

THE POLITICIZATION OF CHILEAN SOCIETY

A SYNOPSIS

Chilean society is at a crossroads. What do we expect of Chile? What do we want to change... and keep? Who should take part in that debate? And, how should decisions be taken? Questions abound, and at different levels, covering both the issues under discussion as well as how they are tackled and discussed. Issues now arise that hitherto appeared impossible, and what before had appeared unattainable, is now plausible. New agents are appearing who are intent on changing things and flexing their muscles in society.

It is deep-seated process because the debate is aimed at redefining the limits of what is possible and, therefore, that which can be socially resolved.

This dispute over what should or should not be socially decided is what in this Report is to be understood as "politicization". The idea springs from a fundamental conceptual distinction between what is the political and politics. The political is anything that in a society is established as being able to be decided collectively, and politics are the institutional expression of a certain status of what is political. So, the political totally transcends politics, whilst nurturing it. To "politicize" something is an attempt at incorporating an issue into a political field; i.e. that of collective decisions. Such decisions are a part of the "politicization struggles" both by those attempting to push back the limits of what may be decided socially as well as those opposing it. Politicization is, precisely, the struggle between different parties and, whilst the result of that struggle remains uncertain, it means opening up a process without the assurance of certain outcome.

Within this context then, public persons are challenged to think and act in a new manner, and to exercise their power whilst bearing in mind that - today - the legitimacy of their actions is as important as their efficacy. The risk of not doing so is high: it means delegitimizing and eventually obstructing their action.

The persons themselves are also challenged: the struggle to shift the limits of what is possible and the series of changes they propose putting into place for that, drive people to debate between believing or not that change is possible; between anticipating that this will bring them benefits or only costs; between becoming subsumed or not as the main parties in the process.

The politicization process of Chilean society is full of contradictions and indecisions, of tensions and difficulties, of moments in which it rears up with force and others when its development gets stuck. For that reason, politicization is a process that is expressed heterogeneously: it has different rhythms and intensities. It is also a process that is assessed in many different ways: for some it is a time for opportunity and creativity aimed at fundamental changes, whilst for others it is

source of concern and a threat to achievements already consolidated. In view of this then, the question is whether - as a society - we are in the possession of sufficient tools to act virtuously in this new scenario, allowing it to have arrived in time for encouraging Human Development.

THE RISE OF THE POLITICIZATION PROCESS

The harbingers of politicization are diverse and this is a fact that should be emphasized. It is not limited to one sole part of society, but rather it is expressed at different social levels: as an extension of public debate, as an increase in conflict and social movements, and as greater involvement of the citizens.

Politicization within public debate

One of the fields in which disputes concerning that which can and must be socially decided arises with a special intensity is public debate. When speeches in the mass media are observed, one reply immediately comes to the fore: nowadays, everything is subject to inquiry.

Remember that four years ago, the legitimacy of the Constitution was immutable; private enterprise in education was not under discussion; the social security system based on individual capitalization was legitimized by the Coalition; the concept of private solutions to public problems was acknowledged. All of them were "certainties" that are now being questioned
(Andrés Allemand, senator, in *"El Mercurio"* on March 30, 2014)

With the politicization of the present Chilean society, the images - among others - have been questioned about how the country views itself, the implications of the calls for change, the nature of the problems and the obstacles they have to face; a valuation of the present, the past and the future and the principles of the legitimacy of public action. They are all aspects that - as a whole - define the country as it is, the country it aspires to be and the persons who have to take part in social transformations. This is just a hint at what is at stake: a dispute regarding what is real, legitimate and possible (see Table A).

The politicization of social conflicts

One of the most obvious signs of the politicization process being experienced by Chilean society is the growing influence that social movements are acquiring when it comes to incorporating issues and demands into public discussions. One way in which this is expressed is in the increase of protests and the number of persons involved in them. This has been observed both by public opinion in general as well as among the elite. In both groups, a majority acknowledges that nowadays there are more conflicts than five years ago (see Table B). For that reason, it is not strange to find that the different types of social protests that are filling a prominent

place in society have now become a part of our daily lives. Likewise, the opinion as to the legitimacy of those protests - albeit not a majority - is growing day by day.

TABLE A

The transformation of public debate as a part of the politicization process: What is at stake?

Images of society	Options in dispute	
Diagnosing the problems affecting the country	Special problems	Structural dynamics
The size of the demands for change	Specific changes are needed	Structural changes are needed
An explanation of the problems	The natural functions of society	Special action and aims
The nature of social and order	Law and order shaped as a result of consensus	Law and order imposed and inherited
Dispute regarding the present, past and future		
A definition of the present	Normal	Exceptional
An assessment of the present	The present as a threat to progress	The present as a historic opportunity
The past	A resource	An obstacle
Future horizons	Immediateness	Long term
The criteria of legitimacy the ways in which to obtain changes		
The legitimacy of the action	The criterion of the legitimacy is legal-institutional	The criterion of legitimacy is ethical-moral
How changes are made	Channeling change by means of institutional means	Non-institutional means: taking to the streets and protest
Source: Our own on the basis of a structural analysis of the matter of politicization struggles within public areas.		

TABLE B

Considering Chile today - when comparing it with five years ago - what would you say concerning ... (as a percentage)

	The 2013 Survey on Human Development	The 2013-2014 Survey by Elite
There are more conflicts than before	56	68
There are less conflicts than before	17	6
The same amount of conflicts exist as before	26	26
Don't know/undecided	1	0
Total	100	100
Source: Survey of Human Development, UNDP 2013 and Elite Survey, UNDP 2013-2014		

The data available shows that, irrespective of what might happen in any particular year, the level - quantitatively - of protests is significantly higher than those observed at the beginning of the century when the 2004 Report on Human Development issued an account of a civilian society that did not appear to pose any threat to the power of the elite.

However, more relevant than the quantitative increase in protests, is how the type of demands they are expressing has changed. As can be seen in Graph C, over the last few years, for which any comparable information is available, the proportion of "limited" conflicts (i.e. those whose reasons for action point to special issues that only directly affect those involved, such as a strike by a company for higher

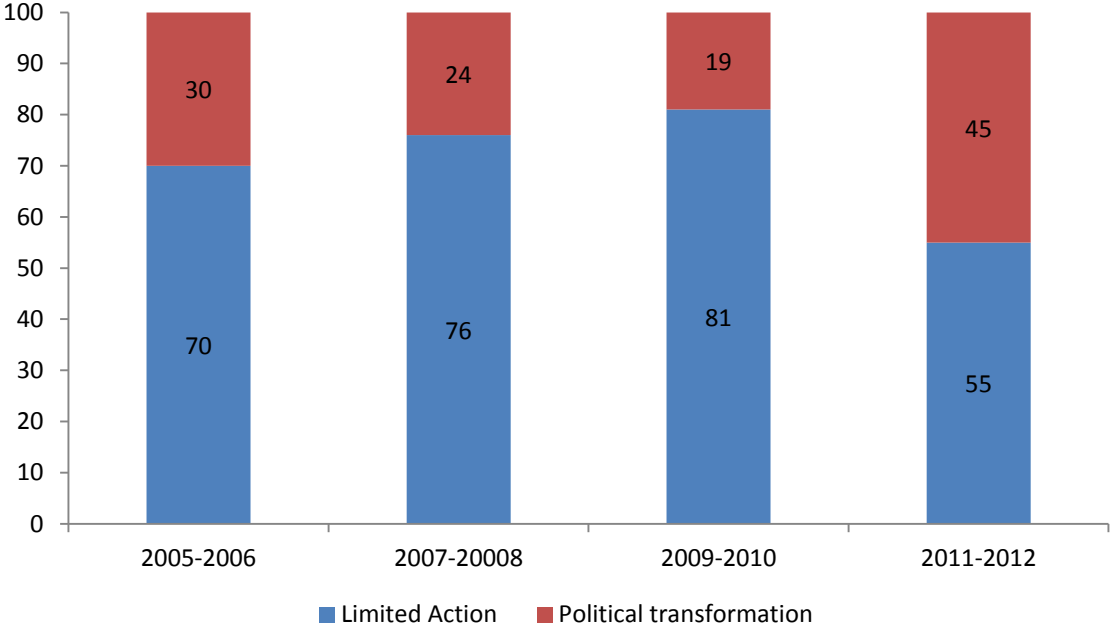
salaries) has dwindled, and the proportion of protests whose demands are aimed at the policies or rules affecting a broader portion of the population (like, for example, a change in legislation regulating the right to strike) has increased. In other words: politicization is being expressed not only as a sustained increase in collective action, but also in a change of the nature of how it is being sought.

Politicization among the elite

Debates and struggles regarding politicization are also expressed among the elite which, from different positions, exercise their role as society's leaders. So, for example, the Elite Survey conducted for this Report shows important differences on the inside of that group regarding the need for deep-seated changed in society. Whilst 1% of the financial elite believes that profound changes are needed within the economic model, this figure rises to 25% among the political elite, 33% among the symbolic elite and 78% among the social elite (See Table D).

GRAPH C

Types of demands sought in the protests and demonstrations (as a percentage*)



* Percentages calculated with regard to valid data on the basis of the information gathered in each category. Those without any data have been excluded.

Source: Own preparation using the latest serial data from the Observatory of Social Conflicts by *Clacso* for 2005-2012.

The differences between the elites are relevant, because in times of politicization, power itself is in dispute. 41% of the economic elite feels that just lately it has lost some of its power whilst 68% of the social elite feels that it has gained power. The

situation differs somewhat regarding how the elite felt in 2004, when the image of power itself was internally homogenous. (see Graph E).

TABLE D

Percentage of people surveyed who feel that profound changes are needed regarding each issue

	Economic	Political	Symbolic	Social	Total
The amount of taxes paid by large companies	6	51	51	85	42
Workers' clout when negotiating with their employers	4	38	33	90	34
The judicial system (judges, courts)	65	46	40	60	53
The economic model	1	25	33	78	27
The Political Constitution	9	32	49	90	37
Source: Elite Survey, UNDP 2013					

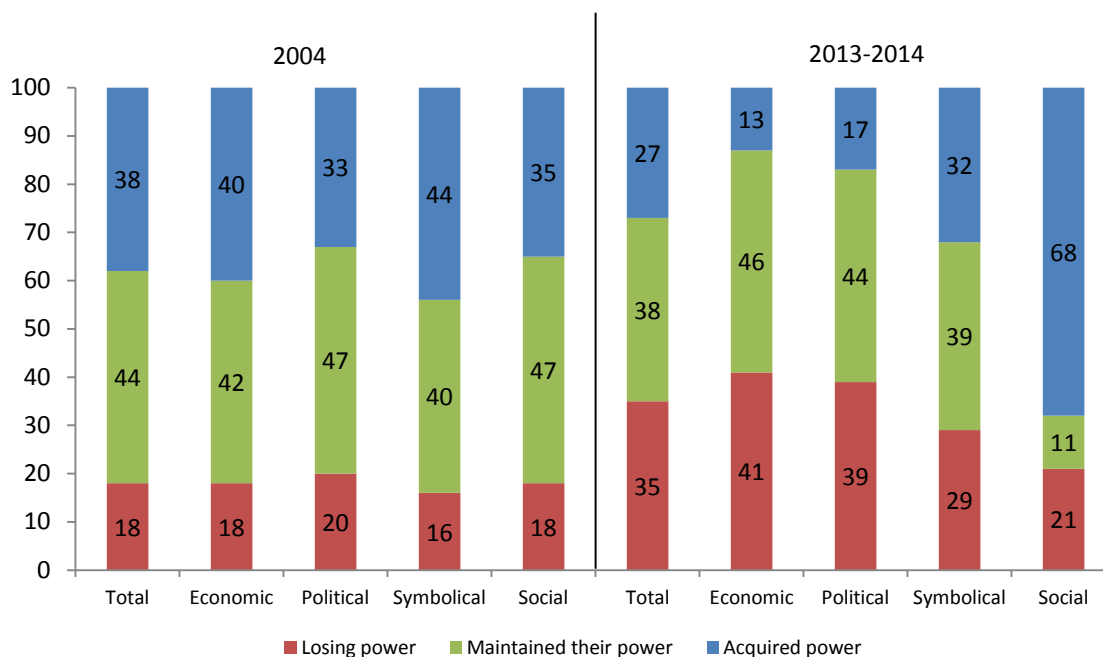
The politicization of the people: concerning the rejection of politics involved in the political

How do the ordinary people show their politicization? In line with other research, this Report has been able to show the large distance that the people have with regard to politics as a whole, which is expressed in indicators, such as their disinterest for formal politics and the low frequency of conversations concerning political issues. Bearing this in mind then: How can it be said that people are also a part of the politicization process if they openly reject formal politics? At this point in time it is important not to confuse a rejection of *politics* with what is *the political*. Rejecting politics could mean a politicized rejection.

The data shows that interest in the political exists and is expressed in different manners. So, for example, the involvement of people in conversations increases significantly when it goes from politics (32%) to generally asking about current affairs (45%), and it reaches a majority when they are asked about their interest in concrete matters under public discussion, such as HidroAysén or the student movement (see Table F).

GRAPH E

Would you agree that people who occupy positions such as yours have been losing power, maintaining their power or they have gained power? A comparison between 2004 and 2013-2014 (as a percentage)



Don't know/undecided replies have not been considered

Source: Elite Survey for 2004 and 2013-2014

TABLE F

Conversations on politics and on current affairs (as a percentage)

Question	
1. Do you very frequently, or fairly frequently, discuss politics with your family, friends or workmates?	32
2. Do you very frequently, or fairly frequently discuss current affairs concerning the country with your family, friends or workmates?	45
3. In relation to the debate on the HidroAysén project, did you discuss this issue with anybody else?	52
4. In relation to the student movement, did you discuss this issue with anybody else?	70

Source: Questions 1 & 2: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013. Questions 3 & 4: Youth Survey, Participation and Media, UDP Journalism and Feedback, 2011 (in Scherman, Arriagada & Valenzuela, 2013)

So, we are now faced with a public that, generally speaking, is indeed aware and interested in what is happening in society; that consumes news and current affairs from the mass media; both in newscasts or in morning shows or even in entertainment and comedy programs. For that reason, it is obvious that it can no longer be held that people are not interested as regards what is happening in the country, and nor are they confusing a rejection of politics with an indifference of what is occurring in society. Quite the contrary, as they feel it is important, people

are all the more critical of the society in which they live and with the elites governing it.

Together with this, the existence of a wide demand for profound changes among different fields of society is evidence of the people being politicized. In all of the aspects queried in the Human Development Survey - from what is closest to people's daily affairs such as health (79%) or education (77%) to those more abstract ones such as the Political Constitution (67%), the vast majority of the people are demanding deep-seated changes. A lesser proportion wants moderate changes and a few are suggesting that none at all are necessary.

- We need change, right?
- Undoubtedly, you are crying out for it.
 (Discussion group, medium NSE)

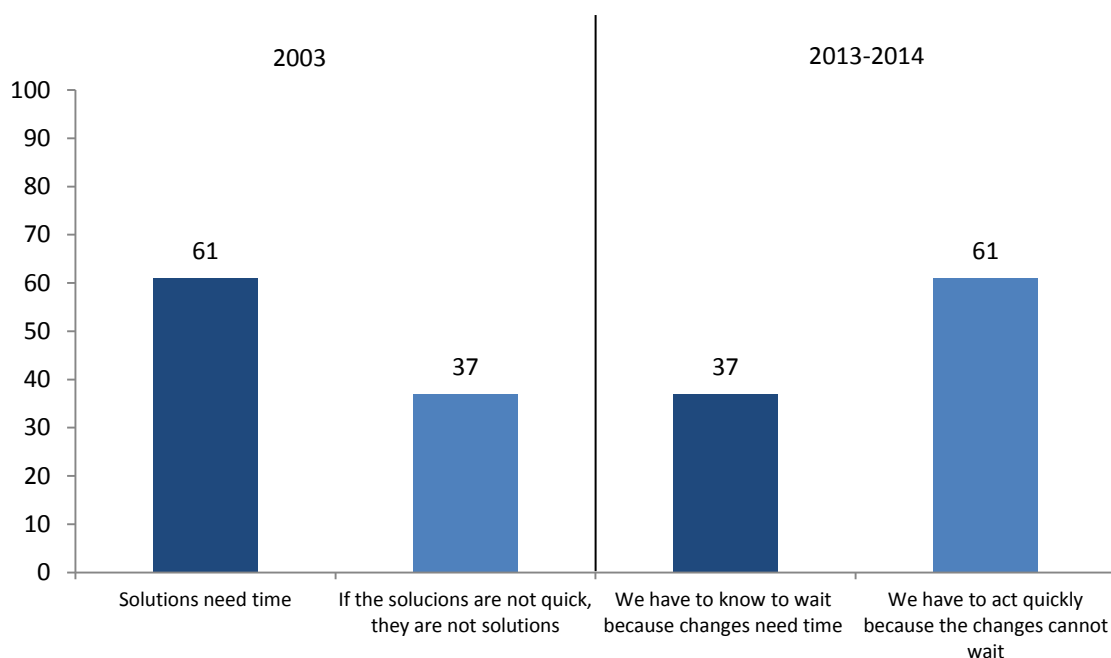
TABLE G

The need for profound changes and a declaration of a political position (only the percentages of those demanding profound changes)

Profound changes are needed with regard to:	Taking up a political position	Not taking up a political position	Total
The pensions system	85	79	81
The social security system	83	76	79
The financing of education	81	74	77
The binominal electoral system	61	47	63
Workers' clout when negotiating with their employers	64	64	53
The amount of taxes paid by large companies	72	62	67
The amount of taxes paid ordinary people	62	55	58
The judicial system	75	73	74
The Political Constitution	71	63	67
Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013			

GRAPH H

Impressions regarding the 2004-2013 change (as a percentage)



Source: Human Development Surveys, UNDP, 2004 and 2013

This demand for profound changes has installed itself in people's opinion, irrespective of whether they declare having a political position or not (Table G). This once again proves that rejecting *politics* does not necessarily mean a disinterest in *the political*.

It might even be suggested that Chileans have always wished for change and that, therefore, this aspect is not - as such - an indicator of politicization. In view of that, it is necessary to take note of the depth and multiplicity of the changes demanded. But it also happens that the nature of this demand has undergone important transformations. One comparison with the situation ten years ago shows, for example, that the demand for immediate changes has increased (see Graph H), as opposed to a hitherto willingness to wait and put off any sense of urgency.

The data in this Report also shows something that is crucial for understanding the dynamics of politicization: the demand for change exceeds unease with society. In other words: it is not necessary to harbor an annoyance with society in order to support the need for important changes (see Table I). For that reason, beyond the annoyance, the country's current challenge is how to respond concretely to that demand for profound changes.

The opinion regarding collective decision-making processes is also a relevant indicator of the expression of the politicization process among the population. The results of the Human Development Survey reveal that there is a strong preference for direct and horizontal decision-taking processes (such as plebiscites or

assemblies) and a strong rejection of decisions taken exclusively by the government. Once again, this trend is viewed equally by those who declare having a political position as well as those who do not (see Table J).

The politicization process of Chilean society occurs in a country that is moving in a positive direction as regards its development. This is revealed in multiple objective indicators and it is not limited to measures that are strictly economic. So, for example, over the last decade, the country has progressed sustainably in terms of Human Development, rising today to the top of the table in Latin America. Nevertheless, those indicators do not appear to be significant for people and their daily lives (Table K). The salient feature of it is that the image of a country that is progressing toward development does not appear to be very meaningful for the general public, at least in a way in which to describe the society in which it lives. It can be plausibly considered that this is due, to a large degree, to the persistence of inequality, in its many dimensions, as an almost indelible feature of Chilean development. Within that framework, the politicization process could also be understood as a search and an opportunity to rediscover what type of development people aspire to.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE POLITICIZATION PROCESS

The difficulties faced by the people

Although people show an interest in the political, they also experience difficulties in transforming that interest into action. The data from the Report shows that when different options regarding participation are proposed to people and they are confronted with the costs associated with it (for example, as regards free time), those who declare their willingness to take part ostensibly dwindle. 35% show a willingness to devote their free time to organizing together with others, whilst 45% declare their willingness to vote several times a year when the time comes to take decisions. So, there is a struggle between a high estimation of participatory decisions and the willingness to become involved by means of concrete practices.

Also observed are the tensions in relation to representation. The data shows that people harbor a deep distrust of anybody who stands up and declares him or herself as a representative of the people.

What a good thing I never believed him, luckily.

(Discussion group, youth, medium NSE, talking about new political leaders)

So, for Chileans it is difficult to think of who represents them. The Human Development Survey conducted an investigation into the issue, asking people to mention - in answer to an open question - someone from anywhere, past or present, whom they thought represented them: only 55% of those who replied were able to mention a leader. The high preference for people's direct participation in collective decisions is in line with the criticism of representation as such, but this

view is in contrast to the real levels of participation (both current as well as potential). Consequently, the question arises: can action be taken without representation?

At the same time, people's involvement faces a weakness regarding the sense of collectiveness. People assess public solutions only from an individual or family standpoint. Collectiveness or social issues are not relevant parameters. This perception is problematic because it overshadows the connection between the individual project and the social conditions that make its undertaking viable.

TABLE I
The ratio between the uneasiness index and the index for change (a distribution of the total percentage is shown in each cell)

	Persons slightly uneasy with society	Persons highly at ease with society
Persons with a low demand for change	5	2
Persons highly demanding a change	43	50
(Rates from zero to one. Low = rates lower than 0.5; High = rates over 0.5)		
Source: Our own preparation on the basis of the Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013.		

TABLE J
Rating the procedures for taking political decisions (on a scale of 1 to 10*) according to whether or not a political position has been established.

	Having a political position (on average)	Not having a political position (on average)	Mode
Organizing plebiscites where the majority decides	8.0	7.2	10
Organizing assemblies and meetings for everybody to take the decisions	7.7	7.3	10
Taking political decisions by means of consulting experts	6.7	6.4	5
Leave the decisions up to the government	4.7	4.8	1
* On a scale between 1 and 10, where 1 means that it is the worst way in which to take decisions and 10 that it is the best way.			
Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013			

TABLE K

Some leaders suggest that the country is growing and that we are approaching development, so how do you feel when you hear such statements? Please indicate the option which is closest to your opinion (as a percentage)

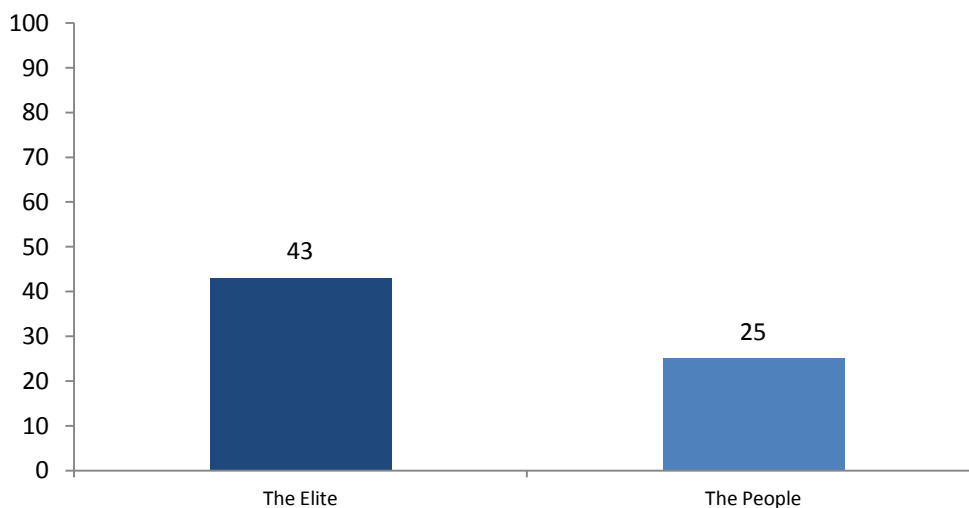
Unease	26
Optimism	20
Distrust	20
Indifference	20
Pride	10
Don't know/undecided	4
Total	100
Source: Human Survey, UNDP 2013	

... I am well informed, but I don't vote. I feel I should vote..., my attitude is rather selfish, because perhaps my vote could help a lot of people, or perhaps not. But I want to do so when I really feel that I am going to change something for myself, (...) and I believe that (...) the projects they have done are of no benefit to me and they do not improve my life in any way. So, I just don't vote. When (...) something really changes in my life, I think I will vote.

(Discussion group, NSE medium)

GRAPH L

If in Chile changes are brought about that are too profound, the country could return to a highly politically politicized situation, just like during the seventies when the Popular Union party was in power (the percentage that agrees or highly supports this statement)



Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013 & Elite Survey, UNDP 2013-2014

Finally, one of the features that best reveals the strained nature of politicization in people is the predominant image regarding politics and politicians. That image begins with the perception that what politics should do is only administer (manage) problems, leaving the processing of the conflict outside, when the time comes to discuss what is and what is not a problem; what underpins it and what implications it has. This is what in this Report is called "an apolitical concept of politics". This image obscures the inherently conflictive dimension of politics and the political, and it fosters a culture that harbors a great loathing of conflict and with a consolidated appreciation of law and order, even that which is above freedom.

I belong to the common sense party; if something goes wrong, it has to be repaired

(Discussion group, medium-low NSE)

As one can see, there are many elements that put a strain on people joining the politicization process. The general diagnosis is obvious: on the one hand, people are demanding and waiting for profound changes in a large part of their social lives. This opening up is, undoubtedly an opportunity for politicization. However, in many aspects, subjective feelings are preventing that process from fully unfolding. It is this type of pressure which puts such a strain on the ambivalent nature of politicization.

Difficulties in the relations between the elite and ordinary people

Politicization makes the role played by the elite difficult. As a matter of fact, an important portion of the elite feels that exercising power is more difficult today than it hitherto was. This could be a necessary consequence of politicization, because new debates have come to the forefront and new prime movers are struggling to become a part of the collective decision-makers, but it is also an indicator of the threat to the elites represented by politicization and the ensuing resistance that a part of it sees as a result of this process. Their vision is in stark contrast to the opinion that the ordinary people hold regarding the nature of these times (see Graph L).

So, for example, the data in the Report shows that in a scenario where the undertaking of profound changes in the country is discussed, 43% of the elite believes that this could lead to a highly politicized social situation, such as that experienced in the seventies. Only 25% of ordinary people share this fear.

The distance between the elite and the ordinary people - that clearly comes to the surface in multiple indicators - thus becomes another source of difficulties for the social undertaking that the elite is bound to exercise. This distance is particularly evident in the relations with the role of the State in society (see Table M). The

differences between both groups hovers between 30 and 50 points and, although a certain distance can be expected between the opinions expressed by the elite and the people, the figures in this Report are particularly higher than those observed in other countries.

Difficulties in relations between social movements and the people

Also in social movements, as collective parties, tensions are observed. On the one hand, their incidence on the public agenda has notoriously diversified and increased, becoming effective agents for politicization. However, this renewed incidence coexists with the difficulty of connecting to the representations concerning the political that appears in general among the people. This distance is expressed, above all, in the aforementioned ambivalence with which the population observes collective action, due to its preference for law and order and a fear of conflict. In fact, although the people acknowledge and put a value on the part played by special movements as catalysts of the possibility of being able to make deep-seated changes, only 33% feel that the protests have been somewhat positive for the country (see Table N). This distance puts a strain on the aspirations for representation by the social movements and it contributes toward the ambivalence of politicization.

Overall difficulties

A mutual distrust between those involved in the politicization process poses a challenge equally for all of the participants and places obstacles in the path of the possibility of building fluid reconciliations. It is the fragility of the relationship: for the social movements, the elites, who are seen as one sole group are, unto themselves, a problem. At the same time, a part of the elite views with resentment the new social dynamics, foreseeing in them the possibility of a scenario of unconstrained demands. On the other hand, the people distrust all of the parties possessing power in the different fields of social life. There is no doubt that successfully shouldering the challenges implied in the ongoing politicization process will require finding mechanisms to overcome this mutual mistrust that stands in the way of the possibility of society undertaking joint action.

TABLE M**Preference for the State taking care of different issues; comparing the elite with the ordinary people (as a percentage)**

	The Elite	The People	The Difference
Health	25	72	47
Education	26	74	48
Water and electricity	22	60	38
Telephones	6	37	31
TV	3	37	34
Copper mining	23	76	65
Public transport	31	65	34
Pension system	30	80	50

Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013, and Survey of the Elite, UNDP 2013-2014

THE IMPACT OF POLITICIZATION ON CHILEANS

What are the effects of this context on the people as a whole? What implications are there if people are interested in discussions on Chile and how they insert their own lives into this discussion? Whilst observing this process from the people's point of view and their opinions, this Report acknowledges two types of impacts: one related to how they get involved in the political and the other with the representations and images that circulate in daily conversations on the possibility that the time is now right for the changes they are demanding.

The heterogeneity of getting involved in the political

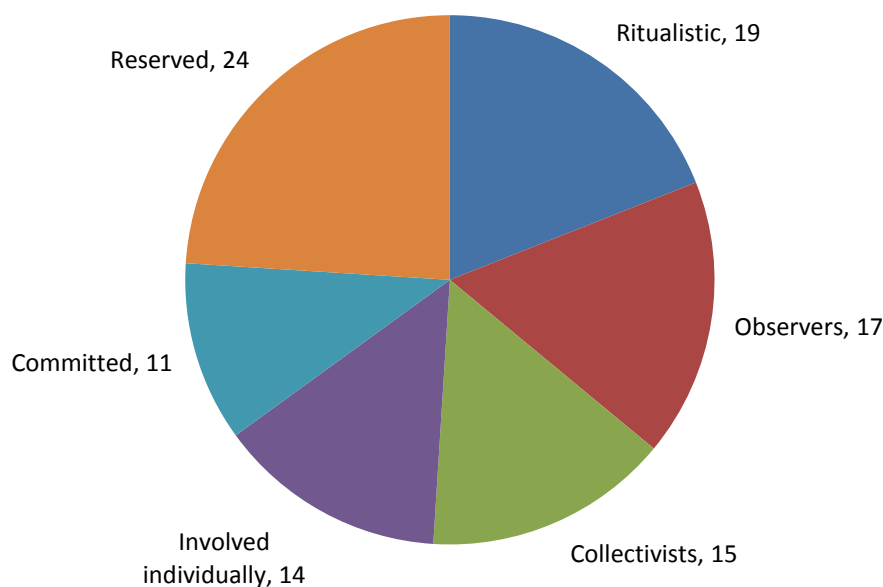
This Report identified six models of involvement by persons in the political (see Graph N) and which represent different ways in which they become party to the ongoing politicization struggles.

TABLE N**Rating public demonstrations (as a percentage)**

They have been somewhat positive for the country	33
They have been somewhat negative for the country	36
They have been neither positive nor negative for the country	28
Don't know/undecided	3
Source: Elite Survey, UNDP 2013	

GRAPH Ñ

Types of involvement with the political * (as a percentage)



* n = 1,805

Source: Own preparation on the basis of the Human Development Survey, UNDP 2013

The group of persons shown as *committed* (11%) includes people who are highly involved in all of the indicators: an interest in public issues (they are informed and they discuss the things that are happening in Chile); collective action (they participate in social organizations and protests and they join public causes) and institutional participation (they are interested in formal politics and they vote regularly). It is a group that is more commonly found among the elite, rather critical of society and strongly in favor of change. The group that is *individually involved* (14%) groups together people who have a moderate interest in public issues and electoral participation, but with less participation in collective action. It is also a group from the highest level of society; older, but with less demand for change and unease. The *ritualists* (19%) focus their involvement in the political on institutional politics. They belong to a higher age at a low or medium social-economic level and they reside mostly in rural areas. They show a deep respect for authority and they harbor a scant tolerance of conflict. The *collectivists* (15%) are the ones with the highest levels of collective action, with an important participation in social organizations and, compared with the other groups, they show less interest and participate to a lesser degree in formal politics. It is a young group, from medium-income sectors, optimistic and with the least unease of all of the groups. The *observers* (17%) focus their involvement with the political on a high interest in public affairs (they follow the news and they talk about it) which is combined with a disinterest in formal politics. They belong to a group of adults from medium-income sectors. Finally, the *reserved* (24%) belong to a group that appears to have low levels of involvement in all of the indicators. They come from

low-income sectors, with a large relative feminine presence, largely intolerant of conflict and with a higher level of unease with society as a whole. The category of reserved confirms that unease, as such, does not generate politicization.

Seen together, these six groups show that at least three quarters of the persons are indeed involved in some way with the politicization process. There is doubt that the greatest challenge for society is represented by almost 24% of reserved persons for whom - at present - getting involved in the political is meaningless. The question that then arises here is whether these diverse manners of involvement in the political are sufficiently close-knit to join and become a part of the politicization process with the power it requires. This does not signify - by any means - aspiring, neither as a regulatory ideal or as an empirical evaluation criterion, to a total and homogenous level of involvement among the population. From the standpoint of Human Development, the question is rather whether through these different types, an involvement is achieved with the political that provides the social discussions within public spaces with a soundness and a legitimacy.

The possibility of change: from repressing dreams to harboring hope

The politicization process also has an impact in many diverse ways on people's subjectiveness and, especially, in the way in which they assess the present with an eye on the future. One of the areas where that has a greater impact is from a viewpoint of what changes are desired and what possibility there is for them to come true. How do people perceive that possibility? In the qualitative studies conducted for this Report, the group conversations hovered between two extremes: on the one hand, the groups suggested a series of elements that minimize or nullify any possibility of change. Their possible costs do not fail to be mentioned and, what is more, it was even suggested that the changes, if any, would materialize in the long term and they would not really be changes at all. The groups were very skeptical and they hinted that belief without any criticism whatsoever of the real possibility of any changes at all is naïve.

**What I think really, it's a joke, when they talk of change;
They are making fun of us, the poor people, because
they are trying to force us to believe in false hopes.**
(Discussion group, NSE low)

**The business community is the one who should lead the way;
they are the pillars of the community so, starting from there,
I believe I would authorize the Government to make any
changes it liked.**
(Discussion group, NSE low)

On the other hand, the Report reveals that besides minimizing the possibility of change, there does exist a desire for it: change is possible. It also desirable, and in spite of the difficulties involved, it makes sense to continue searching for it. When

faced with a reasonable amount of skepticism, in any event, there is an insistence on change and group conversations does not let skepticism have the last word.

TABLE O
Comparing conversations on dreams (2000) and changes (2014)

Subject Matter	2000	2014
Question: Is it possible to dream/make changes?	Reply: it is senseless debating the issue	Reply: it is difficult to believe that it is possible, but it would be sensible discussing the issue
Concerning the critical position of dreaming/making changes	The discussion is closed. There is no possibility of dreaming	A resistance to accept they are impossible. The possibility - albeit difficult - remains open
Source: Our own preparation on the basis of the discussions groups held for the Human Development Reports for 2000 & 2015		

Yes ... I would love it, because the issue concerning health has not arisen very often
 (Discussion group, high NSE)

I have no idea: whether free of charge or of a certain quality, or whether that is a dream that someone in the future will see, but I find it difficult to accept and - believe me - I would welcome it and be the first to defend it
 (Discussion group, medium NSE)

Discussing change nowadays is common sense and that is relevant because it marks a difference in relation to the data in previous Human Development Reports. When comparing the conversations that arose for this Report with what came out of the conversations on dreams in the 2000 Human Development Report, it is easy to see that the consequences stemming from them are radically different (see Table O). The Report for 2000 showed that when asked whether it would be possible to dream of a different country, the group conversations suggested that it would be better to talk "seriously" and not dream. That is what the 2000 Human Development Report called "repressing dreams". But a different dynamic is occurring in present day conversations. Even with all of the difficulties lying ahead, it was common sense for the groups to talk about changes.

In today's discussions, both skepticism as well as a hope for transformations are defensible and reasonable attitudes. Although there is no certainty of the changes, at least the question - because of it containing a possibility - is a conversation starter. Impossibility is no longer the structural center of common sense.

Lastly, what the groups do declare very clearly is that when faced with proposals and public debate, the most reasonable attitude is caution and anticipation.

Because of that, the issue swings between skepticism and hope. Although caution acts as a brake on expectations for change, it also reveals that conversations resist remaining within the realm of skepticism. What is really relevant is the fact that after all of the difficulties identified, the groups continue maintaining the possibility open. Conversations return once and again to the question: will it be possible?

POLITICIZATION FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The politicization process as such produces agency; i.e. the capability of remaining a subject, both at an individual level as well as a collective one. For that reason, it is a substantial part of Human Development. Nonetheless, it refers to opening up a debate - a struggle - that has no predetermined result. The result of the politicization process is uncertain and it could contribute toward Human Development or it might not. For this reason, it would represent both a risk as well as an opportunity.

The risks involved in an unsuccessful politicization

The permanent barrier. In a situation where politicization is unsuccessful, each party may acquire sufficient power to oppose and stand in the way of the initiatives proposed, without a collective capacity arising aimed at reaching agreements and implementing policies.

The indefinite extension: Politicization must be a resource permanently made available for society. But the struggles that this resource gives rise to must reach a point where they stop temporarily, making it possible to institutionalize any possible decisions stemming from them. If that does not happen, the new limits provided by the politicization process will have no impact on the types of social, institutional and subjective organizations and, as a result, the political will not have any concrete effects on everyday life. As a matter of fact, the moment when that closure is reached is a part of that that must be decided collectively.

Prematurely closing the debate. The difficulties entailed in resolving tensions could give rise to an attempt to impose new limits on the political, without waiting for them to emerge out of a real process of social deliberation. The normal result of these types of closures is the illegitimacy of the new borders and the future stimulation of social conflicts that, apparently, had been resolved.

The opportunity represented by a virtuous politicization

Strengthening the bond between what is individual and what is social.

At a level of individual subjectivities, politicization could lead to a deprivation of the experience and, thus, motivate a sense of social belonging. So, it could strengthen the bond between preparing biographic projects and the social conditions that inhibit or boost the full undertaking of that project. With that, the field of the appendage is broadened from what is individual to what is collective.

Reducing the gap in representation. At the same time, politicization can contribute toward providing new bases for the bond between the people and social parties, when traditional decision-making approaches are questioned and it is obvious that representation difficulties exist in the country. From that perspective, it is an opportunity - by means of the political - to reduce the distance between politics and people's daily lives.

Building a more sustainable social order. At an institutional level, politicization may present the opportunity for a series of rules, roles and regulations that coordinate life in society to gain legitimacy. From an observation and a critical reflection - either to vouch for the existing status quo or to modify it - there might be an increase in its social legitimacy and, in that manner, an increase in the country's capacity to deal with tensions and the conflicts inherent in everyday life. So, politicization could contribute toward the sustainability of the social order.

Encouraging Human Development in times of politicization

The series of elements studied in this Report lead us to believe that the politicization process develops upon grounds that - at the same time - are a source of difficulties for them to fully take flight. So, the dynamics described become a dilemma for society, because the difficulties of politicization themselves complicate assuming the challenges that appear in that same process and which become unavoidable.

For politicization to be effectively an opportunity for Chilean society, two tasks have become a priority: build a *polis* where affairs can be debated that arose out of the politicization and empower the political subjectiveness of individuals so that they can become involved and thus take part in those debates. As an inclusive public space is built in which to deliberate, and also Chilean society is capable of fostering subjective constitution processes in which what is collective becomes a significant reference point, only then will it be possible to move forward in unraveling the tensions that exist in the current politicization process and capitalize on its potential for building Human Development.

The challenges facing Chile mean an upward and lengthy trudge, and the results of that efforts are not guaranteed. Politicization places people faced with the opportunity of recovering their capability to dream and feel they are really the

builders of their own society and of the lives they wish to lead. The data in this Report shows that that hope - for a long time dismissed as naïve - nowadays appears to recover its intrinsic value. The time recovered must be valued in all of its depth, because politicization is complex and offers no guarantees. But it is also time saved from the temptation of cynicism and a sense of futility. So, the invitation is to become involved once more in "the conflictive and never ending construction of the desired order".