



## CIEE Global Institute - Santiago, Chile

<b>Course name:</b>	<b>Challenges to Political Representation in Contemporary Chile</b>
<b>Course number:</b>	POLI 3101 STCH
<b>Programs offering course:</b>	Open Campus Santiago Chile
<b>Open Campus Track:</b>	International Relations and Political Science
<b>Language of instruction:</b>	English
<b>U.S. semester credits:</b>	3
<b>Contact hours:</b>	45
<b>Term:</b>	Fall 2019

### Course Description

This class reviews and analyzes the paradox of contemporary Chile in its political representation. Coming from a regulated dictatorship to a transition to democracy, Chile faces a challenge to its political paradigm. The change of electoral system from a binominal one to a representative model will be applied for the first time in 2017. A political science perspective will be given to this change projecting future scenarios in the upcoming democratic elections. Students will study political forces from right to left, emerging social and anti-party movements, the influence of social media in politics and the shifts in class structures developed during the construction of a new democracy in the late 1980s.

### Learning Objectives

#### By completing this course students will be able to:

1. articulate some of their own values and beliefs, and explain how these values and beliefs, as well as their experiences, have shaped their own views surrounding politics and international relations in general, and more specifically in Chile.
2. examine Chilean governmental institutions and analyze their influence within Chile and in Latin America.
3. compare power structures in the political systems in Chile by explaining the relationship among political parties, trade unions, media and the different branches of government (judicial, executive and legislative).
4. state, support and defend an oral argument about a contemporary political issue related to Chile's role in Latin America and the world that is logical, concise, and clear to a target audience. **Course Prerequisites**

Students should have completed a 2000 level course in political science prior to taking this course.

### Methods of Instruction

- Lectures for the unit development of the class (2 sessions per unit).



- Lecture based sessions, discussions and group analysis from bibliography (1 session per unit).

### **Assessment and Final Grade**

**List at least four methods of assessment** in addition to attendance and participation, indicating the percent of final grade below totaling 100%:

1.	Reading report n°1, units 1 and 2:	20%
2.	Reading report n° 2, units 3 and 4:	20%
3.	Reading report n°3, units 5 and 6:	20%
4.	Participation:	20%
5.	Final global essay:	20%
	TOTAL:	100%

### **Course Requirements**

#### **Reading Report:**

Reading reports will be take home evaluations. The students will have to answer a question given by the professor, according to class objectives to assess. These reports will consist of 3 written papers based on compulsory readings by each unit. Each report will have a maximum length of 2500 words.

#### **Final Global Essay:**

This is the final assessment of the class. The student will have to design a summary of all contents studied during the course. The format of these summary is essay writing and it will not exceed 4000 words.

#### **Participation:**

Participation is valued as meaningful contribution in the digital and tangible classroom, utilizing the resources and materials presented to students as part of the course. Meaningful contribution requires students to be prepared in advance of each class session and to have regular attendance. Students must clearly demonstrate they have engaged with the materials as directed, for example, through classroom discussions, online discussion boards, peer-to-peer feedback (after presentations), interaction with guest speakers, and attentiveness on co-curricular and outside-of-classroom activities.

### **Weekly Schedule**



## Week 1

Transition to Democracy in Chile as an historical account of the main characteristics of the contemporary political turning point called the transition to democracy from military dictatorship in Chile that took place from 1988 to 1991.

### Readings:

- Valenzuela, Arturo and Constable, Pamela. 1993. "Rebirth of a Nation" in "A Nation of Enemies. Chile Under Pinochet". Norton & Company: New York.
- Stern, Steve. 2010. "Reframing Democratic Transition: Toward the Memory Paradox of Bachelet's Chile" in "Reckoning with Pinochet. The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989 – 2006". Duke University Press: Durham.
- Loveman, Brian. 2001. "Concertación. The Past in the Present" in "Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism". Oxford University Press: New York.

**Session 1. Reading:** Valenzuela, Arturo and Constable, Pamela. 1993. "Rebirth of a Nation" in "A Nation of Enemies. Chile Under Pinochet". Norton & Company. New York.

**Session 2. Reading:** Valenzuela, Arturo and Constable, Pamela. 1993. "Rebirth of a Nation" in "A Nation of Enemies. Chile Under Pinochet". Norton & Company. New York.

**Reading:** Loveman, Brian. 2001. "Concertación. The Past in the Present" in "Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism". Oxford University Press. New York.

**Session 3. Site Visit: "Museo de la Memoria". Human Rights Museum. (see description in site visit description section)**

## Week 2

### UNIT 2: "Coalition of Parties for Democracy"

In this unit the course will provide an account of broad features of the main political actors of the Chilean system post dictatorship: "*Coalition of Parties for Democracy*". Readings:

- Alemán, Eduardo and Saiegh, Sebastián M. 2007. "Legislative Preferences, Political Parties, and Coalition Unity in Chile" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Apr., 2007), pp. 253-272.
- Siavelis, Peter. 2014. "From a Necessary to a Permanent Coalition" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Rienner Publishers: Colorado.
- Silva, Patricio. 2008. "The emergence of a Technocratic Democracy". in "The Name of Reason: Technocrats and Politics in Chile". Pennsylvania University Press: Pennsylvania.

**Session 4. Reading:** Alemán, Eduardo and Saiegh, Sebastián M. 2007. "Legislative Preferences, Political Parties, and Coalition Unity in Chile" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Apr., 2007), pp. 253-272.



**Session 5. Reading:** Siavelis, Peter. 2014. "From a Necessary to a Permanent Coalition" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers: Colorado.

**Session 6. Reading:** Silva, Patricio. 2008. "The emergence of a Technocratic Democracy". in "The Name of Reason: Technocrats and Politics in Chile". Pennsylvania University Press: Pennsylvania.

### **Week 3: Submit Report I**

#### **UNIT 3: Chilean Economic Development Model**

One of the most outstanding (and criticized) elements of the democratic Chile from 1990 is its socioeconomic model of development. In that sense, this unit shows particular aspects of this model and challenges observed in the "Chilean Model".

Readings: • Cuevas Valdés, Pablo and Rojas Martini, Teresa. 2014. "The Neoliberal Chilean Process Four Decades after the Coup in *Social Justice*. Vol. 40, No. 4 (134), Special Issue: Latin America Revisited (2014), pp. 25-37

- Davis-Hamel, Ashley. 2012. "Successful Neoliberalism? : State Policy, Poverty, and Income Inequality in Chile" in *International Social Science Review*. Vol. 87, No. 3/4 (2012), pp. 79-101.
- Landerretche Moreno, Oscar. 2014. "Economic Policy and the Ideology of Stability" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers: Colorado.

**Session 7. Reading:** Cuevas Valdés, Pablo and Rojas Martini, Teresa. 2014. "The Neoliberal Chilean Process Four Decades after the Coup in *Social Justice*. Vol. 40, No. 4 (134), Special Issue: Latin America Revisited (2014), pp. 25-37

**Session 8. Reading:** Davis-Hamel, Ashley. 2012. "Successful Neoliberalism? : State Policy, Poverty, and Income Inequality in Chile" in *International Social Science Review*. Vol. 87, No. 3/4 (2012), pp. 79-101.

Reading: Landerretche Moreno, Oscar. 2014. "Economic Policy and the Ideology of Stability" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers: Colorado.

**Session 9. Site Visit: Memorial Site Villa Grimaldi. (see description in site visit description section)**

### **Week 4**

#### **UNIT 4: The System of Political Parties in Chile**

The Democratic Chilean system has been recognized by its stability, due to the "pacific" transition to democracy. However, it is necessary to recognize that this is a result of aspects like the binominal electoral system and the constitutional ties. In that sense this unit aims at showing students those elements that shaped the Chilean Democracy post dictatorship. Readings:

• Navia, Patricio and Godoy, Ricardo. 2014. "The Alianza's Quest to Win Power Democratically" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers:



Colorado. · Luna, Juan Pablo and Altman, David. 2011. "Uprooted bus stable: Chilean Parties and the Concept of Party System Institutionalization" in *Latin American Politics and Society*. Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 1-28

· Silva, Patricio. 2001. "Toward Technocratic Mass politics in Chile? The 1999 – 2000 Elections and the "Lavín Phenomenon" in *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* No. 70 (April 2001), pp. 25-39.

**Session 10.** Reading: Navia, Patricio and Godoy, Ricardo. 2014. "The Alianza's Quest to Win Power Democratically" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Rienner Publishers: Colorado.

**Session 11.** Reading: una, Juan Pablo and Altman, David. 2011. "Uprooted bus stable: Chilean Parties and the Concept of Party System Institutionalization" in *Latin American Politics and Society*. Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 1-28

**Session 12.** Reading: Silva, Patricio. 2001. "Toward Technocratic Mass politics in Chile? The 1999 – 2000 Elections and the "Lavín Phenomenon" in *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* No. 70 (April 2001), pp. 25-39.

## **Week 5: Submit report II**

### **UNIT 5: Electoral highlights in Chile**

Traditionally elections are considered assessment events about the performance of ruling politicians. Taking this into account, this course will concentrate on the challenges and political debates during different elections. Readings:

- Angell, Alan. 2007. "The Chilean elections of 1993: from polarization to consensus in "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.
- Angell, Alan. 2007. "The Chilean presidential elections of 1999-2000 and democratic consolidation" in "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.
- Angell, Alan. 2007. "Change or continuity? The Chilean elections of 2005-06" in "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.

**Session 13.** Reading: Angell, Alan. 2007. "The Chilean elections of 1993: from polarization to consensus in "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.

**Session 14.** Angell, Alan. 2007. "The Chilean presidential elections of 1999-2000 and democratic consolidation" in "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.



Reading: Angell, Alan. 2007. "Change or continuity? The Chilean elections of 2005-06" in "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.

**Session 15. Site Visit: Memorial Site "Londres 38". (see description in site visit description section) Week 6**

**UNIT 6: Social and Political Challenges in Chile**

It is said that from the year 2006 Chile has "woken up". Social movements that from the same year and specially during 2011 have exposed a series of issues not solved in the society.

In that sense, this unit aims at providing an account of conflicts that have had a diverse way of expression, which has the students as main characters.

Readings:

- Ruiz, Carlos and Ortega Breña, Mariana. 2012. "New Social Conflict under Bachelet" in *Latin American Perspectives*. Vol. 39, No. 4, MICHELLE BACHELET: THE LAST CONCERTACIÓN GOVERNMENT (July2012), pp. 71-84
- Elacqua, Gregory and González Soto, P. 2014. "Education: Freedom of Choice or Enterprise?" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers: Colorado.
- Burton, Guy. 2012. "Hegemony and Frustration: Education Policy Making in Chile under the Concertación, 1990 – 2010" in *Latin American Perspectives* Vol. 39, No. 4, MICHELLE BACHELET: THE LAST CONCERTACIÓN GOVERNMENT (July 2012), pp. 34-52.

**Session 16.** Reading: Ruiz, Carlos and Ortega Breña, Mariana. 2012. "New Social Conflict under Bachelet" in *Latin American Perspectives*. Vol. 39, No. 4, MICHELLE BACHELET: THE LAST CONCERTACIÓN GOVERNMENT (July2012), pp. 71-84

**Session 17.** Reading: Elacqua, Gregory and González Soto, P. 2014. "Education: Freedom of Choice or Enterprise?" in "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers: Colorado.

**Session 18.** Reading: Burton, Guy. 2012. "Hegemony and Frustration: Education Policy Making in Chile under the Concertación, 1990 – 2010" in *Latin American Perspectives* Vol. 39, No. 4, MICHELLE BACHELET: THE LAST CONCERTACIÓN GOVERNMENT (July 2012), pp. 34-52.

Readings:

- Alemán, Eduardo and Saiegh, Sebastián M. 2007. "Legislative Preferences, Political Parties, and Coalition Unity in Chile" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Apr., 2007), pp. 253-272.

- Angell, Alan. 2007. "Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile". Institute for the Study of the Americas. London.
- Burton, Guy. 2012. "Hegemony and Frustration: Education Policy Making in Chile under the Concertación, 1990 – 2010" in *Latin American Perspectives* Vol. 39, No. 4, MICHELLE BACHELET: THE LAST CONCERTACIÓN GOVERNMENT (July 2012), pp. 34-52.
- Loveman, Brian. 2001. "Concertación. The Past in the Present" in "Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism". Oxford University Press. New York.
- Cuevas Valdés, Pablo and Rojas Martini, Teresa. 2014. "The Neoliberal Chilean Process Four Decades after the Coup in *Social Justice*. Vol. 40, No. 4 (134), Special Issue: Latin America Revisited (2014), pp. 25-37
- Davis-Hamel, Ashley. 2012. "Successful Neoliberalism? : State Policy, Poverty, and Income Inequality in Chile" in *International Social Science Review*. Vol. 87, No. 3/4 (2012), pp. 79-101.
- Luna, Juan Pablo and Altman, David. 2011. "Uprooted bus stable: Chilean Parties and de Concept of Party System Institutionalization" in *Latin American Politics and Society*. Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 1-28
- Ruiz, Carlos and Ortega Breña, Mariana. 2012. "New Social Conflict under Bachelet" in *Latin American Perspectives*. Vol. 39, No. 4, MICHELLE BACHELET: THE LAST CONCERTACIÓN GOVERNMENT (July 2012), pp. 71-84
- Sehnbruch, Kirsten and Siavelis, Peter. 2014. "Democratic Chile: The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990 – 2010". Lynne Reinner Publishers. Colorado.
- Silva, Patricio. 2001. "Toward Technocratic Mass politics in Chile? The 1999 – 2000 Elections and the "Lavín Phenomenon" in *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* No. 70 (April 2001), pp. 25-39.
- Silva, Patricio. 2008. "The emergence of a Technocratic Democracy". in "The Name of Reason: Technocrats and Politics in Chile". Pennsylvania University Press. Pennsylvania.
- Stern, Steve. 2010. "Reframing Democratic Transition: Toward the Memory Paradox of Bachelet´s Chile" in "Reckoning with Pinochet. The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989 – 2006". Duke University Press. Durham.
- Valenzuela, Arturo and Constable, Pamela. 1993. "Rebirth of a Nation" in "A Nation of Enemies. Chile Under Pinochet". Norton & Company. New York.

### **Site visit description:**

One the main topics in the Chilean political processes is the human rights violations during the military dictatorship (1973-1990). During this period the DINA, The National Intelligence Agency, established a policy of "state terrorism" by eliminating and persecuting those opposed to the ruling power.

As a result the dictatorship period in Chile resulted in 3000 disappeared and detained people, 200.000 tortured and imprisoned; and an undetermined number of people who were exiled. For that reason, once the country returned to a state of democracy, in 1990, of the main political duties was not only finding compensation to victims, but also investigating the truth and justice.

This process was not an easy change. The traumatic experience of human rights violations meant a political conflict. All of this due to the conditions in which the transition to democracy was developed.



Therefore, the site visits listed have three objectives:

1. To learn the historical and political account that has derived from the Chilean State in the recent history.
2. To visit relevant sites that operated as torture centers in order to understand the memory policies designed by social organizations.
3. To comprehend the relation between the recent past and Chilean political processes related to "the human rights issue" as main theme.

#### **Site visit 1: Museo de la Memoria y Derechos Humanos /Human Rights Museum**

Important Museum with well done account of political, historical and social events during the dictatorship period in Chile. Multimedia resources, letters, pictures and other sources are displayed in this Museum to be used by the visitors.

#### **Site Visit 2: Lugar de Memoria. Villa Grimaldi /Memorial site Villa Grimaldi Park**

Villa Grimaldi is considered the most important of DINA's (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, the Chilean secret police) many complexes that were used for the interrogation and torture of political prisoners during the governance of Augusto Pinochet. It is located in [Peñalolén](#), on the outskirts of Santiago, and was in operation from mid-1974 to mid-1978. About 4,500 detainees were brought to Villa Grimaldi during this time, at least 240 of whom "disappeared" or were killed by DINA. Therefore, visiting a place like this helps to understand the political history of, a still, divided country, it gives students different perspective to analyze this episode in Chile's history and therefore comprehend some of the social side effects analyzed in the course.

#### **Site Visit 3: Lugar de Memoria. Londres 38/ Memorial site Londres 38**

Londres 38 - A house in Santiago de Chile at Londres street No. 38, originally housing an office of the Socialist Party, but seized by the Pinochet junta and used in 1973/74 as one of the clandestine detention and torture centres by the infamous DINA secret police (= Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional). From 2005 the site was turned into a memorial.

#### **Online Resources**

Videos:

Chile se Moviliza: Estudiantes (Subtítulos en inglés) Disponible en Youtube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6yVNjL8gFE>

Chile se Moviliza: Aysen. (Subtítulos en inglés) Disponible en Youtube.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OR0LpglwX\\_o](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OR0LpglwX_o)