

## Understanding Chilean Unrest: inequalities, social conflict and political change in contemporary Chile

**#LSEChile**

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*Hosted by the International Inequalities Institute and the Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES)*

## Understanding Chilean Unrest: inequalities, social conflict and political change in contemporary Chile

Thursday 28 November 2019 6:30pm to 8:00pm

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for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES)*



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Three questions:

1) Based on your investigation, how would you interpret the mobilizations and demands in the last month?

2) What are the causes of these mobilizations?

3) What do you think would be the possible exits to the current conflict?



# Snapshot of the Chilean social gap

Diana Kruger

28 November, 2019

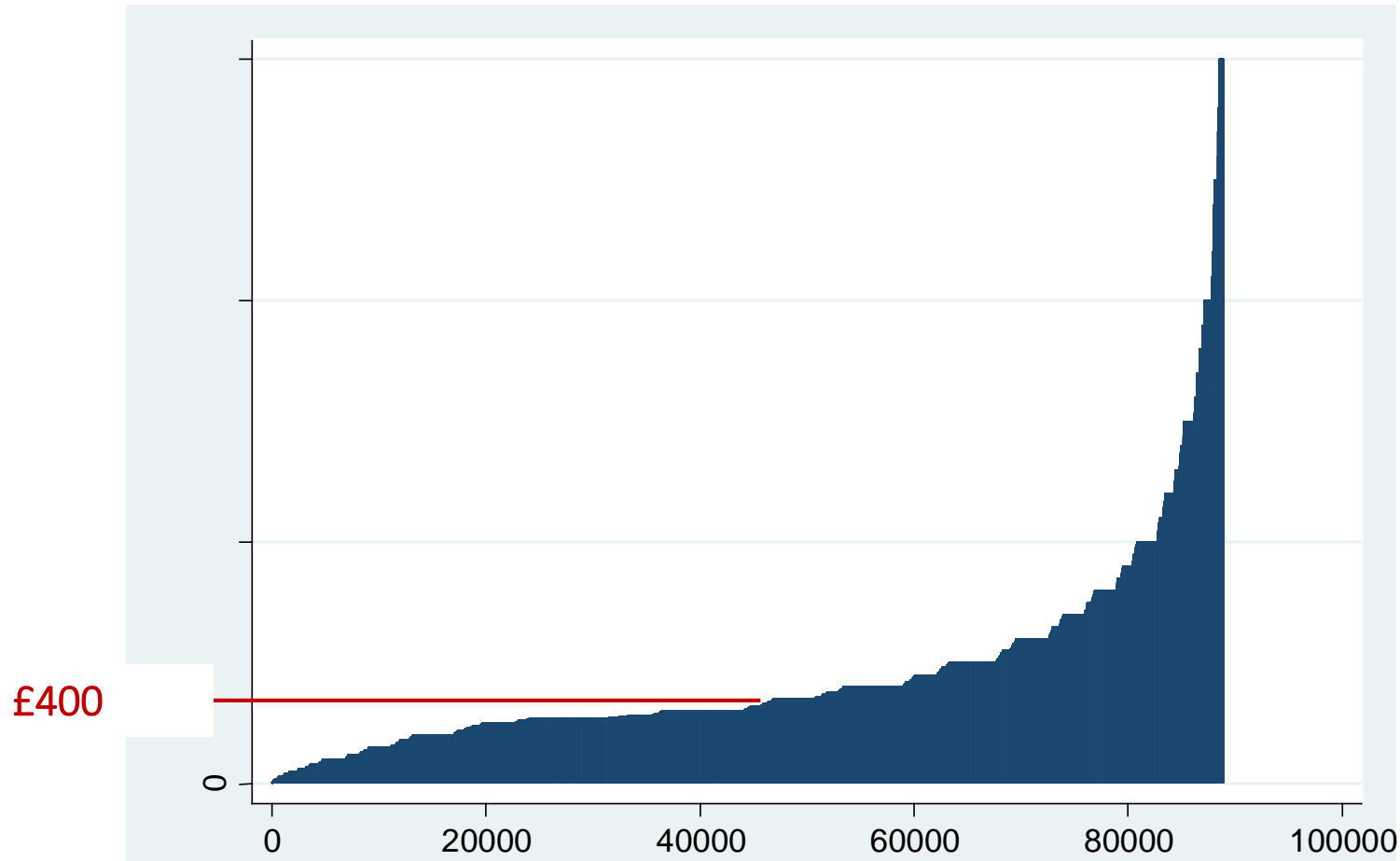
# Human development paradigm

- Development encompasses opportunity to develop our human capacities
  - Financial resources
  - Health
  - Education

– UNDP

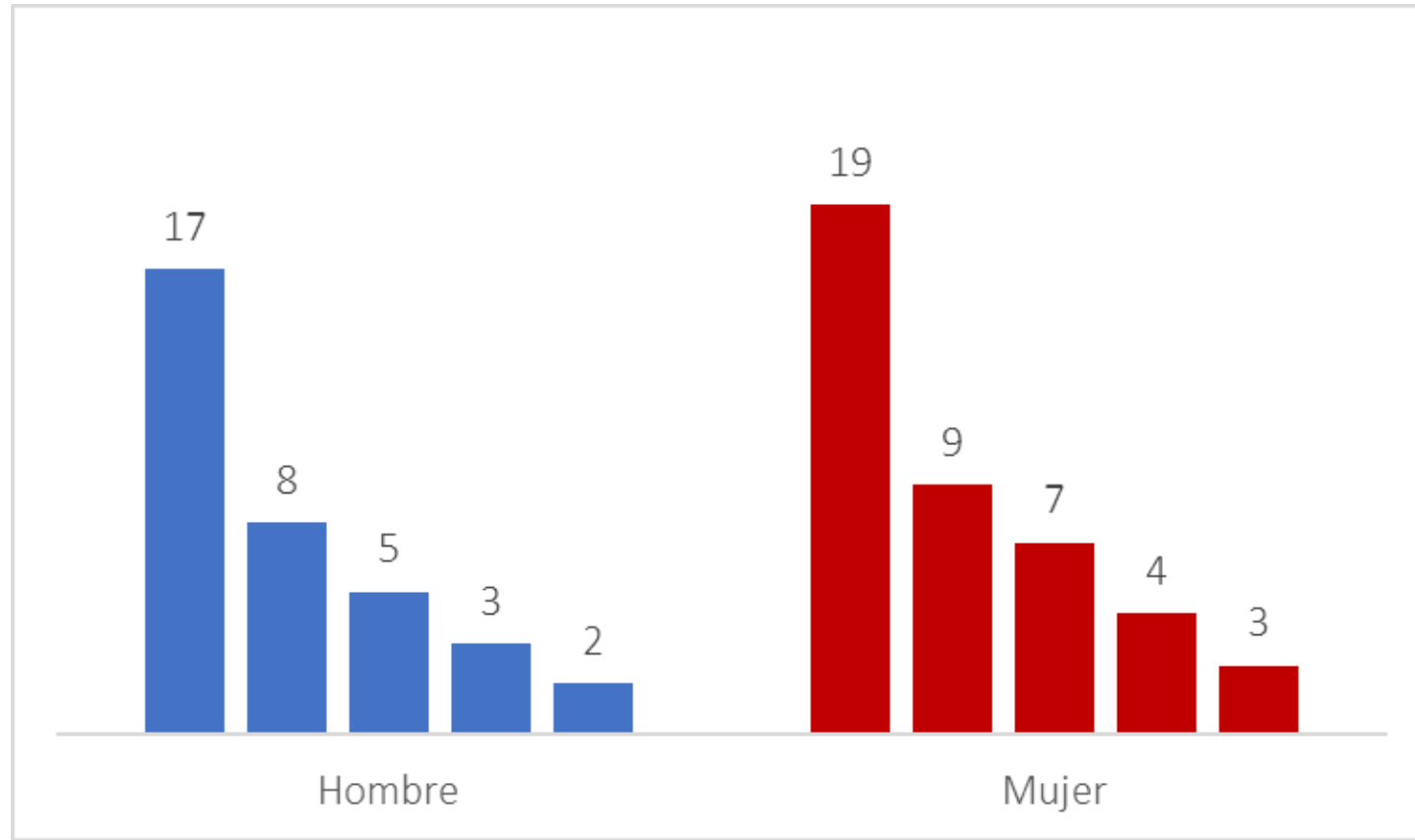
Employment/Income

# Chile: Income distribution, 2017 (CLP/month)



Own estimates from CASEN 2017.

# Chile: Unemployment rate 2017, by income quintile and sex



Own estimates from CASEN 2017.



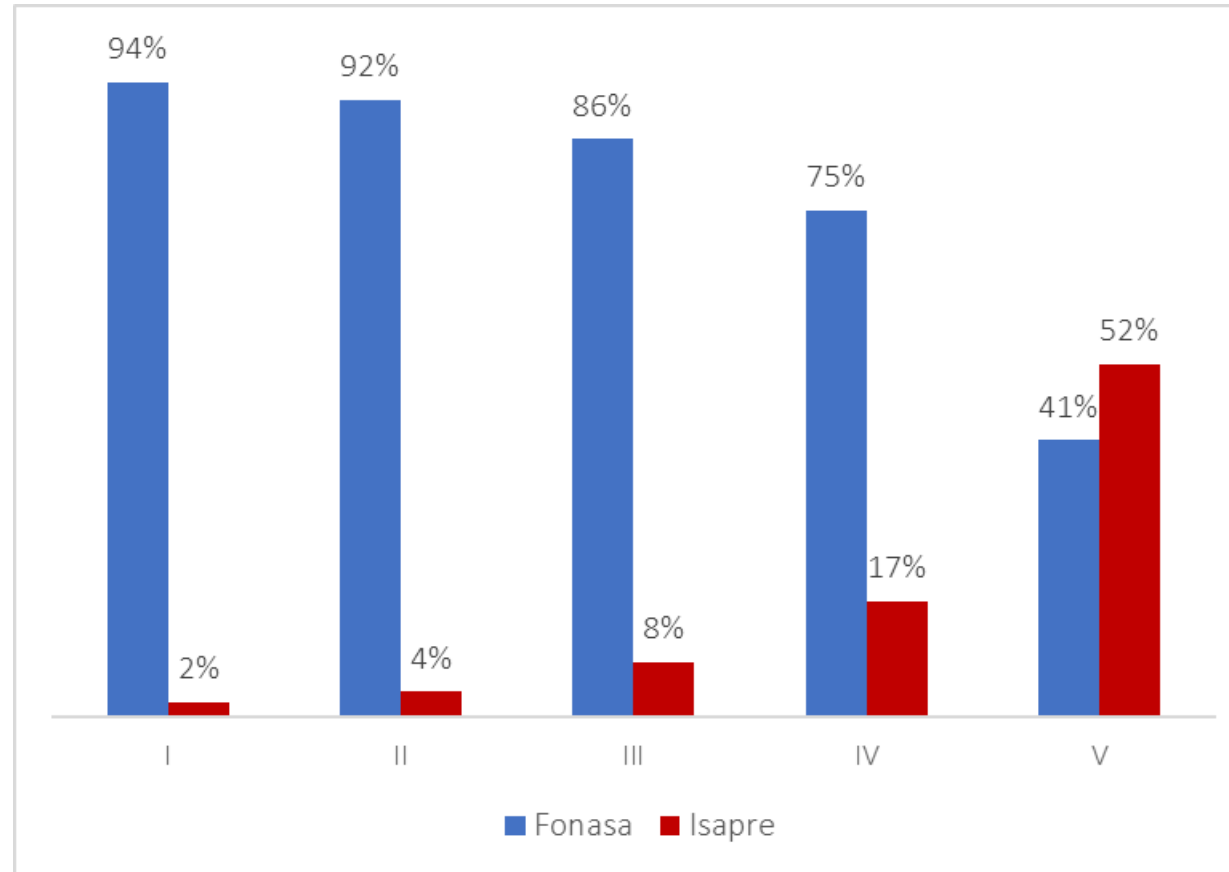
# Chile: Employment quality 2017



Own estimates from CASEN 2017.

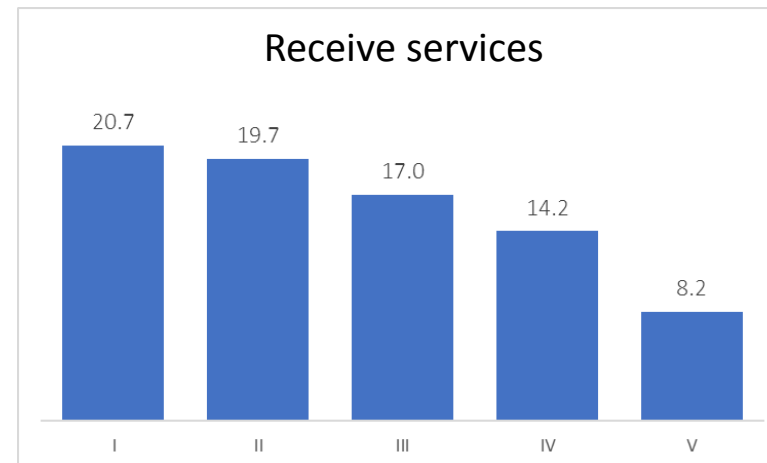
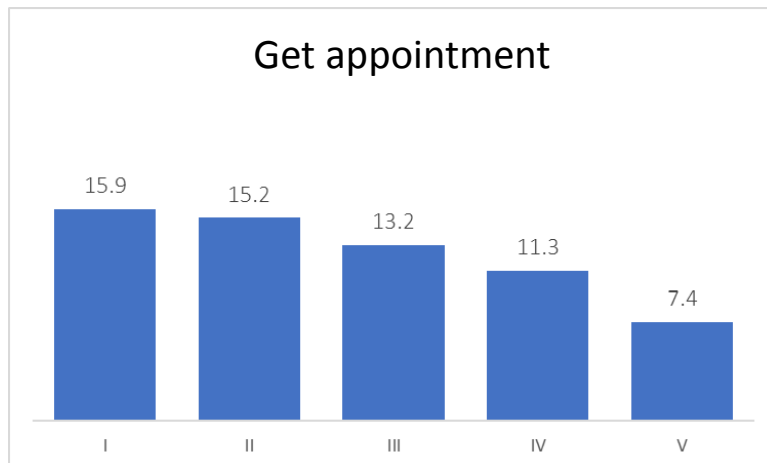
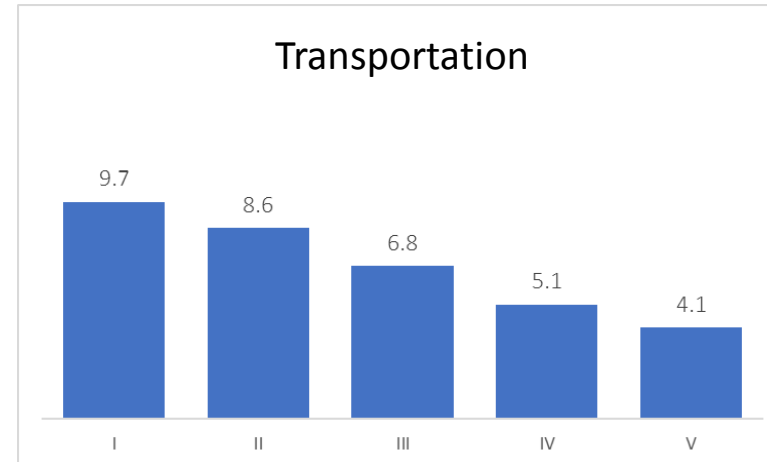
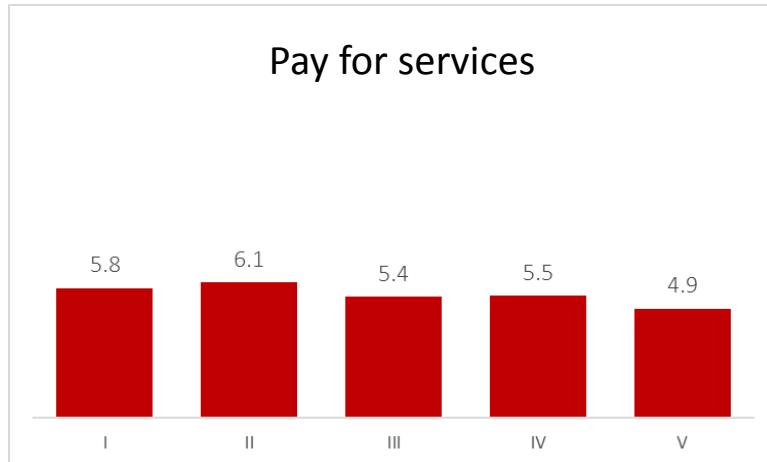
Health

# Chile: Health insurance type

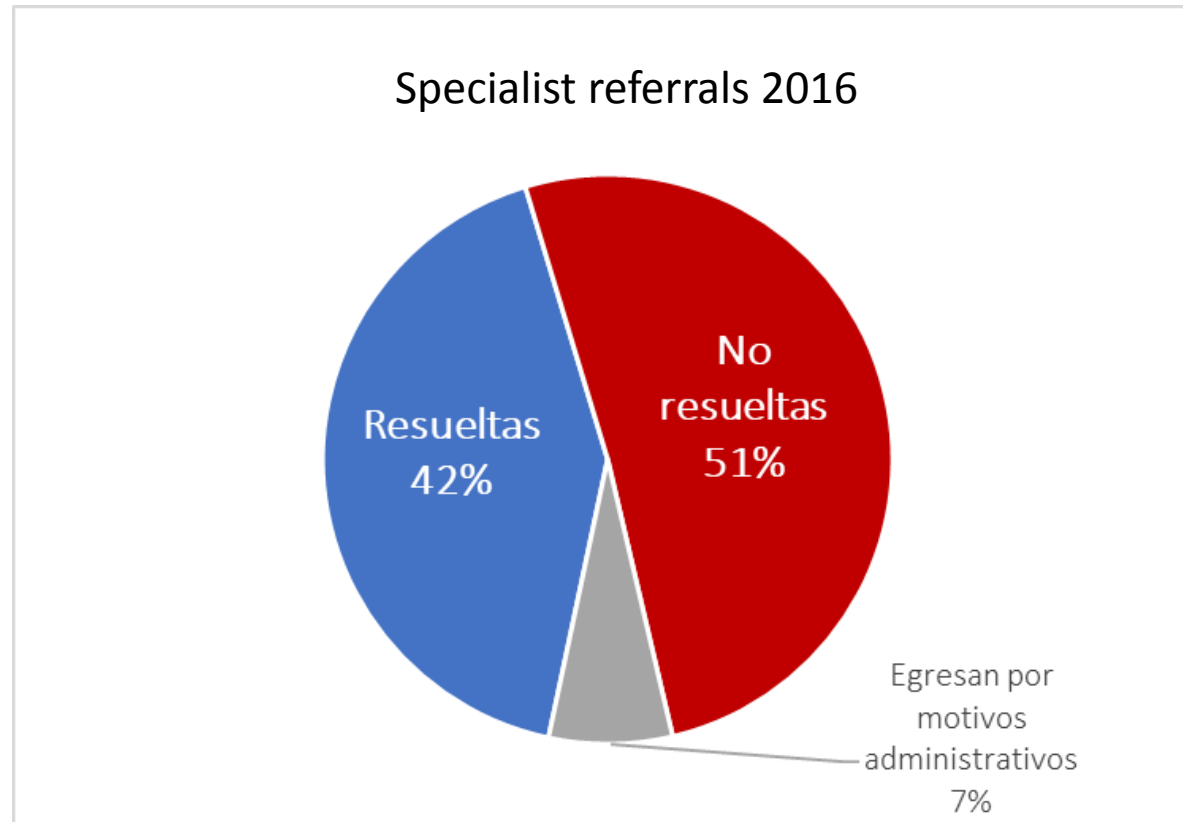


Own estimates from CASEN 2017.

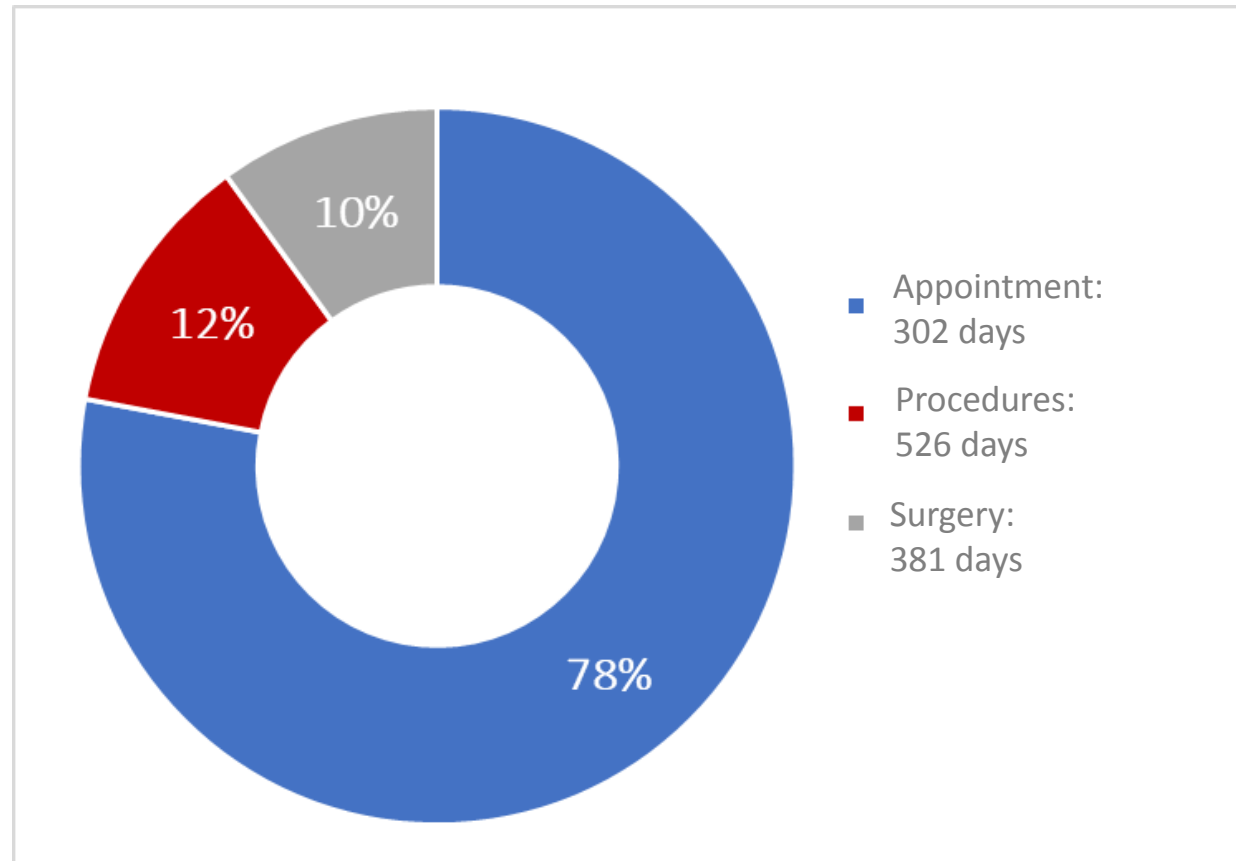
Have you had any of the following problems in health care services?



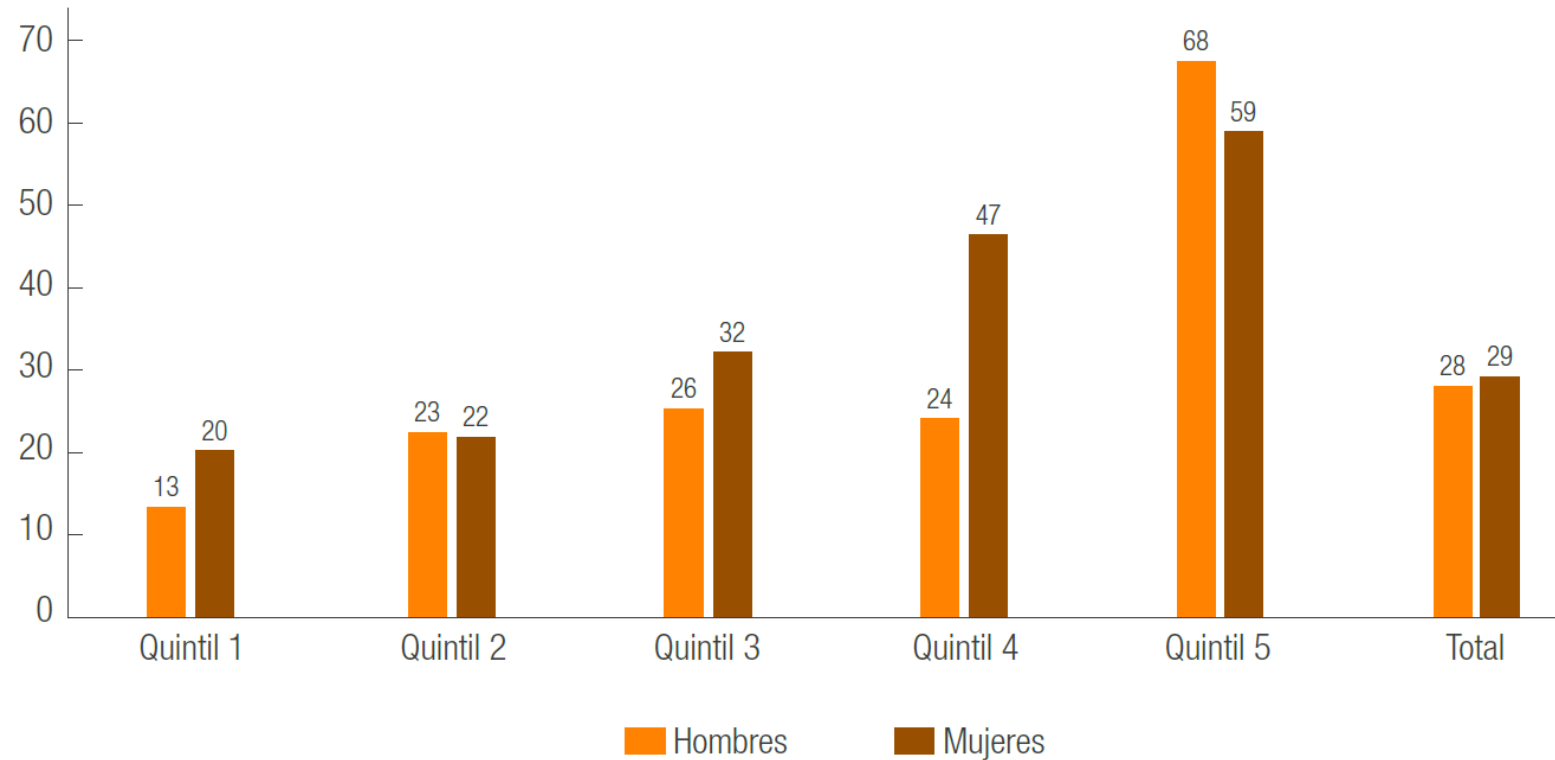
Public health care system:  
Waiting lists in appointments with medical specialists



Public health care system:  
Waiting lists in appointments with medical specialists



## Population aged 18 or older that believes they will receive medical timely attention in case of catastrophic or chronic illness, 2016 (%)



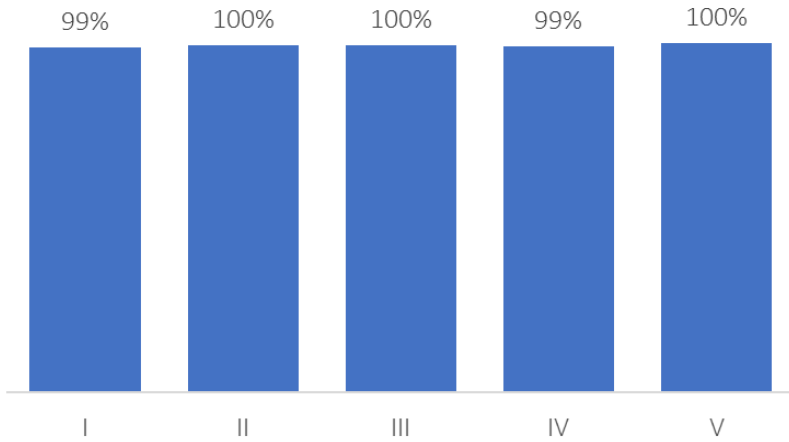
Source: "Desiguales: Orígenes, cambios y desafíos de la brecha social en Chile," UNDP report 2017.

Education

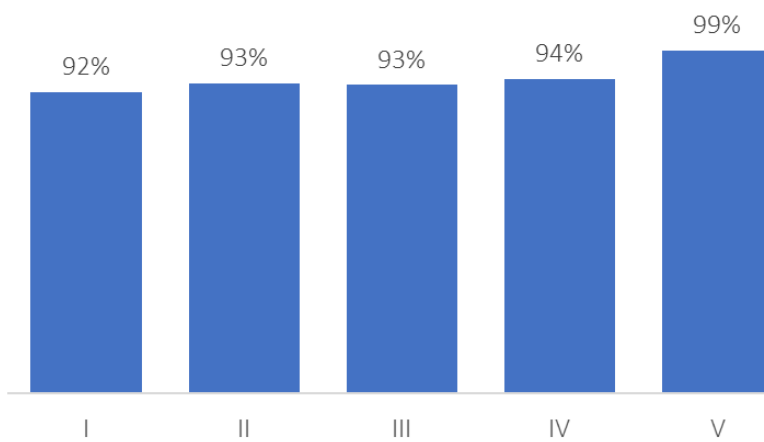


# Acces

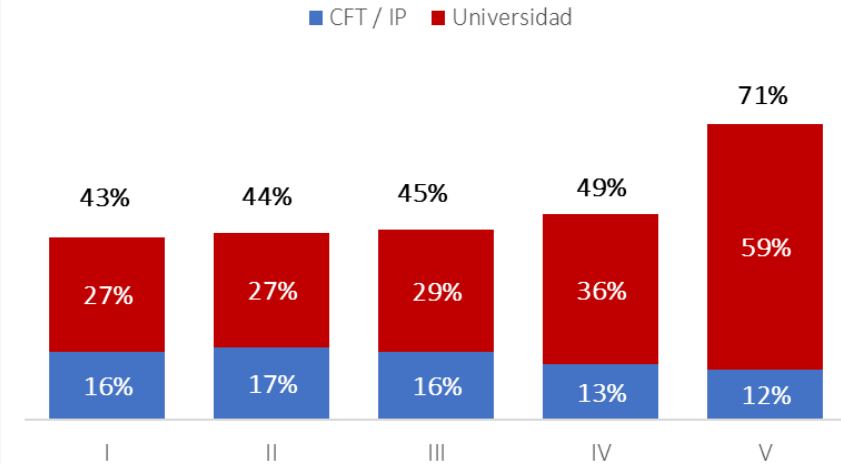
## Primary



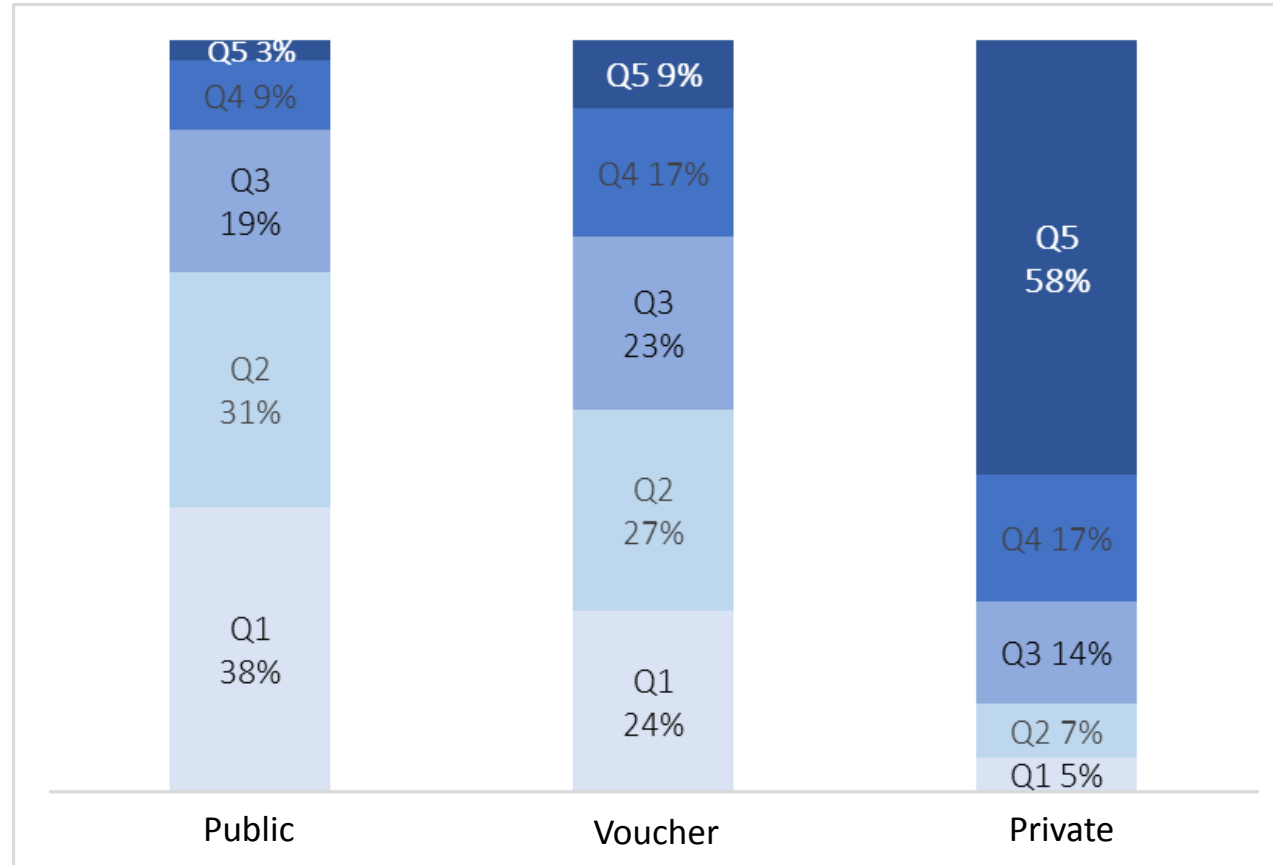
## Secondary



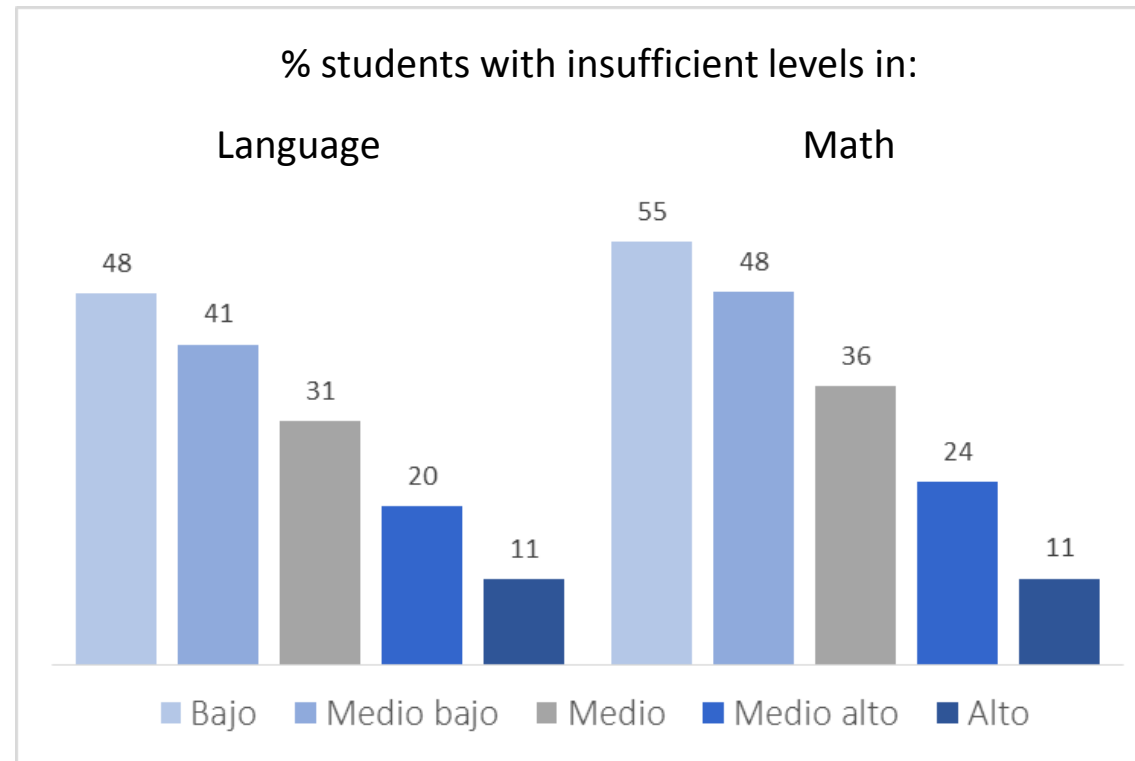
## Higher



# Segregation

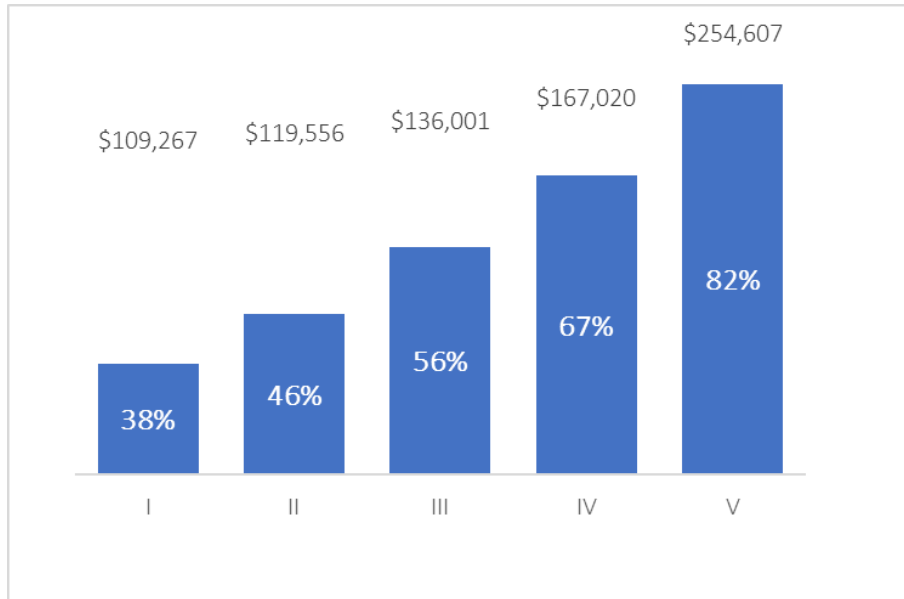


# Education quality, by income quintile

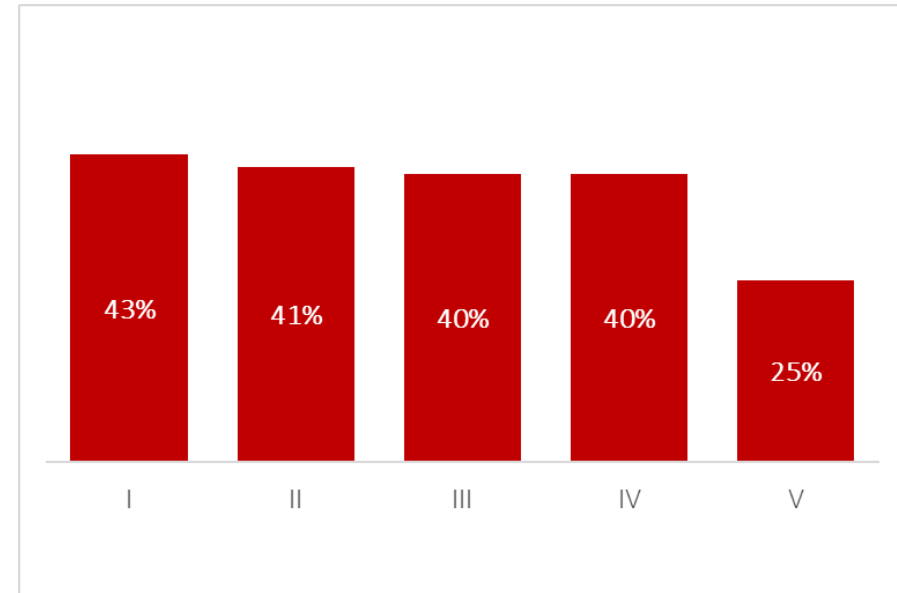


# Funding

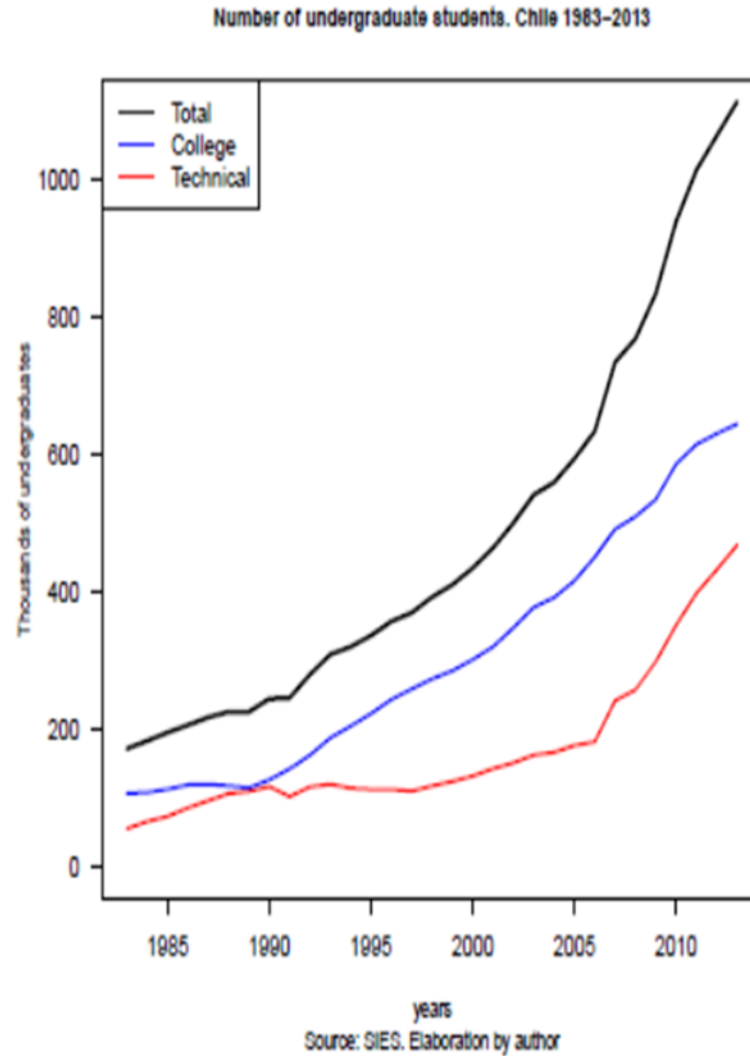
Do you pay for higher education?



Will you have debt?

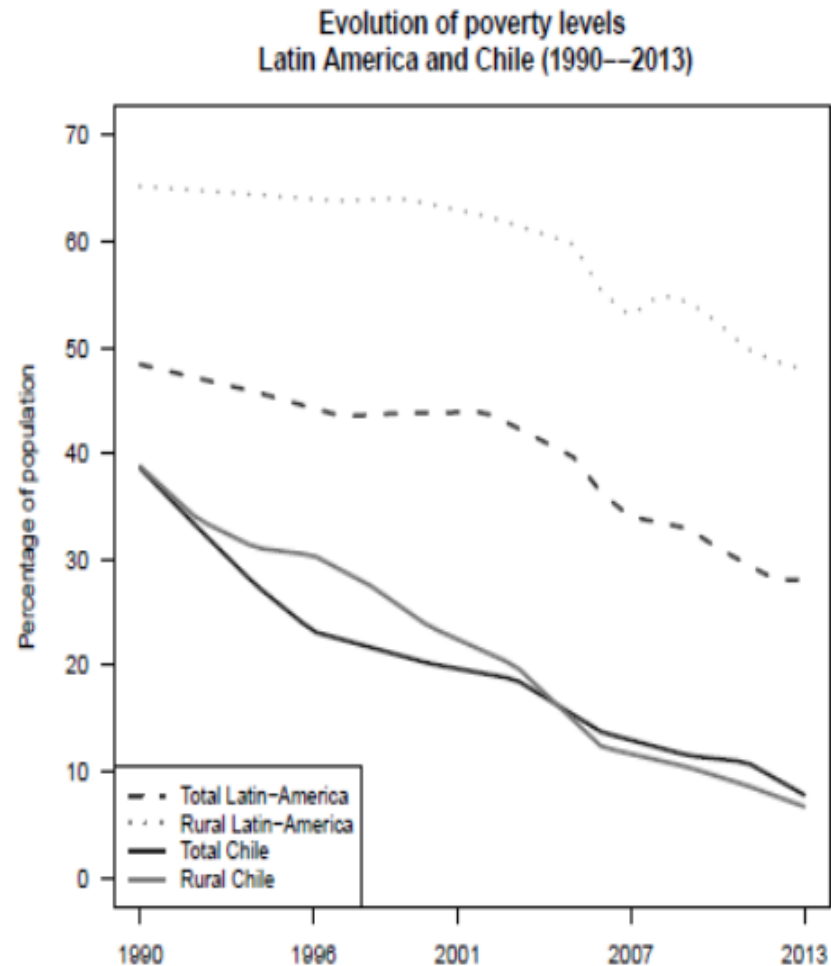


# Inclusion in the higher educational system



# 1) What kind of social model? Neoliberalism or familiaristic hierarchical and monopolistic capitalism?

## Reduction of poverty under different policy models

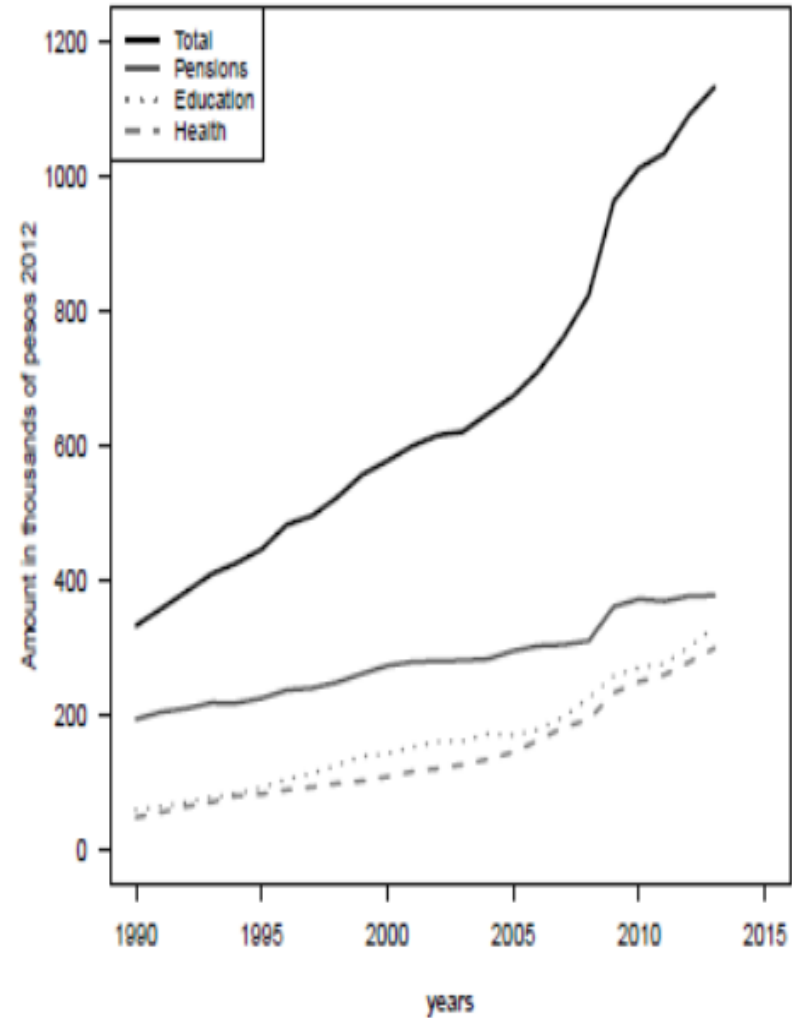


Next graphs produced by authors and published in:

Vicente Espinoza, Emmanuelle Barozet, "Contention and Debates about Social Policies and Inequalities in Contemporary Chile, in *The Social Question in the Global World. The Quest for an Effective Paradigm*, edited by Ewa Bogalska-Martin and Emmanuel Matteudi, Cambridge University Press, pp.81-108.

# Evolution of public social spending

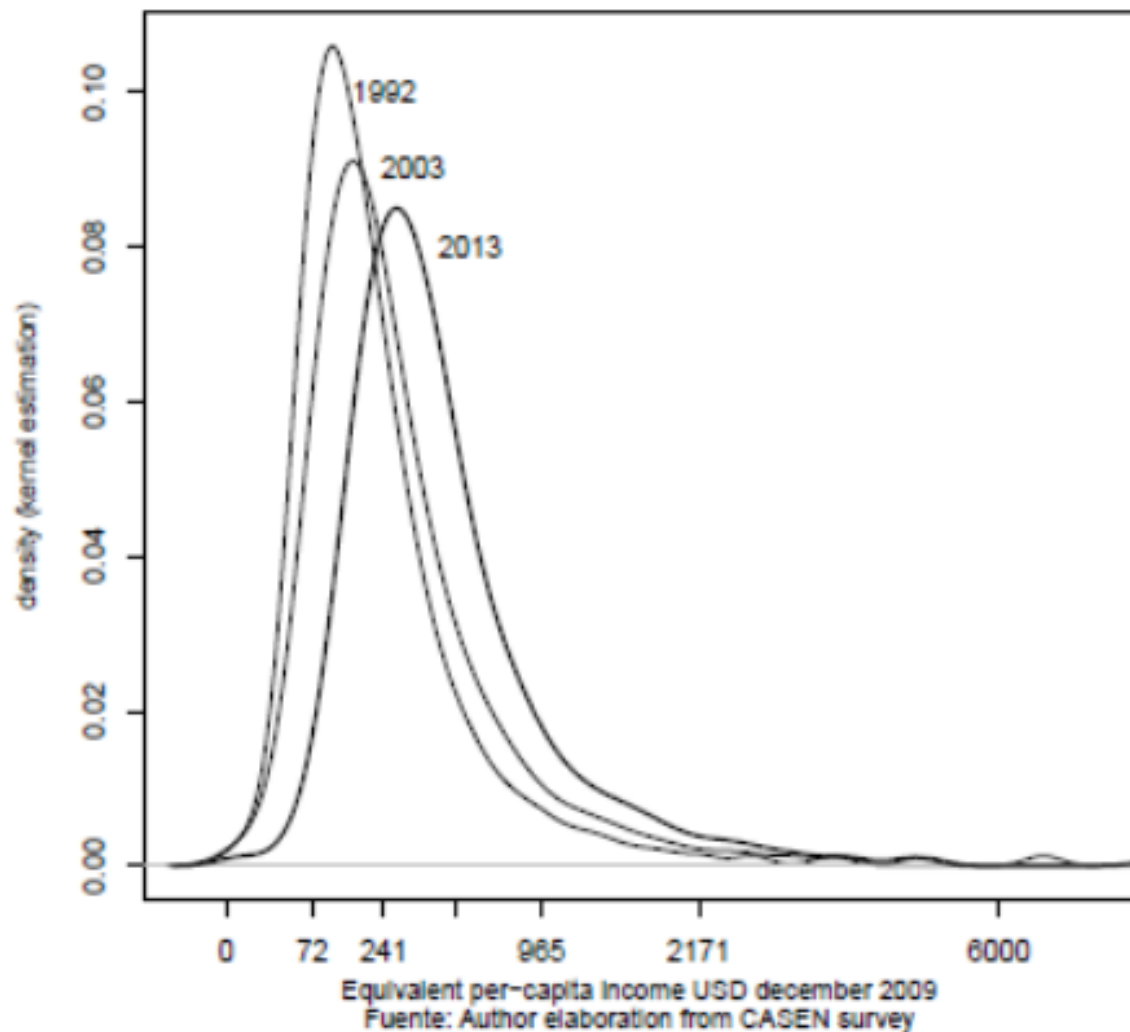
Evolution of the government social spending per-capita  
Chile. 1990--2013



Source: Graph by authors based on data from CIEPLAN 2013

# Decreasing income inequality in Chile...

Distribution of per-capita monetary income  
Chilean households 1992, 2003, 2013





# From malaise to malaise... to social outburst

## Constraints for development in Chile

### Economy based on exportation of primary commodities

- ▶ mostly copper, but diversified to salmon, wood, fruits
- ▶ some success in exporting business models for retailing

### Highly dependent on the prices of commodities

### Lack of an industrial policy

Social and economic policies applied in the last three decades did not move Chile away from the “ghosts of underdevelopment”

- ▶ income mostly based on exportation of raw products,
- ▶ largely unskilled work force,
- ▶ science and technology still absent from development
- ▶ sharp inequalities and
- ▶ environmental degradation.

## The paradox of social inclusion in Chile

- ▶ Gross National Income per-capita in 2017 about \$24.625.-US (PPP, according to the World Bank)
- ▶ Unemployment rate under 10% for the last 30 years
- ▶ Massive inclusion in higher education
- ▶ Top Human Development Index of Latin America and the Caribbean

However, the population rejects the social policy and the model of development

## The working poor

Does labor market participation keep workers away from poverty?

- ▶ No. 20% of the current poor are gainfully employed
  - ▶ 2.447.354 total poor 2011 (15.1%)
  - ▶ 497.331 poor with an occupation
  - ▶ 329.162 poor with an occupation working 35 or more hours a week
  - ▶ 73.541 poor with labor contract in a firm larger than 200 employees
- ▶ Commercial activity comprises the largest number of poor workers, amounting for 35% of them.

- Monthly median income: £ 400 (with many households with one income)
- Poverty line (per capita) : £ 160
- Minimum pensión: £ 110
- Median pensión: £ 150 (under the poverty line)



## Mounting social unrest



### Students mobilization from 2011 onwards

- ▶ Changing repertoire of collective action

### No + AFP

- ▶ Workers demanding a change in the pension system



### Indigenous people demands

- ▶ Deficient public policies

### A rebirth of feminism (2018)

- ▶ Against violence, harassment and a patriarchal system





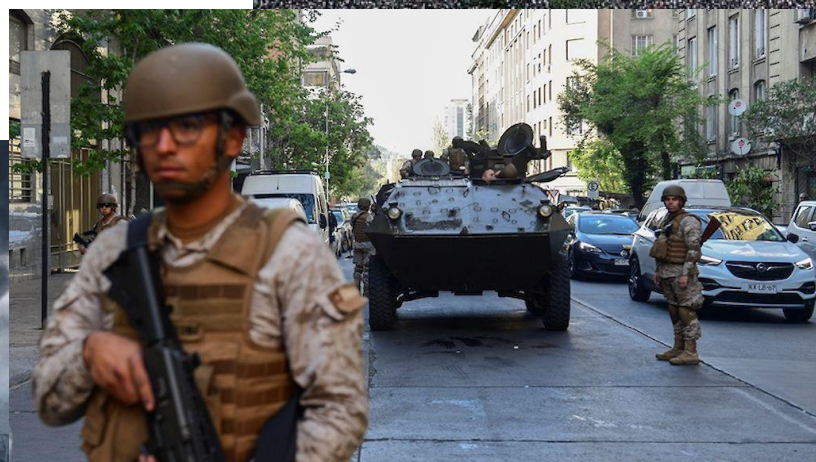
# The reasons of the outburst

- Price increase (worldwide, particularly fuel and transportation): Ecuador, Lebanon, France
- Irritation (Araujo), abuse, which came from before, but had more expressions with Bachelet II and Piñera II, plus the "little phrases" of the ministers that marked the distance between elite and the rest: political class disconnected at best and arrogant in the worst case.
- Various abuses: the unbearable distance between a monopolistic economic elite and a workforce that feels disappointed and economically drowned





Since  
18/0





# Termómetro Social

Octubre 2019



**DESOC**

NÚCLEO MILENIO EN  
DESARROLLO-SOCIAL



CENTRO MICRODATOS  
Universidad de Chile

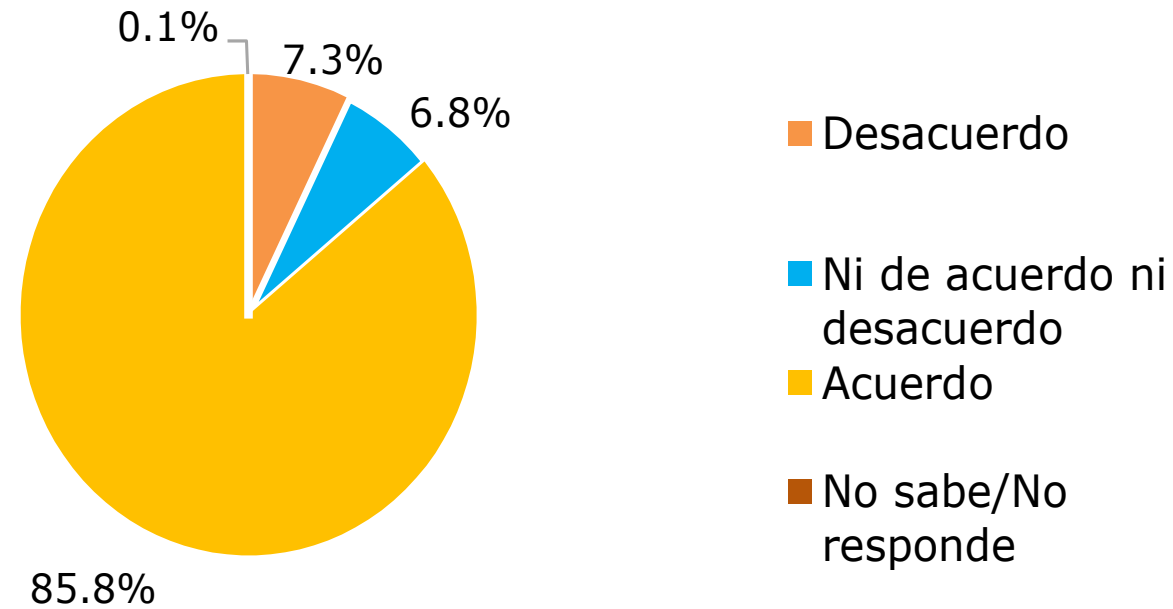
**Colabora:**

**cees.**

Centro de Estudios  
de Conflicto y  
Cohesión Social

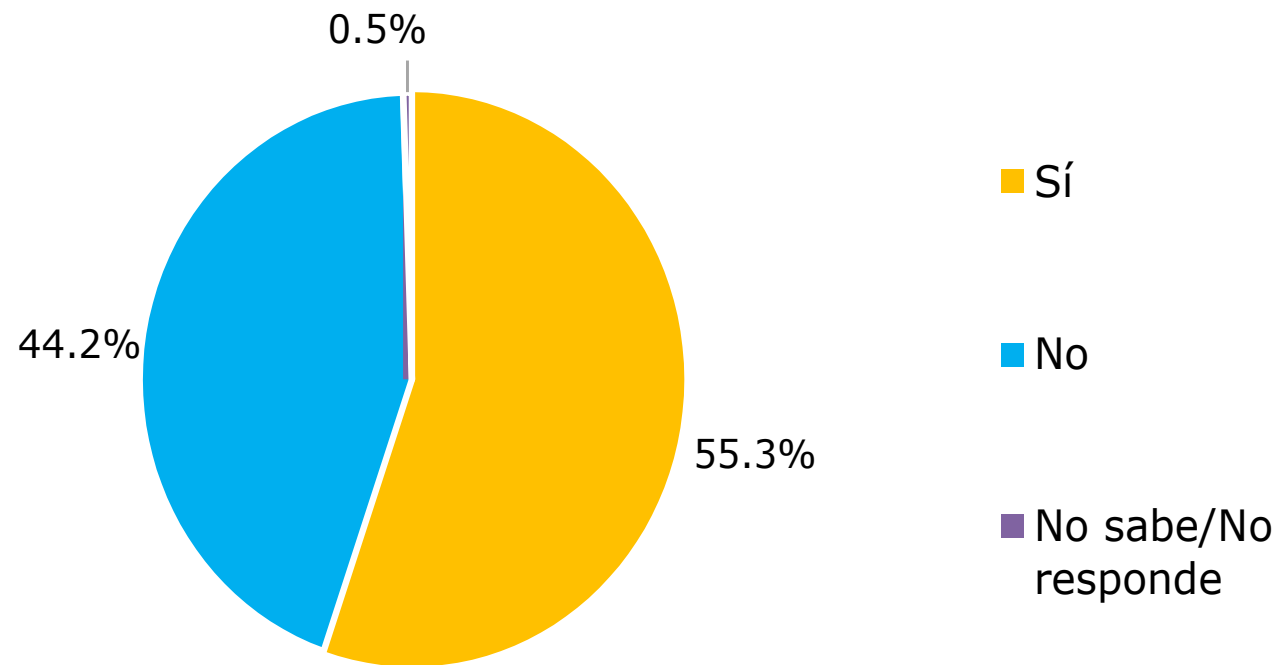


**Figura 3. Respecto al actual movimiento social, usted se encuentra:**



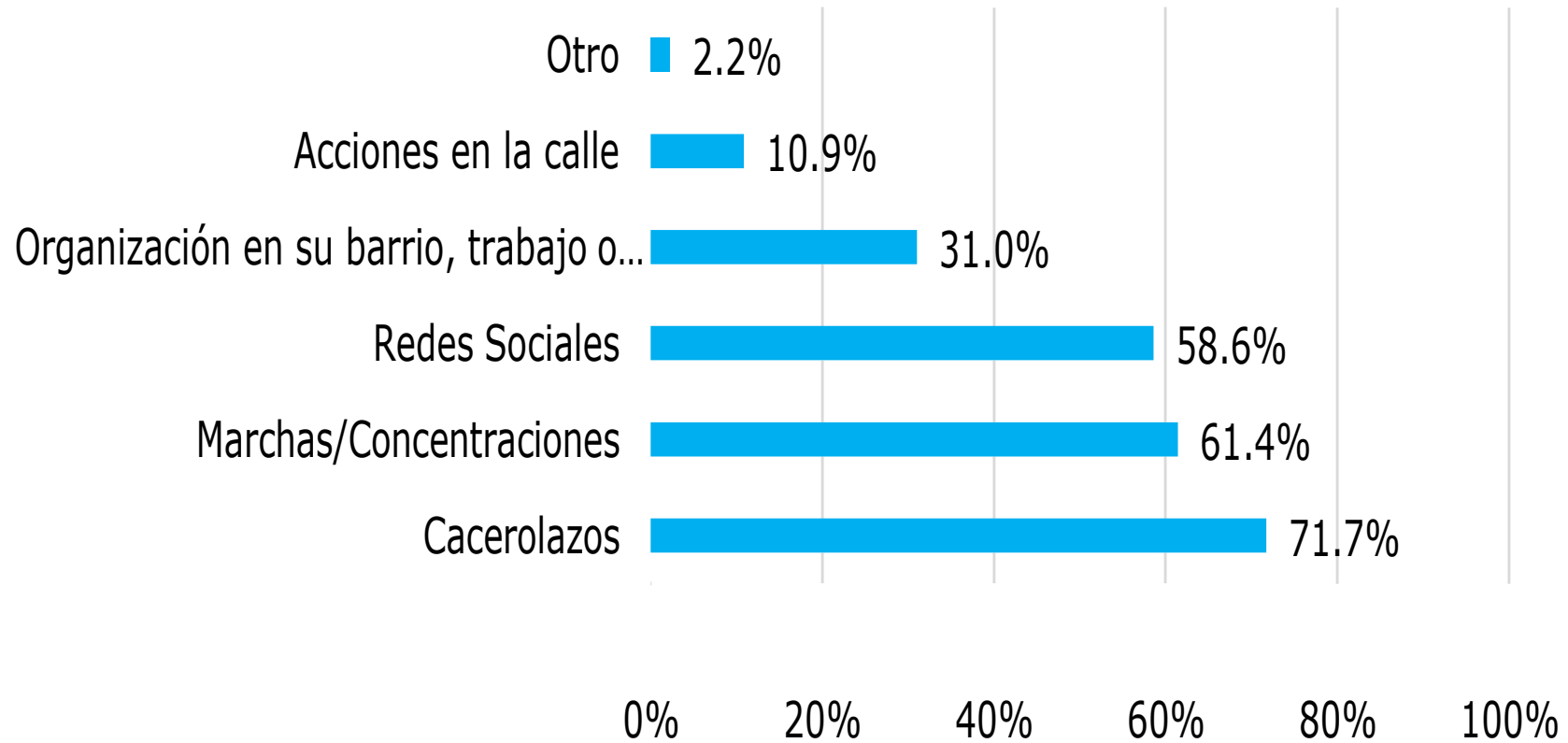
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

**Figura 5. ¿Usted participó de alguna forma de protesta en apoyo al movimiento social?**



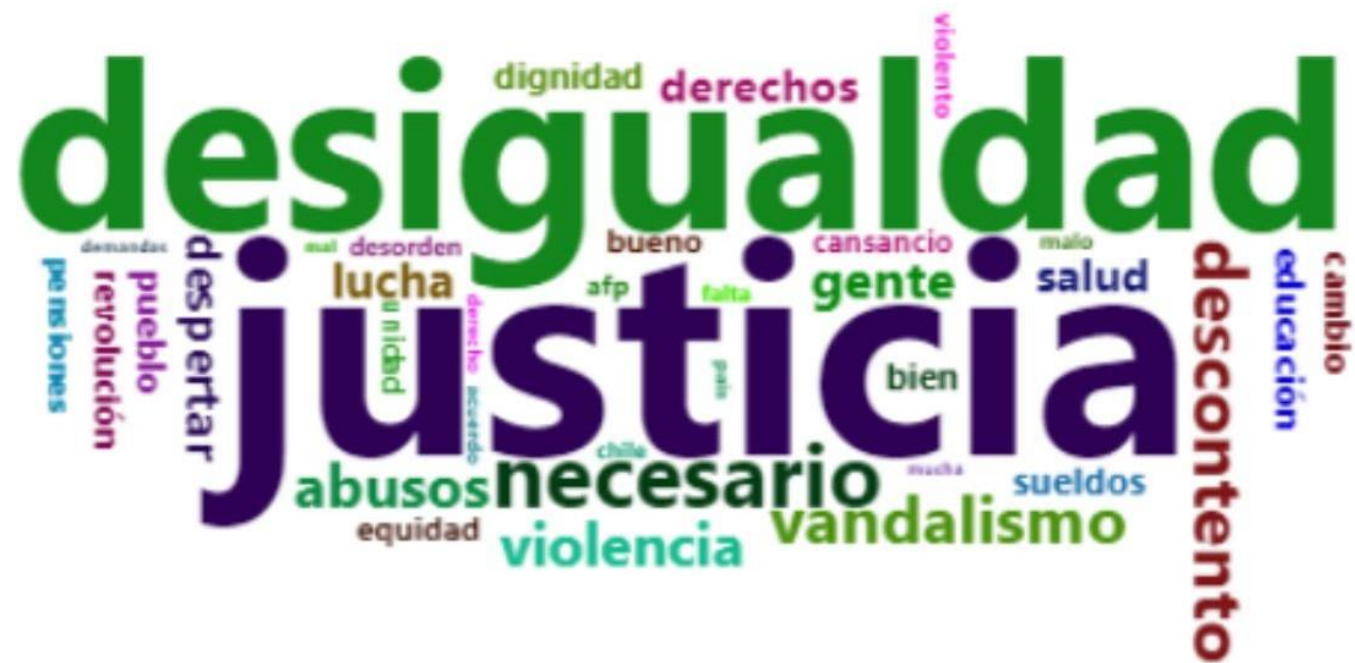
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

**Figura 6. ¿De qué forma usted apoyó el movimiento social?**



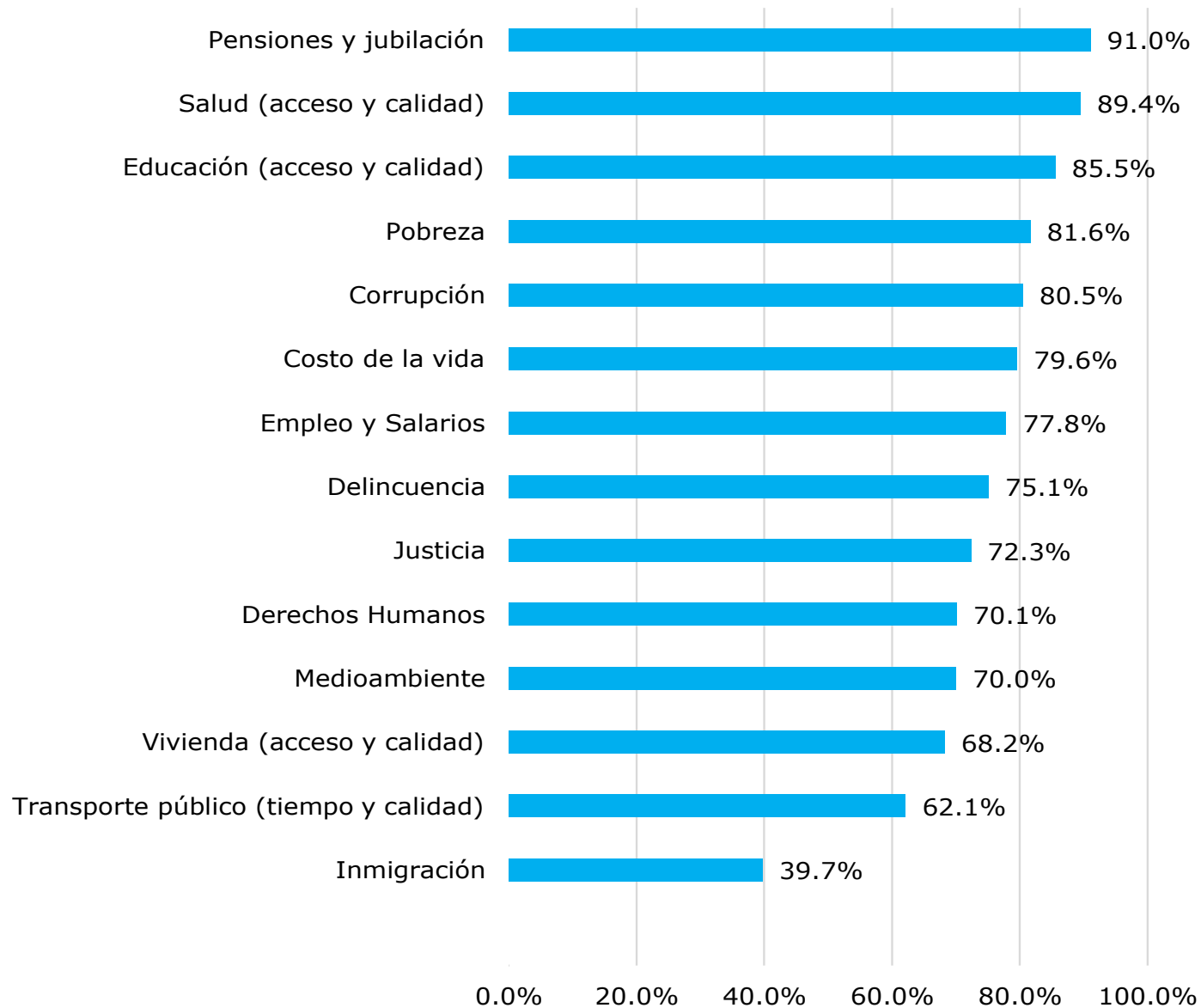
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

Figura 4. Palabras/conceptos claves para definir el actual movimiento social



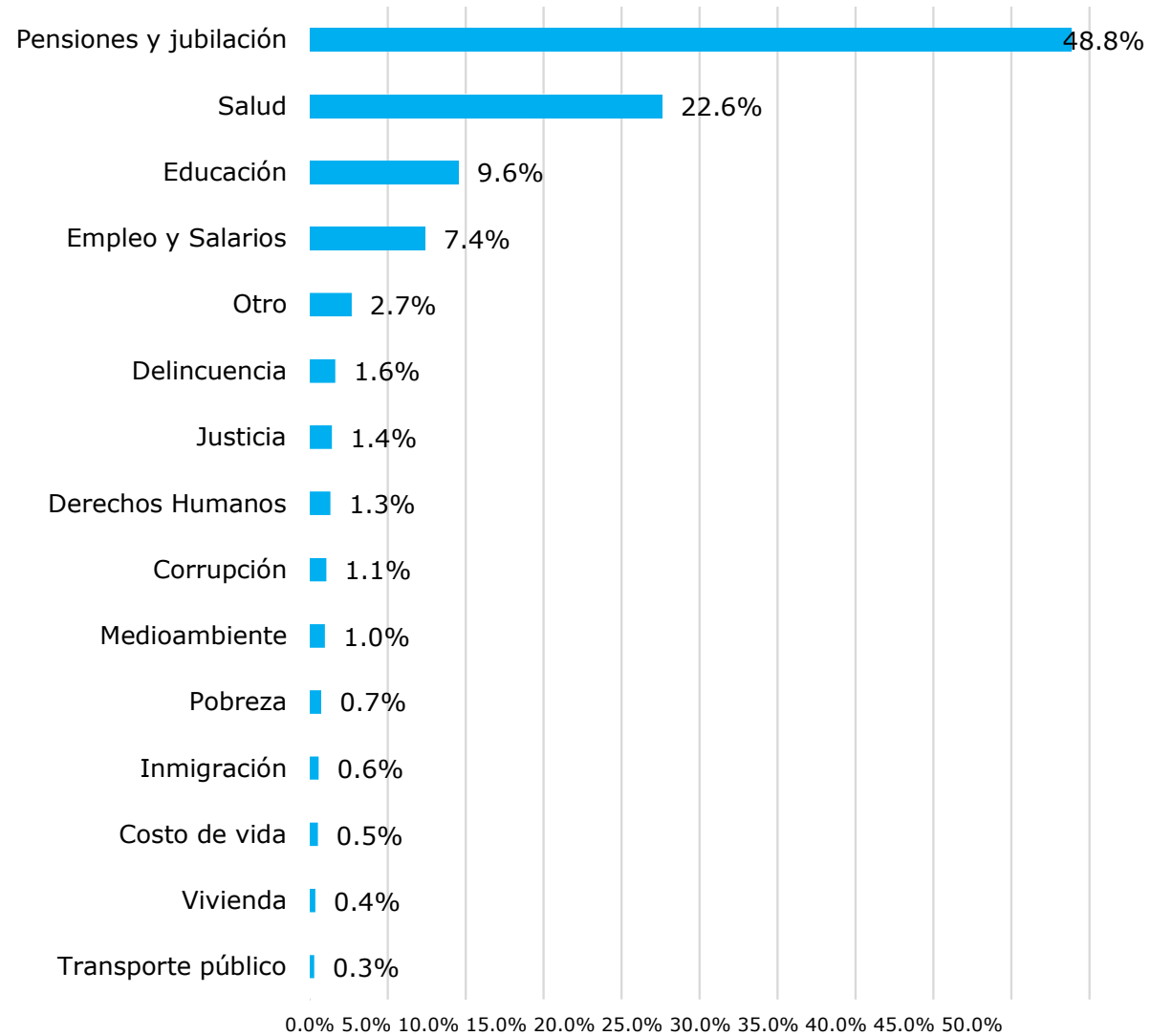
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

**Figura 12. Porcentaje de personas que evalúa con 10 (en escala de 1 a 10) cada demanda**



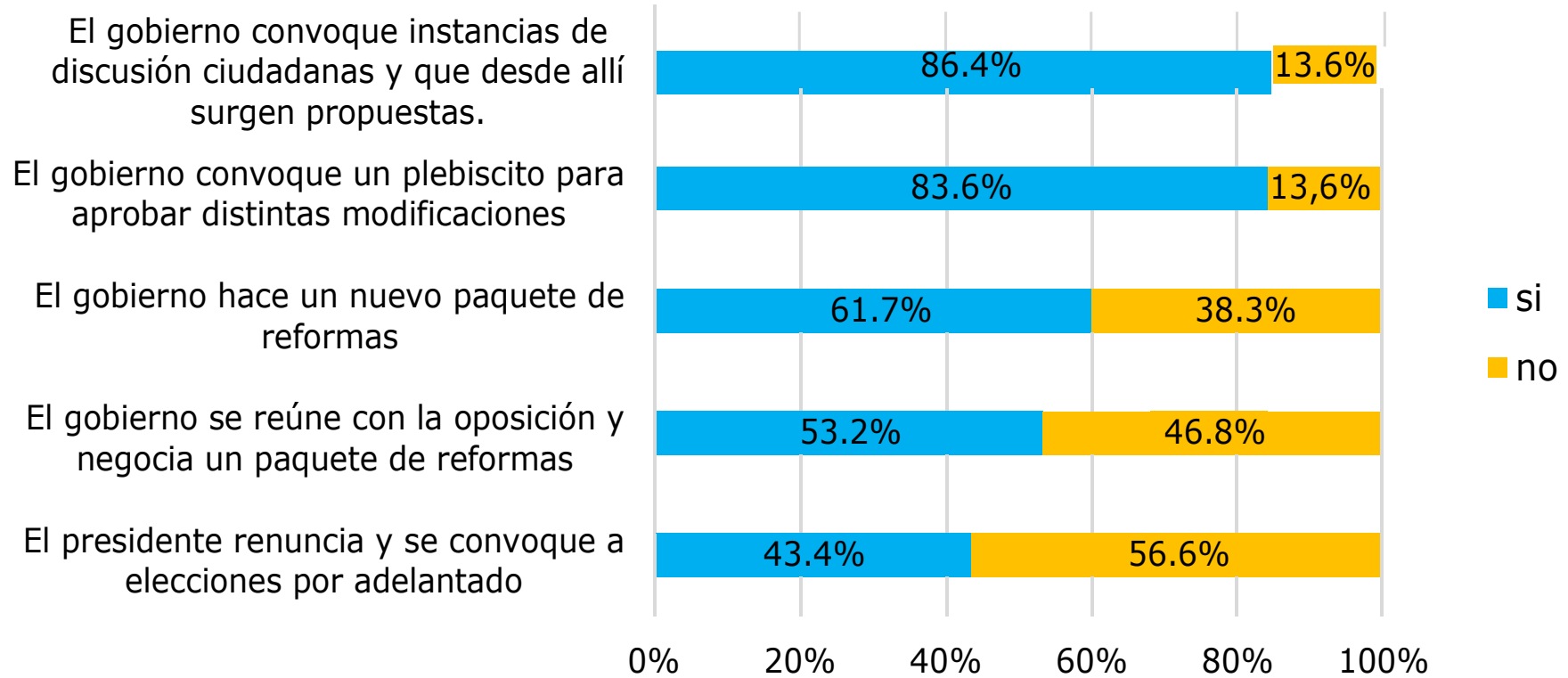
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

**Figura 13. Primer orden de preferencia de las demandas más importantes**



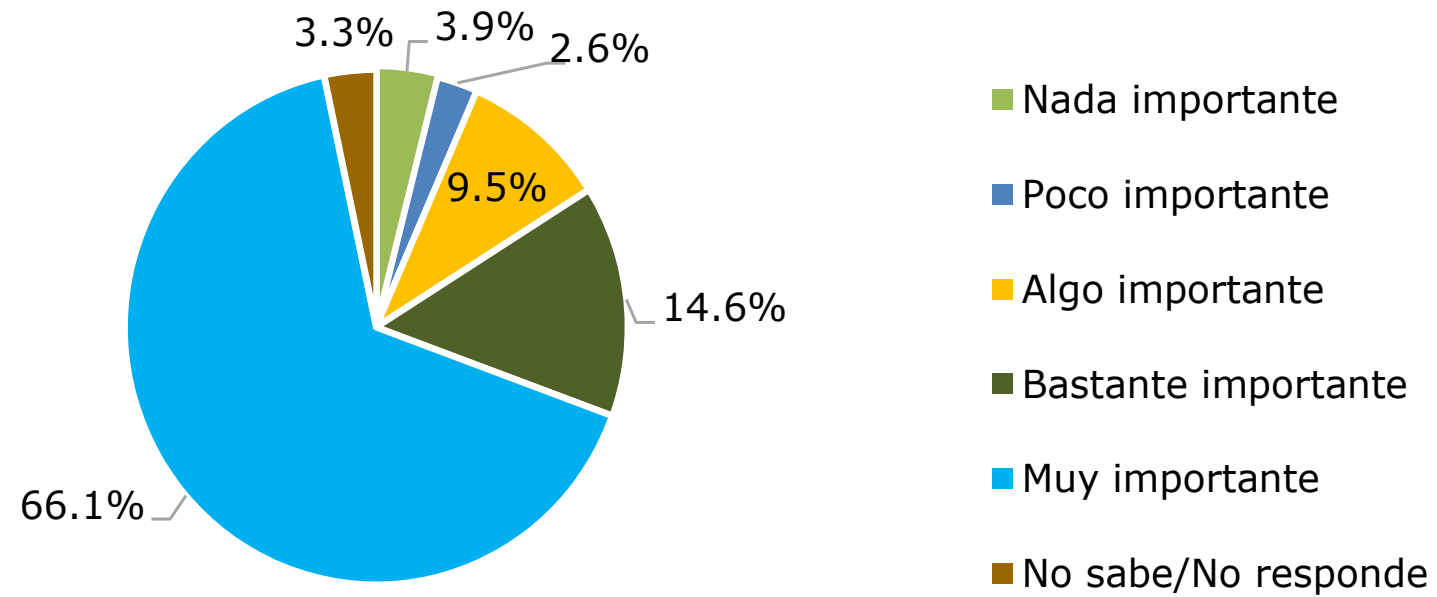
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

**Figura 17. Usted cree que se destraba el conflicto social si...**



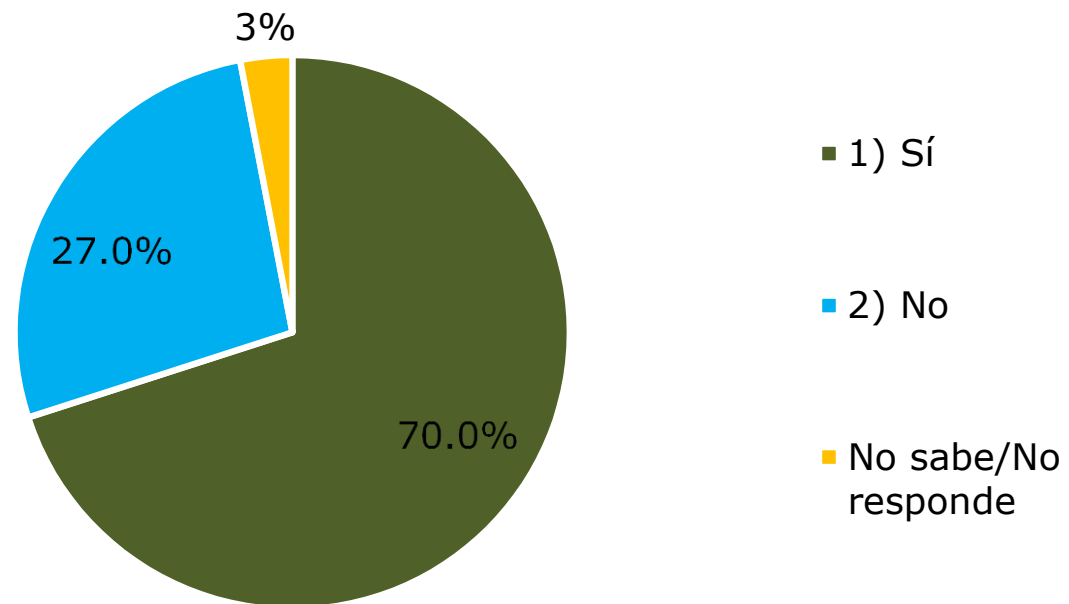
Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

**Figura 20. ¿Cuán importante considera usted que es para el país que se cambie la actual Constitución?**





**Figura 24. ¿Pretende usted participar en alguno de los cabildos a los que están convocando los alcaldes y los chilenos?**



Fuente: Encuesta Termómetro Social, octubre 2019. Estimaciones propias.

<b>Dimensión</b>	<b>Descripción</b>
<b>Población objetivo:</b>	Población residente en Chile de 15 años y más de edad que habite en hogares particulares de zonas urbanas y rurales de las 16 regiones del país.
<b>Tipo de muestreo</b>	Muestreo bifásico, donde en una segunda etapa se contacta telefónicamente a un marco muestral de hogares levantado en una primera etapa por el CMD. El marco muestral surge de un muestreo probabilístico, estratificado geográficamente y multietápico, donde se seleccionan "comunas" en una primera etapa, "manzanas censales" en una segunda etapa, "viviendas ocupadas" en una tercera etapa y "personas de 15 años y más", en una cuarta etapa según método aleatorio.
<b>Fecha del trabajo de campo:</b>	Levantamiento de datos por vía telefónica entre martes 29 octubre y viernes 1º de noviembre.
<b>Equipo de trabajo campo</b>	Un coordinador de campo nacional y 35 telefonistas.
<b>Encuestas finalizadas</b>	1.033 encuestas.
<b>Factor de expansión</b>	El cálculo del factor de expansión, corresponde al inverso de su probabilidad de selección o inclusión en la muestra. Incluye ajustes por no respuesta telefónica, y ajustes post-estratificación para rangos etarios (15-35,36-60,+60) de hombres y mujeres.
<b>Tasa de respuesta</b>	Tasa de respuesta 16,2% Tasa de rechazo 22% Tasa de contacto 39% Tasa de cooperación 41,6%
<b>Representatividad</b>	Bajo supuestos de un muestreo aleatorio simple, y para una proporción de 0,5. la encuesta tiene representatividad a nivel: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Nacional, con errores absolutos en torno a 3,1%.</li> <li>▪ Macro zona (norte, centro, sur), con errores absolutos entre 5,6% y 5,1%</li> <li>▪ Sexo, con errores absolutos entre 4,0% y 4,7%.</li> <li>▪ Grupo etarios (15-35,36-60, +60), con errores absolutos entre 5,6% y 5,5%.</li> </ul>