

2022

ANNUAL REPORT



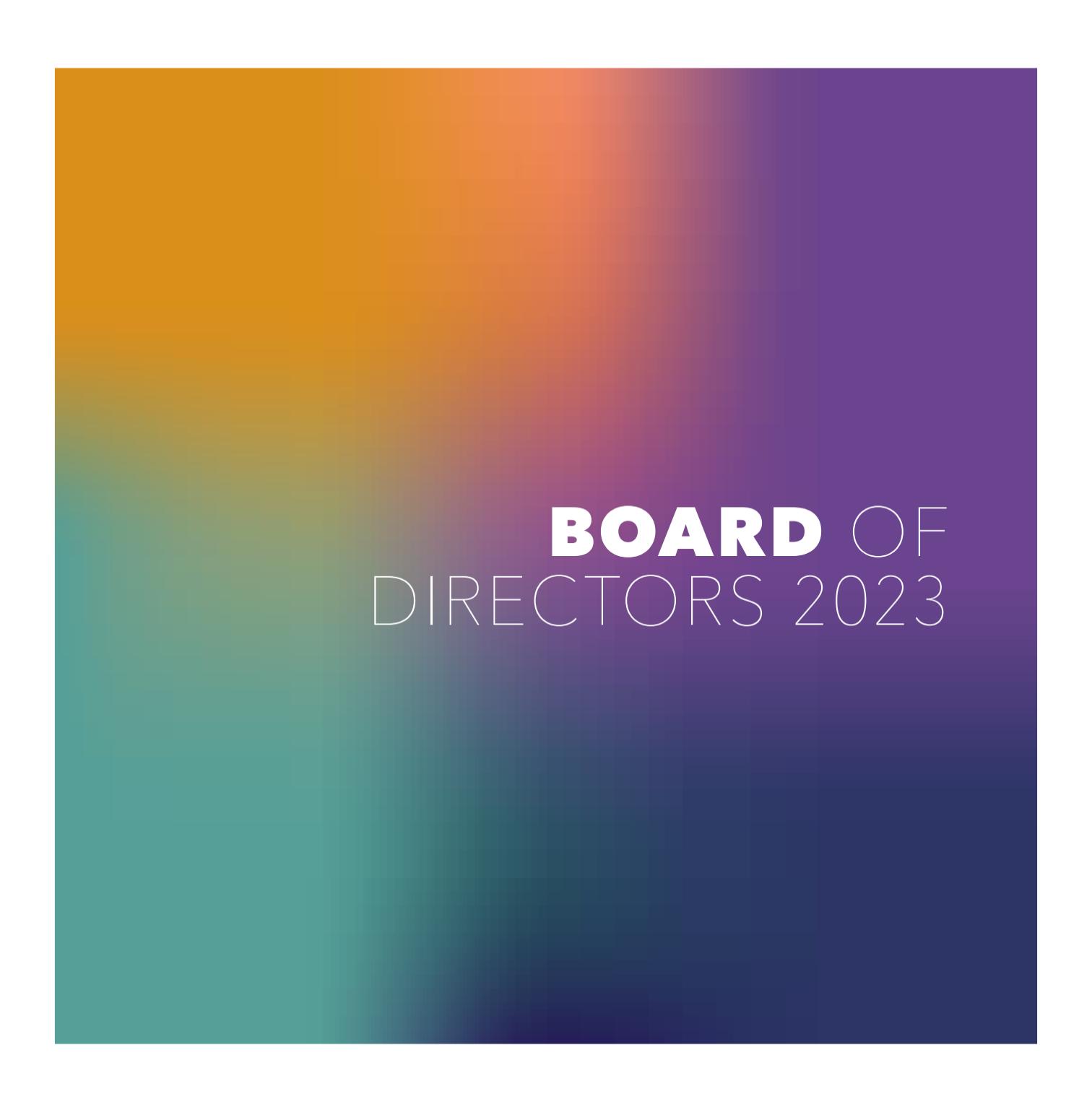
Independent think tank which seeks to contribute to the construction of a more fair, transparent, and democratic society, that allows economic, social, and political development that benefits all people.

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BOARD OF
DIRECTORS 2023



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Executive President



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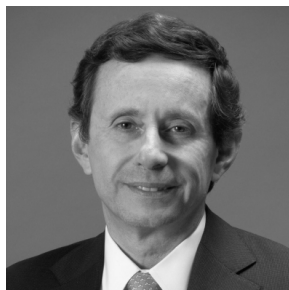
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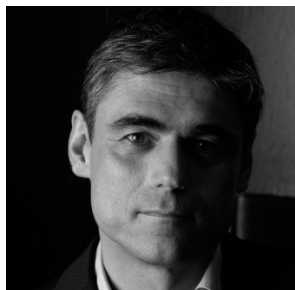
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EXECUTIVE
TEAM **2023**



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Head of International
Relations



CAROLINA MOSSO
Head of Communications
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FRANCISCA ARANCIBIA
Journalist



PAULINA FUENTES
Designer



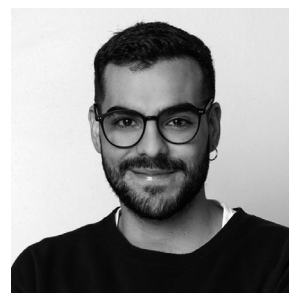
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Researcher



NIEVES ALCAÍNO
Assistant Researcher



RODRIGO GUERRERO
Researcher



MATÍAS PIÑA
Assistant Researcher



RAÚL FUGELLIE
Researcher



ELEONORA NUN
Researcher



LUCAZ GONZÁLEZ
Researcher



MARCIA SALINAS
Researcher



CARMEN GONZÁLEZ
Head of Administration
and Finance



DANITZA SOTO
Administration and
Finance Assistant



**OPENING
LETTER** FROM
THE EXECUTIVE
PRESIDENT

WORDS FROM
PAULA BENAVIDES

EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT OF ESPACIO PÚBLICO



Since the social crisis of 2019, then passing through the COVID pandemic, Chile has been going through a long period of profound political, social, health and economic challenges. The year 2022, in particular, was marked by the beginning of the government of President Gabriel Boric, the work of the Constitutional Convention and, in September, by the categorical rejection of the proposed new constitution in the exit plebiscite, which radically changed the political scenario.

On the economic front, the high inflation experienced by the country especially affected the most vulnerable households, with an annual increase of 28% in the basic food basket as of December. Thus, in 2022 we began a process of normalization of the macroeconomic imbalances accumulated in 2021, which were influenced, among other factors, by the withdrawal of pension funds.

At the same time, public safety challenges were firmly on the public policy agenda, and several milestones in 2022 reminded us of our fragilities and the challenges we have postponed. For example, the great fire in Viña del Mar, just days before Christmas, showed us how fragile we are in the face of climate change. At the same time, the rulings of August and November 2022 by the Supreme Court on *Isapres* showed us the effects of legislative inaction and the lack of agreements to address structural health problems, with their consequent judicialization.

At the same time, there were positive advances that allow

us to trust in the collective capacities of the country. The *"Acuerdo por Chile"* ("Agreement for Chile") widely reached in December 2022 to initiate a new constitutional process and seek the drafting of a new Fundamental Charter for the country showed commitment to dialogue, democracy, and the institutional path. This agreement established the Constitutional Bases on which the drafting of the new Constitution would be based. On the other hand, the monetary and fiscal adjustment processes implemented in 2022 were fundamental to reestablish the necessary balance for sustainable growth.

As an independent think tank, we have been available to contribute to an evidence-based dialogue. In 2022, we carried out the project *"¿Cómo vemos el proceso constituyente?"* ("How do we see the constituent process?"), which included surveys and focus groups, and allowed us to follow up on the work of the Convention and the expectations of citizens. We also held the seminar *#HablemosDeLaConstitución* (#Let'sTalkAboutTheConstitution), which brought together a group of 16 international experts who participated in panel discussions on power distribution, social rights, plurinationality and the functioning of the constituent process. The book *"Comisión de Sistema Político: Acuerdos y desacuerdos en los cimientos de la propuesta constitucional"* ("Political System Commission: Agreements and disagreements in the foundations of the constitutional proposal") was also launched, which reviewed the ideas, positions, conversations and agreements reached in that instance.

The work carried out in 2022 included research on women's employment and reports within the framework of the *Alianza Latinoamérica Sostenible* (Sustainable Latin America Alliance), in which proposals and actions were presented to advance towards a sustainable recovery from the climate crisis and the impacts of the pandemic on vulnerable groups were analyzed: women, green jobs and rural indigenous communities. In the area of democracy and the fight against corruption, in 2022 we held the conference of the *Red Anticorrupción Latinoamericana (ReAL)* (Latin American Anti-Corruption Network): "*Midiendo la corrupción en Latinoamérica: desafíos e innovaciones*" ("Measuring corruption in Latin America: challenges and innovations"), where the report "*Indicador de Corrupción en Latinoamérica Implementación Piloto: Chile, Colombia y México*" ("Corruption Indicator in Latin America Pilot Implementation: Chile, Colombia and Mexico") was presented. We also had international visitors, such as Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Prize winner in Economics, who gave a talk on "On the lack of resilience of the neoliberal model", and Michael Walton, an academic from the Kennedy School of Harvard University, who gave a seminar on "Inequality and poverty in Chile: an urgent challenge".

In the area of public safety, the first report on "*Seguridad Pública: Tendencias recientes en crimen*" ("Public Safety: Recent Trends in Crime") was launched, with the aim of contributing to the debate and supporting public policy proposals that will enable us to correctly address the problem. Finally, our directors provided technical support

to the public policy debate by participating, for example, in the *Comisión de Trabajo de la Cámara* (House Labor Committee), with proposals for the Pension Reform.

The country faces enormous public policy challenges, and it is imperative to build agreements that allow us to move forward with concrete solutions. Looking ahead to 2023, one of the great challenges is to successfully complete the new constituent process, especially strengthening the political system, the governance of the country and the incentives to build agreements and effective responses to the demands of citizens. Agreeing on a new fiscal pact and making progress in pensions and health are other priority challenges for the country, as well as advancing in public security with a State perspective.

Over the years we have maintained our commitment to the country's challenges, thanks to the support and contribution of those who have supported the work of Espacio Público and participated in our various initiatives. Going forward, we will maintain this commitment, especially in promoting the spaces for dialogue that the changes require, for which we hope to continue to count on the support of those who make our work for a more just, inclusive, and sustainable society possible.



2022: A YEAR THAT REMINDED US OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AGREEMENTS

Two years after the first case of Covid-19, 2022 was marked by the easing of sanitary measures and, with it, the return of face-to-face attendance in most Chilean activities, which allowed us to observe with perspective the effects that the pandemic produced in our society.

The foregoing was added to a critical international context, which forced it to face important challenges in political, social and economic matters that led the country to close with the highest inflation since 1991.

On the other hand, the work of the Constitutional Convention attracted great attention, with a process that began full of expectations and with high levels of hope, but that over the months (as our surveys on the subject showed) gradually declined into uncertainty and mistrust. Thus, the proposal for a new Constitution was rejected with 62% in the Chilean national plebiscite on September 4,

in a vote that brought back compulsory voting and, with it, an increase in participation with 12.8 million voters. This result forced the political forces to reconsider the mechanism to channel the debate and look for new options to satisfy the demand for a new Constitution that, according to different surveys, continues to be a latent aspiration.

Also, in recent years, various surveys have placed citizen security as one of the main concerns of the population. In fact, the Espacio Público – IPSOS survey “Chilenas y chilenos hoy” shows that between 2017 and 2021 this problem ranked at the top of the issues that most personally affect the people surveyed. During 2022, the demand for greater security was noted, posing the great challenge of generating agreements to materialize an effective public security agenda that provides responses to citizens.

A similar scenario is experienced in social security, with a bill in full discussion that seeks to reform, for the third time, the current pension system and will have the challenge of building a transversal pact.

In a context that demands agreements in different areas, at Espacio Público we made various investigations, opinion polls and action projects available to the authorities and citizens that would allow us to generate new reflections and elaborate public policy proposals that address deeply felt demands by the citizenship and which, if not resolved, could further weaken our institutions and increase mistrust in the political system.



OUR WORK
IN 2022



The first job as a way to reduce violence and discrimination: the case of Arbusta

How can quality work contribute to reducing discrimination and violence against women from vulnerable neighborhoods? This question was the focus of this project, which analyzed the effects of working at Arbusta, a Latin American IT company with operations in Argentina, Colombia, and Uruguay.



WEBINAR "Good work against violence: the case of Arbusta and its impact on the quality of life and its collaborators". In the image (from left to right) Alejandra Vargas, Teresa Ropert, Juan Pablo Pérez, Martina Deluchi, Eleonora Nun, Pía Mundaca and María Emilia Correa.

During the investigation, Espacio Público generated evidence about the central role that work plays in counteracting the effect of violence on the exclusion of access to opportunities in this population. The study was carried out between 2020 and 2021 and considered the participation of more than 150 Arbusta collaborators.

The results of the investigation were presented by Eleonora Nun and Teresa Ropert, researchers from Espacio Público, in the webinar **"Good job against violence: the case of**

Arbusta and its impact on the quality of life and that of its collaborators".

The instance included the opening words of Pía Mundaca, former executive director of Espacio Público, and Martina Deluchi, Human Capital Manager of Arbusta. The findings were commented on by Juan Pablo Pérez, researcher of the "Lives Under Siege" initiative of FLACSO Costa Rica; María Emilia Correa, co-founder of Sistema-B; and Alejandra Vargas, IDRC senior program specialist.

Sustainable Latin America: Fair and resilient recovery in Latin America to face climate change

**Recuperación justa y
resiliente en América
Latina para enfrentar
el cambio climático**

Documento de Políticas N°3
Enero, 2022

 **Latinoamérica
SOSTENIBLE**
Planeta para una recuperación justa y resiliente



Una alianza de:



TRANSFORMA



**ESPACIO
PÚBLICO**



Ethos
LABORATORIO DE
POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

WEBINAR
LATINOAMÉRICA SOSTENIBLE

¿Qué es Latinoamérica Sostenible?

Tras la crisis generada por la pandemia, resulta fundamental avanzar hacia una recuperación justa y resiliente. Por eso, desde Espacio Público (Chile), Ethos (México) y Transforma (Colombia) buscamos generar recomendaciones que se adapten a las necesidades de la región, con énfasis en los sectores financiero, energético, transporte y empleos verdes.



Una alianza de:



Recuperación justa y resiliente en
América Latina para enfrentar el
cambio climático



SUSTAINABLE LATIN AMERICA WEBINAR. In the image: Rodrigo Guerrero, Espacio Público researcher.

The complex context that Latin America is facing, derived from climate change and the reactivation of the COVID-19 pandemic, requires proposals and actions that allow progress towards a sustainable and resilient recovery in the face of the climate crisis. That is why the Sustainable Latin America alliance, made up of Espacio Público from Chile, Transforma from Colombia and Ethos from Mexico, brought together experts from the region to address this issue, in an event

co-organized by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF-

Colombia), the Global Alliance for Low Carbon Development Strategies Emissions and Climate Resilient (LEDS LAC) and the Transformative Reactivation initiative.

In three segments, fundamental issues were analyzed, such as the economic recovery measures that Latin American governments promoted to face the pandemic and how sustainable they have been; concrete proposals on energy and transport, as well as the opportunities for sustainable recovery that exist for Latin America and the Caribbean on the global agenda.

"Our region is especially vulnerable to climate change, due to our dependence on natural resources and the economic sectors subject to it. In addition, it is important to note that it was in a context of economic recession before the pandemic"

RODRIGO GUERRERO,
Espacio Público researcher.

¿Cómo vemos el proceso constituyente?

MIRADAS A UN MOMENTO HISTÓRICO



Ipsos Project - Espacio Público: How do we see the constituent process? Looks at a historical moment

During 2022, this joint project between Ipsos and Espacio Público continued to monitor the expectations of the citizenship vs. constituent process, with four deliveries, between January and August 2022, that were added to the two released during the previous year.

¿Cómo vemos el proceso constituyente?

MIRADAS A UN MOMENTO HISTÓRICO

CONSENSO

81%

de las personas señala que la actitud más adecuada que deben tener los convencionales es **negociar acuerdos**, aunque implique ceder o renunciar en algunos temas.

Enero de 2022

Total de la muestra: 801 casos.

BHP

Ipsos

**ESPACIO
PÚBLICO**

Third installment

JANUARY 2022

The results showed a stabilization in the expectations of the citizenship against the Convention: For 53% of the population hope is a feeling that represented them a lot at that time in relation to the constituent process. It was followed by joy (47%), uncertainty (36%) and mistrust (32%). These indicators remained without major variations compared to the measurements of August and February 2021. Similarly, a high assessment of the ability to reach agreements was observed, in fact, 81% of people indicated that reaching agreements is the most appropriate attitude that the conventional ones should have, even if it implies giving in or giving up on some issues.

ESTUDIO DE ESPACIO PÚBLICO

83% de personas de izquierda confía en la Convención; en la derecha es sólo el 14%

Una tercera entrega del estudio de opinión pública realizado por Espacio Público e Ipsos Chile, del proyecto "Cómo vemos el proceso constituyente, miradas a un momento histórico", detecta estabilidad en las emociones predominantes hacia el proceso respecto a mediciones anteriores: lide-

ran la esperanza (53%), alegría (47%), incertidumbre (36%) y desconfianza (32%). La encuesta -800 contactos telefónicos a hombres y mujeres de 18 años o más, utilizando un diseño estratificado no-proporcional por zonas del país- detecta que las más optimistas respecto a que el

trabajo de la Convención dejará efectos positivos en los próximos 10 años son las mujeres (68%) y los jóvenes (74%). Esta entidad goza de un 48% de confianza en los entrevistados, superando a las otras instituciones medidas: Congreso (15%), Partidos Políticos (8%), Carabineros (41%) y Municipalidades (38%). En todo caso, llama la atención la división política que esconde el promedio: mientras los confiados en la izquierda llegan al 83%, en la derecha sólo al 14%, y 42% son

de centro. El 81% de las personas señala que la actitud más adecuada que deben tener los Convencionales es negociar acuerdos, aunque implique ceder o renunciar en algunos temas. "La alta adhesión a una conducta de las y los Convencionales que privilegie los consensos puede ser un camino para revertir esta sensación de desafección con el proceso que se genera en la derecha", señalan los autores del estudio.

NEWS in La Segunda, January 24, 2022.

"There is the challenge of reversing certain levels of mistrust that are deeply rooted in close to a third of the population, precisely the one that identifies with the right. It is hoped that the achievement of broad consensus will reverse the level of dissatisfaction with the work of the Convention in this group".

PÍA MUNDACA,

former executive director of Espacio Público.

¿Cómo vemos el
proceso constituyente?
MIRADAS A UN MOMENTO HISTÓRICO

EVALUACIÓN DEL TRABAJO

Aunque el **44%** de las personas evalúa **muy bien a los convencionales de su distrito** en cuanto a su compromiso con el trabajo de la Convención, un 41% los evalúa muy mal respecto a sus declaraciones y apariciones en medios.

Enero de 2022

Total de la muestra: 801 casos.

BHP

Ipsos

ESPACIO
PÚBLICO

Fourth installment

APRIL 2022

This measurement was made when the work of the Convention began to enter its final stretch. The survey findings showed a drop in positive feelings about the process, and an increase in negative ones: hope and joy fell from previous measurements (53% vs. 39% and 47% vs. 32%, respectively), while fear and confusion increased significantly (22% vs. 33% and 19% vs. 24%, respectively).

Manuel Arís (EP) y falta de diálogo en la Convención

“Uno se pregunta, qué hay detrás de esa intransigencia”

Encuesta Espacio Público/Ipsos muestra que a la par de la esperanza, la gente siente desconfianza e incertidumbre frente al proyecto de Constitución.

Por René González R.

En agosto de 2021, los sentimientos que se experimentaban con mayor intensidad ante la perspectiva de una nueva Constitución eran esperanza y alegría, seguidos por desconfianza e incertidumbre. Hoy sigue primando la esperanza, pero con un gran bajón (ver recuadro), quedando a la par de los sentimientos que la siguen y que, en orden de importancia son “desconfianza”, “incertidumbre” y “miedo”.

¿Qué pasó entre esa medición de 2021 de la encuesta Espacio Público/Ipsos —titulada “Cómo vemos el proceso constituyente”— y hoy? El sociólogo y director de Opinión Pública de EP, Manuel Arís, cree que la falta de diálogo y que algunos constituyentes estén privilegiando los intereses de quienes los ayudaron a ser electos —invisibilizando los temores de la “gente común”— forman parte de la explicación.

“Las emociones positivas que primaban bajaron a cerca de un tercio y conviven con la misma intensidad con las emociones más negativas, debido al desgaste de una institución que se burocratiza, que tiene procesos internos y parece jibarizada. Muchas discusiones de las decisiones no responden a las preocupaciones de la gente, aquellas por las que el 80% votó apruebo. Responden a otras lógicas”, dice.

—¿Qué lógicas o temas faltan?

—En nuestros y otros estudios el tema de seguridad siempre aparece de primera preocupación. No se conversa de ella en la clave de cómo afectará a las personas en su vida cotidiana, en su seguridad. Simplemente, se discute si la policía debe tener una estructura militar o una subordinación civil. La convención entró a un proceso de negociación interna que provocó que algunos constituyentes perdieran la sensibilidad que hizo que fueran elegidos.

—¿No será que también los electores pensaban diferente, por ejemplo, al estar animados por las víctimas de trauma ocular, lo que los llevó a elegir un perfil de convencional con el que hoy tal vez no estén de acuerdo?

—En ese momento la legitimidad de actos de violencia en protestas era mucho más alta y la sensación de violencia institucional, como el alto precio de los medicamentos y abusos de las empresas, era considerada como un tipo de violencia mucho más fuerte que las barricadas... Pero las expectativas de cambios sociales



Manuel Arís, sociólogo de Espacio Público.

Así bajó la “alegría”

Sobre las emociones ante el proceso, en la encuesta del 21/8/21, 57% respondió sentir esperanza con intensidad de 6 a 7 (escala de 1 a 7). En la muestra del 22/3/22, 39% (-18 pts) optó por lo mismo. “Alegría” pasó de 49% a 32%, desplazada por desconfianza (36%), incertidumbre (35%) y miedo (33%). En agosto, el grupo de 18 a 29 años mostró el mismo interés que otros en el proceso (56% “muy interesado”) y hoy marca casi lo mismo (57%), pero los otros grupos bajaron a entre 40% y 50% a lo más. Por el lado positivo, la gente que dice sentirse medianamente y muy informada suma 84%, liderada por los más jóvenes (90%).

han estado siempre. Los programas de los convencionales tenían que ver con derechos sociales, más igualdad, menos abusos. El problema es que los convencionales no han sabido traducir a cómo lo que están deliberando mitigará los problemas que la ciudadanía percibe en su vida cotidiana. Y hay una percepción de que la búsqueda de acuerdo no es la conducta preponderante y existe un mandato claro de la población de que se pongan de acuerdo.

—En la encuesta, 79% dice que la actitud más adecuada es negociar, pero el mismo elector le dio una mayoría incontestable a la izquierda y a los movimientos sociales.

—Fueron elegidos ciertas sensibilidades y con detrimento de los partidos, pero

con la vocación de que hubiese un proceso deliberativo sin caricaturas. Cuando fueron electos los convencionales le preguntamos a la gente qué mecanismo de participación quería y la primera mayoría era que los convencionales volvieran a los territorios a rendir cuentas para explicar sus decisiones y con un comportamiento ético. En ese caso Rojas Vade le hizo un daño grave. Ahí comenzaron a surgir las dudas.

—La gente se siente relativamente bien informada (ver recuadro), pero no sobre los cabildos y el tiempo no dio para que el constituyente volviera a terreno ¿Cómo golpea esa mezcla?

—La expectativa de que la Convención fuera un espacio participativo no se está cumpliendo. La suspensión de las semanas territoriales, más allá del apremio

por avanzar en la redacción del texto constitucional, parece un error.

—¿Ayudaría a la percepción si la mayoría negociara más con la derecha?

—Más allá de negociar dentro del juego de la Convención, que es difícil de captar en estos estudios, el diálogo con distintas sensibilidades en el debate público es lo que falta. Tengo un temor: que ciertos convencionales estén respondiendo a orgánicas políticas con objetivos claros, que los ayudaron en sus campañas y que hoy se estén olvidando de la gente común y corriente que va a la feria, que tal vez no esté organizada y que tiene temores de cambios que puedan ocurrir.

—¿A qué convencionales o sectores se refiere?

—Uno escucha ciertos discursos elaborados en que ve posiciones que no se tratan y uno se pregunta qué hay detrás de esa intransigencia. Sería injusto apuntar a un grupo. Quizás cada convencional llegó con su agenda y tiene un compromiso con sus electores y le faltó flexibilidad para abordar la visión de expertos, del sentido común más temeroso de ciertos cambios.

—La encuesta refleja un divorcio entre opinión del grupo joven (18 a 29 años) y la del resto de la sociedad, ¿Son más de izquierda y refractarios a la discusión al tomar una bandera?

—Hay una brecha generacional. Declaran tener más interés, más conocimiento de los convencionales de sus distritos, pero esa brecha también la vemos en otros estudios. Cuando hablan de nuevo ciclo político, tal vez tengan razón con la irrupción de esta masa de jóvenes votantes, que quizás tenga otras expectativas, para la cual los temas de medioambiente y género son muy relevantes. Esas nuevas claves son banderas épicas, que para ellos les hacen más sentido que el eje de derecha izquierda y no quiere decir que sean grupos más izquierdizados. Son causas más diversas y fragmentadas. Eso ofrece incertidumbre

para las próximas elecciones. Los grupos del 79% que piden más diálogo, también están pensando en incorporar estos nuevos temas.

—¿Hay que hacer esfuerzos por cerrar esa brecha generacional, considerando, por ejemplo, que el estallido prende desde un liceo o esa diferencia es un valor?

—La tolerancia a la violencia como método de acción política es mucho mayor entre los jóvenes. Pero la brecha responde a

un cambio de paradigma cultural y tal vez haya que generar condiciones institucionales que reconozcan esa diversidad, para que los conflictos generados por esa brecha puedan ser resueltos de la manera más pacífica posible. Intentar una sociedad homogénea causará enfrentamientos con los paradigmas que entrarán en algún momento.

23%

se informa del proceso principalmente por redes sociales y 69% por medios formales.

INTERVIEW with Manuel Arís,
former director of Public Opinion,
in La Segunda, April 19, 2022.



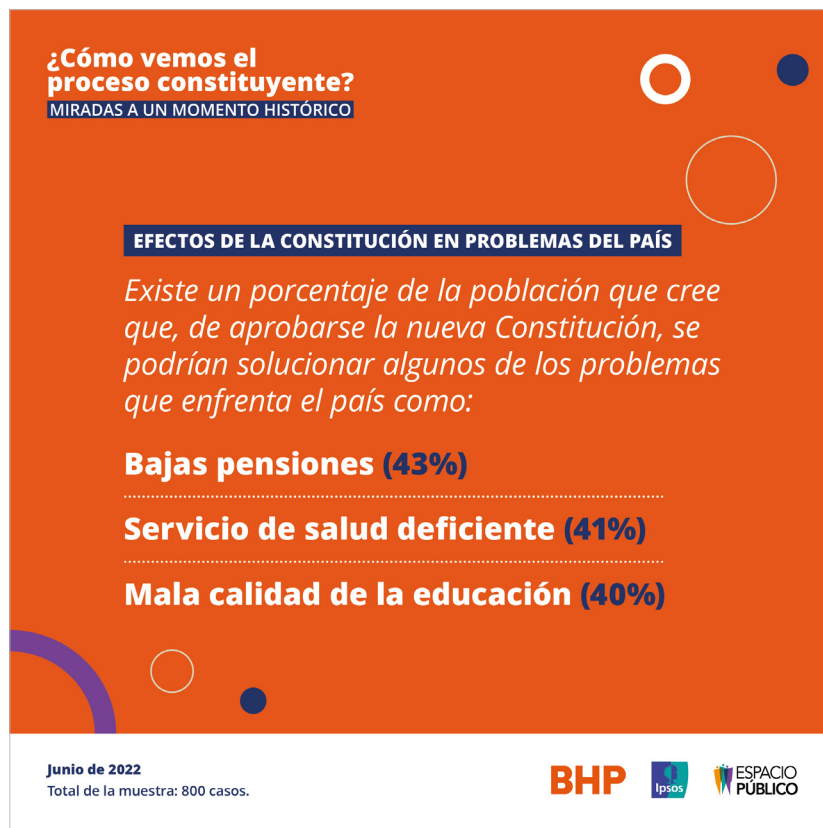
PÍA MUNDACA, former executive director of Espacio Público, at Mesa Central, April 17, 2022.

"The recent delivery of the Espacio Público and Ipsos survey shows this dichotomy clearly. Through more than a year of measurements, the results have consistently shown that 80% of the population expects conventional members to give up their positions in order to reach agreements. However, currently, 70% declare that the Convention has acted in the opposite direction, with little willingness to agree and with its members locked into their particular positions".

JAVIER SAJURIA,
director of Espacio Público.

Fifth installment

JUNE 2022



With the work of the thematic commissions completed and a draft of a new Constitution on the verge of being delivered, Ipsos and Espacio Público presented the results of the fifth measurement of the project.

The aspect most valued by the citizens

was the commitment to the work of the Convention, which obtained an average score of 4.8, while their statements to the press were poorly evaluated with an average score of 4.2. It should be noted that, for the fifth consecutive time, more than 70% of the people surveyed indicated

that they expected the conventional ones to have an attitude tending towards agreements, even if this implied them to give in or give up on some issues. However, for 61% of the people, the members of the Constitutional Convention did not give up their positions.

MAURICIO DUCE,
director of Espacio
Público, at Vía Pública,
June 22, 2022.



JAVIER SAJURIA,
director of Espacio
Público, at Mesa
Central, June 19, 2022.



"There is a very large gap between the expectations that have been shown consistently during the process and what the public has perceived from the work of the members of the Convention".

JAVIER SAJURIA,
director of Espacio Público.

Sixth installment

AUGUST 2022

COVER in La Segunda,
August 1, 2022.



Three weeks into the electoral campaign for the exit plebiscite, Espacio Público and Ipsos Chile present the results of the sixth and last measurement of this project. One of the notable aspects of the survey was that more than 80% of the people consulted were in favor of reforms, regardless of the result of the plebiscite. In addition, 22% of those surveyed gave a grade between 1 to 4 to the level of information they handled regarding the proposal, while 36% positioned themselves at number 5 on the evaluation scale. It should be noted that 42% of people indicated that they felt very informed (grades 6 to 7 on the scale).

La votante mediana y el plebiscito de septiembre



ANÁLISIS
Eduardo Engel

DOS CANDIDATAS PARA UN CARGO DE ELECCIÓN POPULAR. Los votantes se distribuyen en una larga fila; al comienzo están quienes se posicionan en la extrema derecha, al final los que están en la extrema izquierda; entremedio, cada votante en el lugar que le corresponde en el eje derecha-izquierda. Las candidatas deben elegir su plataforma electoral, es decir, el lugar de la fila donde se ubican. Los electores votan por la candidata más cercana. ¿Dónde se ubicarán las candidatas? ¿Cuál será la plataforma ganadora?

Este es el problema que abordó Anthony Downs en 1957, en un trabajo clásico que, con casi 40 mil citas, sigue siendo el punto de partida en cualquier curso sobre modelos de votaciones. Adaptando un modelo económico de Hotelling, Downs mostró que si el único objetivo de las candidatas es ganar la elección, las dos se situarán junto a la votante mediana, es decir, en el lugar de la fila con igual número de electores a su derecha y a su izquierda.

Como todo modelo, especialmente en ciencias sociales, el modelo de Downs simplifica la realidad más de lo que uno quisiera. No obstante lo anterior, es un buen punto de partida para entender varios fenómenos electorales.

Comencemos con la segunda vuelta presidencial de diciembre del año pasado. Lo que hicieron José Antonio Kast y Gabriel Boric entre la primera y la segunda vuelta fue acercar sus programas y posiciones a aquellas de la votante mediana. Kast lo tuvo claro desde la

misma noche de su sorpresivo triunfo en primera vuelta. Su discurso esa noche se dirigió a quienes no habían votado por él. En el caso de Boric, en cambio, quedó la impresión de que no había preparado un discurso para la eventualidad de que llegara segundo y les terminó hablando a quienes ya habían votado por él.

A pesar de ese mal puntapié inicial, Boric se recuperó rápidamente. Los candidatos tienen ideologías e historias, algo que Downs no consideró en su modelo, por lo cual tienen problemas de credibilidad cuando modifican sus promesas y discursos para capturar el voto de centro. Al final, Boric ganó la segunda vuelta porque fue más convincente que Kast moderando sus posiciones. Haber firmado el acuerdo por una nueva Constitución en noviembre de 2019, a contrapelo de su propio partido, le daba una credibilidad que Kast no pudo establecer.

El plebiscito de septiembre tiene una diferencia importante con la segunda vuelta presidencial. Las opciones entre las cuales debemos elegir —una nueva Constitución o seguir con la Constitución vigente— se fijaron antes de que comenzara el proceso electoral y no se pueden modificar. Cabe preguntarse, entonces, cuán cerca de la votante mediana está cada una de las opciones; nueva evidencia sugiere que no mucho. En efecto, una encuesta de Ipsos y Espacio Público publicada hoy indica que más del 80% de los encuestados piensa que, independiente de la opción que

gane, será necesario hacer reformas importantes rápidamente.

Visto a través del modelo de Downs, lo anterior sugiere que la mayoría de los chilenos está a la izquierda de la actual Constitución y a la derecha de la propuesta de nueva Constitución. De modo que ganará el plebiscito la opción que logre convencer al electorado de que se harán las reformas necesarias en caso de ganar. Las dos opciones tienen problemas de credibilidad serios para lograr este objetivo.

Partamos por el Rechazo. La campaña de este sector está siendo lo más alejada posible de los partidos políticos, el impacto de la intervención reciente de Kast sobre el repunte del Apruebo ilustra por qué. Sin embargo, compatibilizar esta estrategia electoral con que serán los parlamentarios de derecha quienes tendrán los votos clave para un nuevo proceso constitucional si gana el Rechazo no es fácil. A lo cual se agrega que durante más de treinta años la derecha se opuso a las reformas a la Constitución impuesta en dictadura. Solo apoyó reformas cuando ya no era viable (o conveniente) seguir con la Constitución vigente. ¿Por qué iba a ser distinto ahora?

El Apruebo también tiene problemas de credibilidad. Las propuestas concretas de reformas que hizo el PPD a mediados de junio tuvieron poco eco en ese sector durante más de un mes. Solo esta semana el Frente Amplio publicó su propia lista de propuestas, aunque estas se encauzarían al implementar la nueva Carta Magna, no mediante reformas constitucionales. Queda por verse cuán relevante es la diferencia. Entre quienes apoyan el Apruebo, muchos creen que comprometer cambios debilita la opción. Será interesante ver si la evidencia mencionada aquí logra revertir esta creencia equivocada.

Las dos opciones que votaremos el 4 de septiembre partieron lejos de la votante mediana. Por lo cual será importante comprometer acciones posteriores que convoquen una mayoría del electorado. Quien logre dar mayor credibilidad a esos compromisos ganará el plebiscito.

La mayoría de los chilenos está a la izquierda de la actual Constitución y a la derecha de la propuesta de nueva Constitución. Ganará el plebiscito la opción que logre convencer al electorado de que se harán las reformas necesarias en caso de ganar”.

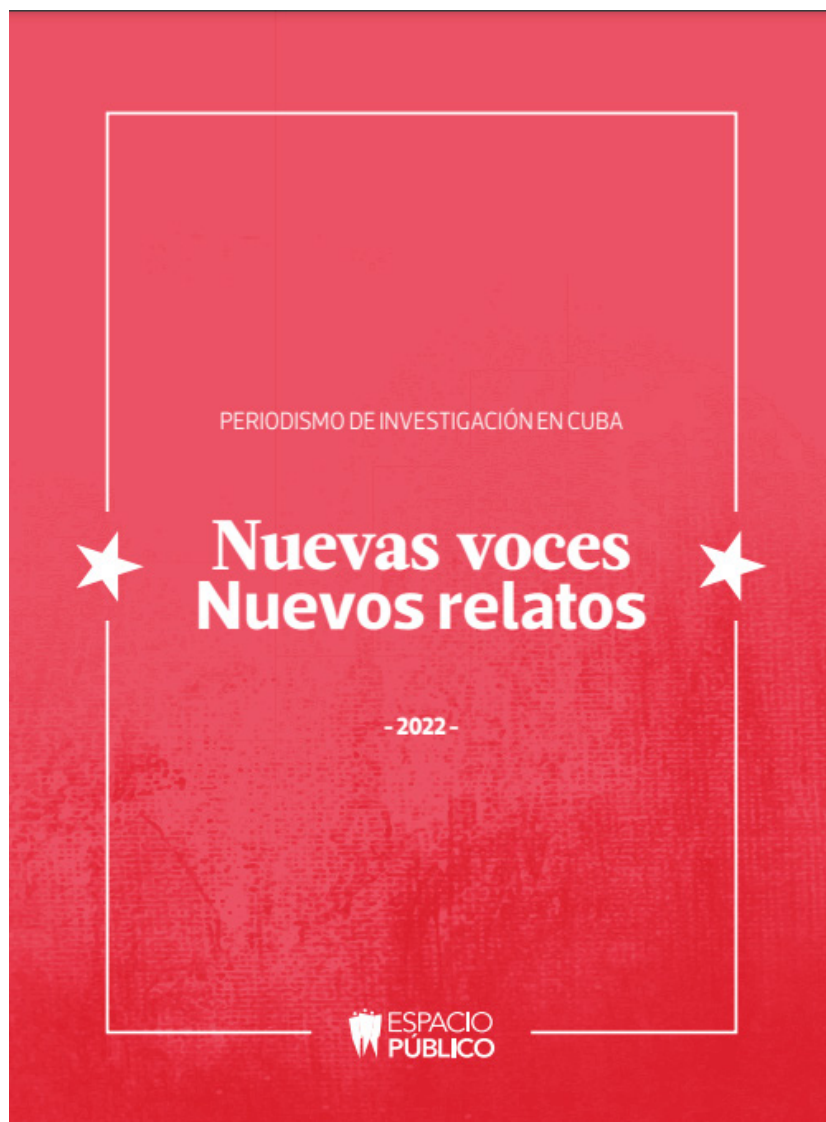
COLUMN by Eduardo Engel in El Mercurio, July 31, 2022

"The majority of Chileans are to the left of the current Constitution and to the right of the proposed new Constitution. The option that manages to convince the electorate that the necessary reforms will be made if they win, will win the plebiscite".

EDUARDO ENGEL,
director of Espacio Público.

Investigative journalism in Cuba

Since 2017, Espacio Público has carried out a project with young journalists, with the aim of strengthening accountability to governments through the promotion of investigative journalism in the region, and the strengthening of the independent mediums of communication. In these five years, more than 45 young journalists from Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela have been able to participate in training spaces, create contact networks with other journalists in the region, and share experiences with other people who, like them, have had to practice journalism in similar political contexts.



Sociedad

Periodismo de investigación, una herramienta vital para la construcción de un mejor sistema democrático

En esta quinta edición del proyecto del centro de estudios chileno Espacio Público, "Periodismo de investigación en Cuba: Nuevas voces, nuevos relatos", dos grupos de periodistas abordan la problemática de la contaminación en La Habana, así como las historias humanas que la entrecruzan.



NOTE in El País, June 27, 2022

Despite the economic crisis in Cuba, exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic, a group of journalists living in Havana managed to carry out important investigations in this edition of the project, which were compiled in a digital

publication and a second season of the podcast. "Cuba: new voices, new stories" that, throughout 4 chapters, allowed delving into the investigations and addressing the state of investigative journalism in Latin America.

Seminar #Let'sTalkAboutTheConstitution



With the mission of contributing to a quality debate around the contents of the constitutional proposal presented and helping citizens to exercise their vote in an informed manner, Espacio Público held the seminar #Let'sTalkAboutTheConstitution (#HablemosDeLaConstitución), at the Palacio La Moneda Cultural Center, one month after the exit plebiscite was held. The instance brought together a group of 16 international experts who participated in four conversation panels:



#Let'sTalkAboutDistribution (#HablemosdeDistribución) of Power, moderated by Diego Gil, academic at the Government School of the Catholic University of Chile, and made up of María Victoria Murillo, director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia University (USA); Gabriel Negretto, director of the Doctorate of the Institute of Political Science of the Catholic University of Chile and Julieta Suárez-Cao, associate professor of the Institute of Political Science of the Catholic University of Chile and member of the Network of Political Scientists.



#Let'sTalkAboutSocialRights (#HablemosDeDerechosSociales) and the challenges of their implementation, moderated by Luis Cordero, academic at the University of Chile and former director of Espacio Público, and made up of Verónica Undurraga, academic at the Faculty of Law of the Adolfo Ibáñez University and director of Espacio Público; Rodrigo Uprimny, professor at the National University of Colombia, senior researcher at De-justicia and member of the United Nations Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Joan Subirats, minister of Universities of Spain and expert in public policy as panelists.



#Let'sTalkAboutPlurinationality (#HablemosDePlurinacionalidad) and its scope, moderated by Dany Jaimovich, academic, doctorate director of Economics at the University of Talca and director of Espacio Público, and made up of Jorge Comtesse, tenured professor at Rutgers Law School (USA) and associate professor of the Diego Portales University and Shireen Morris, full professor at Macquarie University (Australia).



#Let'sTalkAboutTheConstituentProcess (#HablemosDelProcesoConstituyente) as an opportunity to process our conflicts, moderated by economist Andrea Repetto, academic at the Adolfo Ibáñez University and director of Espacio Público, and made up of Kathya Araujo, academic at the University of Santiago de Chile, Patricio Fernández, formerly conventional constituent and director of Espacio Público and Marta Ruiz, Commissioner of the Commission for the clarification of the truth, coexistence and non-repetition of Colombia.



"Regardless of the option we choose, from Espacio Público we believe it is essential that the decision be informed, taking into account all the elements that allow us to decide".

PAULA BENAVIDES,
executive president of Espacio Público.



Women, Green Jobs and Indigenous Peoples: Paving the Way for a Just and Resilient Recovery in Latin America

Mujeres, empleos verdes y pueblos indígenas:

construyendo el camino
para una recuperación justa
y resiliente en América Latina



Two years after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, the effects derived from the health crisis have continued to generate multiple impacts in Latin American countries. In addition to the economic consequences, the region has regressed in terms of energy transition, while environmental policy has ceased to be a priority, neglecting the needs to respond to climate change.

Against this background, the pandemic has exacerbated structural gaps affecting already vulnerable communities. For this reason, this report from the Sustainable Latin America alliance presented a diagnosis of the impacts of the pandemic on three vulnerable groups of interest in Mexico, Chile and Colombia: women, green jobs and rural indigenous communities, and proposed a series of recommendations for the region.



Una alianza de:



Ethos
LABORATORIO DE
POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

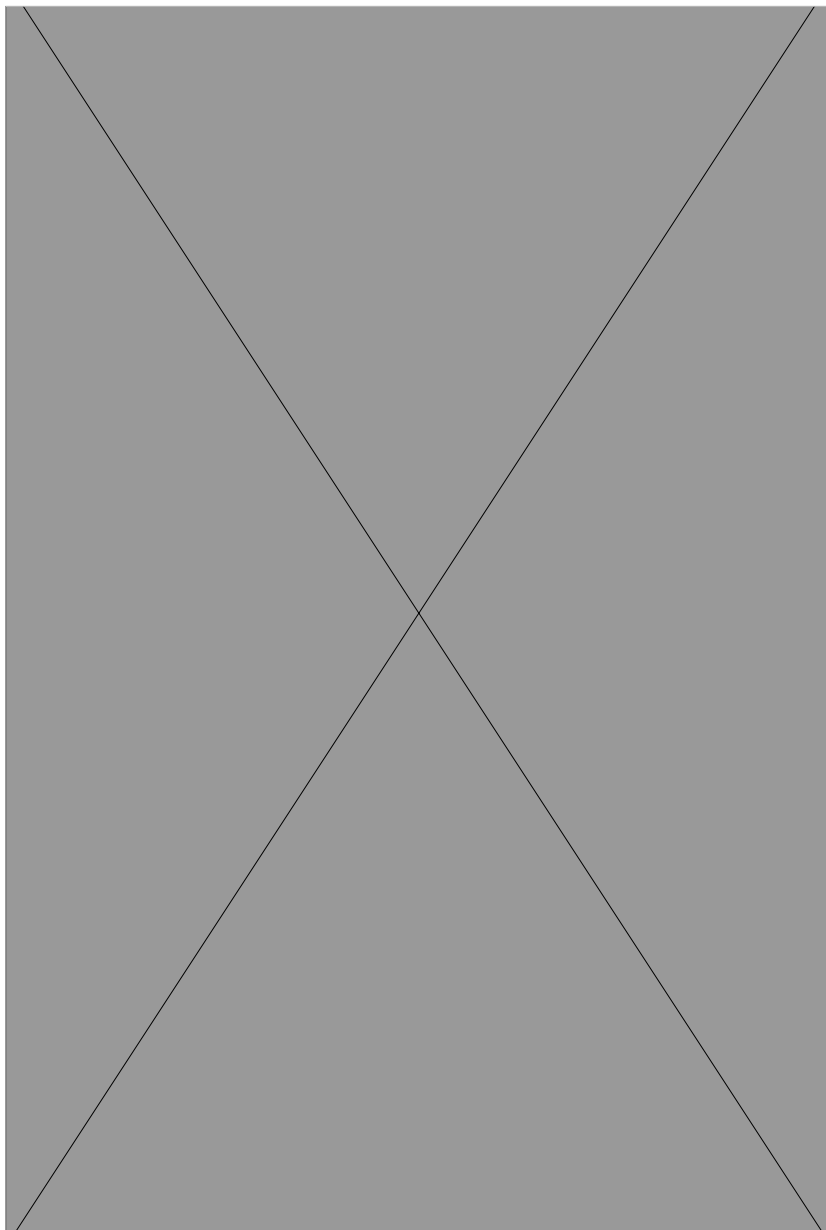


Discussion: OECD Economic Study for Chile 2022



ECONOMIC STUDY CONVERSATION of the OECD for Chile 2022. In the image (from left to right): Juan Carlos Jobet, Paula Benavides, Paula Margarett, Jens Arnold, Juan Pablo Medina and Rodrigo Valdes.

How has Chile recovered from the pandemic? How could the reforms increase tax revenues, expand social protection and improve productivity? These were some of the questions addressed in the Conversation: OECD Economic Study for Chile 2022, organized by Espacio Público and the Business School of the Adolfo Ibáñez University (UAI), and which brought together Jens Arnold, Deputy Head of Division and Economist responsible for Argentina, Colombia and Chile in the OECD Department of Economics; Paula Benavides, Executive President of Espacio Público; Juan Pablo Medina, researcher and academic at the UAI Business School; Rodrigo Valdés, Director of Espacio Público and Juan Carlos Jobet, dean of the UAI Business School and former bi-minister of Energy and Mining.



Book:
"Political System
Commission:
Agreements and
disagreements
on the
foundations of
the constitutional
proposal"



LAUNCH OF THE BOOK "Political System Commission: Agreements and disagreements on the foundations of the constitutional proposal". In the image (from left to right): Valentina Matus, Magdalena Vergara, Valeria Palanza, Michael Gort, and Paula Benavides.

The constituent process that started in 2019 was named as one of the most important political events since the return to democracy in Chile and the fact that it was the citizens who decided to draw up a new Magna Carta was a fact recognized worldwide. In addition, it stood out for being the body with the greatest political diversity in the history of Chile: gender parity among its members, seats reserved for the ten indigenous peoples recognized by the State, and high representation of people without political militancy.

After the work carried out, the proposal prepared by the Convention was rejected with close to 62% of the votes, in a historic vote that had the participation of 85.8% of the electoral roll, in which there was also compulsory voting. In this context, Espacio Público, with the support of the

Embassy of Canada, presented the book "Political System Commission: Agreements and disagreements on the foundations of the constitutional proposal", to review and analyze the ideas, positions, conversations and agreements that took place at the Santiago headquarters of the National Congress between July 4, 2021 and July 4, 2022.

The launch was carried out virtually and included the participation of Paula Benavides, executive president of Espacio Público, Michale Gort, Canadian Ambassador, Valentina Matus, journalist, author of the book and editor of Contexto Factual, Valeria Palanza, dean of the Faculty of History, Geography and Political Science from the Catholic University of Chile, and Magdalena Vergara, director of studies at IdeaPaís.



Meeting with Joseph Stiglitz at Espacio Público: "On the lack of resilience of the neoliberal model"

Focusing on analyzing the neoliberal system, its response to world crises and alternatives to the model, Joseph Stiglitz, 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics, gave a talk "On the lack of resilience of the neoliberal model" in the offices of the Espacio Público study center.

Through a review of the current political and economic scenario, Stiglitz addressed the close relationship that exists between the current model and the danger of authoritarianism. "There are problems that are generating crises in democracies, in fact, there are countries in which



MEETING with Joseph Stiglitz at Espacio Público. In the picture (from left to right): Jeannette von Wolfersdorff, Joseph Stiglitz, Ignacio Briones, and Eduardo Engel.

elections are no longer believed," he reflected. Emphasizing the limitations of the neoliberal model, the economist proposed "progressive capitalism" as an alternative, which would imply a reinvigorated social democracy, in which a contract between the State and civil society is generated.

His presentation was commented by Jeannette von Wolfersdorff, economist and author of the book "Capitalism"; Ignacio Briones, former Minister of Finance and academic at the Adolfo Ibáñez University; and Eduardo Engel, director of Espacio Público.

“This discussion of neoliberalism arises from the question of how well this system has responded to the many crises the world is facing. The question is what is the alternative?”.

JOSEPH STIGLITZ,

2001 Nobel Prize in Economics.

Ipsos Survey - Espacio Público by Constituent Process



With the aim of analyzing the perceptions of citizens after the Rejection option was imposed in the exit referendum, Espacio Público and Ipsos Chile launched a special edition of the report "Claves Ipsos". The study surveyed 801 Chilean men and women online to find out their opinion and perceptions regarding the constitutional process.

The survey concluded that 74% of people are in favor of having a new Constitution. Those who supported this the most were young people between the ages of 18 and 29, with 81%. In addition, there was significant support for ensuring gender parity, the presence of native peoples and independent people in a new drafting body.

ESPACIO ABIERTO

Desafíos pendientes

Javier Sajuria

Profesor de
Ciencia Política
Queen Mary University



Quizás una de las paradojas más frustrantes para un sector de quienes promovieron el Rechazo en septiembre es que, a pesar del resultado, una mayoría contundente aún cree que Chile necesita una nueva Constitución. Según la última encuesta de Ipsos con Espacio Público, 74% de la población considera que el desafío sigue pendiente, a pesar del fracaso reciente. La persistencia de este desafío está acompañada de un cierto nivel de urgencia, con un 40% que cree que este proceso debe ocurrir dentro de un año, y un 31% que espera que el proceso concluya dentro de dos años.

Resulta sorprendente, y esperanzador, que el fracaso de la Convención Constitucional no haya afectado la necesidad de contar con un nuevo texto. Incluso, es interesante observar los grados de urgencia con que la ciudadanía pareciera mirar el proceso, muy a contrapelo de la demora que han tenido los actores políticos en resolver los mecanismos.

Pero, por eso mismo, resulta preocupante la demora. Las condiciones estructurales que llevaron al estallido de 2019 y al acuerdo de noviembre de ese año siguen presentes. El país cuenta con niveles similares de desigualdad, mientras que el Banco Mundial prevé un aumento de la pobreza. Asimismo, el costo de vida está cada vez más alto, con niveles de inflación que no habíamos visto en años. Si la única razón que apuró el tranco el 2019 fue la protesta ciudadana y el quiebre del orden público, es imperativo que los dirigentes del 2022 no caigan en la misma inercia. Las condiciones sociales del país, y de gran parte del mundo, han empeorado lo suficiente para hacer mucho más costosa una crisis social.

La cuestión constitucional o, como algunos lo llaman, el momento constituyente, no parece haberse extinguido en la opinión pública. La resiliencia del tema muestra, una vez

más, la brecha entre élites y ciudadanía, en la que los desacuerdos de los primeros no tienen un correlato claro en los segundos. Incluso, si miramos cuáles son los temas que aparecen más relevantes para la ciudadanía (vivienda, salud, educación, pensiones y medioambiente) son algunos de los mismos que se usan para justificar que el tema constitucional debe pasar a segundo plano. No parece haber disonancia en la opinión pública entre las urgencias sociales y la discusión constitucional.

El último desafío pendiente es encontrar un órgano capaz de superar la frustración con la Convención. Ello parte por reconocer que el comportamiento de sus miembros fue una de las principales razones del Rechazo. Según la encuesta de Espacio Público, la ciudadanía parece menos proclive a un órgano de las mismas características que el primero proceso y más dividida sobre las alternativas. Ahora, donde parece haber consenso es en que el Congreso no es el llamado a hacerse cargo.

Reconocer que el desafío constituyente sigue pendiente es solo el primer paso. Darse cuenta de que sigue siendo urgente, es el segundo. Dejar de arrastrar los pies para llegar a un acuerdo que le dé vida, el tercero.

“The last remaining challenge is to find a body capable of overcoming the frustration with the Convention. This begins by recognizing that the behavior of its members was one of the main reasons for the Rejection. According to the Espacio Público survey, citizens seem less inclined towards a body with the same characteristics as the first process and more divided on the alternatives”.

JAVIER SAJURIA,
director of Espacio Público.





Seminar "Inequality and poverty in Chile: urgent challenge"

"Chile is very unequal in many dimensions", with that phrase Michael Walton, an academic at the Kennedy School of Harvard University, began his lecture at the seminar "Inequality and poverty in Chile: an urgent challenge", which was held in the offices of the Espacio Público study center.

With a presentation marked by the analysis of the patterns and influences that have led to the perpetuation of inequality in our country, the American academic was

emphatic in pointing out that "the fundamental issue in this matter is the interaction between entrenched inequalities and the design of policies".

Once finished, the presentation was commented by Matías Cociña, head of the Social Observatory Division of the Ministry of Social Development and Family; Juan Cristóbal Romero, executive director of Hogar de Cristo and Andrea Repetto, director of Espacio Público and president of the Foundation for Overcoming Poverty (Superación de la Pobreza).

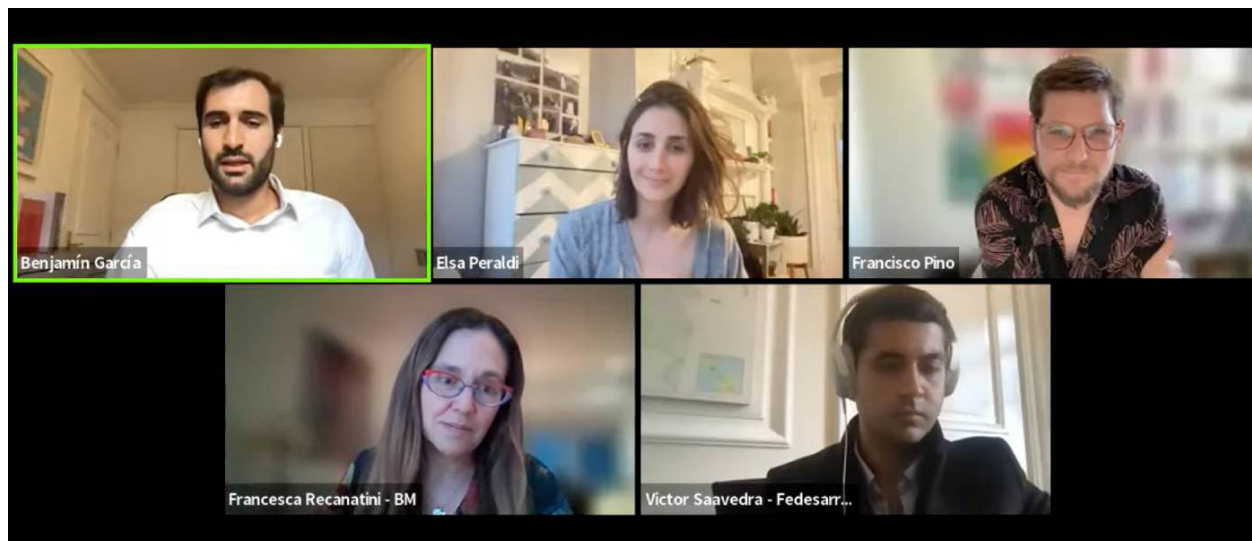


SEMINAR "Inequality and poverty in Chile: urgent challenge". In the image (from left to right): Andrea Repetto, Michael Walton, Juan Cristóbal Romero and Matías Cociña.

"Poverty is many things, not just lack of income. It is the difficulty in leading the life you want to lead".

ANDREA REPETTO,
director of Espacio Público.





REAL 2022 CONFERENCE. In the image (from left to right): Benjamín García, Elsa Peraldi, Francisco Pino, Francesca Recanatini and Víctor Saavedra.

ReAL: Corruption Indicator Report in Latin America Pilot Implementation: Chile, Colombia and Mexico

Espacio Público, in association with the Latin American Anti-Corruption Network (ReAL), presented a pilot plan for the implementation of four corruption indicators, in Chile, Mexico and Colombia. The project, developed during 2021 and 2022 by a team of expert researchers, integrates four criteria, which allow recording data that is not captured by current indi-

cators and improve understanding of the state of corruption in each country, considering its social and institutional aspects.

The proposal was presented in depth in the 2022 version of the ReAL Conference "Measuring corruption in Latin America: challenges and innovations". The event was attended

by Eduardo Engel, director of Espacio Público, Francisco Pino, researcher in charge of project implementation, Francesca Recanatini, Lead Economist (Governance) of the World Bank, Elsa Peraldi, Senior Manager (Integrity & Anti-corruption) of Global Integrity, Víctor Saavedra, associate researcher at Fedesarrollo, and Benjamín García, researcher at Espacio Público.



Directors of Espacio Público present in the Work Commission for Pension Reform



On Wednesday, December 21, Paula Benavides, executive president of Espacio Público, delivered her vision of the project that creates a new mixed pension system in the Labor Commission of the Chamber. In her presentation, the economist detailed the positive aspects of the initiative, the areas for improvement, and the issues on the agenda that could be blocking the substantive discussion.



For his part, Eduardo Engel attended the commission on Wednesday, January 4, in which he proposed some modifications to elements of the project, focusing on the self-loan figure, the coverage of the Universal Guaranteed Pension (PGU) and the separation of the AFP industry.

Finally, Andrea Repetto submitted her comments to the project on Tuesday, January 17th. In his presentation, he emphasized the objectives that a pension reform must achieve and also warned about the contradiction of including withdrawals and self-loans in the initiative.

Public Safety Report: Recent Trends in Crime

INFORME DE SEGURIDAD PÚBLICA

Tendencias recientes en crimen

DICIEMBRE DE 2022

Varias encuestas sitúan a **la seguridad como una de las principales preocupaciones de la ciudadanía**; por ejemplo, en la encuesta Espacio Público - IPSOS, "Chilenas y chilenos hoy" entre 2017 y 2021 fue el principal problema, superando la pobreza, salud y desempleo, entre otros.



Since the return to democracy, citizen security has become one of the main concerns of citizens and this is demonstrated by various opinion polls over the years. For this reason, with the aim of contributing to the public debate and supporting public policy proposals that make it possible to correctly address the problem, Espacio Público launched its first "Public Security Report: Recent Trends in Crime." The publication was presented at the seminar "How do we deal with crime? Agenda for effective public security", which included the participation of Carolina Tohá, Minister of the Interior and Public Security; Patricio Domínguez, Director of Espacio Público and academic of the Faculty of Engineering of the Catholic University; Daniel Johnson, Executive Director of Paz Ciudadana; Carolina Leitao, president of the Chilean Association of Municipalities, and Mauricio Duce, director of Espacio Público and academic at the Law School of the Diego Portales University.



SEMINAR How do we deal with crime? Agenda for an effective public security". In the image (from left to right): Patricio Domínguez, Daniel Johnson, Paula Benavides, Carolina Tohá, Carolina Leitao and Mauricio Duce.

"The crime phenomenon is complex, considering that there are minor, serious and very serious crimes (...) A set of indicators is required to analyze the phenomenon. An indicator is not enough to draw conclusions".

PATRICIO DOMÍNGUEZ,
director of Espacio Público.





2022 IN
FIGURES



WE PUBLISHED:
**10 REPORTS AND
PUBLICATIONS**



**1.174 APPEARANCES
IN THE PRESS**



WE CONDUCTED:
**10 SEMINARS AND
WEBINARS**

More than **160**
FACE-TO-FACE ATTENDEES
More than **850**
PEOPLE TUNED IN ONLINE
More than **6.000**
VIEWS ON AVERAGE



We obtained **267.884**
visits to our website



more than **66.000**
followers on Twitter



more than **14.000**
followers on Instagram



more than **8.000**
followers on Facebook



more than **5.000**
followers on LinkedIn



more than **65.000** views on
our YouTube channel




FINANCING


INCOME STATEMENTS

Figures in thousands of Chilean Pesos \$ (CLP)
*USD 859,51

INCOME

	Pesos	Dolares*
 Income by project	1.021.028	1.188
Total income	1.021.028	1.188

OPERATIONAL EXPENSES

	Remunerations	-265.394	-309
	Fees and other services	-112.213	-131
	Research expenses	-369.302	-430
	Administration expenses	-119.424	-139
	Office lease	-14.687	-17
	Office supplies	-1.669	-2
	Total operating expenses	-882.689	-1.027

OPERATING RESULT	138.339	161
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INCOME / NON-OPERATING EXPENSES

Depreciation	-992	-1
Banking expenses	-3.351	-4
Exchange rate	-43.320	-50
NON-OPERATING RESULT	-47.663	-55

RESULT OF THE YEAR	90.676	105
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» This balance has been carried out in accordance with standards adopted by the main international think tanks.
The financial statements were audited by PKF Chile Auditores Consultores Ltda. (available upon request).

Collaborators

Espacio Público's collaborators make financial contributions to the foundation with the purpose of contributing to the fulfillment of its goals. For this, they provide basal financing to the institution, which implies that this financing is not conditioned to be used in the research of projects or specific items, or subject to any other condition. Contributions can be made periodically or once. A collaborator is considered to be someone who has made financial contributions during the calendar year in which the contribution was made. All individuals over 18 years

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Mariana Alarcón

Marcela Angulo

Magdalena Balcells

Eduardo Bitrán

Andrea Butelmann

Luis Cordero

Mauricio Duce

Valentina Durán

Martín Engel

Patricio Fernández

Pablo García

Sebastián Gray

Ignacio Hurtado

Sebastián Kraljevich

Alejandro Majlis

Claudio Mesa

Nicole Nehme

Rocío Noriega

Lionel Real

Andrea Repetto

Loreto Rodríguez

Pablo Simonetti

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María Velasco

Pilar Velasco

Luis Weinstein

Funding sources

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CONTRIBUTION (Range in millions of CLP)





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