

SYNOPSIS

New Technologies: a leap into the future?

In barely a decade Chileans have witnessed how new information and communication technologies (NICTs) have become a natural part of the scene where their day-to-day activities unfold. Whether utilized directly or indirectly in everyday life, mobile phones, cable or satellite TV, computer science, the Internet or the complex devices served by computers are ever more present in peoples' lives. What just a few years ago was deemed impossible –for example, for almost all adult Chileans to be mutually interconnected by mobile phones, or for people to perform commercial and public transactions from home- is not even cause for surprise, since it has become a daily occurrence.

Data confirm the deep inroads of NICTs in the life of Chileans: from 1989 to 2004 the percentage of households with a fixed phone line rose from 15% to 55%, mobile phones soared from 5 thousand to almost 9 million, the number of computers multiplied 27-fold, and, in the case of Internet – non-existent in 1989- users increased from 250 thousand in 1997 to almost 4.8 million by late 2004.

NICTs are not just devices, however: they also carry meanings linked to their use, created and disseminated especially by advertising. The most prominent of these is the promise of individual success through a lifestyle involving the use of NICTs in all daily activities. To a significant extent, the key figures in television commercials and ads in the printed press are men and women shown as winners: entrepreneurs, globalized, active, and full of optimism, while the scenarios where they perform directly or indirectly suggest financial, social, emotional, or work-related success. There, freedom and efficiency play a privileged role. Whereas whoever lacks access to these technologies appears doomed to stagnate and be marginalized.

NICTs are also the subject focus of public policies, as tools for development and effective government service. Such public policies have further sought to offset inequities of access by promoting a variety of initiatives to foster widespread use of NICTs.

Due to market drive and public policies, Chile may be said to have fully entered the digital era and taken its place in the forefront of Latin American countries, thus moving closer to the developed nations.

With regard to equipment, Chile has clearly closed the gap with developed countries, especially since the end of the last decade. However, despite this progress, figures for recent years suggest the current pace of dissemination of these technologies is not fast enough for Chile to continue moving closer to such countries, especially with respect to access to computers and Internet users. This implies that Chile must make an additional effort.

In this context, the National Human Development Report 2006 seeks to achieve understanding of three fundamental issues for Chile: one, which are the main challenges to mass availability of new technologies; two, to what extent is the full potential of new technologies effectively utilized to expand individual and collective capabilities, that is, to construct Human Development; and three, what social conditions are required to make effective use of such full potential. This last point no doubt implies a sizeable challenge since, as we know, the global nature of technological deployment questions national abilities to control possible threats and conduct the appropriation process in line with socially valued objectives.

These questions are relevant for at least two powerful reasons. One, because Chile is a country that has reached a threshold of development –a new platform, as pointed out in the 2004 National Report on Human Development (INDH)- that requires considering new guidelines, targets, and objectives for the future and whether technology could be the instrument enabling that qualitative leap in development. Two, because the INDH 2004 showed that, together with new opportunities, tasks are still pending such as inequity, a weak civil society, and the distance between citizens and State, all requiring the political decision to face them through innovative means. To what extent do these traits in Chilean society hamper mass access to technology and also its full deployment in society? Or, on the other hand, could these technologies finally be the instruments to successfully overcome these hindrances to development?

To answer these questions the meaning and function of NICTs need to be appropriately defined. This Report focuses on electronic and digital processing information and communication technologies intended for mass users and potentially within their reach, such as mobile phones, computers and Internet connection.

The conceptual outlook of this Report shows NICTs as much more than technological objects. They exist within a complex set of personal, social and institutional relationships. The development of knowledge and technological innovation involves politics, economics, science, education, and culture. Strictly speaking, techniques may always be viewed as societies put into practice.

On applying this outlook to Chilean reality, this Report finds that:

- Chile has a high rate of NICT penetration and mass access thereto. However, NICT utilization to broaden individual and group capabilities is still limited. Beyond certain rather basic applications, the full benefits for human development of the extended technological platform which the country already possesses are not sufficiently exploited.
- The main challenge faced by Chile to make better use of NICT potential is progressing from promotion focusing on access to devices and connections to a policy focusing on the ways, conditions, and purposes of their use. Accessing these technologies is an ever-dwindling challenge, whereas having the abilities to make profitable use of them becomes increasingly challenging.
- Having abundant devices and quality connections is not enough to ensure enjoyment of NICT potentials. This depends to a highly significant extent on individual and

collective users having at their disposal a set of objective and subjective conditions including the ability to reflect on and define the purpose of their use, extensive social connections, or regulations to ensure respect for the rights of individuals in virtual space.

Accordingly, this Report suggests NICTs do not in themselves assure the much-desired leap into the future. They will contribute to the progress of development only insofar as society creates the conditions and capabilities for individuals and groups to take over their potentials and neutralize their threats, putting them to serve their own purposes. Ultimately, there are no technological short-cuts to the achievement of Human Development.

Use of and life with NICTs

The mass presence of technology in everyday life in the form of infrastructure, practice, together with public discourse means it is hard to ignore its existence. In this situation, everyone should have a position, which is, in the first place, subjective.

Thinking of your personal circumstances, would you say that you are (in %)	
More inside the world of new technologies	49
More outside the world of new technologies	50
Doesn't Know / Doesn't Answer	1
Total	100

Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2005

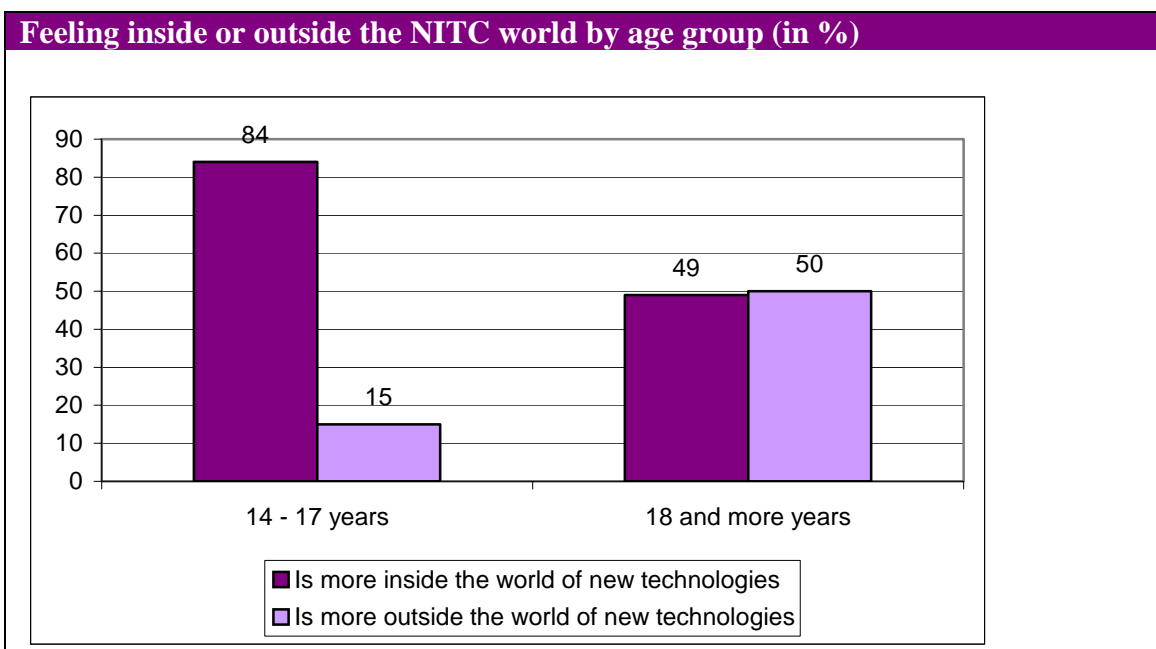
Half the population feel they are inside the world of new technologies, the other half feel outside. This distinction accounts for the existence of two worlds with their own dynamics, often extending even beyond the actual availability of possible material access to technological tools.

There is a strong generational component in this perception: young people firmly believe in technology and the opportunities it has created. For them it is a tool that makes things easier and serves to further their interests. In the adult world this feeling is less intense and decreases as age increases. Technology does not complicate the lives of teenagers; on the contrary, it makes life more fun and increases their independence. Consequently, their attitude towards technology is highly positive.

Greatly responsible for this outcome is the public policy on access to technology for young people, through the ENLACES network of the Ministry of Education, and which has contributed decisively to overcome classic determinants of inequality in this sphere. Today, the younger one is, the smaller the gap among socioeconomic groups in access to NICTs.

Not everyone approaches technology in the same way, however. Each individual can describe him or herself according to how intensively or for what purpose he/she uses technology. The map of users contained in this Report helps to describe the different

situations where people find themselves, aside from whether they feel inside or outside this world.



Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2005

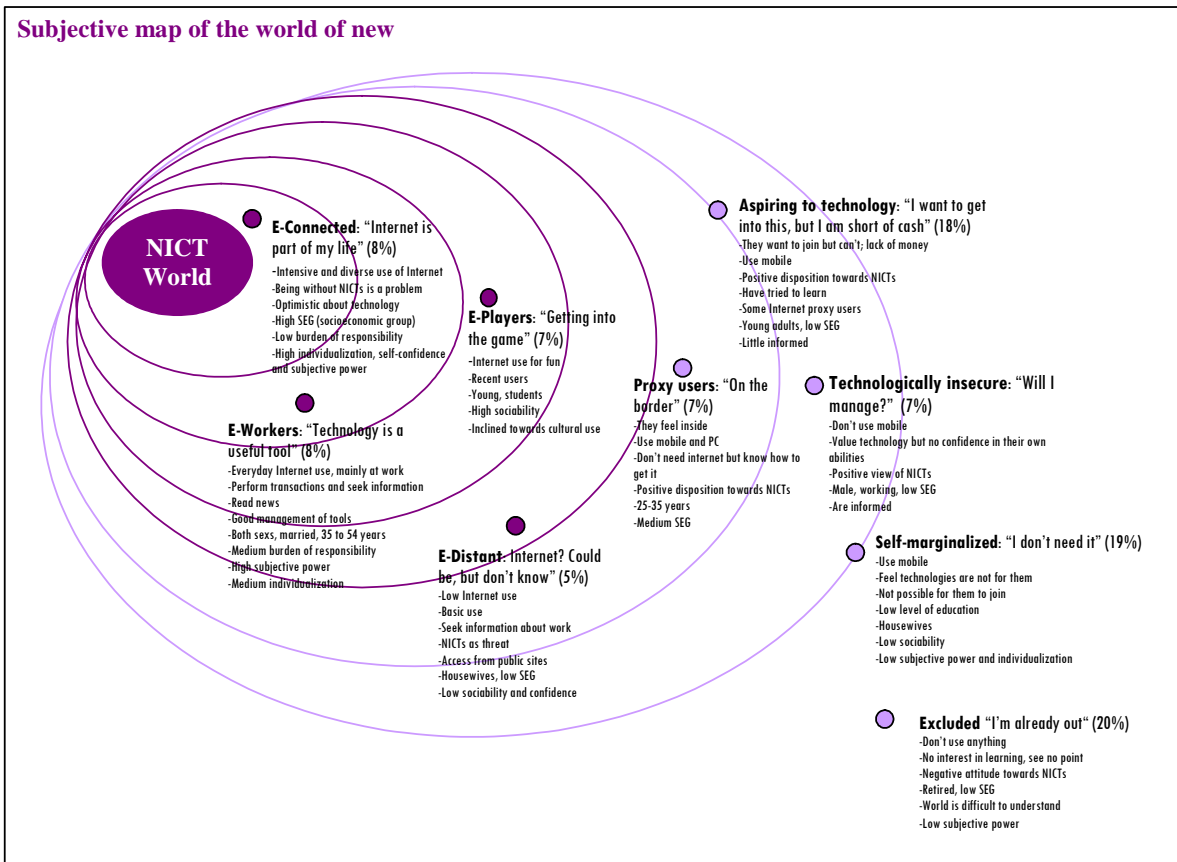
The various ways of approaching the world of NICTs shown in the map often refer to problem situations impacting both behaviours and perceptions of the members of different groups. For example, the ‘technologically aspiring’ and the ‘technologically insecure’ illustrate this situation more clearly: they wish to enter the world of NICTs but cannot, for lack of financial resources in one case, and lack of confidence in their knowledge and skills in the other.

In turn, those ‘self-marginalized’ and the ‘excluded’ say for various reasons that they are not interested in joining the world of NICTs. This statement, which might appear to be the simple result of a voluntary choice, becomes a problem when one considers that self-marginalization is the result of perceiving this world as a source of threats rather than opportunities for their lives. The description of these ‘ways of being outside’ the world of NICTs reveals problems that society should attend to.

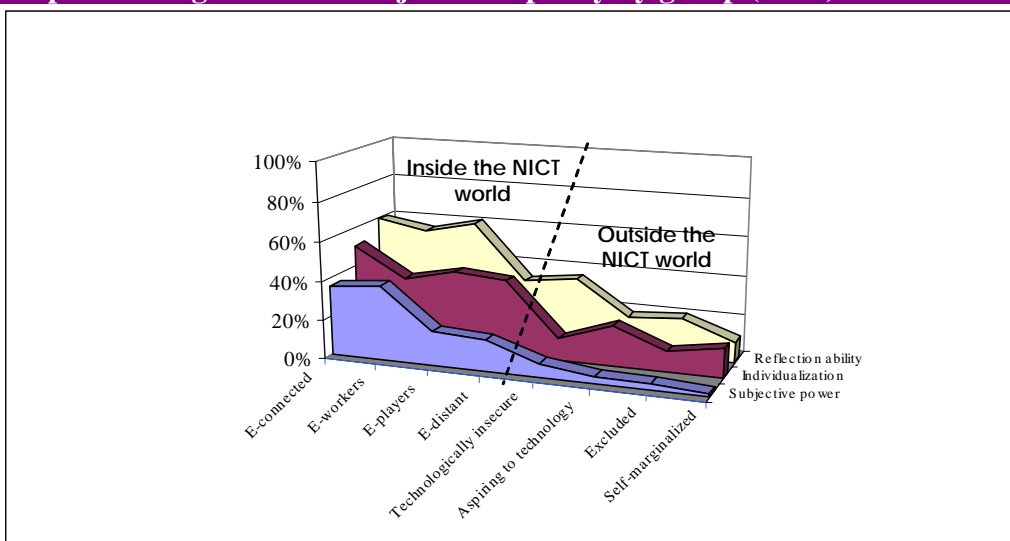
The map of ways of being inside or outside the world of NICTs highlights three essential subjective abilities to define the position of each individual: subjective power, understood as the perception of possessing the necessary abilities to materialize personal projects; reflexivity, defined as the ability to understand and participate in a world based on effective management of information; and individualization, referring to the ability of individuals to design by and for themselves the type of life they choose irrespective of traditional values.

It is plausible to think that as an individual gains more subjective power, more reflexivity, and more individualization, he or she will find more usefulness in NICTs. Subsequently, this experience of the effective use of technology will serve as the basis for further strengthening their abilities.

In this context, it is worth asking which gap matters most. Aside from the digital gap – which ultimately could be resolved with hardware- it should be borne in mind that there is another gap in the population, formed by the difference in objective resources as well as in subjective abilities.



People with high levels of subjective capacity by group (in %)



Source: Further work by the authors based on the Human Development Survey, UNDP 2005

In other words, concern should be not only for how people access NICTs but how and for what purpose they use them.

Chile would then face a new source of inequality: for those possessing the basic capabilities, the world shaped by the impact of NICTs is full of opportunities to empower and materialize their personal projects; those lacking such capacities face an increasingly stressful world.

Opportunity or threat? Again, the answer will depend on the objective or subjective position of each individual on the map of this new world.

Where are we heading? Images of the future

New technologies have also become a topic of conversation at the most dissimilar social venues and among the most different age groups. There is talk not only of the external objects but also the images and emotions which constitute subjectivity and contain descriptions of the world to come and the world gone by, what is astonishing or what is frightening. New technologies are the visible signs of a new era that has emerged abruptly, signalling opportunities and threats, and which has not yet finished defining its scope.

On analyzing social discourse about new technology it can be observed that -despite what the figures say and with the exception of the mobile phone- penetration in the use of new technology is relatively low; notwithstanding, its progress in discourse has such drive that all are swept along the same trajectory.

“It is already here: wherever you go there is Internet”.

(Mixed group, low GSE, 40-55 years, **non**-Internet users)

Whether on account of the various advertising talk or the image made of community telecentres, or the increasing expansion of cyber cafes in neighbourhoods, or public discussions about government programmes, today people say that, one way or another, new technologies involve the whole country.

“-Everyone, literally everyone has a mobile phone; even 11-year-olds have a mobile.

-Parents call their children at day-care to see how they are doing, to find out if they are crying; in day-care! They are 5 years old and they have a mobile.

-They have the Internet at the nursery”.

(Mixed group, medium GSE, 22-29 years, Internet users)

But aside from this mass incorporation, people do not see the coming of a paradise-like world or a panacea of development. The initial glow that may have once accompanied talk about new technology is over. Nor is there an apocalyptic tale of a new technological world or a tragic view of changes that have taken place. However, this

vision has not given way to indifference but ambiguity about the value of NICTs, assessing opportunities as well as threats.

- “-It will make our life easier, but I think there are other things.
- It makes communications easier and also transactions are easier.
- That is what I said: it has its pros and cons.
- The problem is you have to keep a balance, I think.
- I think each one has to start learning how to live with the Internet, how you are going to live as a family and with this issue.”

(Mixed group, medium GSE, 40-55 years, Internet users)

Threats are of different types, for example, the perception that vocabulary and language will be deformed by the use of NICTs. More urgently, fear that man will be replaced by machine emerges forcefully. UNDP 2005 Human Development Survey figures show that 59% of the population feel that new technology could lead to unemployment. Another fear is about the individualism they cause, weakening sociability and family ties. The opportunities provided by NICTs include their contribution to making everyday life easier, to keeping up to date, to making room for sociability of a new kind, and to heightening individualization.

Accordingly, new technologies can be seen as desirable or causes of unavoidable risks: they can make work easier and at the same time create unemployment; they can be major facilitators of company or of extreme individualism.

This ambivalence becomes a challenge: individuals must face the risks and the opportunities to make sure that NICTs are a tool to benefit their development. Individuals must make decisions and take a stance to drive the machines if they do not wish to be controlled by them.

- “It depends on each one if y’a use it as a tool and don’t get hooked, and at it, and at it; ‘cos if you take a look, there is already a move towards all technology: the TV, the radio, and all. Before, when they were younger, they were hooked on the Atari, get it?”

(Mixed group, medium GSE, 14-18 years, Internet users)

Although conversations focus on the need for each person to control NICTs based on their own choices, there appears to be consensus in that the burden surpasses people’s current capacities. The full weight of regulation cannot be left on the shoulders of individuals, because there are threats for which neutralization demands resources far beyond the private sphere. To face them requires social regulations enacted by law and institutions, to support (not substitute) the efforts made by individuals to regulate themselves. This talk hints at a demand for collective action on matters difficult to handle individually.

Nonetheless, people doubt that society is disposed to take on this task and capable of doing so. Social control does not seem feasible, since the evolution of technology tends to become ‘natural’, that is, to be viewed as something given that cannot be changed. Ultimately, against technology all that remains is the possibility of personal or family control, not of the techniques but of the individual behaviour of the user, although users know they do not have all the tools to do this.

- “-I find we can't do anything any more, because it's already freely advancing in the whole world and there's no way of stopping it.
- The only thing to be done at the personal level is for each to share their view and what they think with other people as friends.
- I think all we can do is accept the evolution.”

(Mixed group, medium GSE, 14-18 years, Internet users)

This naturalized view of the spread of technology inhibits public debate about the limits it should have. It only allows partial regulation, of a moral and essentially private nature.

It could be said that debate on the possibility for social control of technological change makes no sense when proposed by a country like Chile, which is not precisely a producer of these technological transformations but a follower and adaptor of innovations created beyond its borders. However, one thing is clear: producers of technology or not, nevertheless it is necessary to take responsibility for its impact on society and prepare for future technology –which will surely again challenge the established ways of behaving and relating.

NICTs: a chance to increase capacities?

This report wonders about the contribution by NICTs to Human Development, specifically whether they contribute to increasing the individual and collective capacities of people. In pursuit of an answer, two spheres were analyzed, where great expectations have been placed: school education and work.

Education is one of the focuses of public discourse about new technology, a key factor for the insertion of Chile in the society and economy of knowledge. NICTs are viewed as powerful tools to facilitate the process of learning, bringing knowledge closer to students, teachers, and people in general, beyond social and geographic barriers.

In the world of labour, aside from the increased productivity of organizations, the great promise of NICTs is that they will allow more participative forms of productive activity and will significantly expand human capabilities. There are expectations regarding greater flexibility, both in the organization of work processes by companies and the management of time and space by people. These changes –it is promised- will open new possibilities to develop autonomy and individual creativity and initiative.

However, the evidence discussed in this Report suggests that these promises are not being fully achieved.

In schools it is found that access to NICTs does not in itself do away with the differences in learning among students, differences that are associated to structural conditions but also to subjective characteristics. Access to computers and Internet has made it possible to achieve a ‘first level’: the chance to know and use these tools. But progressing to a ‘second level’, to obtain the full potential of NICTs requires other conditions in both context and resources, and a strong subjective basis. The existence of

clear pedagogical directions, surroundings that favour learning habits and teachers who use computer science for teaching purposes could make the most of the impact of technology on learning. Therefore it is not sufficient merely to introduce the hardware: it is also necessary to establish criteria, purpose, and follow-up.

In the field of enterprise, apart from the technification and automation of production processes, the use of computers and networks is not complex and centres on the accumulation of data and distribution of information. No widespread and important advances can be observed in their application in more flexible and interactive ways for dissemination, articulation and development of knowledge and setting up networks and connections among organizations, and they are little used to facilitate greater participation in companies.

By contrast, significant use of NICTs is noted for hierarchical supervision and control, within an institutional framework where the rights of workers and protection of their privacy are inadequately regulated. Beyond that, there is scant reflection on the issue.

In both fields, education and enterprise, the promised deployment of capacities is still in abeyance. Part of the difficulty in making better use of NICTs seems to lie with a culture that resists change. No matter how important government initiatives may be, advancing towards full deployment of these potentials requires the participative commitment of all stakeholders to transform the styles of social relationships and the meaning of education and work which limit the fruitful use of NICTs. There are challenges here still not fully taken up by leaders and executives in the field of business, union leaders, school managers, principals, and teachers.

State and citizens: are we connected?

Internet has been seen as a useful tool to overcome obstacles to the development of citizenship and democracy. It has been thought to be a revolutionary mechanism to bring State and citizens closer and, by collective organization, to defend and promote rights. Its use would allow debating on an equal footing on topics of citizen interest and enable a more democratic way of making public decisions. Faced by this new promise, it is indispensable to ask oneself how much of it has become fact.

The empirical and analytical strategy of this section of the Report was basically organized around the contents of web pages through which various institutions seek to link with citizens, which contents were examined seeking to determine what type of State-citizen relationships they favour.

In general, the pages examined (over 200 from different fields) were found to be poorly developed with regard to their citizenship dimension. The following table shows the institutions capable of reaching at least 70% of the maximum score of the “citizenship e-content index”.

Selected pages of citizen-related e-content

Ministries	Municipalities	Political arena	Civil Society Organizations
Agriculture	Lo Barnechea	Senate	Prohumana
Housing	Vitacura		
Chilecompra	Ñuñoa		
Inland Revenue	Santiago		

Source: prepared by the authors

Of all the pages analyzed, e-government strategies are the most advanced, some emblematic ministries and agencies, and some municipalities standing out. The Senate page –a platform also supported by State strategies- is the only page which stands out in the political field.

These pages give priority to delivering information and benefits, including speedy completion of transactions. In these aspects the Chilean State has made a formidable leap, extensively recognized at the international level. This does not apply to access to public information, transparency, and participation. From the point of view of its web sites, the State has favoured a vertical relationship with citizens, of the customer-service type and rather in a one-way direction.

Civil society organizations, in turn, which might utilize these tools to counteract the vertical tendency of the State, have scarcely developed space on the network for the constitution of their autonomy and deliberation processes. Rather they adapt to the relationships defined by the State. Few social organizations, especially the more professional ones, achieve outstanding scores in these assessments. Grass-root organizations, the most popular and numerous, have less access to the network and use it at a very elementary level.

In 2005 –as described in this Report- an exercise performed in 2001 was replicated. It consisted in sending an e-mail message to Congress Deputies on behalf of an ordinary citizen. The object was to assess the capacity of new technologies to facilitate interaction with political representatives. Although results improved, the response rate continued to be quite low.

The exercise was also expanded in 2005 to find out whether a citizen bearing a surname linked to a high socioeconomic level in Chile –Errázuriz- met the same type of response from his representatives as the bearer of a common surname, González. In this case not only was a greater number of responses obtained, but their content was more complete and personal than those given to González; some members of Congress even sent our citizen Errázuriz their personal mobile phone number and invited him for coffee.

E-mail to their Deputy

	2001 Juan Pérez	2005 Pedro González	2005 José Errázuriz
Response rate	9/120	21/120	31/120
Average response time	-	5 days	3.3 days

Source: prepared by the authors

The figures speak for themselves: for an average citizen it is not easy to contact their representatives directly, not even with the introduction of NICTs, and the latter also fail to overcome the barriers of traditional hierarchies and distinctions.

In Chile, according to the foregoing analysis, the deployment of NICTs has not been adopted either by the State or civil society- as a tool to significantly modify the distance between individuals and their public institutions. There is greater efficiency, but the vertical nature of the State-individual relationship has not altered. In some cases, such verticality even appears to have increased. In this context, the adoption of NICTs to strengthen democracy is still not finalized.

Conditions for building the future

Using NICTs for Human Development supposes social and individual conditions, both objective and subjective. But, as we have seen, in Chile those conditions are not always present and this restricts the contribution by NICTs and amplifies the threats. Therefore the challenge lies in building personal and social conditions for making the new technologies an effective instrument to increase capacities for personal and social action for all. These conditions are the following:

First condition: recognizing the multiple dimensions of the digital gap

The first condition for correct appropriation and use of new technologies is, obviously, for everyone to have access to them and to be able to use them as they need and wish. In fact, one of the most important risks emerging with the expansion of new technologies is the emergence of new and more serious forms of social exclusion. To face this threat it is necessary to correctly situate the problem. The customary concept of digital gap must be improved and more clearly defined to shed light on the field where actions are to be focused in order to overcome the differences which restrict equal access and use of NICTs.

There are three dimensions to the digital gap or divide. First, limitations to material access to technology -computers, Internet, networks- together with the quality of that access, are determined by socio-demographic conditions. Second, on account of subjective differences, the gap refers to unequal personal ability to use the technologies stemming from images of oneself and the surroundings and of the directions for action derived from the culture to which each belongs. Third, access and use of networks and the type of roles and privileges each user may derive from them tend to be much influenced by the position of each person in the social hierarchy, hence becoming a criterion for segmentation also within the network. These three forms of digital gap may be mutually reinforcing, creating in certain social sectors very acute forms of digital exclusion.

The above implies that digital gaps must be approached by overcoming the exclusive distinction of being 'inside' or 'outside'. It also refers to the possibility of acquiring and maintaining updated capacities to make fruitful use of NICTs. Insisting on the previous

notion of gap could lead to losing sight of the fact that increasingly the problem is not being inside the virtual world but how to be there.

Second condition: knowing what to use NICTs for

New technologies may serve many purposes and have ambivalent effects. When used as an end in themselves they do not always create opportunities important to Human Development. As this Report shows, a basic condition for their proper use is to subordinate them to clear, explicit, ethically legitimate purposes, which can guide its actual use and serve as criteria for its adaptation.

It would seem to be a condition too obvious to mention, but as can be seen in these pages, it is not so evident. When such purposes are lacking it is difficult to subordinate these technologies to personal and social development and major risks arise, such as individual dependence, contraction of personal and collective relationships, forms of control, violation of privacy, among others.

Reflection and dialogue on the purpose of this use are one of the most important 'software' for the proper computer operation. Besides, reflection about the purpose of new technologies may contribute to reducing those fairly widespread forms of digital self-exclusion supported by fear and prejudice.

Third condition: promoting regulations to safeguard people's rights

Certain rights of individuals might be infringed by the expansion of NICTs and some of their uses might have harmful effects. These risks appear at two related levels. One refers to the risks to individual subjectivity resulting from the detrimental use of new technology stemming from dependence and isolation. The other alludes to the threats to certain rights, such as the violation of privacy and the possibility of almost permanent control of individuals. Although they are still little known and have not so far been expressed *en masse*, the community of experts has drawn attention to the need to anticipate them. And just as positive effects do not come on their own, neither will negative effects vanish unaided. The risks of NICTs must be faced with intent and resolution.

Providing guidance for behaviour of the preventive type, and formal regulations to ensure security and respect for the rights on individuals *vis-a-vis* the capacities of these new technologies, is a condition for their appropriation for Human Development.

However, social control of network deployment must be combined with the freedom of individuals, the necessary autonomy required to innovate in the creation and use of NICTs, and realistic recognition of user ability to evade attempts to control them.

Fourth condition: neutralizing the impact of the existing social order

At present, the greatest potential of NICTs lies in their capacity to form digital networks and permitting access to them. Thanks to their technical capabilities, these networks can

significantly extend the power of individuals, groups, and institutions. But, at the same time, they can create structures of social relations which reproduce the inequities and hierarchies of the society where they operate or even create new forms of inequities and exclusions.

For example, the power to access and use a company intranet could replicate or increase the authoritarian decision-making which existed before the digital network was installed. Expansion of digital networks is also therefore a field of power, where the rights to access and proprietorship of information are disputed, and also where the struggle to define hierarchies and rights to participation takes place.

It is not to be expected that the impact of unequal structures, scarcely participative or with hierarchical control of the digital networks will disappear of its own accord. It seems necessary for network design to approach the type of social relationships and social hierarchies they foster with reflection and critical thinking. From this point of view, the analysis of NICTs requires political criticism of the network society. That is, disentangling the type of social relationships favoured and their consequences for equality and democracy.

Fifth condition: framing NICTs within the social history of development in Chile

As can be seen in this Report, individuals usually perceive the deployment of NICTs as a phenomenon driven by the uncontrollable force of an economic system which moves globally. This development is thought to have such force that it is illusory to attempt to alter it at the national level, much less through the collective will of society.

This would justify the ideological message of certain discourses about technological change: since the advance of social change appears to be unmanageable and unpredictable, the most rational attitude for individuals, organizations, and societies to take should be to clear the way for its advance and adapt to it.

But the evolution of technologies is not the product of natural evolution: it is a historical event, conditioned by cultural, political, scientific, and economic facts, and mobilized by specific stakeholders with particular interests and images of the desired society.

In discussing the purpose and function of new technologies the role of individuals and society in forging change must be returned to them. Only this can give meaning and legitimacy to the question that matters in this Report: how to shape and use technologies to construct societies with more capacity for action?

The appropriation of NICTs for Human Development must begin by criticizing naturalization and setting up public debate to accompany and justify the expansion of NICTs, endowing them with the long-term social and historical purpose in which they are so far lacking.

Constructing conditions for the use of NICTs: an undertaking for everyone

The social conduction of technological development requires participative deliberation and debate, since the effects of new technologies directly or indirectly affect all of society. This will be a controversial process, for there are major interests at stake in the design and control of technologies and their networks.

The social conduction of technological development inevitably involves social deliberation and politics and, to be up to this challenge, they are in need of revitalization. The importance of politics in turn shows how mistaken are those who aspire to replace it with technocratic decision-making processes. It is only in the genuinely democratic political space that society can become a player and decide on the direction of its history, and this is precisely the basic condition for making the most of the opportunities that the new technologies bring with them.

The roads leading to wellbeing cannot elude strengthening the capabilities of society freely to decide its destiny. There are no technological shortcuts to achieving Human Development.

“We have prepared for a major challenge. The 21st Century presents us with new undertakings, perhaps unknown until now. Beyond the technological revolution before our eyes and reach, I think also of how we relate to each other, how we interact as a community and how we overcome individualism, indifference and despair.”

Michelle Bachelet, President of the Republic
Inaugural address, March 11th 2006