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WOMEN IN THE CHILEAN NATIONAL IDENTITY:
HOW FÚTBOL AND CONSUMPTION CULTURES AFFECT THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion
Of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies
Croft Institute for International Studies
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Abstract

In the past thirty years, Chile has experienced dramatic political, social, economic, and cultural changes. A constant source of national identity, pride, and comfort through this tumultuous period was (and continues to be) *fútbol*. Chileans follow the sport relentlessly and it is a key part in the construction of local, regional, and national identities. My thesis work aims to answer the following question: how do the relationships between consumption cultures and football create/delineate/eliminate space for women in the overarching social public sphere of national belonging? In order to answer this question, I utilize a mixed methods approach to investigate how the sport combines with consumption cultures to impact the place women hold in the public sphere. I apply a theoretical framework built upon prevalent scholarship in investigations and theories of gender, sport, national identity, and consumption to analyze how women are affected by the relationships between these social forces. The results ultimately point to the conclusion that although Chile has been and continues to change, persistent practices around sport and celebration make it difficult for women to engage in these important elements of daily life. A deeper understanding of this topic will foster conversations on how the national narrative can simultaneously include contradictions of social equality in the public sphere and how addressing these inequalities will lead to greater female empowerment in Chile.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

When I studied abroad in Chile in the spring of 2017, I learned that she is a nation rich in her contradictions. I observed that a prevalent machismo culture dominates a country governed by a female leader; that a socially conservative and largely Catholic nation has a wild party culture that cuts across traditional social boundaries of class and gender; and that a country with fantastic passions for *fútbol*, celebrating, eating, and drinking seemingly excludes half the population from some of the national pastimes. The dynamics surrounding the concepts of leisure time, celebration, and gender identity quickly caught my attention for the way that each of these elements are intimately tied to *fútbol* and the shaping of local and national customs.

I began to wonder, is this relationship as strong as it seems to my American eyes? In a machismo-laden society, how do women engage in these activities? My initial line of questioning actually came from wondering if Chilean women are watching *fútbol* like female students at Ole Miss are enjoying American football games in the Grove. Investigating these initial ponderings led to the formulation of my research question: *How do the relationships between consumption cultures and fútbol create/delineate/eliminate space for women in the overarching social public sphere of national belonging?* I hypothesized, and in this thesis argue, that the relationships between food and drink, *fútbol*, and a *machista* celebration culture can function as a tool that excludes women

from aspects of public life. However, I contend that this trend has waned in strength throughout the 2000s.

Background

Pierre Bourdieu eloquently states that sports cannot be regarded as its own social “universe” separated from studies of food or leisure consumptions (Bourdieu, 1998, 155), and many historians and sociologists connect the study of sports with gender and national identities. Fútbol, gender, and food consumptions each contribute to the Chilean national identity to varying degrees. Obviously, matters of gender and food are elements of everyday life for all Chileans. While not every Chilean might be devoted to fútbol, the sport and its surrounding culture contribute to the formation of identities and the framing of the public sphere. To begin to delve into the matter of *how* fútbol, gender, and consumption cultures interact to construct a unique space for women in the nation, we must first grapple with *why* I expect these variables to be connected.

This thesis utilizes the understanding of public sphere as defined by Jürgen Habermas and referenced by sociologist Pablo Piccato (2010) who refines it for use in the Latin American context. Habermas defines the public sphere, in its most basic element, as an open space for people to discuss and seek societal action (Piccato, 2010, 168). The marginalization of women in education, the workforce, and politics and their intrinsic relationship with the home via reproductive capabilities created an environment in which women had unequal access to the public sphere. This unequal access limited and continues to limit their ability to discuss and seek societal action. Much of this

marginalization was born out of strong societal influences like machismo, the influence of the Catholic Church, and traditional family values. These influences effectively served as a mechanism through which women remained unable to equitably enter the public sphere and exert agency within it.

The origins of female exclusion from sport and, more broadly, the public sphere were at least partially driven and further complicated by the cultural phenomenon of *machismo*. Gender identities in Latin America are historically tied to, and continue to have an influential relationship with, the social forces of machismo and *marianismo*. Machismo is difficult to define, and it looks different in each country in which it is present. Machismo is typically marked by pride, aggressiveness, callousness towards women (but never toward one's mother), and an overarching sense of "macho" (Stevens, 1973, 58-60). I do not intend to oversimplify this term with such a brief definition, and I go into greater detail about machismo and hegemonic masculinities in Chile in my next chapter. However, it is important here to point out that the dynamics of machismo and marianismo influence the fabric of daily life in Chile: from religion to politics to fútbol and from the home to the workplace. Machismo exists throughout Latin America in a variety of forms and maintains an important relationship with the development of gender identities in the region (*La construcción social*, Memoria Chilena).

The importance of fútbol in Latin American public life is best summed up by Joshua Nadel's (2014) statement that, "Soccer matters because it is woven into regional identities and the historical narratives of Latin American nations" (2). Fútbol in Chile has long been tied to politics, from the inception of the game in the late nineteenth century through the military dictatorship of the 1970s and 1980s up to current times (Nadel

2014). Furthermore, the foundations of fútbol are also intrinsically tied to education and the work place (119-121). Many teams, such as Chile's prominent *Colo-Colo*, were founded by educators. Business owners often started teams, too, as a means of attempting to socialize their workers into better employees. The longstanding idea of fútbol being a mechanism through which players and *hinchas* [fans] gather for community, politicking, and socializing at all levels of play is important to understanding both the inclusion and exclusion of women in the game itself and the traditions that surround it. All of these institutions—education, the labor market, and politics—are elements of the public sphere from which women have long been excluded as it conflicts with their predetermined position as members of the private sphere. In order to paint a clearer image of why women do not engage in fútbol playing and fanaticism today to the same degree as men and the subsequent implications, it is important to discuss why they have been historically excluded from this national pastime.

Women lacked access to sports in general throughout the 20th century through a justification based primarily upon fundamental differences between the sexes, which was then further complicated by their exclusion from the public sphere. Biologically based excuses, frequent between 1890 and 1920, included the notion that it was damaging to female reproductive abilities, that women innately lacked interest in sports, that women were incapable of the self-discipline required to play sports, and that feminine morals and charm would be impaired by engaging in sports. There was also concern about the apparent violence that permeated sporting events (Elsy, 2011, 48-9) and Elsey further argues that certain men fought to create a “male-haven of sociability” (48-49). This male-haven of sociability existed in the public sphere, which was becoming more secularized

by the introduction of fútbol, as women were increasingly engaging in Church activities that encouraged their moral confinement to the private domain of the home (Elsey, 2011, 6).

As women continued to express interest in playing the sport in the early 1900s, directors of local programs developed rhetoric that seemed to encourage their participation while simultaneously developing practices that would ensure they continued to be excluded (Elsey, 2011, 78). For example, in the clubs in which women teams were formed, they were granted the same status as teams created for boys under the age of twelve (64-65). From the 1930s-1970s, interest in women's fútbol continued while male players and fans persisted in their view that women were incapable of playing fútbol (124). During the 1970's *Unidad Popular* [Popular Unity] government, local leaders realized this growing interest in playing the sport and community councils developed projects to include women in physical education and sports clubs. Following the coup of 1973 and the overthrow of the Popular Unity government, the initiatives related to women's fútbol were interrupted and never reinstated. This should come as no surprise because the preservation and "reestablishment" of traditional gender roles was at the forefront of the autocratic, right-wing regime's agenda (228-9). This narrative culminates in the notion that, throughout time and across regions in Chile (and more broadly in Latin America), female participation in fútbol was seen as a threat to male hegemony because it challenged the gender norms imposed by the traditional patriarchal family structure (193). Even today, men's fútbol remains "deeply heteronormative" (Besnier, Brownell, Carter, 2017, 155) and this both reflects and reinforces the traditional gender roles that have been at the forefront of Chilean society for generations.

Traditional gender roles in Chile have historically been enforced through social norms. These norms, which were upheld in and reinforced by the dichotomy between the public and private spheres, were rooted in both Chilean law and in the teachings of the influential Catholic Church. According to Memoria Chilena, a cultural virtual library derived from the Chilean National Library's collection, by the end of the eighteenth century Catholic marriage had become the "standard of coexistence for the entire population" (*Matrimonio*, Memoria Chilena). Marriage was considered indissoluble, and only an annulment could terminate a marriage in Chile until 2004 when divorce was legalized, and even this measure was met with strict disapproval from the Catholic Church (BBC News, 2004). The effects of such a deeply Catholic concept of marriage and family life led to women being responsible for maintaining the "honor of their lineage" (*Matrimonio*, Memoria Chilena) and the family virtue. From this concept, men felt called to protect female honor and virtue as well as taking on the "protection and control of their sexuality" (*Matrimonio*, Memoria Chilena). These factors culminate into the longstanding traditional family structure, both hierarchical and patriarchal in nature that placed women in the private sphere and men in the public. This structure lasted well beyond the colonial period and the vestiges of this traditional hierarchy continue to affect women in Chile today.

Traditional family values and gender roles were upheld and encouraged by the Pinochet dictatorship and right-wing political parties (Elsy, 2011, 228-9) as a means of preserving what it means to be Chilean. Since the return of democracy in 1999, a variety of legal measures pertaining to divorce, employment, and abortion have been enacted in the name of gender equality. These measures, and the general status of women's rights in

Chile, were reviewed by the Organization of American States's Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2009). Their report stated that, "The Commission...notes the link between Chilean women's unequal status within the family and their limited participation in Chile's public life and job market, due to stereotyped notions of their role in society as women and mothers."

This emphasis on motherhood is elaborated upon by Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney (2009). She identifies motherhood as being the "most important signifier of womanhood in Latin America" and it has been "at the heart of the gender system and critical for defining women's responsibilities throughout the nation" (2). The focus placed upon the role of women as mothers highlights how women are intimately tied to the private sphere by means of their reproductive capabilities. Abandoning the private sphere for the public would be equivalent to abandoning the "essence of femininity" (2). Through traditional family values, legal institutions, and the Catholic Church, women and womanhood in Chile has historically been rooted in the private sphere while men are placed in the public sphere. This dynamic between a masculine public and feminine private sphere, with fútbol being firmly rooted in one and womanhood firmly rooted in the other, raises questions as to how these elements interact when further complicated by the engendered consumption patterns in the country.

Research Question and Hypothesis

My research seeks to answer the question of how machismo, consumption culture, and fútbol affects the role of women in Chilean society. This then leads into the questions of how consumption cultures shape fútbol and gender identities and how do these

relationships create a space for women in the public sphere of national belonging. I hypothesize that the relationship between food and drink, fútbol, and a *machista* celebration culture can function as a tool that excludes women from aspects of public life. However, this is qualified with the hypothesis that this relationship has waned in strength throughout the 2000s. Ultimately, in order to address these hypotheses, I collected quantitative and qualitative data (the specifics of which I elaborate upon in the next section) with the intent to create a descriptive narrative that builds upon existing theory.

The case selection in this thesis evolved out of personal experiences and subsequent investigations that I conducted while studying abroad in Chile in the spring of 2017. I took courses on gender issues and social and political change in Latin America while studying at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. These courses, combined with the obvious and widespread passion for fútbol, sparked my interest in how social space and the public sphere is affected by factors like gender and sport. The temporal scope of this project comes from the notion that Chile has experienced great social and political change in the past twenty years. After returning to democracy in 1990 after almost two decades of authoritarian rule, Chile spent the 1990s and early 2000s suffering through weak political leaders as they attempted to recover both politically and socially. Ultimately, the literature suggests that Chile spent much of the 2000s recovering and, in many ways, “catching up” to the political and social progressiveness of the rest of the Western world. This newfound sense of modernity through progressive sociopolitical changes has seemingly sparked a widespread increase in education, work, and political and social mobility for women, thus raising questions about how fútbol and female modernity meet in the public sphere.

Methodology

My research utilizes a mixed methods approach to address the question of how women are affected by fútbol and consumption cultures in Chile. I use information that is publically available from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), such as the classification of countries based on their Human Development Index and the program's report on human development in Chile. For example, information from a Spanish-language 2010 human development report on Chile entitled "Gender: The Challenges of Equality" [Género: Los desafíos de la igualdad] was absolutely crucial in the collection of information about gender inequality in Chile. I also utilized public data from the World Values Survey databases and the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) 2014 dataset on Chile. Additionally, I frequently used the online analysis tools made available by the World Values Survey database when examining survey data on national pride, engagement in sports clubs, and politics.

The information and data that I collected is contextualized and supplemented by qualitative methods through primary sources and ethnographic information. I also conducted a large data collection project with major Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* in order to illustrate the gendered coverage of sports reporting in the country. These findings are also expanded upon with the interviews I conducted. Prior to studying abroad, I obtained approval from the University of Mississippi's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to conduct interviews on this type of research topic and use the results with changed names in my thesis. While in Chile and once back in the United States, I interviewed a very small number of women about food, gender, fútbol, and daily life. Though I obviously recognize that these interviews are not representative of Chile's 11 million

people, they nonetheless provide vibrant illustrations of the data I collected. These interviews serve to supplement the numeric story told through the information obtained from the UNDP, LAPOP, and the World Values Survey. This mixed methods approach allows me to apply inductive reasoning to my data and sources and to construct a narrative that more fully explains the dynamics between fútbol, gender, and nation in Chile.

Thesis Overview

This thesis will proceed by reviewing the existing literature on gender, sport, social space, and consumption in the next chapter. Then, in the third chapter, I will analyze the place of women in sport and society. This will be followed with an analysis of fútbol, machismo, and the national identity in the fourth chapter. I will conclude by discussing my findings, their implications, and how they help us to better understand the challenges women face in the Chilean public sphere.

The findings of this thesis indicate that Chile has been changing and continues to do so politically, socially, and culturally. As Chile changes, so does the populace's engagement with fútbol and its associated practices. This is important because, as I will establish in my literature review, fútbol is a critical component of the national identity and the way that women interact with such a crucial construct is relevant to the discourse of daily life and public sphere. In the past twenty years, feminist social movements have swept the country. Higher rates of education mean more young men and women have access to greater economic opportunities and also more progressive social outlooks. Systematic changes in the nuclear family structure and the pressures of modernity have

caused more women to seek work outside of the home, thus causing them to demand more equality in school, the workplace, and beyond.

Despite this progress, persistent practices can make it difficult for women to participate in important aspects of daily life—which includes fútbol and its surrounding culture. This dynamic is important because a lack of engagement and visible inequalities with and in sports excludes young girls from growing up in and into the public sphere. Brenda Elsey and Joshua Nadel (2016) eloquently illustrate this point in the following statement:

The persistent amnesia regarding women's fútbol rests upon the assumption that women are fundamentally different, and do not enjoy the most popular global cultural activity. This obscures inequities in recreation time, access to public space, and exposes the active marginalization of girls at the grassroots level (Elsey & Nadel, 2016).

Ultimately, examining how consumption cultures and fútbol affect the national identity as it pertains to women is crucial to understanding how women fit into the national narrative. This greater understanding could hopefully lead to further empowering women and girls through sport, and encourage them to more boldly create their space in the public sphere.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

The relationships between identity and space are foundational in understanding feminist, political, and sports theories. The interconnectivity of these disciplines lies in the common notion that identities are both created and mitigated in a collaboration between public and private space. My theoretical framework is grounded in the sociologies of gender, sport, and consumption. Ultimately, each of these theories is, in some way, mapped upon the public sphere and social space as an element intrinsic to daily life. Though gender and consumption may seem like intuitive connections to day-to-day life, the way that these factors can serve as an agent of creating space makes them important to gain understanding of the position of women in Chile. Sport sociology and anthropology is equally important in this study. These studies, like gender and consumption, are crucial elements in the construction of the national identity and sets cultural norms which serve as an unofficial rulebook for social behaviors.

Social Space and Public Sphere

In Cathy van Ingen's argument for postmodern spatial theory to be applied to the study of sport sociology, she draws heavily upon the work of French theorist Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre's critical work on the social production of space defines space as a social structure created by human bodies and explains how this space is inherently

political, ideological, and strategic (Van Ingen, 2003, 201-2). Such an approach to spatial understanding allows for a discussion of the complexities of how power is produced and maintained in social space by the creation of “difference and otherness” (206). This social space is then produced and controlled by those with power, and those with less power (those who are “different” or “other”) are thrust aside (207). This is explained as being the product of the hierarchal structure of how space is ordered: “hegemonic and counter-hegemonic powers are expressed and maintained spatially” (207).

This can further be elaborated upon when applied to the context of man v. woman or majority v. minority in public space. The classification of different or other, according to Van Ingen, applies to women and racial and sexual minorities. The application of her definition to women is particularly interesting because women engage in social space as a participant and thus a creator of space, but do so from a less dominant position. This then calls into question to what degree women create and influence social space, both in sport and in the public sphere more broadly, if they are being relegated to a less influential position.

The study of social space segues into the concept of the public sphere. Pablo Piccato defines public sphere as referring to “an unfinished historical transformation rather than a stable structure” (2010, 167). The fluidity surrounding this formalization allows him to reexamine the classical definition created by Jürgen Habermas: that the public sphere is, essentially, an open space for people to discuss and seek societal action (168). Piccato takes this definition and brings it into contact with the concept of hegemony in order to investigate the uniqueness of the Latin American public sphere (167). Latin America’s legacy of neoliberal modernization and authoritarian regimes has

created a space in which new actors like women, minorities, and young people cannot be simply explained by the blanket-statement definitions of public sphere.

However, this blanket-definition must first be addressed in order to tease out the nuances of the Latin American case. The origins of the public sphere emerge from the convergence of two phenomena that developed together: capitalist markets and the creation of spaces of social life capable of bringing people together (167). This collision created the public sphere as a “universally accessible conceptual space where private citizens came together to discuss matters of common interest” (168). The creation of public sphere also crafted a “new bridge between three areas of life: the private realms of domesticity and work, the publicity required to exchange opinions with others in civil society, and the state” (168). However, there is a degree of disconnect with this bridge in the Latin American case.

The above definition of public sphere, according to Piccato, must be refined for the modern Latin American context because of the pattern of neo-liberal modernization. This modernization was driven forward by the wave of authoritarian regimes in the 1970s. It is unique and significant because, in recent years, many Latin American countries have seen political upsets and the beginnings of social movements that indicate dissatisfaction with the high socioeconomic costs of such rapid and drastic methods of modernization. This public expression of disapproval, combined with the entrance of new actors into the public sphere, calls for a reexamination of the established premises of conventions about the public sphere (166). Ultimately, this aforementioned “new bridge between...areas of life” has been disconnected in elements of the Latin American case. The vestiges of neoliberalism, authoritarian regimes, political unrest, and hegemonic

patterns of behavior has made it difficult for new actors to successfully transition from the private to public realms.

The interactions between the public sphere, private sphere, and one's individual sphere affects the practices of gender relations (UNDP, 2010, 13-14). This dynamic is illustrated in the table below, which I reproduced and translated from the UNDP's report on human development in Chile:

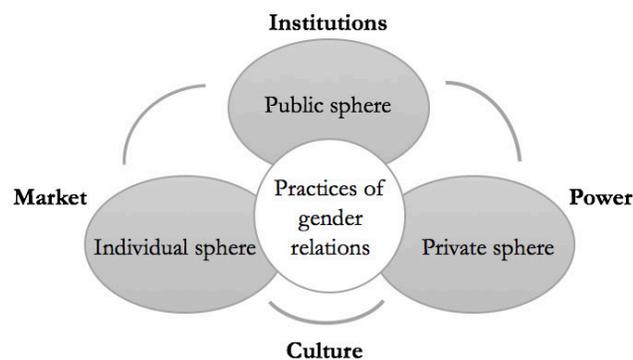


Figure 1—Chart translated and reproduced from UNDP's 2010 human development report on Chile entitled "Género: Los desafíos de la igualdad."

The authors of the report elaborate upon the chart by defining the public sphere as being the world of work, markets, the State, education, politics, and associativity; the private sphere as referring to the domestic space and primary social space (such as friendships); and the individual sphere as referring to the personal subjectivity and biographical construction of the individual (UNDP, 2010, 13-14). Ultimately, while these three areas can be observed separately, the report states that these three spheres are mutually conditioned by each other and influence each other (13-14).

This refined understanding of the Latin American public sphere calls attention to the notion of the unequal access to and equality within it, especially as it applies to intersections of politics and culture. After national independence, women were excluded from the public sphere and political life took on gendered tones as women were

increasingly confined by the (arguably artificial) public/private domain divide (Piccato, 2010, 169, 188). The importance of this “moment” when women became more prominent in the private domain and less in the public is imperative to understanding the history of fútbol and politics in the country: as the public sphere developed alongside fútbol and modern public political life took shape, women were often absent (Else, 2011, 48-49).

Gender: Norms and Reconstructions

Patterns of hegemonic masculinity arose from the gendered exclusions in the fabric of the sociopolitical institutions of public sphere and social space combined with the pervasive attitude of machismo. On this topic, it is especially important to keep in mind the temporal element of this research project: Chile has been changing and continues to do so. However, gender identities in Latin America are historically tied to and continue to be associated with the social forces of machismo and marianismo. I recognize that machismo is a difficult subject to tackle: it is not something to be oversimplified, nor overstated. It is difficult to quantify, but its influence is certainly detectable. Pride, sexual activity and aggressiveness, intransigence, and callousness towards women (with the exception of the mother) are all traits identified by Evelyn Stevens as being characteristic of the macho male (1973, 58-60). This is in juxtaposition to the idea of marianismo, a term coined by Stevens to describe the supposed spiritual superiority of women. In this context, women are viewed as being semi-divine and both morally superior and spiritually stronger than men (Stevens, 1973, 62). The concept of marianismo has been questioned as a legitimate social force in Chile because the idea is considered by many to be at odds with the ideals and construction of a “modern” Chilean

society. The argument for marianismo is often contested by saying that women work outside the homes and receive educations. However, this does not address the underlying social factors that still prohibit women from engaging in the public sphere to the fullest of their abilities. Persistent practices like machismo and marianismo are important social constructs in the study of gender in Chile. Furthermore, the influence of marianismo has the potential to serve as a mechanism of both inclusion and exclusion for women in the public sphere and should therefore be given thoughtful consideration.

In Michael Donoghue's analysis of Panamanian boxing, he discusses machismo and makes a distinction which is important in discussions of Latin American gender identities. Machismo is not a one-sidedly negative term; it carries both positive and negative connotations. As explained by Alfredo Miranda and elaborated upon by Donoghue, machismo can arguably include positive notions such as "strength, virility, charisma, and sex appeal" alongside negative concepts of "male dominance, patriarchy, violence, promiscuity, homophobia, and alcohol and domestic abuse" (Donoghue, 2015, 19). For this duality in connotation, machismo (and its relationship to fútbol and the national identity) has the capacity to perpetuate classical and patriarchal gender norms in the public sphere and sociopolitical space.

Though this norm of masculine hegemony is certainly pervasive, gender in Latin America *is* changing. Matthew Gutmann's collection of works on changing masculinities in Latin America is fundamental in not only recognizing the changing dynamics of the region but for giving attention to men-as-men (2003, 1). Gutmann's edited volume seeks to address the fact that studies of gender that recognize and discuss women exclusively leave out half of the story. These works unpack what gender and masculinities mean from

a different perspective and in a different context: they address “men as men.” Richard Parker (2003) points out that this new attention to masculinities in the region has been brought on by the growing importance of feminism and LGBTQ movements, the realization of the AIDS and HIV epidemic, and the resurgence of questions surrounding reproductive health for both men and women (2003, 307).

Studies of gender and nation often neglect each other, and Mrinalina Sinha (2004) attempts to address this dichotomy. In contemporary scholarship, both are regarded as “socially constructed” phenomena based around “ideological systems of ‘difference’ that implicate them in relations of social power” (213). The literature on the subject cites women as contributors to the project of nation in a variety of ways including through their positions as “biological reproducers,” as participants in its culture, as “signifiers of ethnic/national difference,” and as “participants in national, economic, political, and military struggles” (216). These sorts of womanly contributions are in contrast to the discourse of nationalism that is often masculinized through self-conscious rejection of femininity and protection of women (223). Furthermore, there is a pervasive notion that the nation is built upon concepts of family. We are sons and daughters and “founding fathers” of nation. This type of gendered imagery in national discourse further points to the societal importance of the “natural” and “normal” nuclear family structure, in which each member is expected to hold distinct roles (218).

As interest in this topic has grown, it has become clear that the terrain of social space as it pertains to gender is and has been fundamentally changing in the region. José Olavarría (2003) addresses how this developing landscape has affected working-class men in Santiago through his essay that examines changes in fathering. The public

sphere/private domain divide discussed above also comes into play when discussing the nuclear, patriarchal family structure that became idealized in Chilean society. Mothers and women were responsible for the household and things that pertained to the private domain, whereas the fathers and men of the family had greater agency in the public sphere and worked outside of the home. This dynamic contributed to families in Chile, particularly among the working-class, emphasizing the nuclear family: “the father/patriarch played the role of head of the household and provider and...the mother took charge of domestic matters and child rearing in the home” (334).

Through Olavarría’s in-depth interviews, collection of life histories, and statistics on marriages, births, annulments, and single-mothers, he found that Chile is experiencing radical changes in the structure of families and fatherhood (348-9). Masculine identities that encourage patriarchal fathering styles are losing hold as men and women address the challenges of modernity (345). Despite this, hegemonic masculinity remains entrenched in the divide between the public and private domains of work and home (336). This theme, of a changing Chilean family structure in a country and culture in which the importance of family is paramount, is also prevalent in my findings and primary sources.

Sports: Fútbol and Space

Pierre Bourdieu called for a scientific sociology of sport in 1988. He claimed that such a sociology cannot accurately nor holistically analyze a particular sport without considering how it is situated within the broader space of sport (153). He goes on to eloquently state that “the space of sports is not a self-contained universe” and that “sporting consumptions...cannot be studied independently of food consumptions, or

leisure consumptions” (155). His outline of a general model of consumption practices highlights the technical properties of sports while recognizing how they are characterized by their far-reaching, relational structure in the social space (157). His cry has since been answered, and the sociology of sport has expanded to encompass the general study of sport to more specific aspects like particular sports, mega-events, and the importance of identity in relation to sporting practices.

Sport in social space can be organized in several ways, and I often understand them to be based upon degrees of formality and influence. Children can informally kick a ball around, groups of people can organize clubs, or entire sections of society can gather around to watch teams play in events ranging from the local to the mega. Mega-events in sporting such as the Summer Olympic Games and the FIFA fútbol World Cup have great social, political, and economic significance. These types of events create an occasion to reflect upon cultural and national identity in front of a global audience. For this reason, such events are also significant for raising questions about the relationship between states and the production of cultural and national ideologies (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006, 16).

Mega-events in sports and their associated elements of internationality creates a new kind of public sphere. The international community has the opportunity to utilize this public sphere to come together as global citizens and sports fanatics (Besnier, Brownell, Carter, 2017, 186). These types of events are also important because, according to Besnier, Brownell, and Carter (2017), “organizers of mega-events frequently conceive of them as having the capability of bringing about social transformations” like “the emergence of the host nation as a super power” (165). The authors use Brazil as an example of this particular phenomenon. The significance of mega-events also includes

the “mini” events that lead up to the actualization of the global event. For example, the Olympic and FIFA World Cup qualifiers. For this reason, I argue that the power of mega-events to be conceived of as social transformational opportunities can *also* extend to the “mini” events. This is important because it allows us to consider each qualifier played in Chile as new opportunity for a greater opening of public sphere and social space.

Descending from such a macro-level study, sport also carries these important connotations of cultural and national identity in more localized engagements particularly as they apply to fútbol in the Latin American and Chilean contexts. The study of sport, and fútbol in this region in particular, can serve as a lens through which everyday life can be better understood (Podalsky, 2015, 3). Sports have what Podalsky calls a “generative function” in reference to their ability to change understandings of “national, ethnic, racial, and gendered identities” (10). This ability to create, maintain, change, and merge identities extends beyond participation in the physical practice of the sport to the engagements demonstrated as a fan and spectator (11). Being a full member of a fan culture requires, at least to some extent, engaging in group behaviors that demarcate a true devotee (14). These patterns of behavior are essential to the unifying power of fútbol, and help to explain how this game stretches into the nooks and crannies of everyday life.

The intersections between fútbol and the nation at all levels of play, and the subsequent creation of local, regional, and national identities, is a common theme throughout literature on the subject of the game. Podalsky echoes this phenomenon by stating that “the state has provided concrete support for the promotion of sports, often as a part of nation building and modernization processes” (2015, 6). Intrinsicly tied to this concept of state support is the fact that fútbol in Chile has served political functions since

the inception of the sport in the country (Nadel, 2014, 117). For example, many countries provide examples of leaders using sports to control the population. Chile provides a counter narrative to this: Chileans utilized the game of fútbol to protest against the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (Nadel, 2014, 5).

Due to the timing of fútbol's arrival in Chile and the development of the sport alongside that of the nation in the late nineteenth century and through the twentieth, the game has a particular capacity to reflect and generate identities (Nadel, 2014, 5-6). This ability combined with the deeply entrenched political nature raises interesting questions surrounding fútbol as a mechanism of both inclusion and exclusion in social space. This is especially true because the foundations of the game in Chile are deeply tied to both the workplace and the education system, both of which are spheres of public space from which women have been historically excluded (119-121). According to Nadel, women's fútbol *did* exist during the twentieth century but "no one" wanted to acknowledge it. This subsequently excluded women from a "crucial construct of nation" (2014, 232).

Social space created by sport achieves all three categorizations of space theorized by Lefebvre: perceived space, conceived space, and lived space (as cited in Van Ingen, 2003, 203-5). As perceived space, sport takes place in an actual, physical location. In the case presented here, sport takes place in a fútbol stadium, in a neighborhood park, in a schoolyard, etc. Conceived space is that which is representational. Tom McSorely argues that representations of space in sport can include concepts of "nation, individuality, community, politics, language, economics, and history" (as cited in Van Ingen, 2003, 203). Lastly, lived space combines all spaces and is the site where "life is directly *lived*"

(204). As such, it is the site of both inclusion and exclusion that is both created and mitigated by its participants.

Ultimately, Lefebvre's framework of space can be used to understand sports as a key part in the creation and maintenance of identities, which thus acknowledges notions of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality in sport (210). Van Ingen's own research on a running club in Toronto, Canada's "gay village" utilizes Lefebvre's categorizations of space to "explore the ways in which relations of gender, sexuality and race are produced, negotiated and contested in social space" (211). This same method can be applied to understanding the gendered and engendering nature of sport and fútbol in Chile.

Food, Family, and Community

The literature on the sociology of food supports what one may intuitively conclude: food and family often go together. Alan Beardsworth and Teresa Keil (1996) discuss the bonds between food, family, and community through analyzing various studies of English families. The results of these studies are subsequently supported by similar projects conducted in the United States and Sweden (82), and much of the supporting data reflects patterns like those reported by the 2010 Human Development study on gender equality in Chile. The construction of family varies from region to region, and from one family to another. Beardsworth and Keil (1996) acknowledge that "family" carries both positive and negative connotations: it can be a source of support and community but can also be a location for tension and conflict (73). Despite this, the family (whether nuclear or otherwise) comprises an important unit of consumption in

society. Ultimately, family is important to the consumption of food because food has the capacity to “mark and forge linkages across family boundaries” and for the way in which “food is implicated in [gendered] differentiation within families” (73). It is this capacity of demarcating social boundaries that allows food to serve as a mechanism of both inclusion and exclusion (74).

Food can be studied through the lenses of “meal-as-object” or as “meal-as-event” (75). Beardsworth and Keil (1996) elaborate on this crucial distinction between the two, which was originally presented by Marc P. Lalonde. Meal-as-object, the complementary viewpoint of the structuralist approach to food sociology advocated by Mary Douglas, focuses on the structure of meals as the primary source of their significance. Lalonde advocates for the meal-as-event approach because meals are lived experiences and this approach thus takes into account complex sensory and cognitive aspects (75). The recognition of a meal as an event highlights both the boundaries of the nuclear family and the ability of food to serve as a bridge to the extended family (or even beyond familial structures into the community) (75). In this study, I will utilize the meal-as-event approach because it highlights how meals serve as an opportunity to bring nuclear families together at regular intervals throughout the week and the capacity for meals to serve as an occasion for bringing others *into* this nuclear unit.

Through a study of Italian-American families in Philadelphia, Janet Theopano and Karen Curtis demonstrate how women are able to express bonds of community and family through social events focused around food (Beardsworth and Keil, 1996, 75). This powerful form of social interaction can be very positive. Despite this, gendered differentiation of food preparation and consumption patterns can be disadvantageous to

women. Women often sacrifice quantity and quality of food for the men of the house, as “traditional peasant culture” characterized men as needing meat and larger quantities of food to sustain them (77). Though this pattern was observed within British families, my interviews with at least one Chilean woman reflected this idea. She firmly believed that the nutritional needs were fundamentally different between men and women: men needed their protein from animals whereas women could obtain it from plant-based sources like lentils.

In addition to these gendered differentiation of consumption patterns, food preparation also had gendered and engendering results. Women frequently bear the burden of responsibility when it comes to the planning, shopping, preparing, and cooking of meals whereas men often predominate in “more marginal areas of foodwork” like picking up takeout or barbecuing (81). This notion is also tied into the general concept of the “second shift.” This phrase, coined by Arlie Hochschild (2012), refers to the notion that women work outside of the home and then, after work, return home to essentially put in another day of work. This second shift includes activities like foodwork, child care, household chores, and the many other daily responsibilities that it takes to keep a household in running order. Women are often left to work this second shift which further indicates inequalities in the quantity and quality of their recreation time.

Despite these established patterns in food and household sociologies, the norms of food systems have a great propensity to change and often do so alongside society. The increasingly capitalized global agriculture systems of the twenty-first century, human migration, and the globalization of food production and transport are all examples of food and social change walking hand-in-hand (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002, 104-105).

Globalization certainly brings people into contact with both each other and their foods. However, according to Allison James, rather than supplanting locally constructed ideas, “the global may actually reestablish the local” (109).

Conclusion

As the Chilean family structure and gendered familial hierarchies continue to evolve alongside the country demonstrating many of these social changes, it raises interesting questions as to how eating and identities have and continue to evolve. In an increasingly globalized and socially evolving Chile, food, nation, fútbol, and gender identities come into contact with each other frequently. Men and women frequently congregate to eat and drink and watch national and international fútbol matches. Women have entered the workforce and higher education in increasingly high numbers, earning more money for themselves and their families. The increasing agency of Chilean women means that they are interacting with the public sphere more frequently and in more meaningful ways, and this includes sport and consumption cultures. These dynamics and the preceding theoretical frameworks presented on the sociologies of gender, sport, and food and how each are mapped out onto and interact within the social and public sphere creates space in the literature in which to discuss the Chilean case.

Chapter 3

Women in Sport and Society

Introduction

In order to answer my research question of how the relationships between food and sport create a space for women in the overarching idea of national belonging, I begin this chapter by analyzing the evolving position of Chilean women in society. This first section is important because it allows us to measure to what degree women in Chile have increased their presence in the public sphere in the modern era. As more Chilean women enter the labor market, they increase their opportunities to not just be affected by social space but to be a creator of it and an *intentional* participant in the public sphere. However, the persistent family structure encouraged in Chile limits the possibilities of this newfound female agency to the private sphere even as women gain influence in the public.

In the next section, I call into question the representations of gender in sport in Chilean newspapers and sports publications. This data collection and analysis of a women's "sports" magazine indicates that women in Chile are encouraged to engage in physical activities to improve their bodies and minds. In contrast, the "regular" sports editions of this same magazine *actually* covers sports, as opposed to serving as a conduct manual like the women's edition does. The focus on health, fitness, and sexuality in the women's sports magazine as opposed to any kind of remote or recurring inclusion in a "crucial construct of nation" (Nadel, 2014, 232) demonstrates their lack of engagement

with this element of the public sphere. This is significant because of the ways in which fútbol helps frame the public sphere and aids in the construction of identities—a primary female component is missing. The two primary sections of this chapter interact to paint a picture of what daily life might look like for the average Chilean woman. She works double duty both inside and outside the home, and the quantity and quality of her leisure time is not a focus of mainstream sports circles whereas her male counterparts have a multitude of outlets for their sporting interests.

Insights About the Evolving Role of Women in Society

Women continue to lack access to positions in politics and government, and have long been excluded from and marginalized within the political sphere. Although the top-office in the country was occupied by Michelle Bachelet for two terms, her success in obtaining the presidency is not indicative of the overall political environment towards women and especially with regard to women seeking office. According to Paz Irrarrázabal, between the return of democracy in 1989 and 2013, 13 female senators and 98 female deputies were elected. These figures account for 8.5 percent and 11.6 percent of each chamber, respectively. After the 2017 election, electoral reform that established quotas for gender was implemented. Following this election, 23 percent of the new members of Congress were female. Women in government at the local level are also underrepresented. In 2016, 11.9 percent of mayors elected that year were female (Irrarrázabal, 2018). The political exclusion of women from holding office at both the regional and national level negatively affects their ability to gain agency in the public

sphere, especially when it is further complicated by societal overtones of machismo and traditional family values.

The UNDP's 2010 report on the challenges of gender equality in Chile collected extensive data on the state of gender equality and inequality in Chile and investigated the factors that are encouraging and hindering the realization of greater gender equality. Many of the advances and challenges when it comes to gender equality can be related to the level of female participation in the labor force. Though not fully indicative of the reality of equality, it is a good yardstick by which we can begin to assess the situation.

In terms of female participation in the labor force, Chile has fallen behind the rest of Latin America especially amongst women aged 35 to 49. 59% of women aged 35 to 49 participate in the labor force in Chile, a figure that is lower than every other country studied (Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Ecuador, Paraguay, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay) except Costa Rica (57%). This means that Chile has lower female labor participation rates than countries with lower human development index levels such as Mexico and Brazil. Chile also fell behind in terms of how much their female labor force has grown. Data collected from 1990 to 2006 indicates that Chile has seen a 10% growth in the labor force amongst women aged 35-49. This figure puts Chile in sixth place out of the eight countries studied in terms of growth: behind Ecuador, Costa Rica, Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico; ahead of Colombia and Uruguay (which both already had higher levels of participation at 67% and 77%, respectively). The authors point out that this dynamic is particularly unusual considering Chile has more structural factors that favor a higher female participation rate such as the creation of jobs, increased education, and reduced birthrates (UNDP, 2010, 37-39). This data is not meant to indicate anything

about the economic state of Chile, but rather illustrate how opportunities for women outside of the home working in the public sphere were, and in many cases continue to be, limited.

In attempt to bring this information more up to date, I used the online analysis tool made available by LAPOP to run a cross-tabulation of employment situation [situación laboral] and gender [sexo] in the 2014 Chile dataset. The results show that in 2014, 48.95% of all female respondents were working inside the home [se dedica a los queha] compared to only 29.05% of all female respondents working outside the home [trabajando]. The World Bank also provides information about labor force participation rate by gender (World Bank Gender Data Portal, 2018). According to their measures, in 2016, 50% of all Chilean women were a part of the labor force. These discrepancies could be caused by what the individual survey respondents considered to be “work.” For example, by American standards, my Chilean host mother did not participate in the labor force. She did some irregular and informal work (sewing) from within her home; however, she considered herself and others who do informal work from home as a member of the workforce. Though my host mother and other women like her are certainly performing work, whether or not working less than part-time from home should be considered as membership in the labor force is open to interpretation and raises the question of how many of that aforementioned 50 percent are working *outside* of the home. If significant numbers of women consider working from within the home to be “labor force participation,” it decreases the legitimacy and weight of that figure. While women seeking out employment is helpful in promoting the agency of women, the

effectiveness is diminished when it is done from a position encouraged by traditional gender norms.

The World Bank also provides information about how the ratio of female to male labor force participation rate has changed from 2000 to 2016. In 2000, the ratio was 47.9% female to male. In 2016, this had grown to 67.7%. Furthermore, female unemployment as a percentage of the female labor force has declined from 10.1% to 7.3% over this same period. These figures, along with the information above, leads to the conclusion that women in Chile are working outside of the home in greater numbers. This subsequently raises questions about if and how women have been increasing their agency in the public sphere.

Despite the relatively low comparative participation rate of women in the work force, women of all ages and from all socioeconomic groups increased their participation in the labor market from 1995 to 2010. However, the inequalities that exist between individual socioeconomic groups has not substantially changed despite more women from each group joining the labor force (UNDP, 2010, 37-39). The World Bank data from 2016 indicates that this reality has stayed more-or-less the same. Low income women participated in the labor force at a rate of 69% compared to middle income women participating at a rate of 46%. (World Bank Gender Data Portal, 2018). This should come as no surprise; however, it is an important distinction because it emphasizes the fact that middle income women are opting out of engaging in the public sphere. Contrastingly, lower income women go to work in significantly higher numbers but are, regardless, excluded from the public sphere due to class distinctions. Lower income women are also more likely to engage in the so-called “second shift” because they cannot

afford the type of hired domestic help employed by the upper classes. This large discrepancy leads to questions about the cultural and institutional factors that can “contribute to, expand, or limit the progress towards a greater gender equality” (UNDP, 2010, 37-39). The traditional family structure and the emphasis on women being mothers and serving in the private sphere cannot be ignored as important factors that limit this progress towards gender equality.

Although life for Chilean women seems to be changing on paper with more women joining the work force and creating lives outside of the home, the realities of life for the average woman may have not changed quite so much. This point was illustrated in the UNDP report’s chapter on the representations of gender and their impact on daily practices. According to their research, 85% of women take the children to the doctor, 82% wash and iron the clothes, 80% do homework with the children, 79% make the bed, 79% do the cooking, and 76% take and pick up the children from school. Furthermore, of the 24% of respondents who said that they are the only person doing household chores, 83% of those respondents were female. Of the 26% of respondents who said they are the principal person doing the chores with some help, 77% were female (UNDP, 2010, 73-74).

These statistics indicate that despite the fact that many Chilean women have entered into the workforce over the past decade, they are still responsible for the keeping up of the home and family. This was reflected in my own host family experience, and in my interviews with Chilean women. They often admitted to doing the housework and cooking themselves and said that their households as children followed this same pattern. Ultimately, this raises the question of why the burdens of daily life are not being shared

in a fundamentally more equitable way between all family members: fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters. The burdens of the second-shift, which reside in the private sphere, falling primarily to the mother keeps her in the private domain and limits her possibilities of spending more time the public sphere.

From this point, it is logical to ask how these dynamics affect single-mother homes in which there is not another partner with whom the second-shift can be shared (with the obvious exception of adult and young-adult children living in the household). Chile has some of the lowest rates of domestic partnership in the world. Less than half of adults are married or cohabiting. Only 29 percent of adults of reproductive age (18 to 49 years) were married, and only 20% of this same group was cohabiting. In Chile, over two-thirds of children are born outside of marriage (World Family Map, 2014). Perhaps most strikingly, in Santiago, 50% of households below the poverty line are single-women households (Sepúlveda, 2012). These figures demonstrate that the reality of motherhood in Chile does not align with the advocated traditional family structure. This is significant because it illustrates how drastically womanhood and motherhood has deviated from these gender norms, despite the fact that these norms remain prevalent in the discourse and framing of the public sphere.

Individuals recognize a tangible growth in gender equality in Chile, yet still indicate a desire for more substantive change. This was the conclusion of a compilation of survey data done by the Human Development report, but also reflects the pattern of opinion indicated by the Chilean women that I interviewed. According to the UNDP's report, the majority of Chileans (76%) consider that, compared to 10 years ago, inequalities between men and women in Chile have decreased. However, when the

respondents are broken down into four groups according to how they see the current state of equality and the possibility of future advancements, 37% of respondents (the largest group consensus reached) stated that equality has advanced but there is still a lot missing from the picture. This group sees men as retaining an advantaged position in society and characterize the current state of gender relations to be quite unequal. Also noteworthy, this group held a greater presence of women relative to the other three groups (UNDP, 2010, 42-44).

Cultural and institutional factors such as social conservatism, the influence of the Roman Catholic church, and the familial structure may all play roles in hindering the growth of gender equality. These factors can be considered encouragers of the social forces of machismo and marianismo. One of the women I interviewed was quick to point out this phenomenon. Maria Bassi is a professor of gender issues at the Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso. When I asked her about whether or not the status of women in the household has changed in recent years, she said that women are still considered to be the “soul” of the home and of the family. This response indicates that although women have gone to work and attended university, their traditional role within the home has remained much the same. This reflects an attitude of it being permissible to join the labor force and pursue and education on the condition that these pursuits do not disrupt or damage the “soul” of the home. Such sentiment is also empirically supported. As stated by Margaret Power (2004), the Santiago-based *Centro de Estudios Público* found that seven out of every ten Chileans (69%) agree with the statement that “Having a job is fine, but what most women really want is a house and children.” Although this comes from a 2003 study, the long-term implications of such a society-wide attitude

towards work and motherhood remains deeply entrenched in Chilean society. This response reflects the spirit of marianismo and these sentiments were echoed in conversations with others that I interviewed.

Overtones of societal marianismo were also indicated in the UNDP's study of cultural representations of gender. Their study indicated that women are often associated with concepts like family and motherhood by both genders, with strength and sacrifice by other women, and with love and caring by men. Contrastingly, men were often associated with concepts like father and worker by both genders, with negative machista concepts by women, and with friendship and the title of "provider" by other men (UNDP, 2010, 56-7). How women and men view both themselves and each other is crucial to forming a deeper understanding of how and to what degree machismo and marianismo influences society, the dichotomy between the public and private sphere, and the national identity. Although notions of machismo and marianismo are debated by scholars (as I addressed in my literature review), this thesis operates under the assumption that society-wide forces like machismo and marianismo are elements at play in Chile due to the case-specific evidence made available by the UNDP. Ultimately, the values that women are associated with are values cultivated by the private sphere, whereas these male attributes are found and honed within the public domain and this is significant in understanding how the two meet in society.

As more women leave the domestic realm to enter the public sphere via the labor force and through higher education, other family members are taking on more chores and responsibilities. However, the primary duties still fall to the mother (or some form of hired help). The responses ultimately still indicated that women, in some way, are tied to

the household and work double duty regardless of their external employment. This point is powerfully illustrated by a quote from Laura Albornoz. Albornoz served as the Minister of Women's Affairs under President Michelle Bachelet and is currently a lawyer, university professor, and the Vice President of a major national political party in addition to also being a wife and mother. She said in an interview with Annie Murphy (2012) at National Public Radio that:

When I was minister, whenever the male ministers told me that they had a lot of responsibilities, too, I'd ask them, what's your family going to eat at home today? And they couldn't answer because they'd never been on their way out the door, in the morning, and stopped to take a chicken out of the freezer, to thaw for dinner (Murphy, 2012).

While this visual of frozen chicken may seem small, it is an impactful illustration of what it means to work second-shift and how men do not share in this common experience. This reality of women who work double duty (both inside of the home and outside of the home) raises questions about the quality and quantity of their work inside and outside of the home and their leisure time, if any.

Representations of Gender in Sport

As established in my literature review, the widespread interest in sport as a part of the national identity is reflected in the culture of daily life. Sport, and fútbol in particular, is an important element of leisure time for many Chileans. Through physical participation, individual and collective viewing, and the subsequent conversations surrounding the game of fútbol, it has become integrated into the fabric of daily life. This

is reflected in the fact that both major newspapers in national, daily circulation (*La Tercera* and *El Mercurio*) have a sports section that is utterly dominated by coverage of the sport. Many regional papers (such as *El Sur* based in Concepción and *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*) in addition to the English-language *Santiago Times* also follow this trend. The widespread coverage of fútbol in the “Sports” section led to a perhaps not-so-unusual discovery: women’s sports are not covered with the same level of detail and frequency that fútbol receives.

Perhaps in attempt to address this dichotomy and boost readership in the emerging women’s fitness market, *El Mercurio* began publishing a “Deportes Mujer” section. This periodical, published almost every Thursday in 2013 and 2014, was central to one of my primary data collection projects. I read and took notes on every publication of “Deportes Mujer” from January through the end of June of 2014 and extrapolated a variety of trends that seemingly contrasts those present in the regular “Deportes” section. In general, the articles featured intense athletes excelling at their sport or women and models performing different types of cardio activities. Throughout the year of publications, there is a stark difference in the coverage of serious athletes and the activities that are encouraged for the everyday woman. Contrastingly, in the regular “Deportes” section, this dichotomy is nonexistent. The mainstream sports section actually covers sports; it does not serve as a conduct manual in the same way that the “Deportes Mujer” section does.

Due to the fact that many of the articles were more centered on getting in shape and eating healthy, the “Deportes Mujer” section was a familiar type of woman’s conduct manual with articles on how to eat, how to exercise, how to dress when exercising, how to be inspired and motivated, and how to achieve a more ideal body. Throughout the

publication, the physical and psychological benefits of cardio activities like running and swimming were heavily emphasized. Despite the fact that the legitimate physical and mental health benefits to physical activity were discussed, the overall message of such articles was that the end-goal of these exercises is a “sexy” body. This focus was communicated through the hyper-sexuality of the women photographed in the articles and with sections on exercises, for example, to create the “perfect rear” (which is a topic featured on the cover of the American publication below). Ultimately, this Chilean “sports” magazine read more like the American “Women’s Health” magazine with a smattering of sports features rather than the other way around. This is illustrated in the following screenshots of two “Deportes Mujer” covers (from March 13, 2014 and October 25, 2014) and two from “Women’s Health” (from November 2012 and July/August 2015).





The idea that “Deportes Mujer” reads much more like a fitness publication than one dedicated to sports is well demonstrated by the fact that there was a lengthy feature on May 22 with suggestions about how to fall in love with exercising. The article discussed the physical and emotional benefits of running, biking, swimming, yoga, dance, and high-intensity interval training workouts like CrossFit. Fútbol was not a suggestion, nor was any kind of team sport or inherently group-oriented activity. This seems to permeate the idea that women cannot use team sports like fútbol to as a means to “love” exercising and getting in shape. Furthermore, there was also a near-weekly feature about a woman’s favorite sport. These activities were often individualized sports like wake boarding, tennis, swimming, golf, Cross Fit, figure skating, weight training, and paddle boarding. Fútbol was not listed as a favorite sport until the week of and the week immediately following the 2014 World Cup in Brazil (June 12 and June 26, 2014). The emphasis on individual sports without a strong national following implies that women are not a dominant part of *the* national sport and thus need some other type of activity to

claim as their own. Furthermore, it seems to imply that other sports like fútbol, basketball, and rugby are not encouraged because their perceived connotations of masculinity fundamentally contradict with traditional family values and gender norms.

It was not until April 17th, 2014 that fútbol was mentioned in the magazine in any sort of substantive way and, even then, it was an article about a men's team. This first mention was dedicated to coverage of Colo Colo and Sindicato de Futbolistas Profesionales (SIFUP) playing a charity match to raise money and donations for Valparaíso following a devastating fire in April 2014. This was followed by an article dedicated to interviewing female TV figures about how they celebrated Colo Colo winning their 30th professional fútbol title. One of the women, Pamela Díaz, talked about how she doesn't really follow fútbol, but her two sons are "super hinchas" [super fans]. Her description of their fanaticism is a succinct description of what "true" fandom looks like for young boys: they went to the stadium for the game, they know the names of the players, and they have Colo Colo jerseys with the players' names and numbers on them. Fandom extends beyond the 90-minutes of playing time into the fabric of everyday life and conversation.

The two weeks of the 2014 World Cup were the first truly substantive mentions of fútbol and women engaging in fútbol. Women were shown in jerseys cheering on their favorite teams, and the magazine ran an article asking a model, actress, and journalist how they cheer on their favorite teams. One woman spoke about making snacks and drinking champagne while watching the game with her sons, which supports the overarching relationship that women have with fútbol and consumption that is discussed in the next chapter. Women are also shown at the world cup, fully decked out in Chile's

national colors: wearing jerseys, flags in their hair, and other decorations showing their support for the national team.

In contrast to this publication which only featured fútbol primarily during the two weeks of the 2014 World Cup, the regular “Deportes” sections of the three major magazines in national circulation that I examined addressed primarily male fútbol in their daily publications. Though they sometimes mentioned women and women’s sports, the focus was almost entirely on male sports and fútbol in particular. The mere existence of a “Deportes mujer” section in even one major publication is, in and of itself, significant. Furthermore, why call it *women’s* sports when health and fitness would be much more accurate?

The interviews I conducted also included questions about the dynamics between fútbol and women. The overarching consensus is that fútbol is part of the national identity, and that women have begun to be included “*poco a poco*” [little by little]. Women watch fútbol at group watch parties and in the stadiums. They eat, drink, and celebrate alongside their male companions. However, many of those I interviewed pointed out that there is still an element of difference or newness to this experience.

The struggle for women to acclimate more comfortably into fútbol-related situations could derive from the fact that knowledge about and participation in fútbol is still associated with qualities of masculinity. The UNDP report explores this connection by asking respondents how uncomfortable seeing a girl playing fútbol makes them feel. Although 68% of respondents said that they did not feel any sort of discomfort, 17.5% felt something uncomfortable, 5.3% said they felt quite uncomfortable, and 8.7% said they felt very uncomfortable (UNDP, 2010, 319). These results along with those of

similar questions led the HDR to the interpretation that people have a low tolerance for images that contradict the traditional concept of family (61). This could potentially contribute to an explanation of why women do not engage in fútbol and its surrounding practices in the same ways as their male counterparts: the inherent masculinity of fútbol leads to female engagement being seen as a way of undermining traditional family values.

As pointed out by Maria Bassi, the lack of female fútbol participation could partially be the product of self-selecting out of deeper engagement with the activity. However, the social stigma surrounding fútbol as a “macho” sport, lead by men for male consumption, is likely also a contributing factor to the continual exclusion of women. The fact that many Chileans see girls playing fútbol as something to cause some degree of discomfort is indicative of the degree to which fútbol is still considered a “macho” sport. Though this probably does not usually translate into explicit exclusion, the implicit exclusion and implications of this are important.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the evolving position that women hold in social space and the public sphere in Chile. Although women have gained agency in the public sphere thanks to increased participation in the labor market, growing levels of education and increased representation in government and elected positions, the representations of gender in sport present challenges to women who want to fully engage in the elements of daily life that touch fútbol. To further contextualize these finding, Besnier et al. (2017) stated that after World War II, “sports emerged as a mechanism for the control of gender

conformity” thanks to research “devoted to the ‘problem’ of gender-nonconforming children and to curing boys by encouraging them to play sports and, conversely, by coaxing girls away from sports (154).” The notion that boys “should” play fútbol and that girls, perhaps, “should not” highlights the realities of female engagement in Chile: there are pervasive notions about what is and is not appropriate for boys and girls to do. This then affects them through adolescence and into adulthood: there are strong ideas about what men and women in Chilean society ought to do. This is reflected in the fact that notions of masculinity that surround fútbol means that women are instead encouraged to swim, run, dance, bike, etc. instead of playing team sports that encompass “macho” ideals of aggressiveness and competition. Ultimately, these ideals of masculinity keep women from engaging with fútbol in the same ways as their male peers and, in some ways, hampers the amount of progress women have made in terms of fully entering into the public sphere.

Chapter 4

The National Identity: Fútbol, Machismo, and Celebration

Introduction

Part of why fútbol is so interesting in Latin America is because of the ways in which it is tied up with ideas of nation, culture, collective identity, family, politics, morality, and fun. Throughout Latin America, fútbol is a major component of the collective concept of leisure time. Chile is no exception. Wherever you look, someone is talking about, watching, or playing fútbol during their free time (and sometimes on the job, too). This is significant because sport is widely considered a unique element in the construction and reflection of national, regional, and local identities (Nadel, 2014, 5-6) and these identities have an important relationship with the construction of the public sphere. Since the game was brought to Chile in the late-1800s, it has served multipurpose functions as a leisure activity, source of identity, and fundamental construct of nationality (despite the fact that the country is certainly not an international fútbol powerhouse). In fact, Chile has never won a World Cup and has emerged victorious from very few South American Championships (Nadel, 2014, 4-5).

Regardless, Chileans are fanatic in their following of the game at both international and national levels; citizens project their own feelings about “nation” onto their teams and players. This passion for following fútbol is important because it broadly cuts across socioeconomic lines and is thus a pastime, topic of conversation, and reflection of identity accessible to the vast majority of citizens. Pride of nationality is a

critical component in the construction of identities. Nationality colors how Chileans present themselves to each other and the world, and provides insight on how one sees themselves in the greater hierarchy of social space and the public sphere. According to World Values Survey data, 49.1% of Chileans said that they were “very proud” of their nationality in 2012. Another 43.8% said that they were “quite proud.” This is comparable to the figures reported by their neighbors in Argentina (48.6% and 40.7%, respectively), Uruguay (50.4% and 41.9%), and Brazil (34.2% and 43.0%). Much of this pride for country and nation can be, and very often is, mapped out onto the fútbol pitch.

The notion that fútbol is an activity that primarily takes place in the public sphere contributes to the conversation about the place of women in this sport and in this public domain. Fútbol and its surrounding culture are predominately public activities and the ways in which people associate the sport with their constructions of national identity affects the character of the public sphere framed by fútbol. Fútbol, thanks to its politicized history and usages, serves as a point in social space that is conducive to the discussion of and seeking of societal action, which fits the definition of the public sphere. However, fútbol and fútbol culture bleeds into daily life and the private sphere as well because people play, watch, and discuss the sport amongst friends and family members. Fútbol contributes to the framing the public sphere as a whole because of how it structures identities around masculinity, femininity, and nationalism. Women being largely absent from fútbol thus excuses them further from areas of the public sphere colored by fútbol’s influence.

Fútbol and the National Identity

As mentioned in the previous chapter, *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio* both have sports sections that are more-or-less devoted to fútbol coverage. On *La Tercera*'s website, the sports page is called "*El deportivo*" and this main section is dedicated to fútbol. There is a subsection called "Multisport" [*Polideportivo*] that covers other sports. This is notable for two reasons. First, the publication literally means "the sport;" it is singular. It is not called the "sports" page, but one singular sport: fútbol (and men's fútbol at that, I did not see any obvious or regular coverage of a woman's team). Second, every other sport is relegated to *Polideportivo*, which also seems relatively limited to tennis, basketball, and "athleticism." Furthermore, this observation was conducted during the 2018 Winter Olympics and any blurbs on the Games or Olympic athletes was hidden away at the bottom of the webpage. It was easier to find American National Basketball Association news than any type of coverage about the Chilean Winter Olympic athletes. This supports what may be obvious and what I observed with my own eyes and ears while in Chile and the consensus of my interviews: fútbol is *the* national sport and its male players are heroes upon which the populace places ideals of nation (Nadel, 2014).

Even as top Chilean athletes were participating in the 2018 Winter Olympics, like *La Tercera*, fútbol dominated the sports sections of *El Mercurio*. In the first 10 periodicals that came out during the Games (February 9-February 20), only one had an Olympics related cover and each edition still devoted at least the first four (and often, fifth and sixth) pages exclusively to fútbol. The first Sunday after the Games began, coverage of the athletes at the Olympics was limited to one page in the sports section and the Chilean team was not mentioned at all. For example, Sunday, February 11th's edition

focused primarily on coverage of Universidad de Chile's fútbol team winning their first match of the year.

In many ways, this undermines the tenants of mega-events established in my literature review. The sources were very clear in the fact that Olympic games are an opportunity for nations to put themselves, their culture, and their people on display for the world and their own citizens to see. However, the 2018 Winter Olympic Games seem to be an exception for Chile. In *El Mercurio*'s sports section from the first ten editions published during the Games, the Chilean athletes were only mentioned explicitly four times. While I recognize that there were not many Chilean athletes at the Games and that they competed relatively poorly (a brief blurb *was* written about this), I was surprised to encounter such little coverage. After all, the Chilean fútbol team doesn't exactly rock it on the international stage but their coverage remains extensive. (Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay are largely considered the South American powerhouses when it comes to fútbol. According to FIFA's website, Chile has only made 9 World Cup appearances and has earned 0 titles.) This discussion functions as a demonstration of the degree to which fútbol is a more important construct of identity in Chile as opposed to an international competition that is more removed from the contents of daily life. Fútbol and its coverage and its culture continues on, whether or not the country had athletes in PyeongChang.

Incorporating Machismo to Fútbol and National Identity

The relationship of fútbol to national identity is not independent of the relationship of machismo to national identity. Machismo is a tricky subject because it is never fully defined; furthermore, any type of loose definition we may create changes

based on what Latin American country is being analyzed. Matthew Gutmann's (2003) collection of works on changing masculinities in Latin America does not seek to define machismo or masculinities as any one particular *thing* across the region or in a given place; however, the consensus of his edited volume is that machismo and the influence of masculinities impact daily life. This collective influence of machismo and hegemonic masculinities can be applied to the case of Chilean fútbol because of how these norms shape both sports culture and the national identity, and further feed into the framing of the public spheres.

Fútbol is still widely considered a male sport in Chile and brings components traditionally associated with masculinity to the forefront: physical strength, male dominance, extensive coverage of promiscuity by and the girlfriends of prominent players, etc. This is societally internalized, which is demonstrated by the previously cited fact that many Chileans feel uncomfortable seeing a young girl playing fútbol. FIFA has attempted to address challenges that have made it difficult for fútbol to gain ground in Latin America by “funneling money to regional and national governing bodies” and “requires that all federations spend a percentage of their income on women’s soccer (Nadel, 2014, 236-7). However, “this support nevertheless has done little to change entrenched attitudes” (236-7). Women have been largely ignored by the sport’s global heads: in 2016, the Chilean national team was the sixth of ten teams to be removed from the official FIFA rankings and declared inactive (Elsy and Nadel, 2016). Similar to when women’s teams were established but given the same status as 12-year-old boys’ teams, FIFA appears to be making a commitment to female fútbol without addressing the real issues. Since the team was removed, it has seemingly been reinstated and is set to

play in April in the 2018 Copa America Femenina, the qualifiers to the 2019 FIFA Women's World Cup. These qualifiers are set to be hosted in Chile (FIFA Women's World Cup, 2018), which could potentially provide a meaningful opportunity for women and young girls to enter the public sphere and see themselves more greatly reflected in the nation's pastime and identity.

My newspaper data collection projects have further demonstrated that fútbol in Chile is *primarily* a male-dominated sport intended for *primarily* male consumers. I have also established in this chapter and in my literature review that fútbol is integral to the national identity, and brings ideas about the "macho" male to center stage. Fútbol has been a longstanding element of the Chilean public sphere. Therefore, the more equitable entrance of women into the public sphere in Chile in recent years leaves us with the question of where women fit into the picture with regards to nation and fútbol in the face of machismo and gender inequality.

Gathering to watch or play fútbol is prioritized amongst men; my interviews indicated that few things get in between their scheduled time for this sort of community. Women are also present in such contexts, but from a more periphery role. When I asked my interviewees if there is an attitude of machismo surrounding fútbol, the answer was yes. According to my interviewees, women might understand the rules of the game and enjoy watching the sport, but the experience does not often transcend the 90-minutes of playing time like it does for so many male followers. For example, Carmen Duarte told me about how Chilean boys have a ritual surrounding fútbol that can be somewhat equated to American boys trading baseball cards. Young men had albums for everything

fútbol related: they would go to kiosks to buy stickers to put in their albums and then once the album was full, it could be traded for a radio.

This is supported by Laura Podalsky's (2015) statement that fan culture requires an acknowledgement that in being and becoming a devotee involves:

taking part in shared behaviors and routines: reading sports columns, keeping track of statistics, watching televised matches, debating the merits of players and teams, and attending specific events. Even when taking place in private spaces, these practices allow fans to form part of an imagined community that is actualized through a set of shared behaviors and routines that attenuate the differences between different communities (14).

As I will discuss in the next section, the presence of women at these events in the public sphere is often conditioned on the presence of a male they care about being deeply interested in the sport. This affects their ability to be an equitable member of the social space at these events. Furthermore, if fútbol and sports are so integral to the formation of identities (Nadel, Elsey, Sheinin, etc.), its relationship with machismo is significant in how these constructs meet to frame the public sphere. Ultimately, Chilean women do not engage in fandom in the same society-wide ways that men do and this impacts their ability to exert agency in social space.

Importance of Eating, Drinking, and Celebrating

Fútbol serves as an opportunity to bring people together in community to eat, drink, celebrate, and spend time with friends and loved ones. My interviews reflected this importance. Food and drinking are seen as central elements to celebration, and

celebrations often occur with family and friends. When I asked my interviewees, “Is food important?” everyone responded yes. For nutritional reasons and for the sheer power of bringing people together, food is important to Chileans and this certainly holds true despite the fact that one of my interviewees responded to this question by saying that “the Chilean palate is horrible.” Food and drink maintain their relevance no matter what is being served because these serve as mechanisms by which family and friends are made to feel welcome in the home and in the given community gathered. Food and drink and celebration bring the communities of private and public sphere into contact with one another, and opens up questions as to how these dynamics play out when fútbol is involved.

The *asado* (a type of Chilean-style barbeque backyard party) is at the heart of many types of celebrations and gatherings of family and friends. National holidays, graduations, birthday parties, fútbol matches, Sunday get-togethers, and the end of the school year can all be celebrated with an *asado*. These occasions are semi-regular, casual opportunities to gather around food and drink with family and friends. According to some of my interviewees, the only occasions on which men are typically in the kitchen preparing food is during an *asado*. Much like in American culture, men seem comfortable taking on the title of “grill master” and handling the meat for the barbeque. I had the opportunity to observe this first hand while studying in Chile. In my experience, the women often gathered in the kitchen to prepare all the side dishes while the men grabbed a bottle of pisco and congregated around the barbecue. Both men and women were congregating, drinking, and having a good time but there was a degree of separation between the activities. My interviewees responses also reflected this phenomenon.

Women are often present at watch parties for fútbol games, but they do not engage in the surrounding culture of eating and drinking in the same ways. Instead of simply enjoying the food, they are often tasked with its preparation, too. Though they might be at the stadium, they aren't "pregaming" outside with shots of pisco with the men.

Food and drink is also often central to watching fútbol. People will congregate in homes, bars, or restaurants to watch the games. When I asked my interviewees if food and drinking had a relationship with fútbol, one said that if 100 Chileans are watching a game, 90 of them will be eating and drinking, 7 will be drinking a beer, and the other 3 will just be eating. Maria Bassi also said "absolutely" yes to this question. However, according to her, the sense of companionship that watching a game with loved ones can bring is more important than the food and drink consumed. Both of these responses demonstrate the pervasive associations between consumption and fútbol. Carmen Duarte and I had a lengthy conversation about this phenomenon in conjunction with the idea of women being present. According to her, bars that feature just simple food and a big T.V. are more heavily populated by men watching the game. Bars and restaurants that serve more sophisticated and gourmet foods have a more equal balance of men and women gathering to watch the game. Perhaps this is anecdotal, but it serves as a representation of how interested a sampling of women were in watching the sport. Duarte pointed out that the women weren't at the bar that could be considered more "devoted" to watching the game. Instead, they congregated in an atmosphere that has something *beyond* fútbol to offer them; in this case, more food and beverage options that could be considered a "treat."

These distinctions between which venue one might wish to watch fútbol in has obvious implications about class. However, many Chileans choose to watch fútbol in their homes and forego pricier pathways to watching the game. Due to the versatility of fútbol and the fact that it can be enjoyed in both the private and public spheres, Duarte's central point is still meaningful: women often watch fútbol because a male they care about is interested in the sport. The idea that women do not have a primary interest in watching fútbol contributes to the ways in which they are relegated to being snack-makers and providers during such events. In my interviews and in my own experience, I saw this first hand. Women were making snacks, passing out beers, and quickly cleaning up behind the men and any children present. Rather than mutually enjoying this opportunity for leisure time, women were engaging in activities that fall in line with traditional gender norms and family structures within the private sphere.

When I asked my interviewees if there is an emphasis on women cooking, many responded with a definite yes. This was also reflected in the UNDP's (2010) surveys. One of my interviewees stated that men only cook if it is a passion or hobby of theirs, the primary responsibility of doing so falls to the women of the household. Maria Bassi emphasized this point by stating that, "in our culture, to cook for the family means to fulfill your role as a mother." This engendered understanding of meals and cooking reflects the fact that women and young girls have a different relationship to food and consumption than their male counterparts. Furthermore, Bassi's mention of motherhood illustrates how being female is inherently associated with being a mother and taking on the roles of motherhood within the traditional family structure. Part of this structure is that girls are introduced to the kitchen from an early age, whereas this expectation is

never or is rarely placed upon boys. Within this traditional familial hierarchy, girls are the ones who will one day take on the many roles of motherhood, which includes feeding the family. Men and boys congregate to watch or play fútbol while women often prepare the meal associated with the gathering. Society expects women to fulfill this role of bread-maker (as opposed to just breadwinner, though I have established that many women do both). There are also social pressures exerted upon women to fulfill this norm: machismo, the Church, conservatism, and the traditional hierarchy of the nuclear family unit.

While the burden of preparing food falls primarily to women, my interviewees and my own experiences of Chile indicate that this can be a positive factor. At *asados*, family gatherings, and other kinds of celebration, women often gather together in the kitchen as they cook. I myself witnessed the potential of these types of gatherings while attending a birthday celebration for my host mother's father. While women being more-or-less expected to be in the kitchen can be seen as a marginalizing factor, it also provides an opportunity for women to gather together in their own community and could perhaps serve as a (small) counterweight to the social possibilities that fútbol offers to men.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the complex relationships between sport, nation, gender, and consumption. These factors are each independently intrinsic to daily life, but when woven together and made to communicate in the Chilean context, they tell an interesting story about what it means to be a woman in Chile. Although social space and the public sphere has opened towards women in the modern area, large swaths of the public sphere

remain dominated by men—especially with regards to sport and fútbol. Sport and gender each interact with constructs of nation in the public sphere, and this dynamic makes it difficult for women to gain ground in areas of the public or private sphere that pertain to fútbol. When this complex relationship is then introduced to the engendered notions of consumption in the country, the space for women in both the public and private spheres shrinks further. Ultimately, these fibers of daily life are heavily affected by silent social forces like machismo and pervasive ideas about gender norms.

Chapter 5

Conclusion—Weaving in Women: Where do they belong?

My thesis sought to answer the question of how the relationships between consumption cultures and fútbol create, delineate, and/or eliminate space for Chilean women in the social and public spheres of national belonging. When I set out to begin exploring the nuances of this question, I hypothesized that the dynamics of these activities incorporates machismo and thus prevents women from engaging in these aspects of public life. However, due to sociopolitical and cultural changes in Chile, this trend has waned in strength in the 2000s. Through my research, I found that although Chile has progressed in terms of gender, political, and economic equality, persistent practices around sport and celebration make it difficult for women to engage in and enjoy these important elements of daily life.

Machismo and the traditional family structure affects both the public and private spheres through their relationships with consumption culture, fútbol, national identity, and the role of women in Chilean society. Furthermore, machismo colors the public sphere which is shaped by the importance of and identities from fútbol. The values of these social constructs individually reinforces the visibility of the other, which makes it difficult to separate machismo in the public sphere from the traditional family structure in the private. This relationship creates an environment in certain spaces of the public sphere that is difficult for women to break into, and attempts to do so are done from an inferior position within the private sphere. Ultimately, fútbol is “macho” because it

celebrates machista constructs and as long as this dynamic continues, it will be marked by the vestiges of hegemonic masculinities that the country continues to struggle with.

National identity and consumption are prominent in fútbol's surrounding culture. Food and drink is intrinsically tied to watching or attending games and Chile's national fútbol team is equated with quintessential *Chileanness*. Consumption cultures and patterns around eating are already highly engendered in Chile, and then when combined with the inherent machismo attitude in fútbol, it creates an unfriendly space for women whether these activities are occurring in the private or public spheres. Elements of nationalism and consumption also independently feed into the public sphere which thus conditions gender relations and affects the place of women. Despite the fact that FIFA requires funding for women's leagues, this money generates little change due to deeply entrenched attitudes regarding women's fútbol (Nadel, 2014, 236-7).

The dynamics between consumption cultures and fútbol affects the space for women in the overarching social sphere of national belonging because the relationship that fútbol and celebration culture has with machismo means that each can individually or collectively serve as a mechanism that isolates or excludes women. This isolation with regards to fútbol is then mapped out into the public sphere, from which women already have a long-standing history of marginalization. The analysis of these relationships calls on the chart reproduced in my literature review that illustrates how the public, private, and individual spheres interact to condition gender relations. While fútbol and consumption cultures might not explicitly meet in the public sphere to marginalize women, they certainly do not work together to include them.

There are possibilities for cooking and women's exercise classes or sports teams to counter this, but these mechanisms of inclusion are not nearly as widespread as the primary factors of exclusion. This compromises the ability of women to create space in the public sphere. Women are already generating social space from a disadvantaged position due to their long absence from the public sphere, and societal norms only continue to reinforce this misalignment. As women continue to enter the public sphere through the labor force and higher education, the societal factors that inhibit their ability to create and mitigate space must be addressed.

Ultimately, this narrative matters and we should care about this topic because football and consumption cultures help frame and shape the public sphere—both in terms of existence and in terms of our interactions with it. It further helps construct a greater understanding of the role of women in Chilean society, and what might be preventing them from achieving their full role as equal participants in and creators of social space in the public sphere. A lack of female engagement here in the public sphere leads to disengagement with other aspects of daily life. The importance of the “persistent amnesia regarding women's soccer” hides inequalities in leisure time, the ability to take up space in the public sphere, and “exposes the active marginalization of girls at the grassroots level (Elsley and Nadel, 2016). Although Chilean society has experienced a massive shift towards a more modern understanding of gender equality, deeply rooted social factors like machismo, traditional family structures, and a persistent lack of equitable access to the public sphere makes it difficult for women to engage in public life in the same ways as their male peers. In order to understand how to better and further empower women and

girls in Chile as this new shift towards modern gender equality continues, these “grassroots” inequalities must be exposed and addressed.

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