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POLITICAL
CONSULTANTS

The Chilean Electoral Process

Boric triumph

Matías Gálvez Fernández, 03-2022



La Casa de Investigación



General Context



Gabriel Boric presenta su gabinete en Chile - 4 señale
www1.falloa.uel.com.br



Boric anuncia gabinete dominado pela esquerda
www1.falloa.uel.com.br



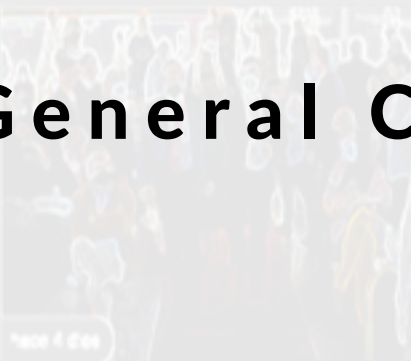
Com 16 mulheres e 10 homens, Gabriel Boric an
revela mancha re glabo com



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo com maioria
gl glabo com



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo co
gl glabo com



Gabriel Boric apresenta gabinete ministerial
brea/defato com br



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo com maior
gl glabo com



Gabriel Boric anunció su gabinete en Chile
lanacion.com.ar



Presidente n
ombrado de



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo co
gl glabo com



Chile: el presidente elige Gabriel Boric a
oncedenal.com.com



Boric afirma que su gabinete en
fance24.com



Boric nomeia 1º gabinete ministerial
efe.com



Gabriel Boric n
bceaurb.net



The end of control

Augusto Pinochet

Manuel Contreras, head of Chile's spy agency under Pinochet, dies aged 86

Contreras, who headed agency that kidnapped, tortured and killed thousands, died while serving 500 year sentence for crimes against humanity

Associated Press in Santiago

Sat 8 Aug 2015 06:55 BST



90



WORLD · Published January 4, 2017 2:48am EST

Code of silence about atrocities committed during Pinochet era in Chile starting to crack

By | Fox News



FILE - In this Oct. 1983, file photo, General Augusto Pinochet is seen in Santiago, Chile. Human rights groups and families of victims believe that military pacts of silence that hushed up many of the atrocities committed during the rule of Gen. Pinochet may finally be unraveling. (AP Photo/Eduardo Di Baia, File)



- After the death of General Pinochet, his trusted operators maintained their presence and pressure in the country.
- The death of General Manuel Contreras, the head of the military government's unofficial operations, reduced the feeling of fear and control of the army in the country.
- Subsequently, the media and social networks began to fill with testimonies of victims and perpetrators that left no doubt about the atrocities of the dictatorship.
- A new generation looked at their parents and grandparents wondering why they had tolerated the abuse and why they were still afraid.
- The fear of power and the government gradually turns into anger and a desire for confrontation.





The end of control



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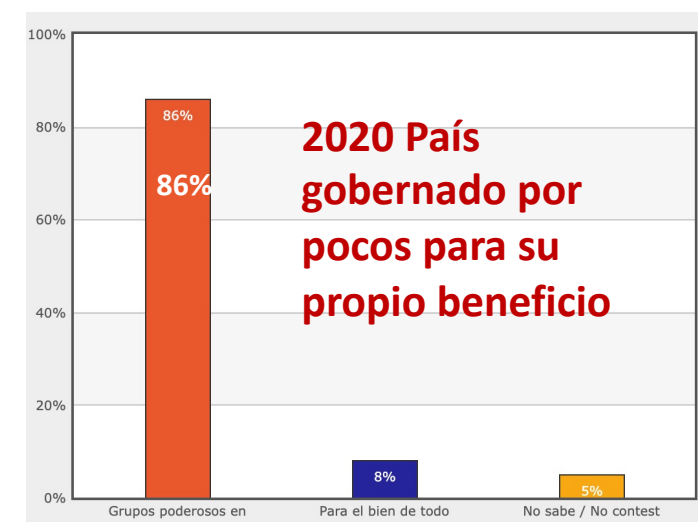
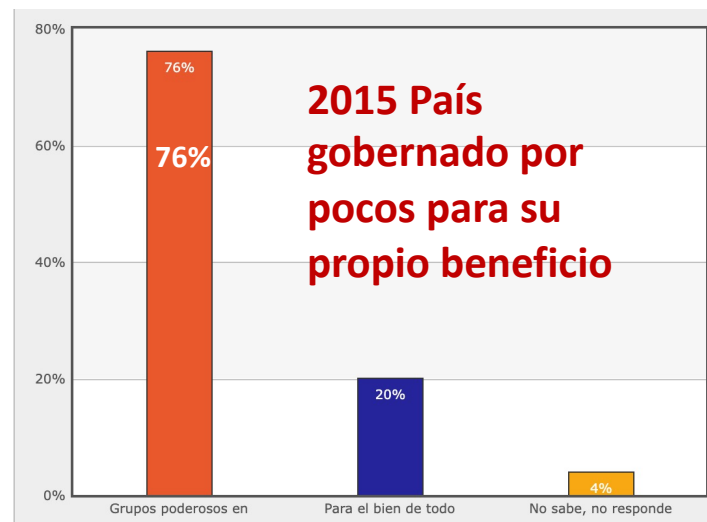
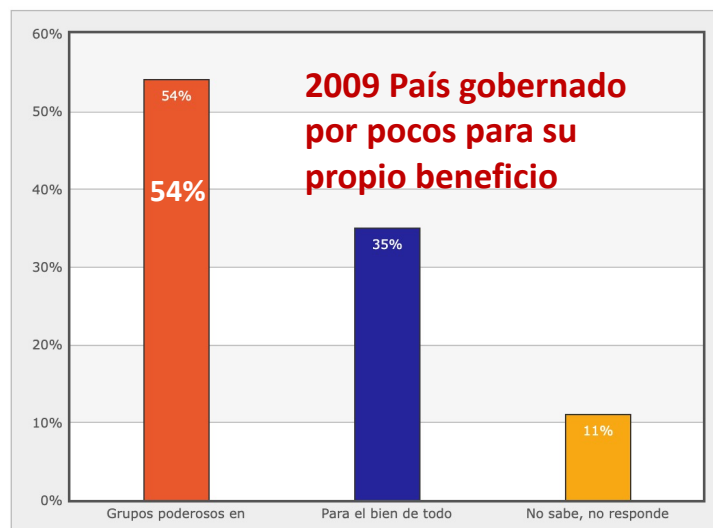
- The embezzlement and diversion of state funds to the coffers of the Pinochet family and other high-ranking military commanders is made public. Along with this, numerous cases of corruption in the army and the carabineros (national police).
- At the same time, numerous and millionaire cases of corruption in the army and the carabineros (national police) are made public.
- Main aspects of the social pact that a good part of the population of Chile had accepted after the dictatorship, contemplated that in addition to the atrocities, the military government had inherited an honest, transparent and efficient political-economic system, that promised development and economic growth for every family; in a climate of institutional health and transparency.



La Casa de Investigación



PERCEPTION OF POWER, 2006-2020, CHILE





Transparency & Deception

NEWS

Chile: Fernando Karadima, priest defrocked for sexual abuses, dies

Fernando Karadima was a key figure in a sexual abuse case that sent shockwaves through the Catholic Church. Aged 90, he died of bronchopneumonia and kidney failure in a nursing home.



World ► Europe US Americas Asia Australia Middle East Africa Inequality Global development

Catholicism

● This article is more than 3 years old

All Chilean bishops offer their resignation over sexual abuse cover-up

It is not yet clear whether Pope Francis will accept resignations of 34 bishops

Harriet Sherwood and agencies

@harrietsherwood
Fri 18 May 2018 12:46 BST



Pope Francis

● This article is more than 4 years old

Pope Francis admits 'grave error' in discrediting Chilean church sexual abuse victims

The pope blamed a lack of 'truthful and balanced information' in his missteps in judging the case that has tarnished his reputation

Associated Press in Santiago

Wed 11 Apr 2018 22:07 BST

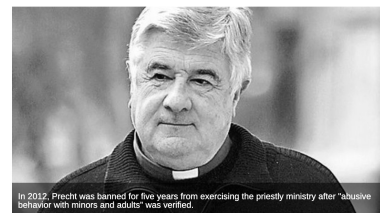


Chilean Catholics protest bishop over alleged cover-up of child abuse

Hundreds of people have protested against the ordination of a Catholic bishop in the Chilean city of Osorno. They've accused him of covering up a priest's sexual abuse of children.



Chile: Cristian Precht Stripped of Priesthood Over Sex Abuse



In 2012, Precht was banned for five years from exercising the priestly ministry after "abusive behavior with minors and adults" was verified.

Published 15 September 2018

Comments

In 2012, Precht was sentenced to a five-year prohibition of publicly exercising the priestly ministry after "abusive behavior with minors and adults" was verified.

Chile's Cristian Precht, convicted of pedophilia, has been stripped of his priestly duties by Pope Francis at The Vatican, it has been reported.

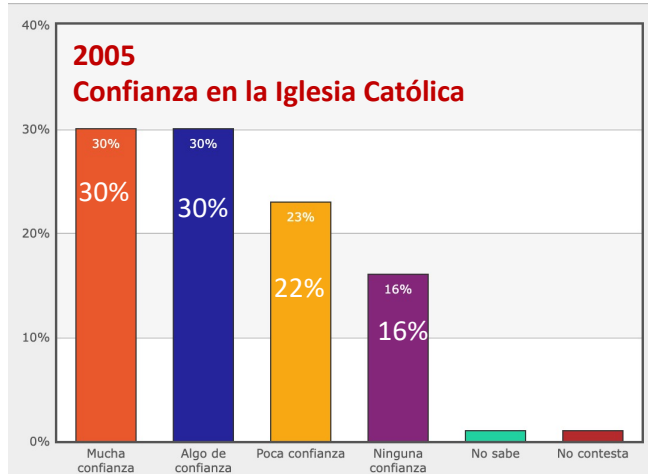
3881MBHtpidE-eGfPgNg_cLV... The Church of Santiago reported that the decision

- At the same time, the silence around the abuses of the Catholic Church is broken, and many figures who were true icons of national religious life were involved in accusations of abuse, pedophilia, mistreatment, sexual slavery, orgies and even of having forced women. to abort after making them pregnant.
- The Catholic Church positions itself as an institutional complicator of sexual abuse and its credibility falls. The values and stability it represented are transformed into anger, distrust and disappointment.

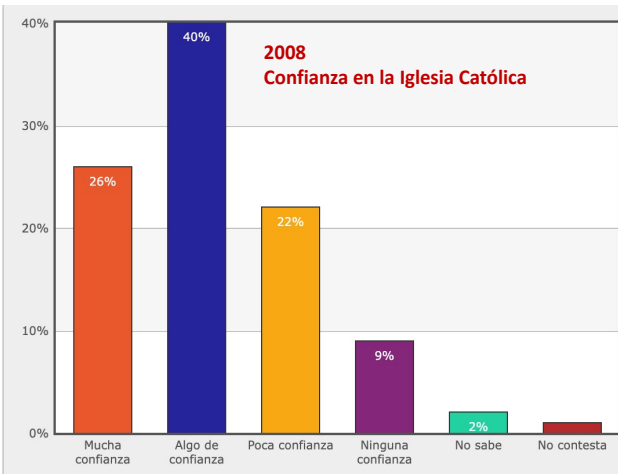


TRUST IN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 2005-2020, CHILE

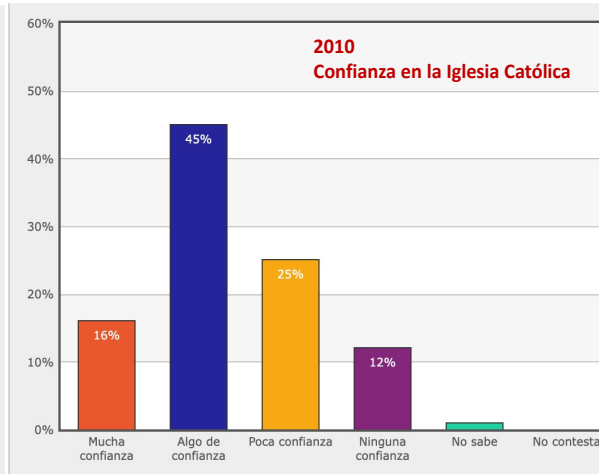
2005
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



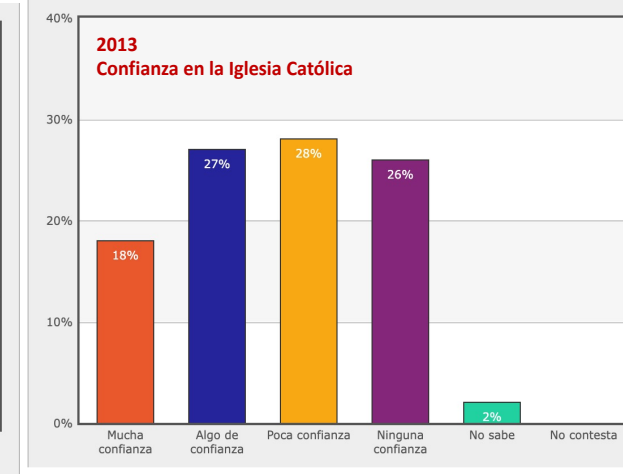
2008
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



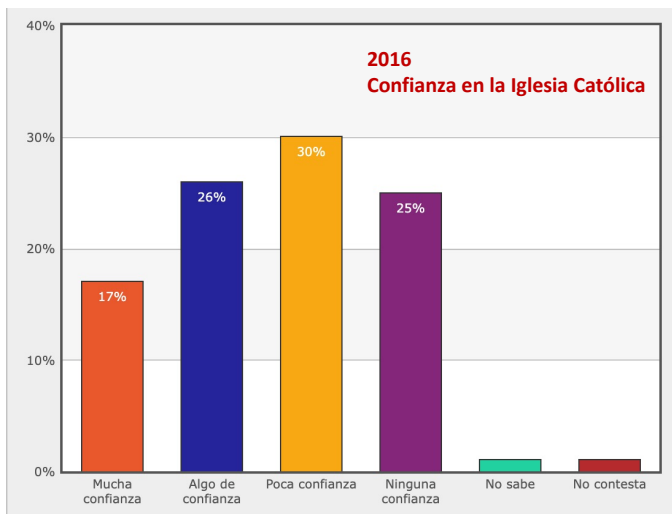
2010
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



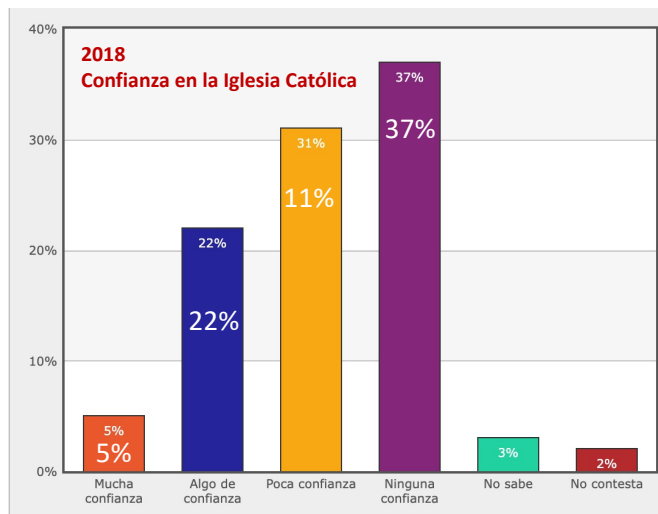
2013
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



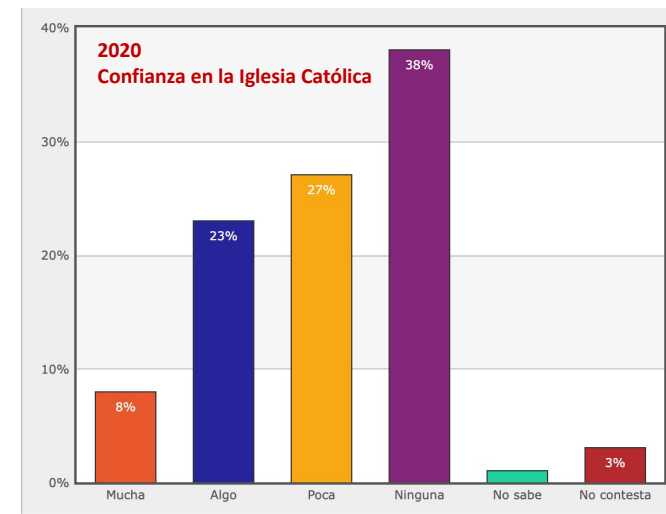
2016
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



2018
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



2020
Confianza en la Iglesia Católica



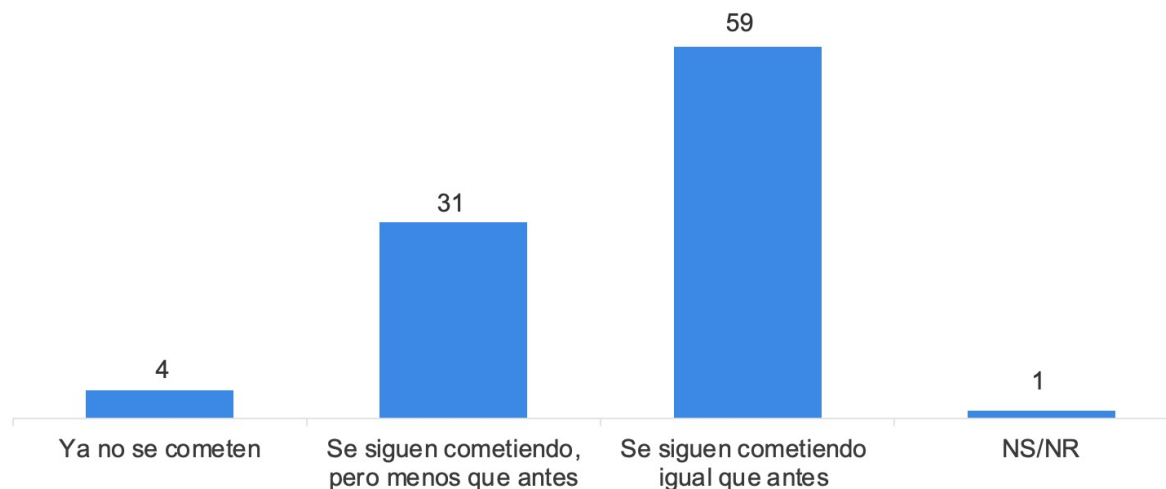


Perception of status of the abuses in church, CHILE 2021

En el último tiempo se ha denunciado a sacerdotes que han cometido abusos sexuales contra menores de edad, ¿Ud. cree que estos abusos son cosa del pasado y ya no se cometen, se siguen cometiendo aunque menos que antes o todavía se cometen igual que antes?



Base: Total muestra.





Economic Myth and Re-Distribution



"No + AFP": imágenes de las masivas protestas contra el sistema privado de pensiones de Chile

Redacción
BBC Mundo

27 marzo 2017



Según los organizadores, más de dos millones de personas salieron a marchar contra el sistema de pensiones en todo el país.

- For many citizens, the past was tolerable as long as the promises of economic well-being and prosperity were fulfilled. The private pension system was one of the emblems of the military government, it was a guarantee of economic well-being after retirement, and when the first generations of pensioners began to receive their pensions, another crisis and another disappointment ensued: it was not what had been promised.
- Then began massive protests demanding changes in the pension system. For some social groups the objective was a change in the private model, for others the solution was a public and universal pension system.



They broke down and questioned political, moral and economic beliefs

- We believed that we were better than the rest of Latin America, because our institutions were healthy, our economy strong, and because our people were disciplined, hard-working, and honest.
- In the age of information and transparency, all of this has become a myth, a lie that has been passed down from generation to generation. The honest ones were only the citizens, not the institutions or the politicians.
- So the new generations grew up with the conviction that they had to change it, that they did not want to live in a lie or tolerate more abuse. An important characteristic of Millennials and post-millennials is the feeling that they understand the world better than their parents. Their parents can't teach them to live in a world they don't understand.
- Human nature showed its face, obviously full of contradictions, and Chile was psychosocially unavailable to tolerate it and adapt itself. Many people felt betrayed, used, cheated. The new generations saw the disappointment of their parents and, of course, distrusted the system.



From the Beginning, Students and a new relation with power

2011 / 2013



- **Social mobilization and the perception of structural paralysis**
- Then an era of strong student mobilizations came that transformed the country.
- For 12 years the student mobilizations maintained their pressure, especially against the right-wing governments, demanding free higher education and improvements in school education; also supporting various causes. From these mobilizations of high school students emerged the leaders of the current government.
- Once the most notorious leaders (Gabriel Boric, Camila Vallejo and Giorgio Jackson) turned to political life in parliament, the student organizations continued to act, but such strong leaderships never emerged again.



• Psychosocial Catharsis



Protestas en Chile: la histórica marcha de más de un millón de personas que tomó las calles de Santiago

Redacción
BBC News Mundo

25 octubre 2019



EPA
La manifestación de este viernes ya fue calificada como la más masiva desde el retorno de la democracia a Chile.

- In 2019, high school student organizations protested against the rise in the price of the subway ticket. A violent response from the government of Sebastián Piñera (strongly linked to the military government), which did not allow any dialogue, generated a national reaction of rejection that catalyzed accumulated feelings of disappointment, anger, despair and fed up.
- The student protest turned into a nationwide revolt that paralysed the country. People said: Chile woke up.
- The protests and paralysis continued for months, with no apparent possibility of dialogue or agreements between the government and civil society organizations. The army and the police poured into the streets; the wounds of the past flared up, the feeling of rejection grew.



- Institutionalization of the rage



MONKEY CAGE • Analysis

Chile elected delegates to draft a new constitution — and it's not tilted toward the elites

Chilean political parties suffered a big blow: 40 percent of the votes went to independent candidates. Here's what that means.

By Javier Sajuria and Julieta Suarez-Cao
June 24, 2021 at 6:00 a.m. EDT



Voters line up outside a polling station in Santiago, Chile, during an election last month to select the assembly members who will draft a new constitution. (Esteban Felix/AP)



- In this context, a historic political agreement was called: to call a plebiscite to form a citizens' convention that would be in charge of drafting a new National Constitution. This new Constitution would symbolize the end of the era of abuse and lies.
- The constitutional agreement reduced social tension, and aroused enormous expectations in the population. The plebiscite and the election of constituent citizens had a record electoral response in the history of Chile.
- On the shoulders of the constitutional convention falls the responsibility of transforming the country. The next president, then, would be more of a watchman and guarantor of legality and order than a true transformer.
- Subsequently, the convention has fallen into a crisis of image and credibility. It is mainly criticized for disorganization, political bias and lack of experience of the constituents.



- Pandemic crisis and strong Lockdown



- The pandemic and the confinements finish calming the streets of Chile, and send complex feelings back to homes, to private life, to intimacy.
- As in many parts of the world, this brings with it a variety of crises, including a mental health crisis that affects people of all ages.





ELECTORAL PROCESS



Gabriel Boric presenta su gabinete en Chile - 4 señale
hace 4 días



Boric anuncia gabinete dominado pela esquerda
hace 4 días



Com 16 mulheres e 10 homens, Gabriel Boric an
hace 4 días



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo com maioria
hace 4 días



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo co
hace 4 días



Gabriel Boric apresenta gabinete ministerial
hace 4 días



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo com maior
hace 4 días



Gabriel Boric anunció su gabinete en Chile
hace 4 días



Presidente n
hace 4 días



Boric anuncia gabinete de governo co
hace 4 días



Chile: el presidente electo Gabriel Boric a
hace 4 días



Boric afirma que su gabinete en
hace 4 días



Boric nombra 1º gabinete ministerial
hace 4 días



Gabriel Boric n
hace 4 días



- Left Primary Elections: initial positioning and challenges

Maturity, experience
but risk of authoritarianism



Radicalism and
risk of instability

Authority
and Control

- Distance and differentiation from communist candidate
- Understanding the value of youth and dialogue
- Understanding the fear of instability and chaos
- Contrast between potential authoritarianism and kindness and plurality

Dialogue and
pluralism



Risk of ungovernability

Youth, kindness but
uncertainty authority in complex times



- First Round Election



Regular people



Elite

BORIC:

- Uncomfortable position around social economic level and status
- Weakness communicating economic mastering and understanding
- Conviction around kindness and pluralism
- Contrast between potential authoritarianism and kindness and plurality
- He contrasts with everyone in his conviction of the social and political transformation of the country.

Anti political
Stablistment

POLITICAL
Stablistment

After the pandemic and with the constitutional convention working, the almost universal demand for transformation of the country seems to be moderated by fear of a worse economic and social crisis.



- First Round main positions

Right Liberal. Bet on presenting his self as non-political and rebellious. He is campaigning online from a foreign country, because he is facing alimony trial.



Jose Antonio Kast.

The anti-political stablishment. He openly supports Pinochet and affirms that things were not so bad before the social revolt.

The good of the past, including security and anti-migrants policies, must be rescued and the government of leftist radicals must be avoided.



Sichel (president's candidate)

The nice and regular guy, trying to fit into transformation from a liberal view, and trying to grow up from the center and the soft left.

Traditional center-left politician. She presents herself as a woman of humble origins, hardworking and a fighter, who knows the needs of the people and at the same time has the political experience to govern.



Boric . The young rebel. Trying to show that he has the qualities and capabilities that a president needs.

He is kind, jovial, relaxed, and bets on the hope of the social and political transformation and decentralization of the country in a climate of dialogue and respect.

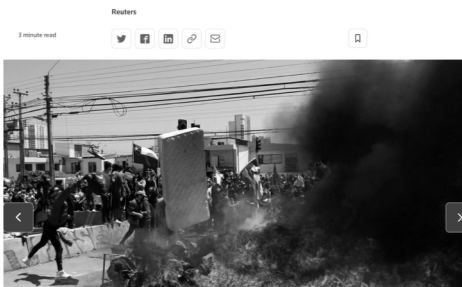


- A CHANGE IN THE DEBATE TERMS
- FROM SOCIAL CHANGE TO SOCIAL RISK

Chileans in Iquique stage xenophobic protest against Venezuelan migrants



'They yell ugly things': Migrants in Chile's north fearful after fiery protests



- For almost two years the national discussion has been focused on social and political transformation, on justice, on equity and on the vindication of historically vulnerable minorities. Suddenly insecurity emerges as a focus of attention: drug trafficking, illegal immigration, common crime. The debate changes, and the discourse of those who bet on peace and hope weakens.
- Boric's progressive proposals regarding the migratory phenomenon are questioned, and among the centrist groups the idea that a Boric government could be a risk to order and security seems to be strengthening.
- The fear of an economic and security crisis and more social protests generates a contraction in the right-wing vote. Sichel's conciliatory position does not please and the vote is concentrated on the extreme right.
- The far-right and conservative candidate is the only one who seems to have a forceful and radical response to the risk of insecurity. His candidacy grows, overshadows the candidate of the liberal right and wins the first round.





- First Round main positions



Even those who disapprove of many of Kast's proposals see him as a man radical and "crazy" enough to do what no one else would dare. The idea of radical measures against illegal immigration, drug trafficking and crime is tempting.



Boric keeps contrasting with kindness, dialogue and transformation. A radical change in a climate of dialogue and peace. Bet to the desire for transformation is greater than fear. He stays close to his bases, without appearing too political, nor too presidential; Kast wins the debate on security and immigration and the image of a regular person is diluted among several candidates; but with the bases votes and in the second place Boric goes to the second round.



Elección de Presidente 2021

Participación

Votación Total por Candidatos
Presidencial 1ª v 2021

Candidatos	Votos Porcentaje		Cargo
1. BORIC FONT GABRIEL	1.815.024	25,82%	Seleccionado Segunda Votación
2. KAST RIST JOSE ANTONIO	1.961.779	27,91%	Seleccionado Segunda Votación
3. PROVOSTE CAMPILLAY YASNA	815.563	11,60%	
4. SICHEL RAMIREZ SEBASTIAN	898.635	12,79%	
5. ARTES BRICHETTI EDUARDO	102.897	1,46%	
6. ENRIQUEZ-OMINAMI GUMUCIO MARCO	534.383	7,60%	
7. PARISI FERNANDEZ FRANCO ALDO	900.064	12,81%	
Válidamente Emitidos	7.028.345	98,79%	
Votos Nulos	55.480	0,78%	
Votos en Blanco	30.493	0,43%	
Total Votación	7.114.318	100,00%	

Porcentaje calculado sobre el Total de Votos Válidamente Emitidos, excluidos Votos Nulos y Votos en Blanco

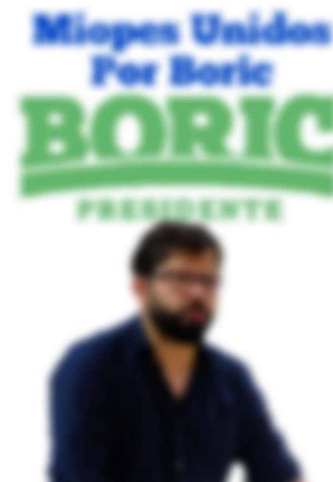
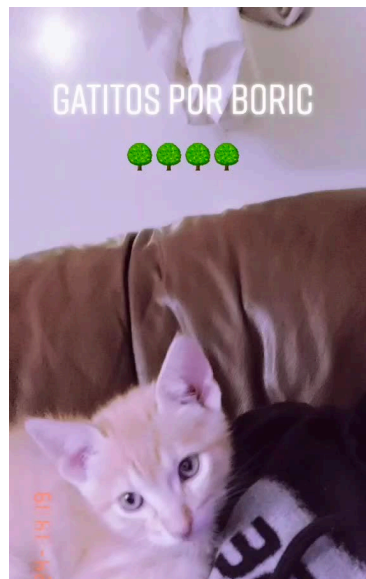


- DIGITAL MILESTONES

The Tree



Memes for Boric



J.A. Kast in Tik Tok





- Second Round



In the second round, Kast must transcend his bases and speak to those who see him as dangerously radical and conservative. He must convey them that he is not an anti-woman or anti-youth candidate; that his candidacy does not represent a return to the past and for this he tries to appear more jovial, more relaxed, accessible and tries to position himself close to the center-right to capture the orphan vote of the entire center arc for whom Boric arouses fears, for being too young and for being a leftist rebel.



In the second round, Boric must reach out to more moderate factions on the left, the center left, and even liberal or center-right voters who fear Kast's conservatism. For this, it must be more presidential, more "adult", show signs of political seriousness and offer guarantees of stability. His image, his speech, his attitude in the debates; everything is adapted to the need to strengthen its position in new audiences.



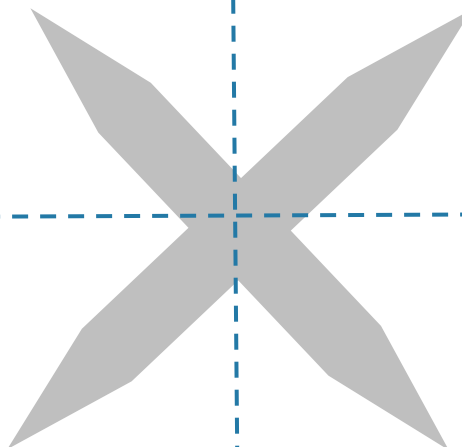
- Second Round

-Conservative
-Known Past



Less Estrcutural
Transformation

More economic strenght and
and stability



More Structural
Transformation



-Progressive
-Uncertain future,
yet to be discovered

Less
Economic strenght and stability

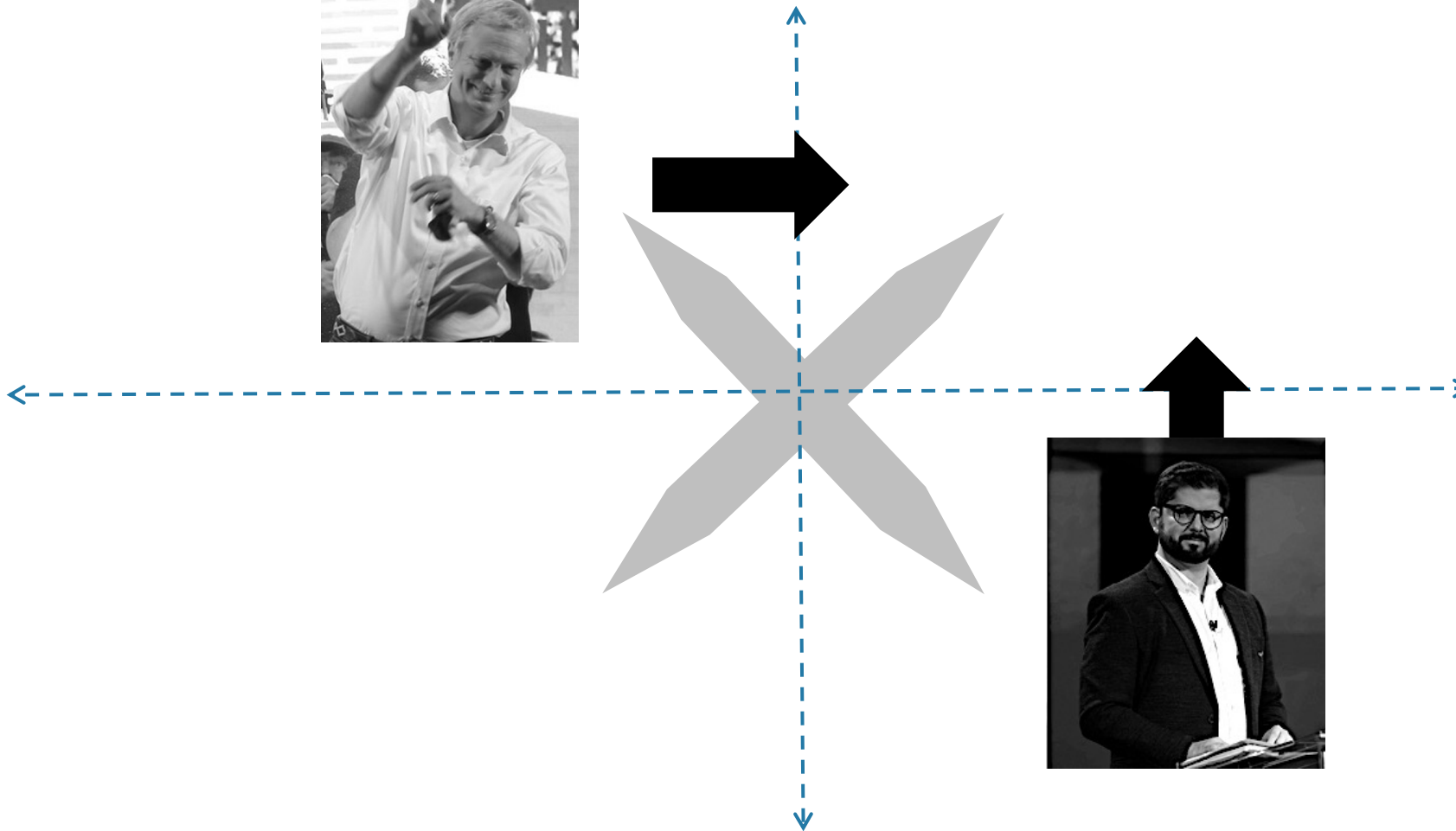


- Second Round

Authority and Control



Malice



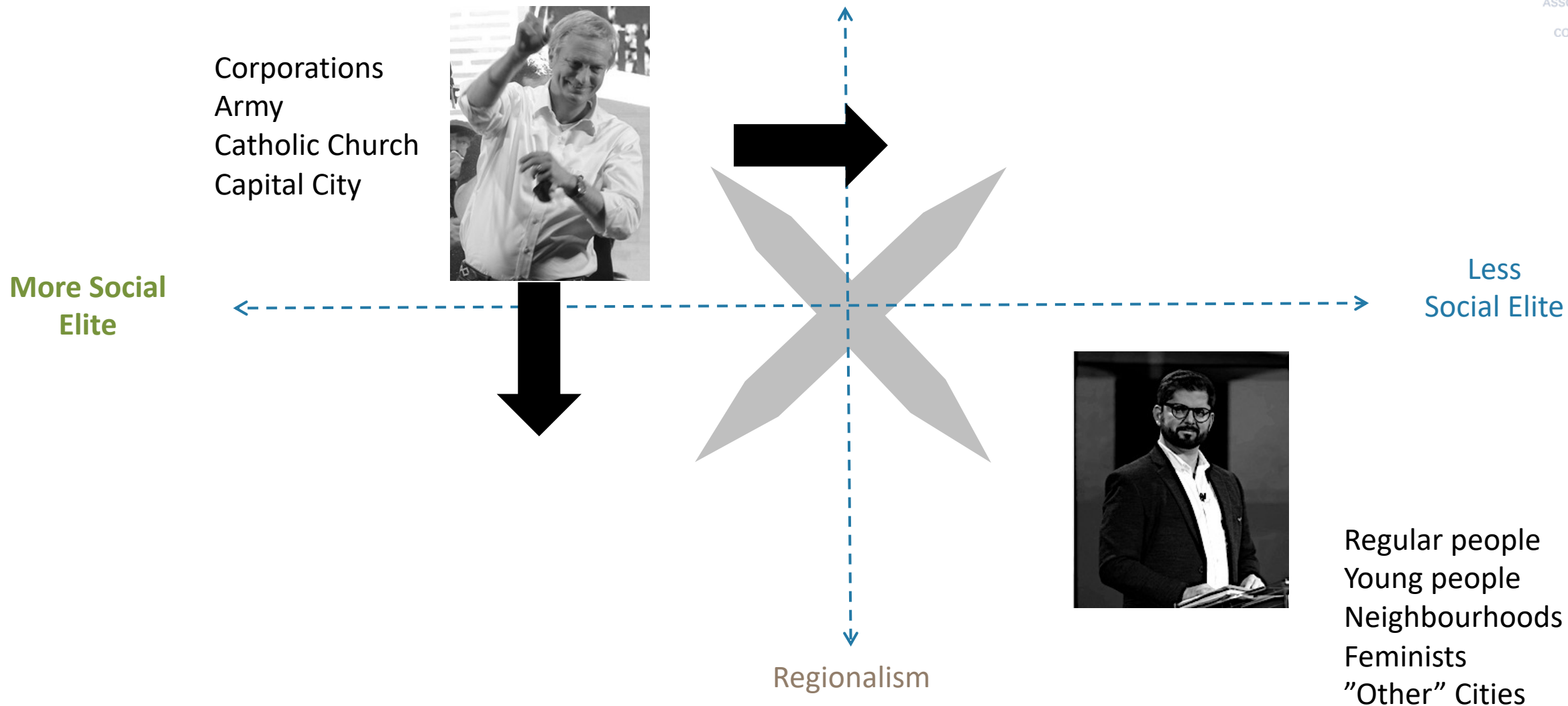
Innocence



Risk of ungovernability



- Second Round





- Second Round

A new era in politics

Past

Future



No big changes



- Second Round

Same policies

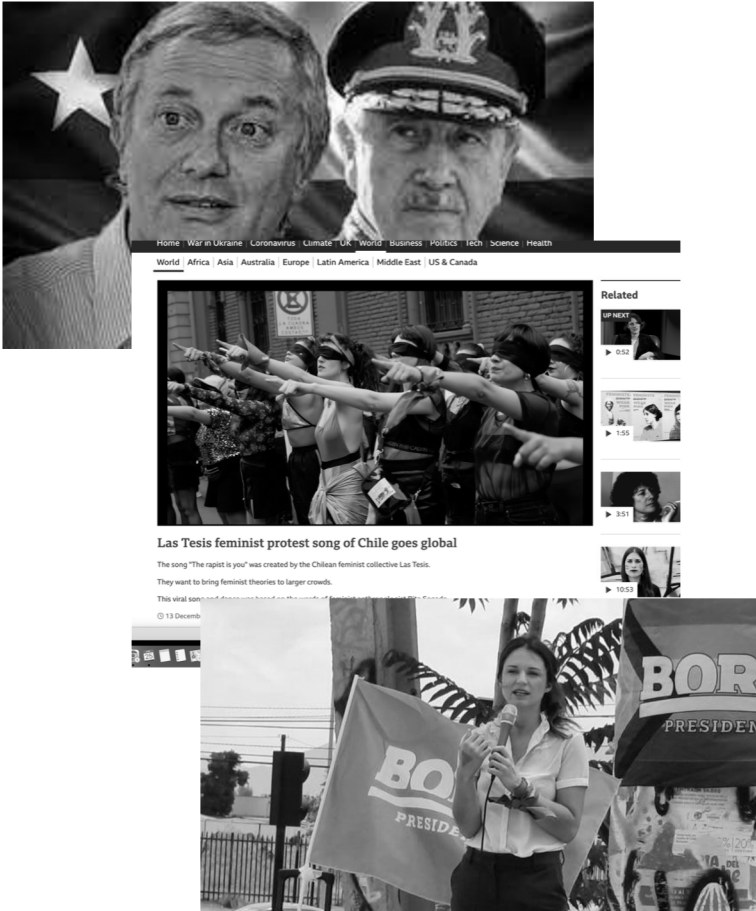
New style in power



New policies



Same style in power



- The anti Pinochet / Anti Kast vote emerges by mobilizing moderate voters from the left and the center and bringing citizens who did not vote in the first round, but had voted in the constituent plebiscite, to the polls.
- A feminist movement empowered from social mobilizations and the globalization of some of its slogans, highly organized, mobilizes against Kast invoking a feminine and feminist vote against those who want to deprive women of rights. The presence of Irina Karamanos, Boric's girlfriend and political partner (a well known feminist activist), in the second round enforces the message to women.
- Boric sends good signals to the moderate center, conveys certainty and a certain traditionalism in economic matters, which eases the tension with the business community.
- Kast fails to inspire confidence beyond the traditional bases of the right; his votes are equivalent to Sebastián Piñera's votes in the previous election. The right wing had no growth and Boric won by almost a million votes.



Elección de Presidente 2021

Participación

Votación Total por Candidatos
Presidencial 2ª v 2021

Candidatos	Votos	Porcentaje	Cargo
1. BORIC FONT GABRIEL	4.621.231	55,87%	Presidente
2. KAST RIST JOSE ANTONIO	3.650.662	44,13%	
Válidamente Emitidos	8.271.893	98,89%	
Votos Nulos	68.616	0,82%	
Votos en Blanco	23.972	0,29%	
Total Votación	8.364.481	100,00%	

Porcentaje calculado sobre el Total de Votos Válidamente Emitidos, excluidos Votos Nulos y Votos en Blanco



The most voted elected president in Chilean history



- The desire to break with the abuses and forms of exercise of power of the past was stronger than the fear of uncertainty.
- The emotional component of this choice is built and understood from the previous historical context; the political movement has been the reflection of a social demand and a feeling of disappointment that needed to be restored.
- The success of the democratic cons
- The high expectations of Boric's government and the impossibility of keeping very different opinion groups happy become a potential time bomb for the government's reputation.
- The closeness to the constituent process, which is in a crisis of image and reliability, the growing sense of insecurity and the presence of drug trafficking in the country, the discomfort with the growing migration and the expected post-covid economic recession represent strong challenges for the first year of this government.
- In all these areas it seems relevant to transmit authority, leadership, clarity and determination in decisions.
- The country seems to continue to be at a crossroads between the uncertainty of a profound transformation that promises a better future, or the stability and security of making small changes without taking big risks.