother's Day with Valencio, his sister (Abi), his mom (Patricia), grandma (Patty), and aunt (Karla). Mostly they gossiped and joked. Karla said, "*Putala wea*" [Chilean profanity] more times than I can count and controlled the conversation. Patricia sat patiently waiting for her turn to speak, and Patty—a poised, energetic 75 ish year old lady, who is quick and witty—made everyone at the table laugh. They mostly talked about their failed marriages and the new men in their lives. All three divorced with two out of the three ending horribly (minor abuse (but really when is abuse really considered "minor"?) and cheating with newly discovered second families). The only marriage that ended peacefully was between Valencio's mom and dad. Patricia ended the extensive marriage a year or so ago and his dad still comes over for some holidays and birthday celebrations. Patty told of her relationship with her ex-son-in-law (loosely translated):

"Yah we send each other messages from time to time...on Christmas I told him: 'Merry Christmas Raul' and he wrote back: 'Thank you, Patty.' and on my birthday he texted: 'Happy birthday, Patty.' and I responded: 'Thank you, Raul.'" Patricia talked about how her father asked her if it was appropriate or not to buy flowers for Patty on mother's day. 'No!' "I told him, 'no,' and I got angry at him and he got angry at me. I think it would be very inappropriate for him to buy you flowers, mom." "Yah, no I don't want them."

Karla told stories till she cried and the night went on like this, the ladies drank more wine, outlasting me and my tired body that eventually walked back to Patty's house to turn in for the night.

In the morning I sat in bed, coding old interviews when Patty slowly found her footing for the day and reached my room. Her hair was sticking straight up (bed head) and she entered

pantsless. I assumed she enjoyed her mother's day with her daughters. “*Buenos días Patty, ¿Cómo estás?*” Her: “*Mal, muy mal mi niña.*” I could see that so I asked why. She lost her phone which had all her credit cards and money attached to the back. We went searching outside, calling, and notifying Valencio and Patricia. Luckily it was left in Patricia's car from last night when she was dropped off. Relief in her eyes brought relief to mine. I went back to my day, and she to hers. The free life she now lives juxtaposed with the suffocation of her past partnership. Women of the past, present, and future are connected in strife.

Nicola has a fire in her belly for exploration. She wants to travel, to be a businesswoman on the side, and to buy land to build a house in the countryside. She says having a *pareja es una trava, una barrera* [having a partner is a barrier] because you're making decisions for the both of you and sometimes you don't want the same things in life. She described how making people happy makes her happy. She saves chocolates in a drawer beside her bed because when she was young her family couldn't afford such luxuries. Never did they go hungry, never was there a lack of any food, but they bought what they needed and nothing more. She stores her chocolates there in the *cajita* [little drawer] and ends up accumulating the goods until she gives them away to others: “I love seeing people enjoy food I've prepared or given them.”

### 5.5 A Little Care Goes a Long Way



"One can walk on their own. [But] if there is another person who is sad, and you help...I think the world is better. *Poquito* [a little bit] better if you can" (Nicola, Interviewee 20).

#### The Giver

Your happiness

Such a simple thing:

*La comida rica,*

The smile on your son's face,

Changing your community's fate.

Your happiness

Such a simple thing:

When you give *la comida rica*

*La gente* don't just ingest it



Apathetically

But experience all the emotions

That went into it

They smile with their teeth, their hands

Their whole damn body expands

Your happiness

Such a simple thing:

Making your son laugh

He doesn't just smile with his teeth

He laughs with his full body

[I know this because he says to me:

*"Tia, que estas haciendo?"*

As I write about him and you

I respond truthfully:

*"Estoy escribiendo de ti"*

And he looks at me for a full second

Before his mouth gets wide

His teeth open to a smile

And he marches up and down

Heels hitting first

Then he shows me his toy watch,

His favorite fable,

And goes back to coloring

At the kitchen table.]

Your happiness

Such a simple thing:

Buying in bulk in the city

To sell for less in the *campo*

You don't call yourself an

Anti-capitalist activist

You call it:

“Helping people who need it,

Providing for those who can't”

You call it:

“Someone is asking for help,

And if there is an opportunity

To help them,

I will.”

This: your happiness

This: such a simple thing



Nicola shows me her *tienda* [store] where she sells diving equipment for local divers in the Estaquilla region who may not be able to travel for gear or afford high city prices.

When Nicola is not working as a diver, she is selling clothes, rain jackets, thermal wear, boots, sleep wear, etc. to the people of Estaquilla. In the future, when she builds her house on a plot of land or *parcela* in Estaquilla, she'll attach a *tienda de ropa* [clothing store] and sell diving gear for cheaper than can be found in Puerto Montt, while also saving them money and time going into town. This form of women's work allows her to make money by buying in bulk and then selling to the community for cheaper than they would have paid for. This is an anti-capitalist action that also serves herself and her community. She described herself as *llena* or full when she helps others. She goes house to house, little store to little store where all her friends work and live. Clients are friends and friends are clients. She represents the unobserved, underrated work of women to better the lives of others around them. And this goes for providing resources to people as well as priceless love and care during times of distress. On occasions, she applied aloe to my soccer wounds, ran me a bath when I was heartbroken and homesick, and adamantly washed and fixed my hair and makeup even through my refusal for it. She aided me in a way that is overlooked in monetary value but is worth much more than money could ever buy. Many women provide these services to those they care about, unasked and unpaid.

#### Love in a new home

You scrub my bent head with shampoo  
And rinse my scalp under  
The bathtub's faucet  
I feel the soapy water drip  
I close my eyes just before it hits  
I smile at the remembrance of childhood  
My mother's hands

Clockwise in the same motion  
Why did my eyes always burn then?  
Didn't I have the good sense to close them?  
I haven't been taking much care of myself  
Maybe because home has been a distance place  
To which its days I stopped counting  
Maybe because I felt hopeful but that stopped short too  
Counting only appears to make it longer  
And there's nothing worse than the appearance  
Of a forever masked in unwavering absoluteness  
Why must I make everything absolute?  
Maybe because my body cannot physically be in two places at once  
It has to pick one  
And maybe the dragged on, dreary eyed  
Dried out apple  
Hadn't enough courage  
Or spirit  
Luck  
Or maybe just the damn energy  
To be whole again  
Everything to everyone  
*And* they themselves  
Too much water had been pulled out  
The change was absolute  
Crisscrossing  
Backtracking

Sidestepping  
Didn't change  
Every last decision I had made  
To be at this point  
Was mute  
A moot point  
The facts of the matter, absolute:  
My home and 4<sup>th</sup> love  
(I don't care what they say the 4<sup>th</sup> cut is the deepest)  
Were far away,  
The blood rushing to my upturned head  
Was pressurizing my widening eyeballs,  
And  
I was smiling  
Because home and love were present again  
They just took on a different form  
They were adding water back into this apple (my head)  
How much could it hold?  
I hadn't a clue  
And for how long?  
I hadn't bothered counting  
But that they (home and love)  
Were doing it (adding water)  
Was absolute.

Han (2012) discussed women aiding other struggling women in understated yet intentional acts. Mothers invite other mother's children over for meals because they have "cooked too much and have extra food" and offer to pick them up from school since it is "on their way anyway." My soccer teammates gave me rides home "because it was on their way" only to watch them turn around and go the opposite direction after dropping me off. They offered to raise money for my hospital visits by making and selling empanadas. This evolves from an economy of care to a community of care in which reciprocal exchange is sometimes socially mandated but largely values nonreciprocal acts of kindness. Globalization has profoundly affected the state of the environment and economic system. Economic disparity and environmental precarity meet feminism, anti-capitalism and sustainable actions through a community of care embedded in solidarity.

## Chapter 6: Sustainable Actions

A conservation-minded Chilean friend, Gabi said: “Nothing is free, only water, air, love, and hugs are free.” Her father, Owner of *Plancton Andino*, adds: “Only in the country-side are water and air free.” Gabi drinks the leftover oil and lemon mixed dressing from her plate. Her parents in a disappointed tone: “Ahh Gabi” and Gabi’s response: “Nothing goes to waste.”



Owner of *Plancton Andino*: a company that monitors nutrient levels in *salmoneras* to decrease the risk of red tide events.

### 6.1 Generational Awareness

Before meeting Gabi’s father, we walked down the street to have lunch with her parents and she talked about skiing. I asked if she was good, she replied: “No, but it is my passion.” Only later did I find out the humble Gabi is sponsored to ski by the famous outdoor brand, Patagonia. We continued walking and talking. “My father and I do not agree politically so we try not to discuss politics.” We arrived at her home. Her father was working outside with his *boina* [gaucho hat] on and her mother was preparing food in the kitchen. We discussed my research



and interests, including visiting his lab to learn more about his work with aquaculture companies to reduce the threat of red tide. In collaboration with government regulations and *salmoneras* companies, he and his team monitor nutrients from salmon runoff and antibiotic use to keep within regulatory limits. Gabi contested, “it’s best to fish local, artisanal is better for the environment.” He looked at us both and asked if we liked to eat salmon.

Both father and daughter exhibited genuine hospitality but their personality and generational differences shined through. A man with an established life, who cares for others, was not afraid to stir the pot and joke: “We don’t like *gringas*” and speak a parting Chilean idiom that translated to: “After we are done eating, the friendship is over.” In comparison, when I thanked Gabi for her hospitality, she said: “It is such a delicate time in history, we need to help one another.”

His jaded demeanor contradicts that of his daughter’s, but he maintains passion, the same that burns in Gabi. On a separate occasion, Sarah and I met him and he told us: “I used to be like my kids...I was a hippy. I wanted to live one with nature. I hitchhiked and trekked all over the south in Patagonia and wanted to save the world. But I realized it isn’t possible, it was foolish to think I could.” Afterwards, we watched him scroll through and like every posted photo of Sarah’s community health and conservation-centered non-profit Instagram page. He talked about his goals to open up another company near Patagonia to monitor ocean conditions and I smiled because this calloused man still wants to save the world.



*Vacas* [cows] in Estaquilla. One of the most beautiful *vistas* [views] where the rolling green hills collide with clouds, mountains, and the sea.

There is a romanticized mysticism in the Chilean south, where even the stoniest of hearts may lower their arms to stare at its views for a half second longer. The sea captivates an even larger audience in Chile, given the people's historically harmonized dependency on it. The poem below was written for Nicola. The sea is her livelihood and life. Her entire identity and heart lies in the sea, as it does for all her family members and many friends with occupations contingent on the sea.

To be the sea

For all it poses

And parades

The slicked back

Bent forward

Praise

The sea

Seethes

And breathes

Salt reeds

Of a silent

Sheep sleeper

My God

What it must be like

To be her



Photos above and below are of the *mar* in Carelmapu and Maullín. All photos are unedited.  
The light and colors appeared as seen.



## 6.2 Commodification—the Way Forward and Back

In marine socio-ecological systems in Chile, advancements in aquaculture have developed together with corporate growth through capitalist and market governed systems (Fløysand et al., 2010; Bartson et al., 2023) which have come at a cost to small-scale fishing communities (Barrett et al., 2002). During and after the neoliberal era of Pinochet’s dictatorship during the 1970s and 1980s, the introduction of wage labor positions and the commodification of natural resources started to take the place of subsistence livelihoods—a once culturally defined way of life that had been sustainable both economically and environmentally (Daughters, 2003). Now, aquaculture farms, called *salmoneras* and *pesquerías*, increasingly encroach on small-scale subsistence and commercial fishing areas, limiting the areas available for harvest (Ebel, 2018; Ebel, 2020). In addition, the farms pollute the marine ecosystem, which, combined with warming sea surface temperatures, has triggered large harmful algal blooms which has had catastrophic effects on the

abundance of marine species (Daughters 2019; Ebel 2018). These events also have implications for small-scale, artisanal fishers (Daughters, 2003; Ebel, 2018) because during red tides, artisanal fishers cannot harvest or consume seafood (Ebel, 2018). There is great concern for the sustainability of small-scale fish harvest in the future—as aquaculture companies gain greater control over limited fishing areas in the Lakes Region (Ebel, 2018). Women are creating and implementing sustainable practices, in visible and invisible ways.

As artisanal fishers contend with the growing aquaculture industry, in addition to environmental change, resource users struggle to sustain themselves and their families through subsistence or small-scale harvests alone. These local changes require many fishing families to adapt (Endter-Wada and Keenan, 2005) and doing so often fosters the transition into working as divers and processors in aquaculture wage labor positions (Pitchon, 2015; Ebel, 2018). Diversification of livelihoods through the form of subsistence agriculture and the selling of seafood may aid as a temporary solution to the unpredictability of fish catch, climate change, and outside forces threatening traditional ways of life; however, long-term support of artisanal resource users remains vulnerable to global change as more people living in rural communities are expected to leave their communities to find opportunities in aquaculture industries and wage labor type jobs (Ebel, 2018). While *salmoneras* seem to now be a permanent change to rural ways of life, offering individuals opportunities to modernize their lives and live above the poverty line, they also have had impacts on cultural ways of life (Lazo and Carvajal, 2018). For example, the *minga*, a reciprocal exchange of labor between individuals on the island of Chiloé, was once a communally based tradition that fostered friendship and caring for your neighbor, but now ceases to exist as a sense of “solidarity” is replaced by wage labor (Daughters, 2019).





Collected seaweed drying on the fence (*luga*).

### 6.3 On the Backs of Giants

Acosta Garcia (2018) used photography and oral history to embed local lived realities in Anna Tsing's (2005) concept of "friction," in which people are resilient despite the impacts of global change on the environment. Through a gendered approach, we can begin to understand the overlooked role of women and specifically rural women's adaptability in sustainable actions amidst unpredictable climatic conditions (Federici, 2019; Gaetano, 2009). Women are often key but understated players in the maintenance of livelihoods for themselves and their communities despite environmental barriers and challenges spurred by globalization and unsustainable natural resource extractive and additive processes.

As Gaetano (2009) declares: "Jia Zhangke's 2004 film 'The World' relies upon a chauvinistic convention of using 'rural woman' as a sign of social ills, rather than an agent of social change." The social problems affecting rural women are unarguable; however, so is their leadership in changing reality. Interviewee 31 is a current *sindicato* leader concerned for the health of the sea and the prospering of her community. Interviewee 37 is a retired *sindicato* leader for a women's fishing union, who is still concerned and active in the fight against environmental, economic, and cultural loss affecting community livelihoods. Interviewee 24 is autonomous and self-sufficient, growing her own vegetables and raising *chanchos* for consumption.

J: How do you feel about your quality of life?

24: Good.

J: Why?

24: Because I like what I do. Because... it's not only the sea. It's the countryside, it's the animals, it's the little trees...I like to plant little things in the greenhouse. I like to have vegetables for...self-



cultivation...carrots, tomatoes, potatoes. *De repente* [suddenly]... I'm going to Puerto Montt. I bring firewood. If I find fish, I bring fish. I clean it and go out to sell it. I do different things.

I followed Roma, the woman of many hats around—a chef, farmer, fisher, mother, caretaker, constructor of parts of her home, *fútbolista*—make her way from this part of the house to that, past her new boat, collecting wood, severing the body from the head of hanging *chanchos* for the wedding party of her daughter, and harvesting greens from her greenhouse. Completely self-sufficient. And if she can't do something, like I don't know, fix cars (which she probably knows a good bit about already), she has a daughter, son, son-in-law, nephew, *cunada*, etc. for that. In addition to being self-sufficient, everything she makes, uses, or buys, all parts have a purpose. What food doesn't get eaten and goes bad is never thrown away, it's fed to the *chanchos* which is fed to her family. She bought a fancy new fridge, and the Styrofoam packaging wasn't thrown away but used to attach to the outside of the bathroom to lock in heat. She complains about the plastic flowers now used at the cemetery and the plastic bags that litter the countryside. She waits for trees to fall and uses the wood to warm her house. The dozens of trees surrounding her house were planted 20 years prior as windbreakers. The fruits of her labor extend wide and far, positively affecting the earth and those around her.



Roma in one of her many hats

Doña Rosa

I collect dirt where my *hijos* walk

Where the *chanchos* feed

Where the wood is cut and the pork

Is cleaned

I collect dirt in the floor mats of *camiones*

On top and underneath my work boots

Past where the kids are screaming

And the mice are sleeping

I collect dirt



Interviewee 24's greenhouse where she grows the food she feeds her family and friends. She has since started growing a variety of other fruits and vegetables in a plot of land outside her home.



The first woman to work in the sea of the Estaquilla *caleta*, Roma is a part of a *sindicato* in Estaquilla that works to preserve their fishing grounds, as increased threats from commercial and outside subsistence fishers harvest in their already predetermined spaces. To reduce the number of people in the *caleta* “*la caleta estaba lleno con gente*” [the cove is full of people] Sernapesca created a law that prohibits outsiders from harvesting seafood in other regions. These areas are assessed carefully and safeguarded for regrowth and regeneration; however, outsiders are known to rob them in the middle of the night. There is deep conflict between the artisanal fishers and big aquaculture companies as they encroach on and pollute the limited space. I turned to Nicola and asked how she felt about it, currently working for a *salmonera*. “*Mal*”, she said “I feel *mal* and for this reason I try to dive and pick up as much trash from the ocean as I can.” Pros and cons, benefits and concerns surface continuously between diving commercially versus artisanally. Roma is an artisanal fisher and her children are commercial divers. Their family is just one of the many families experiencing this generational shift. Adaptation often means accepting opportunities outside of small communities to work in the commercial rather than artisanal sectors of marine resource harvesting. The environment is an ever-changing state of inconsistency where cultures are intermingled and adaptations are necessary to survive. Livelihoods in the form of wage labor in aquaculture companies may be one adaptation with both negative and positive effects. Other adaptations include sustainable actions.





Garden in Estaquilla. Self-sufficiency is an act of sustainability, but also of livelihood resilience.

Acts of sustainability function to protect the environment and those livelihoods dependent on it. As Van Holt et al. (2016) notes: socio-economic sustainability directly correlates with environmental sustainability and vice versa. Those who are *autosuficiente* [self-sufficient] like interviewee 24 as well as other Chileans who grow their own food whether to sell at markets or feed their families. It is not only important to document actions within the environment but how interactions are deeply embedded in culture. The changing economic conditions call for necessary adaptations to remain resilient in an unpredictable environment (Ebel, 2021). Mutual respect is formed in the knowledge that the sustainability of the environment is directly related to the sustainability of livelihoods. In this sentiment, there is no separation between humans and nature, but a recognition of an interconnectedness.

Women's interactions with the natural world and environment contribute to their well-being (Ruiz-Serna, 2015). In the context of Chile, lives revolve around the sea, even if one's livelihood is not directly tied to the sea. Either directly or indirectly the Chilean economy and the people of Chile are dependent on the sea for their livelihoods, and therefore, their well-being. Women fight their whole lives to ensure the protection of the environment and their people's livelihoods.



The expansion of commercial fish farms has caused river and sea pollution, affecting livelihoods dependent on seaweed harvesting. These pictures portray contaminated seaweed that is unharvestable.

Lola and I talked to two presidents of *sindicatos* (interviewees 31 and 37) based in Carelmapu. They were worried about the contaminated Maullín river causing vulnerabilities in resource harvest. It was rewarding to hear their stories, strength, and resilience in a turbulent environment. I later saw the two presidents in a meeting about the development of programs focused on sustainable seaweed harvest.

J: What do you enjoy in your life?

31: Me? *Bueno*, I don't enjoy much of my life.

...

31: I'm always like that. I like to be simple. When I have to say things, I say them. And I don't know if it's good or bad, but I'm like that. But I'm not a bad person. I mean, I try to help all those who... like I have a very big heart... Even if they do bad things to me, I still help them, just the same. I've been very committed to my sector, because there are many women here who know how to do a lot of things, a lot, a lot. They have a huge amount [*un monton*] of capacity, but the problem has been that they have nowhere to sell their things and then they get stuck. We stay stuck, so we need the *la rivera norte* [the north river] to be transformed into something touristy, so that they can sell their... everything they know how to do. There are women who know how to make cakes, kuchen, empanadas, seafood, everything, fish. But where are we going to sell it?

...

31: We also have to teach people, to train them, to have a greenhouse where they can also support us. I have a small greenhouse back there. I don't know, they plant tomatoes, vegetables, because that also helps us not to buy them, and there are things that are going to be irrigated with pure water... And they have everything that the sea throws out. All the waste from the sea is used to make compotes to fix their greenhouse. I mean, I go out 24 hours a day. Sometimes I come to my house to sleep, that's all. And when I am there I try to do everything I can do, and then continue to fight with the authorities and ask for things for my people, not for me, for the rest, for everyone. Many times I have traveled to Santiago, 3-4 days, 3 years ago, so that the women could still get ahead and see what they could be trained in and what they could give.



Soy así

I have patience in the  
Screaming verbiage  
The foxhole  
The makeshift plates  
Because everyone  
Packs up and leaves eventually  
The children of artisanal harvesters  
The farmers  
Never your mothers  
But your kids  
And all their daughters  
The artists  
Still hoping for a moonlit  
Harvest  
They're starving  
The deceivers  
Continue peeping on the distressed  
They're held down  
With nothing left  
We have resources to improve it  
But no tourists come here  
To prove it  
I help them all the same  
I enjoy little in life  
Than to relieve my people's pain

A claim  
I pin to the oldest  
Wisdom driven, coldest  
Sea stained, loneliest  
I'm not always happy  
But I'm holy  
Holding  
The lowly golden  
Token taken from the  
Solemn  
The *río*'s contamination  
Brings no barren  
That isn't already brought  
From the brazen  
Stolen  
I'm hopped up on mate  
In the morning  
I'm not always happy  
Sometimes I am performing  
But I remain here  
Imploring  
For a restoring  
In all my land's  
Glory  
I am forging



Interviewee 31, current *sindicato* leader, demonstrating how to use traditional seafood collecting equipment that is no longer used. The area of the sea she works in lies just beyond the fence.



Interviewee 37, a retired *sindicato* leader, but still fighting the good fight to protect her community's livelihoods and the sea in which they depend.

"I see that all the youth have gone on pilgrimage, they already have professions, they have gone abroad, all those things, so, one sees that this here can suddenly die. Very few people. Only the people who do not have studies may stay here. And it all depends on how nature comes."

...

"But I am still in the leadership, I am still moving the union forward... above all to support the youth that comes after us. We no longer... we don't count much anymore. But they, they are the ones..." (Interviewee 37).

#### 6.4 Adapting Identities

*Acostumbrado* y *aprovechar* are two of the most used words I heard throughout my time in Estaquilla and Maullín/La Pasada whether in interviews or everyday interactions with the people. *Acostumbrado* when I asked if they enjoyed their lives, their work, or if life was hard. *Acostumbrado* when I asked if they had difficulties or wished life was different than it was. *Aprovechar* when parents talked about their *hijos* having diverse and different experiences than they did. When I asked if it was hard to see their children move away for commercial wage labor positions, travel, or work for months on end in the sea in *salmoneras* and aquaculture companies, all the parents said they need to take advantage of their youth and find happiness, to live a fulfilled life. Commercial aquaculture is considered helpful for providing better opportunities and benefits for their children, although it often comes at a cost to the older generations whose livelihoods depend on small-scale harvest and artisanal trade. The commodification and privatization of fish—all phenomena occurring under the globalization of fisheries—has a disproportionately negative impact on small-scale subsistence fishers (Carothers, 2010). Specifically these indigenous and often marginalized people have been impacted by policy measures aimed at supporting commercial, large-scale fishing operations in place of their practices. Not only are limited species now available as commercial fisheries decimate populations, but purchasing the rights to harvest resources becomes an economic barrier to maintaining their livelihoods. As Carothers (2008) details, there is a decrease in recruitment among successive generations as barriers and challenges impede the maintenance of fishing as a

lifestyle and form of economic means to support oneself and their families. In particular, farmed salmon is replacing wild caught as prices decrease and less people support small-scale fisheries. The focus on markets as a means of neoliberal governance has only further widened the wealth gap between poor and rich. This form of governance is not sustainable in the long-run both environmentally, economically, and politically. Nor do such policy measures account for cultural and social needs of Indigenous people who live communally on the land. If such trends continue there will be an excess of surplus with no feasible consumers able to purchase goods and services.

Chilean artisanal fishers, *recolectores*, and divers, as stated earlier, do not receive help from the government because they are not considered laborers of the state, contributing to the market-controlled capitalistic system (Lazo and Carvajal, 2018). This individualist economic system breeds exploitation of workers, undermines subsistence livelihoods, and marginalizes women and minorities (Leacock, 1983; Moore, 2012). This economic system began to dominate Chile after the Pinochet regime and strongly contrasts with the traditional Chilean culture grounded in solidarity (Federici, 2019; Daughters, 2019). The minga, economic solidarity in the form of organized monetary collection and payouts, social solidarity in the commons including helping neighbors and community members in times of crisis are all examples of the shared solidarity—some of which was forcibly taken through “socialist” crack-down and authority ransacking of communal organizing, resulting in a reclaiming of the commons (Federici, 2019), others a dying cultural piece as wage labor positions fill the time that was once reserved for helping others, and some of which still exists as women leaders preserve a community of care.

One artisanal diver (interviewee 22) with lightning energy and a crooked smile described the changed economic and cultural state:

"Everything that is happening today often causes pain. The cities, the children... eating a little piece of bread like this *weón* [slang for thing, guy, etc.]... it really gives pain, it's really painful how this country is. And on top of that, the big ones are squeezing our *gorguero* [slang for throat]. Imagine that I have a problem here. We all have it here, the fishermen, fishermen and divers. I don't earn any money with the Banco Estado insurance. And we have to have life insurance. *Oye* [hey], I have to die at sea to get insurance. How much the government is swindling me!" (Interviewee 22).



Interviewee 22 said he is a true artisanal fisher and diver because he makes his own hooks to catch seafood.

I initially went to his house to interview his wife (interviewee 21). She was the opposite, quiet and patient, she sat without moving. She aimed to remove herself from conversation as soon as the moment arose. She made her silent escape when her *marido* [husband] couldn't hold

his tongue for a second longer and jumped into the conversation. He was more than willing to share the seafood he caught that day and his life stories. He described working independently in the sea as the most liberating and fulfilling career one could have. Britton and Coulthard (2013) described it as a social and cultural “way of life”, “a state of being” directly contributing to one’s well-being. He described the feeling of diving like no other. I wrote the poem: *École* (a Chilean slang word that means exactly, and a word he used) to describe the dichotomy of diving—how the action makes him feel so alive while the body is—in technical terms—dying.

"It's a different life down there. It is very distinct. It's 100% more. The difference is that you are alone down below, but your subconscious is *pendiente* [pending] on your family, on your son, on my mom, on my dad, and all of a sudden, down below, you remember silly things and you start laughing and keep hunting" (Interviewee 22).

*École*

*Es como así*

*Alguna cosa*

*Que nunca vi*

*En mi vida*

The liminal space

Between living

*El cuerpo está sacando*

*Los productos del mar*

Turning each cell receptor on

To catch the dopamine

Of every collected song

About living



Between dying  
Of increased nitrogen flowing through  
The lowered levels  
Of blood flow  
However slow  
The bones quiet their pending fate  
About dying  
Because their face  
Is laughing with a regulator  
Between its teeth  
About some great memory  
Outstretched in the sea  
*Es como así*  
*Alguna cosa*  
*Que nunca vi*  
*En mi vida*  
A life  
About living  
Between dying



Interviewee 22 holding his catch of the day.

The subsistence diver, the artisanal fisher, embraces the autonomy, the seclusion, the fermenting “self-actualization” (Coulthard, 2012; Pollnac and Poggie, 2008). The sentiment concurs with Ernest Hemingway’s: *The undefeated*. The *toreador*, despite bodily wreckage endured, lives for his brief moments of greatness and cannot imagine a life without them. How does one maintain the body, the health, and the mind to continue an ingrained environmentally dependent, economically necessary, and culturally and spiritually driven way of life?

## Chapter 7: Spirituality in Health

*Gracias a Dios* (when I would ask what well-being meant to an interviewee they would respond “gracias a dios” they “had their health”)

"It is not possible, because you say... you don't say one peso, you say one thousand pesos, two thousand pesos, three thousand pesos, and you have to think that this money has to be enough for the next year. So you don't have many possibilities to take care of your health, because it is a lot of effort. If you are [only working] for two hours, maybe you can't make it" (Interviewee 21).

"Health will depend on one's mentality, if they say to me: 'you have that' and then I say: 'oh, I have this! I am going to die'... you have to be positive... Yes, as they say, our organism is made up of living cells, dead cells. If you give the possibility to the dead, you will continue to die. And if you are positive and say: 'I have to get through this' you will keep going" (Interviewee 43).

### 7.1 *Diver Aliments*

Marta is the type to explain something to you until you understand (and when you confirm what she says she confirms back a long drawn out “Exacctlyy”), drop everything else to finish a story in it’s entirety all while maintaining persistent eye contact despite her always being busy and having to go to different places (i.e. meetings, car shops, work, Pablito’s needs, family needs, etc.). When she is done explaining or done with her story, she looks at you, says let’s go, and you better be ready to mad dash out of the car, sprint through the mall, run to the *fútbol* match, car repair shop, etc. Her legs are half the length of mine and twice as fast as I struggle to keep up. She hates shopping and so runs through the store as to get the experience over with faster.

While waiting for her at the car repair shop, I noticed her fingers are wide and her hands strong from catching people, fish, and things, her family through the years; the forming of dough; the tying of nets; the holding of knives under water in the stillness and presence of a sea lion wishing to feast. Later that day she said to me: “I noticed something today in my diver meeting, all the ladies' hands, they look like mine.”

During the drive home she talked about her meeting she had with 52 other women--a *sindicato* she created 3 years ago to give women a platform in which to voice their concerns and needs as women divers in aquaculture. Some effects are compounded in women divers due to the weakening of bones as they age and their bodies' loss of calcium at a faster rate than that of men. Other common ills all divers face from diving throughout their lives include damage to their eyes, ears, other body trauma such as *malestar de decompression* (decompression sickness), and Osteonecrosis or the “death of bones.” Marta says a solution to this problem would be for artisanal and commercial divers to retire earlier. The threat of occupational health directly affects women’s bodily well-being within commercial diving. Within the artisanal, self-employed sectors, dive positions are largely held by men—indirectly burden women. For example, women must take on multiple roles as the care-takers of children and ailing men, as well as supplement the familial income, if the man is unable to provide.

Decompression sickness is a condition experienced by many divers and occurs from surfacing too quickly or diving for an extended period of time. In one study by Garrido-Campos et al. (2021), researchers found 75% of artisanal divers to have had decompression sickness. Additional medical conditions that ensue over time include the weakening and hallowing of bones which according to interviewee 21’s husband not painful while diving, but a painful experience on land, and hearing loss—a result of barotrauma and a decompression sickness of the

ear (Garrido-Campos et al., 2018). Interviewee 22 has concerns for himself and his family if he were not able to work anymore; his wife has concerns if he were to die out at sea. He, unlike the majority of divers, goes out alone, without a dive assistant. This is very risky if the *hookah* [hose] providing him oxygen on the boat above were to detach. The realities surrounding artisanal diving include a lack of regulations including duration and depth of the dive, a lack of proper gear and access to *cameras* [decompression chambers], and a lack of benefits that allow one to retire at a suitable age before the body endures permanent disabilities. In addition there is a general culture of drinking alcohol while diving. A custom passed down generationally among divers and one that contributes to high mortality rates. It is increasingly less common due to education that promotes safety; however, Astrid Garrido-Campos et al. (2018) argues there is a need for “community-based interventions” to address diver agency, safety, and access to resources. These precautionary measures may prevent the various threats divers face.

## 7.2 *Death Begets Spirituality*

Interviewee 44, friend and collaborator of Astrid Garrido-Campos, describes why she became involved in diver health:

44: I became interested in this, because I worked alone in this *caleta*, in a very small post and we had many diving accidents, many, many, many, in a week 2, 3 and sometimes one dead. And I didn't know, we didn't know what to do. Then in 1990 I took the hyperbaric medicine course for the first time with Dr. Felmer, and there I learned what decompression sickness was, there I learned that we needed a chamber in Ancud. That is where I learned and understood what I had to do.

...

44: I didn't have to go to the middle of the sea to say "don't do it", I had to be the prevention so that they would understand and improve their work system, it took me twenty years to change that. Twenty years. Then the Seremia de Salud learned about the work I was doing and they invested resources in courses so that people could be trained. And we had about five years doing a lot of courses and training divers, fishermen divers, whatever, women, everything.

...

44: So if people had better implementation it would be different. We can change a suit for a diver that is very expensive and have a better implementation so that he can work better. Because if he works better, he does better and the family does better. Prevention is better than curing, because if we don't do prevention, we will have accidents, accidents and it costs us a lot of money to recover them.

J: It is more expensive afterwards.

E: Afterwards, of course that is the issue.

J: But don't people think like that?

E: Yes, after more than twenty years of work, now people do realize they have to take care of themselves, that they have to do their decompression table.

...

E: Eh, there was a lot of alcoholism, a lot of alcoholism here.

44: There is alcoholism, of course there is, but not like before. The diver has been very careful, the diver used to take a drink to work. He would dive, come up and drink. Then he would dive again and drink again. Not anymore. So that's a tremendous change.

Interviewee 44 and I left Maullín for about a 30 minute bus ride into Carelmapu to meet the mayor. She wanted to discuss with him possible initiatives and steps they might take for diver prevention programs and I wanted to learn more about diver needs. When we arrived she signed the cross, as did most others on the bus. I wondered to myself if death begets spirituality maybe

as a way of dealing with the uncontrollable or maybe it starts in the home, watching our mothers and fathers.

She told me it all starts in the home with the mother, culture that is. The culture of drinking started out at sea. But that culture is changing, she was excited. She told me everything is connected and the health of the diver is not only important for the persistence of their livelihoods and well-being but for that of their families as well. “*Jill, es que detrás de un buzo está una familia* [Jill, it’s that behind a diver there is a family].” It is too expensive monetarily to cure diving ailments; it is too costly to the family to not take preventative action.



Interviewee 45 (left) mayor of Carelmapu and Interviewee 44 (right). I met with them to discuss the health needs of divers.



We arrive

Sign the cross when you arrive

Drink when you dive

Drink when they die

Sign the cross for those who've died

*Creo que*

*Comienza*

*En la casa*

*La cultura es the culprit*

Drinking in

The home

Church

And state

*Y en las lanchas*

*Antes y después*

*Profundo buceo*

*Primera necesitamos*

*Cambiar la casa*

*Por qué todos las personas*

Sign the cross

*Ahorita en el bus?*

*Porque llegamos*

*Ah mi mami hace esto*

*Cuando hay un animal muerto*

*Pasamos por la calle*

*Y ahora yo también*

*Supongo que si*

*Tu también*

*Aprendiste a hacer eso*

*De tu madre*

*Cómo los otros de Chile*

*Y supongo que si*

*Las bebidas*

Floating from hands

To mouths

On the boats of men

Is not a contradiction

But a continuation

Of culture

A passing of the drink

*Cuando ustedes llegan*

*Y los buzos fall victim*

To another passing

Of the bottle

From the home

Through the church

And arriving to the state

We've arrived haven't we?

You sign the cross

45: This week I realized from a case that we have to move forward in solving the problem with the divers, because divers have a good quality of life, a good standard of living. But when an accident like this happens, life is turned upside down.

J: *Cambio*

45: Yes, it is a very significant change.

45: I think there are three stages in this process. Prevention through a system... The second stage would be how we make the least physical impact, and the third is what we do with the family with the person when that person can no longer return to work.

J: Right. That impacts the family, the children.

44: *Jill, es que detrás de un buzo está una familia* [Jill, it's that behind a diver there is a family].

45: It is not relevant, it is not important to the authorities.

44: It has no impact. This work is a silent work, because it is not lucrative and since it is not lucrative it does not have an impact.

J: But it is lucrative for people.

44: Ah, for the people, yes, but not afterwards.

J: So it is disconnected between the people and the government.

45: Divers in general are independent, they have to contribute on their own to obtain a pension, nobody does that, I know of very few cases. So, in the end they end up with the solidarity pension that the state gives them, which is \$200USD, so the one who did not save during his life, then has to get used to living with that pension

“Unfortunately divers don't have a pension either, so you see that if something happens to them, these people are totally adrift and that's where the economic problem comes in for the family that depends on that person who is the breadwinner of the household and that one day, because of bad luck or maybe because they didn't take precautions, they have an accident and there is no way

back because they can't work anymore and nobody protects them because they don't have a pension" (Interview 46).

The precarity of artisanal work is compounded with a lack of health care, government support, and diving regulations to stay safe. Health care and retirement benefits seemed to be of the utmost importance to subsistence and artisanal fishers living in the *campo*, yet least provided.

The majority stated the government does not respect or value their labor due to their lack of contributions to a wage labor, capitalistic economy. For this reason, many young artisanal fishers, divers, and *recolectores* out migrate to urban centers that provide positions in the wage labor force. The older generation, on the other hand, feels as though they will never retire.

Interviewee 06, an 80 years old *recolectora*, works as she battles cancer.

*Tengo 80 años*

I smile with my tooth

Only one is left

I hug with my arms

The rest of my body

Infiltrated by cancer

But still I walk

Still I work

I've watched my *hijas* grow

And my *nieta* die

I've watched the sea rise

To the sky

I've felt

*Terremotos*

And tsunamis

Pain throughout my whole damn body

I've wept

But still I hug

With all I have left





Interviewee 6 greeting interviewee 15 and her son with open arms. Interviewee 15 accompanied me on various interviews in Estaquilla, as she knows most everyone in the small community.









Interviewee 6 greets Nicola. Different season, same open arms.

In Carelmapu I made my way to the *caleta* on a newly fixed bike by my friend's aunt's brother-in-law, where I asked to conduct an interview with one woman *vendedora* [seller]. I gave my reasonings, interests, my project topic. She declined my interview but handed me off to another lady who was happy to talk with me. She said she loves her job because she is able to converse with many people throughout the day. Her ties to the ocean and family's involvement in the sea have prompted a career working in kiosks they call *puestos* as a *vendedora*. She claimed to not want anything else in life but to live in peace. After the interview, I asked for *jaiba* with all the fixings— *lemón*, *aceite*, *cebolla*, *salsa* (both hot and mild). I then ate my *ceviche* on the beach while watching two men untangle nets. The repetitive motion almost put me to sleep. They lacked the frustration that one would expect of a never ending, monotonous task. They performed with patience and an acceptance for the life they either chose or were born into.

Why did they accept it, why does anyone accept their fate. The *vendedora* talked about God. I gave into sleep.

Vendedora

Her drawn eyes tell so much

The lines on her face reveal more

The forehead,

A placard for advertisements

Of the deceased

Of what is gone

And what never leaves

I asked:

What more do you want from life?

“Peace”

*Algo mas de mi vida?*

*Estar en paz*

*Estar en paz con dios*

Placated

Her six children first

And now it is her turn

*Si po*

And the best moment of your life?

“The birth of my first boy”

I am my mother’s only one

*La unica*

And the worst?

*Redes*

Death by nets

A beastly thing

Only the sea discerns when to forgive

Be so giving

And when to take away

Be so deceiving

I wish I could have made him stay



The *vendedora* preparing ceviche.

### *7.3 Trusting Ties Never Die*

I often felt at odds conducting research. Interviewees gave a piece of themselves to me when they opened their homes and recounted their stories. Pieces they never asked for back. How was I to repay them? I settled on what I know best—maintaining relationships through messaging and revisiting; writing about their lives; retelling their ignored stories. Maintaining a community built off of trust had never been more important to me.

Crowder's (2013) photo-ethnography research documents Aymara migrants in El Alto, Bolivia as they migrate from neighborhoods to the countryside, highlighting the ethical considerations and trust building within a community that are not only necessary in creating an accurate and expressive photo-journal narrative but in maintaining and building community with willing participants. Trust building is essential to acquiring valuable information about your research topic and often takes time. In my case, having spent 6 months in Chile shouldn't have been enough, but befriending friends of friends in communities where those friends were considered family was enough for my interviewees to share deeply personal and emotional experiences. Interviewee 27 talked teary eyed and openly about the death of her daughter and how it impacted her and her whole family. An individual's well-being is often tied to their families. The cancer that took her daughter's health, also impacts hers. I wrote: "A life after you" was written based on our conversation.

I don't know how she was strong enough not to make me suffer, nor make her sister suffer. She woke up every day with a smile on her face. We never saw her sad and every day she would sit like that, with us, with her friends because many of them came to see her. Some would have lunch, others would have tea with her, all of us together...And she would say: 'Mamita, the only thing I

ask of you, don't cry, don't suffer. Mamita, the only thing I am going to ask of you, you have to be strong, take care of my sister'

...

'My little sister, the only thing she has, my little sister, the only thing she has... she has you.' And now her little son. 'Mom,' she would tell me: 'you have to be strong for them. Take care of them, Mom.' She would say to me: 'Don't leave my sister alone.' And you know, I don't know, I mean, imagine not being able to cry when she is telling you that, when she is giving you orders, when she is telling you what you have to do. When she was in the hospital, the first day they told her, when they called [her husband]. [Her husband] called me. We both went to the hospital. When we got there, the first thing she said to me was: 'Mom,' she said: 'I'm never going to forget this.' I have no doubt that God is very wise. She asked me to pass her my hand. She took my hand and she took her husband's hand, and she told me, she told both of us: 'I don't want you to cry, I don't want you to suffer. Mamita,' she tells me: 'You always told me: God squeezes but not now. We are going to get out of this.' 'Yes, *hija* [daughter].' I told her with tears in my eyes because I could not hold them back and my mind was already...and she said: 'Mom, we are going to get out of this' she said: 'And I want whatever comes, whatever it is, whatever the one from above decides' she said: 'I am going to accept it, but the only thing I want you to promise me is that you are not going to suffer, you are not going to cry.' So, that is why, sometimes when I am alone it is the minute, the moment I have to *desahogarme* [let off steam]. When I achieve things I sit down and I say: '*Hija*, I have achieved something more than what you wanted, than what we had in mind.' And then tears come to my eyes and I say: 'No. You told me not to be sad. *hija*, it is out of emotion.' I tell her like this, like I am talking to her and I say: 'No, daughter, this is emotion. But I have to raise my children, ' I tell her. And when I feel bad I ask God to give me the strength to go on and not to give up, I mean, I just ask God for a little more time to be with my little daughter. And there is another more important thing I learned when I was told that I was going to lose my daughter, because I realized all the selfishness in this life, to be human, the envy. I was not raised like that, I was not taught like

that. The lying that exists in a lot in families. I was not raised like that. I was raised by my grandmother, those were the first values I received from her. And that's how I raised my two daughters and that's how I turned out (Interviewee 27).

A life after you

The life of you

Was far from removed

A sinister mock

A gold-plated *Mamita*

Taken through different talks

Of scripted screen plays

But I already knew how the story was to end

Yet I'll continue to pretend

That your face will wake

With a mouth full of milk

The walk down to the *Caleta*

Will not be cut short

But dragged on

As the cots begin to drape

Atop the floorboards

The neat

Slumberers

Will awaken after you

Dead eyed

Jaded, laying for the quiet of the morning

*Vacas* will stumble their grounds

Feed between their feet like any normal day

And you will be there to observe their haste  
And I, to observe you  
But instead  
You said  
*Mamita* don't cry for me when I'm gone  
You laughed and side smiled  
Took your eyes to their crest filled peaks  
As the rampant went dry  
The shifting started to regulate  
One bout  
Maybe two  
Knowing you've  
Been stripped out  
For the final count  
Singled out like the one blade of grass  
That greets  
The first ray of sunlight  
In the first hours of morning  
But instead of frowning at the mouth  
About  
The inconsistent clues too loud  
That kept being placed on your tilted spring head  
You rang out in uncontrolled rapture  
Looked at me as if I was  
Scripted from the very last baptized chapter  
In which you began



Each day  
Robe open, taken to the winds  
As you walked  
Purposeful yet not plenty  
Saturated yet lacking the wet end heavy  
I held you in my arms  
Gold-plated beast of a bosom  
And rocked your wilted stars  
Waiting for them to take hold  
But they never did  
Your tears ceased to dry  
Because they hindered to come  
And your sister looked at me and said  
I want nothing more to love  
Because all I've ever wanted  
I will certainly not see the face of again  
And I cried just then  
Despite you telling me not to  
I wailed right then  
Despite your persistence at remaining  
Un-blackened by all tempted weaknesses  
I pushed my bold body forward and down  
Forehead  
Heavier than  
The dark sunken grave in which you  
Laid

Your little deceived head in  
And that's when  
I bawled, bawled, bawled  
Because you never did  
Me, your gold-plated *Mamita*  
Couldn't quite hold it in  
Rocking you in my arms  
Waiting for the day you'd cry out in  
Pain  
But it never came  
Only me  
And my slain  
Gray  
Rusted armor  
A wreckage,  
To this I still pray



Interviewee 27 talking with my research assistant, interviewee, and close friend Nicola.

27: So, what I did learn was that money doesn't do you any good.

RA: But it's the happiness.

27: It doesn't help you. And you know who told me that? My daughter, even though the minute she found out she was going to lose her sister, she cried a lot. And suddenly one morning she woke up. She was 6 months pregnant, she got up and she said: 'Mom, from today I'm not crying anymore. No' she said, 'My heart is telling me something and I'm going to listen to my heart. I'm going to have my [little sister] for a while. So now' she said, 'I'm going to enjoy my sister. Because my heart tells me that my sister is not leaving for a long time.' And she stopped crying. She stopped crying. 'I don't know, Mom,' she said, 'if it's good or bad,' she said, 'but I'm so angry, and what's the use of having everything? Now I don't want anything.' She said: 'Now I don't want anything because I'm not going to have the main thing, the most important thing in my life.' I told her that she had to think about her son and that her little sister should not have to see her like that. And as I

said, that's what I learned. Like my mom was telling you, you can have a lot of money. You can have things, cars.

J: *Pero no te sirve* [but it doesn't serve you].

RA: But if you don't have health, if your body is not well you are worth nothing. Money doesn't serve you. There are people with a lot of money who are multimillionaires, but they also die because money reaches a point where it doesn't help you, it doesn't count. So, suddenly people work all their lives to want things and things and things, but health, if you don't have health, you can't enjoy your things. That is what my mother (interviewee 6 who battles cancer) used to tell me. She always used to thank God because she is healthy, because she is well, because she can walk, because she can see, she can touch things, but if she gets sick, even if she has everything, it is of no use to her. No matter how much you have, if a person you love leaves you, all the money in the world and all the things in the world will not be enough. They are not replaceable.

God, spirituality, and specks of religion in general, were only introduced in interviews when participants discussed the unknown but also the inevitable, the uncontrollable. When I asked Interviewee 36 how she defined her well-being she said:

“...the important thing is health, the life that God does not leave every day, because today we are [healthy], tomorrow we don't know.”

Health and situations of loss impacted the well-being of many interviewees. For those comfortable sharing, I found participants used spirituality during hard life moments to make sense of the world and cope with loss. Roma talked about her loss. That of her mother and husband's being among the hardest. And how did you get over the loss of them? “Time. You never forget but you become accustomed to life without them.”

Old love

How we hate to see it go  
We found it in an old tree stump  
Engraved names  
Like the latest experiencing fame  
Spread the weeds out  
I kept weeding the garden  
And you kept letting it grow  
You asked for my home address  
So you could write me letters  
I would walk to the arch in the center  
Where I last saw your face  
Just to see it again  
We made memories after that  
Stable and slow  
One by one  
And children to follow  
Four in total  
Waking to your sleeping face  
Gave me a pleasure  
I only dreamed about after your passing  
I could never hold off  
Or slow down your death  
For the moment  
Of the *abuelito* you were meant to be  
You next to me

I think of you with every passing day

However as the days progress

I hurt less and less

And hope to god

You're looking down

At the family you helped build

At the *abuelito* you were meant to be

At you next to me

And at our old love

How we hate to let it go

Romita tells me the hardest moment was also the loss of her father (Roma's husband).

But she believes in ghosts and their power to protect her underwater while diving:

I've seen my dad in my dreams three times in ten years. The first couple times were reenactments of his death. And the last time, he was in his wheelchair in a green field, nothing but blue skies and the sun shining down on him, his face glowing. And I asked him: 'How are you, what do you need?' And he told me he was good and with a shrug and look of '*no pasa nada*' in his upturned lips he said: '*solo tengo frio, no mas.*' I ran to fetch him a blanket, hugged him, and spent the rest of my dream with him. It was a beautiful dream.

...

And when I hear noises, I still feel he is there with me. I'm not afraid because I know it's him if I am in my house or in Estaquilla. If I'm in another place, it's probably other spirits who once occupied that space. Because everywhere we go there are energies that occupy spaces. When kids go home at the end of the day, the schools maintain all the noises, all the laughter, all the chairs moving...that energy stays there.

So when I am in a difficult situation or something is dangerous, I think about my papi, I think of him being there with me and then I think of my mami and how I need to live for her because when I think about her grieving for me, over my death, it gives me pain.

...

This happened once when I was diving and couldn't breathe because I ran out of oxygen. It cut off and I screamed '*necesito aire, necesito aire.*' I thought I was going to die but then I thought to myself '*yo puedo, yo puedo, yo puedo.*' I thought: I need to live for my mami and my papi is here to get me through this. Then the air came back on (Romita, Interviewee 16).

A person's well-being is sometimes individual, sometimes subjective; it can be communally derived or culturally driven; it's based on 5, 10, 20 different variables; and it is inconclusive. But it is also interconnected. Connected to the people in one's life, the women, their actions and those who have left, their inactions. Action and inaction are determined by agency embedded in cultural, social, environmental, economic, and political contexts. These contexts are impacted by a globalized world—made up of people, made of women.

## **Conclusion**

Globalization in the form of local-to-global interactions has resulted in 'friction' (Tsing, 2005) and profound shifts in the fusion and clash of cultures, and in policy directed at neo-liberal economies in support of the commodification and extraction of resources. A woman's subjective well-being is constructed in the social, cultural, environmental, economic, and political realities that are a result of globalization. Despite the appeal to parse out these contexts, they are not mutually exclusive and, in fact, function cooperatively in determining one's lived experiences (Miller, 2019; Gibson-Graham, 2011; Gibson et al., 2010; Besky, 2014). In response to 'friction', common themes emerged that contribute to women's well-being in the sea-dependent economy



of Chile, including: (1) Family and Community, (2) Labor and Livelihoods, (3) Feminist Perspectives, (4) Sustainable Actions, and (5) Spirituality in Health. Although generational differences exist, women of all ages see their well-being connected to these five domains. Albeit portrayed differently based on historical influences. Despite globalization's 'friction' and resulting unequal power dynamics within everyday labor and livelihoods, adaptive feminist cultural forms have emerged, aiding in the empowerment of women striving to support their families and communities despite the uncertainty of natural resources and the health of those who harvest them. This is a factor not of passive but assertive action and representative of the daily initiatives of such liberated women, who enact their own agency inside the tyrannical rule of social norms, among discrimination, a *machista* male-dominated culture, and a reliance on precarious natural resources. Women are the changemakers, tearing down barriers, going behind the backs of their oppressors, and persevering livelihoods and standards of life until goals are met, whether that be in the spirit of their own survival, that of their families, or their communities—not even a 400 year history of oppressive politics could dissuade them.

While this case study is specific to small and large-scale laborers in a country economically dependent on seafood, my visual project may also serve as a means to identify the truths surrounding the effects of globalization on women's well-being in other natural resource contexts as well. Women's livelihoods, and therefore well-being, are affected by prevalent and pervasive global change—in both a positive and negative lens—throughout the world.

## **Research Significance and Broader Impacts**

It is imperative scholars examine women's active roles in the marine sector and their interactions with global environmental change, as women's roles underpin the health of communities' social relations, financial needs, and marine conservation outcomes as they have been historically underrepresented and unaccounted for in fisheries policy and conservation (Bennett, 2005). Only through recognizing women's roles, understanding their misrepresentation, and empowering women can we begin to address the economic, political, and environmental vulnerabilities that impact them (Bennett, 2005). Through this research, women are projected in an alternative light, one in which their strength and resilience is seen, and their story is heard. My methodological contributions of ethnographic poetry not only allowed me to relay women's voices to my audience in an accessible medium, but also aided me in my subjective interpretation of results. Only through written forms of poetry, was I personally able to discern meaning from and chronicle my participants' lived experiences.

In addition to artistic representation, academic findings provide novel information for how globalization has prompted a cultural shift that may influence women's well-being. This can lead to a focus on fostering gender equity in fisheries, which can empower families and communities to find innovative solutions to balancing their cultural and social well-being with opportunities for work stability. If conservation objectives and the resilience of natural resource-dependent communities are to be achieved, policy as well as local initiatives must consider societal values, gendered differences in well-being, and barriers that limit communication between stakeholders, including resource harvesters, consumers, global industries, and governmental agencies (Calhoun et al., 2016). Women are an integral part of bridging this gap, even when denied the opportunity—imagine if they were to be given it.



A window on avenue Colón in Puerto Varas. The same street I was hugged, kissed on the cheek, and welcomed by strangers, as a bloody man stood at gunpoint, yelling profanities at his transgressor.

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Appendix A.  
Human Subjects Committee Approval



November 18, 2021

Sarah Ebel  
Anthropology  
MS 8005

RE: Study Number IRB-FY2022-74 : The well-being of women working in the Chilean fisheries sector

Dear Dr. Ebel:

Thank you for your responses to a previous review of the study listed above. These responses are eligible for expedited review under OHRP (DHHS) and FDA guidelines. This is to confirm that I have approved your application.

Notify the HSC of any adverse events. Serious, unexpected adverse events must be reported in writing within 10 business days.

You may conduct your study as described in your application effective immediately. This study is not subject to renewal under current OHRP (DHHS) guidelines.

Please note that any changes to the study as approved must be promptly reported and approved. Some changes may be approved by expedited review; others require full board review. Contact Tom Bailey  
(208-282-2179; email [humsubj@isu.edu](mailto:humsubj@isu.edu))  
if you have any questions or require further information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R. Baergen', followed by a horizontal line.

Ralph Baergen, PhD, MPH, CIP  
Human Subjects Chair

Appendix B:  
Semi-Structured Interview (administered October 2021-January 2022)

Interview guide English

- 1) What is your name? (Not included in the recording, only in notes)
- 2) Can I record this interview? Only researchers involved in the project will have access to the recordings (me, you, research assistant, and my professor).
- 3) How old are you?
- 4) What do you call yourself/what is your job title?
- 5) What species do you harvest?
- 6) How do you harvest the species/methods for processing?
- 7) Do you like your job?
  - a. Why/what do you like about it?
  - b. Benefits?
  - c. Friends?
    - i. Known for a while?
  - d. What do you not like about it?
- 8) When do you work?
  - a. Hours?
  - b. All seasons?
- 9) How long have you been working?
- 10) When you are not working as a recolectora, etc. what do you do?
  - a. Family?
  - b. Other work?
  - c. Community?
  - d. Other activities?
  - e. Anything else?
- 11) What was the best moment of your life?
- 12) What was the worst moment of your life?
- 13) Do you want something more from your life?

Guía de entrevistas en Español

- 1) ¿Cual es tu nombre?
- 2) ¿Puedo grabar esta entrevista? Solo los investigadores involucrados en el proyecto tendrán acceso a las grabaciones (yo, tú, Maribel y mi profesora).
- 3) ¿Cuántos años tienes?
- 4) ¿Cómo te llamas a ti mismo / cuál es tu puesto de trabajo?
- 5) ¿Qué especies cosechas?
- 6) ¿Cómo se recolectan las especies / métodos de procesamiento?



- 7) ¿Te gusta tu trabajo?
  - a) ¿Por qué / qué te gusta de él?
  - b) Beneficios
  - c) ¿Amigos?
    - i) ¿Conocido desde hace un tiempo?
  - d) ¿Qué es lo que no te gusta de eso?
- 8) ¿Cuándo trabajas?
  - a) ¿Horas?
  - b) ¿Todas las temporadas?
- 9) ¿Cuánto tiempo has estado trabajando?
- 10) Cuando no estás trabajando como recolectora, etc. ¿qué estás haciendo?
  - a) ¿Familia?
  - b) ¿Otro trabajo?
  - c) ¿Comunidad?
  - d) ¿Otras actividades?
  - e) ¿Algo más?
- 11) Cual fue el mejor momento de tu vida?
- 12) Cual fue el peor momento de tu vida?
- 13) Quieres algo mas de tu vida?

#### Interview Guide English

- 1) What is your job title?
  - a) What do your duties consist of?
- 2) Can you describe the positives of working for\_\_\_\_\_
  - a) Can you describe the negatives associated with the work you do?
- 3) How do the positives contribute to your wellbeing and happiness?
  - a) How do the negatives affect your wellbeing and happiness?
- 4) What other activities/tasks do you engage in when you're not working?
  - a) Any fun activities/anything you enjoy doing in your free time?
    - i) Hobbies?
    - ii) Friends?
    - iii) Family activities?

If yes to other activities:

- 5) Why do you participate in other hobbies/activities?
- 6) Are your friends and family supportive of your other hobbies/activities?

If no other activities:

- 7) Why do you not engage in hobbies/other activities?
  - a) Time constraints?
  - b) Monetary constraints?

c) Family obligations/responsibilities?

Guía de entrevistas en Español

- 1) ¿Cuál es su puesto de trabajo?
  - a) ¿En qué consisten sus obligaciones?
- 2) ¿Puede describir los aspectos positivos de trabajar para\_\_\_\_
  - a) ¿Puede describir los aspectos negativos asociados al trabajo que realiza?
- 3) ¿Cómo contribuyen los aspectos positivos a su bienestar y felicidad?
  - a) ¿Cómo afectan los aspectos negativos a su bienestar y felicidad?
- 4) ¿En qué otras actividades/tareas participa cuando no está trabajando?
  - a) ¿Alguna actividad divertida o algo que le gusta hacer en su tiempo libre?
    - i) ¿Aficiones?
    - ii) ¿Amigos?
    - iii) ¿Actividades familiares?

En caso afirmativo a otras actividades:

- 5) ¿Por qué participa en otras actividades/pasatiempos?
- 6) ¿Sus amigos y familiares apoyan sus otras aficiones/actividades?

Si no hay otras actividades:

- 7) ¿Por qué no participa en pasatiempos u otras actividades?
  - a) ¿Restricciones de tiempo?
  - b) ¿Restricciones monetarias?
  - c) ¿Obligaciones/responsabilidades familiares?

Appendix C:  
Semi-Structured Interview updated (administered May to July 2022; November to December 2022)

Interview guide English

Part 1: Demographic information

- 1) What is your name? (Not included in the recording, only in notes, include how you found them/through who)
- 2) Can I record this interview? Only researchers involved in the project will have access to the recordings (me, you, translator and transcriber, and professor).
- 3) How old are you?

Part 2: Job information

- 4) What do you do?
  - a. For work?
- 5) When do you work?
  - a. Hours?
  - b. All seasons?
- 6) How long have you been working?
- 7) Do you like your job?
  - a. Why/what do you like about it?
  - b. Benefits?
  - c. Friends?
    - i. Known for a while?
  - d. What do you not like about it?

Part 3: Introduction to well-being (How they view their life and why they view it that way)

- 8) When you are not working as a recolectora, fisher, etc. what do you do?
  - a. Family?
  - b. Other work?
  - c. Community?
  - d. Other activities?
  - e. Anything else?
- 9) How do you feel about your quality of life?
  - a. What challenges do you face?
  - b. What do you enjoy about your life?

Part 4: Well-being

- 10) What does well-being mean to you?
- 11) What are your desired ways of life?
  - a. Is it different from what you have now?
    - i. Why is it different?
    - ii. Why is it not different?
  - b. What contributes to your desired way of life?
  - c. What is a barrier to your desired way of life?
  - d. What do you need to maintain and/or obtain a desired way of life?

Part 5: Follow-up questions (based on when brought up in conversation)

- 12) Family
  - a. Children
    - i. Do your children live close?
    - ii. Do your children live far away?
    - iii. What do they do?
    - iv. What do you wish for your children?

Guía de entrevistas en Español

Parte 1: Información demográfica

- 1) ¿Cual es tu nombre?
- 2) ¿Puedo grabar esta entrevista? Solo los investigadores involucrados en el proyecto tendrán acceso a las grabaciones (yo, tú, Maribel y mi profesora).
- 3) ¿Cuántos años tienes?

Parte 2: Información del trabajo

- 4) Que haces?
  - a) Para trabajo?
- 5) ¿Cuando trabajas?
  - a) ¿Horas?
  - b) ¿Todas las temporadas?
- 6) ¿Cuánto tiempo has estado trabajando?
- 7) ¿Te gusta tu trabajo?
  - a) ¿Por qué / qué te gusta de él?
  - b) Beneficios
  - c) ¿Amigos?
    - i) ¿Conocido desde hace un tiempo?

- d) ¿Qué es lo que no te gusta de eso?

### Parte 3: Introducción al bienestar (Cómo ven su vida y por qué la ven de esa manera)

- 8) ¿Cuándo no estás trabajando como recolectora, pescadora, etc. ¿qué estás haciendo?
  - a) ¿Familia?
  - b) ¿Otro trabajo?
  - c) ¿Comunidad?
  - d) ¿Otras actividades?
  - e) ¿Algo más?
- 9) ¿Cómo te sientes acerca de tu calidad de vida?
  - a) ¿Qué desafíos enfrentas?
  - b) ¿Qué disfrutas de tu vida?

### Parte 4: Bienestar

- 10) ¿Qué significa bienestar para ti?
- 11) ¿Cuáles son tus formas de vida deseadas?
  - a) ¿Es diferente a lo que tienes ahora?
    - i) ¿Por qué es diferente?
    - ii) ¿Por qué no es diferente?
  - b) ¿Qué contribuye a su estilo de vida deseado?
  - c) ¿Cuál es una barrera para su estilo de vida deseado?
  - d) ¿Qué necesita para mantener y/u obtener el estilo de vida deseado?

### Parte 5: Preguntas de seguimiento

- 12) Familia
  - a) Niños
    - i) ¿Tus hijos viven cerca?
    - ii) ¿Tus hijos viven lejos?
    - iii) ¿Qué hacen?
    - iv) ¿Qué deseas para tus hijos?