

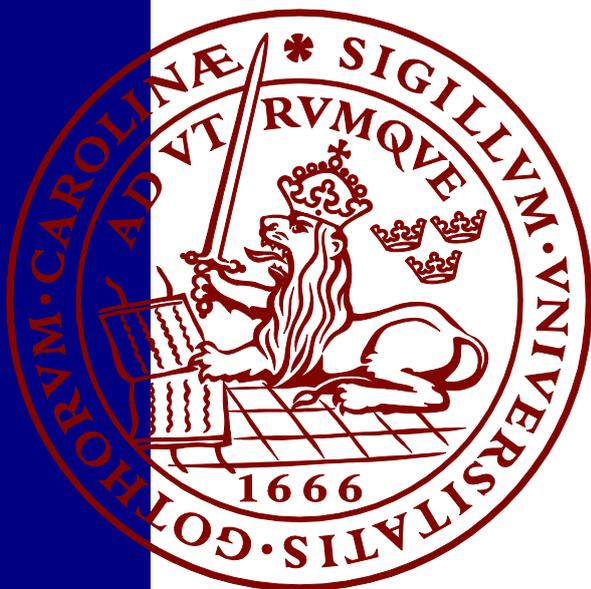
All you need is growth?

Exploring the narratives on Economic Growth and Sustainability
in Chilean presidential speeches

Vicente González Molledo

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Abstract

Despite being increasingly identified as main drivers of the global environmental emergency and existing inequalities, growth-driven economies have managed to perpetuate. Discursive practices are central to this perpetuation, strengthening the growth paradigm and its evolution towards 'greener' approaches, such as 'green growth'. This work uses content analysis on presidential speeches to assess how economic growth and sustainability have been positioned by presidents of Chile in the last decade. It reveals that economic growth and sustainable development are framed as panaceas for societal problem-solving and as the sole options for a sustainable future, consequently obscuring alternative solution paths. This is mainly achieved through taken-for-granted assumptions and omitting problematic aspects. Possible root-causes of this pro status-quo rhetoric are the hegemony of the growth paradigm and the colonial-inherited naturalization of indigenous people's substandard living conditions in Chile. Paradoxically, indigenous conceptions of nature can provide interesting examples to shift towards a more sustainable future.

Resumen

Pese a ser crecientemente identificadas como principales causantes de la crisis medioambiental a nivel global y de las persistentes desigualdades en el mundo, las economías basadas en crecimiento han conseguido perpetuar. Las prácticas discursivas han sido importantes para ello, fortaleciendo el paradigma del crecimiento económico y su evolución hacia un enfoque más 'verde'. Este trabajo emplea un análisis de contenido en discursos presidenciales para analizar cómo han posicionado el crecimiento económico y la sustentabilidad los presidentes de Chile durante la última década. Los resultados indican que el crecimiento económico y el concepto de 'desarrollo sostenible' se plantean como panaceas universales, capaces de resolver por sí solas los problemas sociales y medioambientales. También, se muestran como las únicas vías a seguir para lograr un futuro sostenible, eclipsando así otras posibles alternativas. Esto es logrado omitiendo sus aspectos problemáticos y asumiendo diversos factores. Además, este estudio plantea como posibles causas de esta retórica pro-status quo la hegemonía del paradigma del crecimiento y la herencia de un Chile colonial, que naturalizó las peores condiciones de vida de los pueblos aborígenes en Chile. Paradójicamente, las concepciones de vida indígena sobre la naturaleza pueden servir de ejemplo para una alternativa de cambio hacia un futuro realmente sustentable.

Keywords: Green growth, Sustainable development, Coloniality, Hegemony, Neoliberalism, Content Analysis.

Word count: 11.728

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Preface

Having studied business and administration, which meant taking plenty of economy courses with a neo-classical approach during my bachelor, made my sustainability learning a demanding, but at the same time fascinating journey. I appreciate the multidisciplinary focus I was able to incorporate to my previous knowledge toolset, thanks to the interesting natural science, but especially social science topics reviewed these couple of years.

Now, reflecting on my origins I wonder, are solely economics axioms adequate to understand the behavior of consumers and producers? After reviewing numerous social theories, and internalizing how complex human societies are, it feels like the rationalization through the market falls short to explain and predict human behavior, despite being a dominant approach in some disciplines. This serves as a perfect illustration of the present post-social tendency of simplifying societies' complexities.

This work is a result of my learning process and comes as a personal response to this post-social phenomenon I observe, especially in Chile.

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Acronyms

| | |
|----------|---|
| CLD | Causal Loop Diagram |
| CLP | Chilean Pesos |
| COVID-19 | Coronavirus Disease 2019 |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| RQ | Research Question |
| UN | United Nations |
| USD | United States Dollars |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| 18-O | October 18 th (Representing the 2019 Social Outbreak in Chile) |

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1 Introduction

“We’re more popular than Jesus now” John Lennon famously claimed in an informal interview in 1966 (BeatlesInterviews.org, n.d.). He was highlighting The Beatles’ popularity by comparing it against what he saw as a decreasing fame of religion. Not surprisingly, this declaration was received with anger by Christian groups, which even burnt Beatles’ albums in protest. Several decades after Lennon’s polemic declaration, in a friends’ gathering which took part in Santiago (Chile), I totally ruined the atmosphere by questioning the validity of economic growth (and seriously proposing the adoption of less-materialistic lifestyles). Both situations, apparently quite different, highlight similar features of religion and economic growth: they have devotees.

I do not intend to claim that economic growth followers lack valid motives. There is vast literature indicating the benefits that economic growth has brought to societies, notably alleviating extreme income poverty (Roemer & Gugerty, 1997; Sen, 2001). However, in the last decades we have witnessed an environmental crisis of global proportions (Steffen et al., 2015, 2018). And there is ample consensus that it is driven by human activities, which are characterized by capitalist modes of production, largely dependent on gross domestic product (GDP) increases, also known as economic growth (Clark & York, 2005; Crutzen, 2006; Ripple et al., 2017; Schmelzer, 2015; Wiedmann et al., 2020). Considering also the more ‘traditional’ growth critique over its inequalities enhancing effects (Greig et al., 2007a; Jackson, 2011; Sachs, 2009), to keep on ‘believing’ in growth seems outdated.

Despite this, my friends are not alone in overlooking the evidence. The benefits of growth are seldom questioned, and growth is still predominantly seen as “good, imperative, essentially limitless, and the principal remedy for a litany of social problems” (Dale, 2012). This is reflected on the fact that economic growth remains a key goal for virtually every country on the planet (Schmelzer, 2015). Moreover, it even became one of the goals of the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Figure 1).



SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS



Figure 1. United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Sustainable Goal N°8: Decent Work and Economic Growth is highlighted in red. Image retrieved from the United Nations Website (United Nations, n.d.).

Historically, this endless pursuit for economic growth can be traced back to the cold-war era, when growth was closely associated with progress, eventually becoming the cornerstone of the recently articulated development program (Greig et al., 2007b). This established the basis for what now is labeled as the ‘hegemony of the economic growth paradigm’ (see section 2.1) (Schmelzer, 2015).

Even though economic growth counted (and counts) with considerable support, growth devotees still responded to the ecological call into question. In the last decades, they have attempted to ‘disguise’ economic growth, to make it more appealing from an environmental point of view. For this, they utilize concepts such as ‘sustainable growth’ and ‘green growth’, aiming to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation (Hickel & Kallis, 2020), and consequently allowing growth-based economies to remain unquestioned and perpetuate. Although these ‘green’ approaches to growth have been successful in terms of diffusion, to the point that they have been “promoted by international organizations like the World Bank, the UN and the OECD” (Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018, p. 25), at the same time they are highly problematic (European Environment Agency, 2021; Hickel & Kallis, 2020; Smith, 2016).

Concurrently, this pursuit of growth can also be observed in Chile. Here, economic growth is also an institutionalized goal and a top priority for central office (Gobierno de Chile, n.d.). This should not come as a surprise, given that Chile has a particularly nourished neoliberal history (see section 2.2) (Barder, 2013). Betting on growth has allowed Chile to reach important goals, but it has also enhanced already existing problems. On one hand, it has lowered its income poverty rates and raised

its GDP per capita (Meller, 2000; The World Bank, 2021), but on the other hand, it has also increased its inequalities. To illustrate, Chile is the second most unequal country in the OECD (according to the Gini coefficient, after transfers) and its top 20% wealthier population owns ten times more wealth than the bottom 20% (Mieres Brevis, 2020). Similarly to other Latin American countries, a big proportion of the less wealthier groups in Chile belong to indigenous groups (or are *mestizos*, a mix between European and pre-hispanic) (Gajardo, 2019). Besides owning less wealth, they consistently show lower socio-economic indicators than non-indigenous people, and are socially marginalized (Gajardo, 2019; Lincopi, 2016). Additionally, Chile presents numerous environmental issues. To highlight some, the country is experiencing severe droughts (Garreaud et al., 2020), an observed biodiversity loss and the endangering of many species (Baldini et al., 2008; Carrasco-Lagos et al., 2016; Miranda et al., 2017), and unhealthy degrees of air pollution in several urban areas (IQAir, 2020; Perez et al., 2020; Prieto-Parra et al., 2017).

But this economic model has its detractors as well. Since year 2006, social movements in Chile have escalated, convoking larger numbers of people and increasing their influence in public opinion. This established the basis for the October 2019 “social outbreak” (commonly referred to in Chile as *estallido social* or 18-O due to its starting date), which consisted in large numbers of people (reaching millions) gathering in the streets for months and protesting against a wide variety of topics, mostly associated with the prevailing economic model (Robledo, 2020). Despite so fervently called into question, the ‘model’ remains intact.

Hence, the continuation of the ‘system’, despite being scientifically and popularly challenged, represents a motivation to observe the situation from different perspectives. A relevant one is to analyze political speeches, considering that they constitute an important field of political action, by influencing public opinion, and therefore defining how we understand different topics (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008). Their narratives can be particularly revealing. Maarten Hajer argues that: “Whether or not a situation is perceived as a political problem depends on the narrative in which it is discussed” (Atkinson et al., 2011, p. 14). Also, discourses present hegemonic practices (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002a). Hence, assessing speeches can become a useful tool to uncover the mechanisms that solidify the ‘hegemony of the growth paradigm’ and the ‘system’.

In this thesis, I explore the manifestation of the hegemonic growth paradigm in Chile and its relationship with environmental affairs, by observing how presidents of Chile frame economic growth and the environment in their annual *21 de Mayo* speeches (see section 4.2). My intention is to investigate their discourses, to point out the mechanisms they utilize to legitimize economic growth and perpetuate the challenged economic system, to identify their approach towards nature

conservation, and to explore the possible causalities that could be operating behind their discursive tendencies. More specifically, I perform a content analysis of the *21 de Mayo* speeches delivered by former president Michelle Bachelet in the years 2014 and 2015, and by current president Sebastián Piñera in 2018, 2019 and 2020. The content analysis employs critical discourse analysis and pragmatics methodology to assess their discursive tendencies. Additionally, the results are analyzed through hegemony and coloniality¹ lenses, aiming to reveal the hegemonic practices of the discourse and to inquire into the above stated possible causalities, which this study intends to reveal.

For this, the following research questions will guide the process:

- 1) How are Economic Growth and Sustainability presented by Chilean presidents in their *21 de Mayo* speeches?**
- 2) What discursive tendencies can be observed from the president's speeches that could influence the perpetuation of the dominant approaches towards the economy and sustainability?**
- 3) Which traits of hegemony can be identified within the presidents' speeches?**
- 4) How, if at all, does coloniality influence the dynamics around the preservation of the current model?**

This work aims to enhance the knowledge of the growth paradigm and environmental discourses, from a Chilean point of view as a case study. Considering that environmental impacts are driven by anthropogenic economic activities, this work pretends to extend “the conceptual terrain within which the Anthropocene scholarship currently operates” (Lövbrand et al., 2015, p. 212). Therefore, it contributes to climate studies, a topic largely dominated by the natural sciences, from a social sciences angle, and sheds light onto the complex interrelations between natural, social and political spheres (Lövbrand et al., 2015). Furthermore, a critical examination of dominant practices and discourses adheres to the solution-oriented spirit of sustainability science by contributing to clear the path for upcoming alternatives that effectively commit to sustainable lifestyles.

The next section introduces the background (section 2), and provides a deeper explanation of the growth paradigm, the Chilean model, its roots, the colonial face of inequalities in Chile, and the 18-O

¹ Note that the terms ‘colonialism’ and ‘coloniality’ are employed differently in this work. ‘Colonialism’ alludes to the European imperial expansion which occurred during past centuries, and ‘coloniality’ to the underlying logic and consequences of colonial imperialism. Further reading: (Mignolo, 2009).

manifestations. Next, section 3 describes the theoretical entry points of this work, followed by the methodology I employ (section 4). Then, research questions n°1 and n°2 are answered in the results section (section 5), followed by the analysis, focused on hegemony and coloniality (section 6), which respond research questions n°3 and n°4 respectively. Section 7 discusses the results from a local point of view, introduces alternative future pathways and presents the thesis' limitations. This study ends with brief concluding remarks (section 8).

2 Background

2.1 The Growth paradigm and its 'green' evolution

As was stated in the introduction, since past times growth has been constantly questioned, mainly due to its enhancement of inequalities (Jackson, 2011; Sachs, 2009). But in current times, growth is being challenged for another reason, because the roots of the present environmental emergency “have increasingly been identified in the emission-and waste-intensity of growth-oriented economic models” (Ripple et al., 2017; Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018, p. 25; Victor, 2010; Wiedmann et al., 2020). Hence, why is it so difficult to get rid of, or even reduce, the global desire for economic growth? According to Matthias Schmelzer (2015, p. 264), the reason would be the consolidation during the post-war era of a hegemonic growth paradigm, which he defines as a “specific ensemble of societal, political, and academic discourses, theories, and statistical standards that jointly assert and justify the view that economic growth as conventionally defined is desirable, imperative, and essentially limitless”. During the twentieth century, the ‘economic growth’ concept adopted the positive associations to the word ‘growth’, such as ‘increase’ or ‘develop’, and was linked with progress, consequently reducing development to economic growth (Sachs, 2009). For these reasons, growth was “collectively legitimated, universalized, and naturalized” (Schmelzer, 2015, p. 263). This was accomplished by numerous actors, notably economists and policymakers, various with underlying interests, resulting in what could also be described as a ‘growth lock-in’. The prior was possible by the influence of four main discourses: GDP is an adequate measure of the economy, growth is a panacea for society’s challenges, growth is an equivalent or a precondition for progress and wellbeing, and growth is limitless (Schmelzer, 2015).

Even though the growth paradigm has successfully reinforced the growth lock-in, economic growth proponents have had to adapt it, since it has become impossible to ignore the increasing evidence of its impact on the environment. As a result, nations are aspiring to increase their GDPs in more ‘green’ and ‘sustainable’ ways, intending to reduce the impact of growth on the environment, mainly

through science, technology, innovation and the ecological externalities priced by the market (European Environment Agency, 2021; Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018). This approach has been labeled distinctively by diverse authors, as ‘modernization project’ or ‘eco-modernism’ (Asafu-Adjaye et al., 2015; Clark & York, 2005), ‘green growth’ (Dale et al., 2016) or ‘sustainable development’² (Kothari et al., 2014).

However, all of these are problematic. Kothari et al. (2014) are emphatic to state that the ‘green economy’ and ‘sustainable development’ approaches have failed, and argue that they will continue to fail. Moreover, Michael Jacobs referred to ‘sustainable development’ as a political concept that has contestable value (Connelly, 2007). In addition, Hickel and Kallis (2020) concluded that it is unlikely that decoupling growth from resource use and carbon emissions is achieved empirically. Further, the European Environment Agency (2021) recently determined as ‘impossible’ the achievement of 100% circularity through reutilizing resources. In fact, the EU, a region that has excelled in sustainable practices, only recycled 12% of their input material in 2019 (European Environment Agency, 2021). Also, it has been found that “greater efficiency in resource use (provided by technology) often leads to increased consumption of resources”, a situation named ‘Jevons Paradox’ (Clark & York, 2005, p. 411). This paradox has been proved true in latest years, in which “consumption growth have mostly outrun any beneficial effects of changes in technology over the past few decades” (Wiedmann et al., 2020, p. 2).

Despite them being highly contested, governments and institutions are ignoring science and pursuing mainstream concepts such as ‘sustainable development’, ‘green growth’ and ‘ecomodernism’. As Dale et al. (2016, p. 4) affirmed, it seems that “the route toward a sustainable future need not stray outside the institutional and normative territory of the current political economic prevalent ideas”.

2.2 Chile: Model conception and outcomes

2.2.1 Neoliberal laboratory

The results of the 1970 Chilean presidential elections were not received with joy in the United States. Salvador Allende (Figure 2), a socialist and self-declared ‘Marxist’, had been elected, which was seen as a “grave threat to American strategic and corporate interests in the Western hemisphere” by the

² Note that the concept of ‘sustainable development’ differs from plain ‘sustainability’. Sustainable development limits sustainability to operate conjunctly with development, consequently narrowing sustainability actions, allowing only those that do not interfere with the development project. Further readings: (Cornwall, 2007; Greig et al., 2007b; Sachs, 2009).

Nixon administration (Barder, 2013, p. 113). These strategic interests included propagating a western-style growth-focused development in the whole globe to extend the influence of liberal-economic ideas. A socialist government, aligned with the U.S.S.R., would probably jeopardize the success of this project in Chile and Latin America (Barder, 2013).



Figure 2. Salvador Allende, president of Chile between 1970 and 1973. Image retrieved from: (Universidad de Chile, n.d.).

In consequence, a planned destabilization of the Chilean economy was executed, provoking an institutional crisis that led to a United States-influenced coup in 1973 (Barder, 2013), which triggered a military-led dictatorship that remained for 17 years (Cornejo et al., 2020). The combination of an authoritarian regime and a shattered economy created the perfect environment for the imposition of new economic policies. Influenced by a generation of students that were educated in The University of Chicago under the supervision of Milton Friedmann, Chile implemented a neoliberal reform (Barder, 2013). This reform mainly involved a disruption of the imports substitution industrialization strategy that Chile was following, a penetration of Chilean companies into foreign markets, a tariffs lowering to incentivize imports, the privatization of state-owned companies and services, and the deregulation of internal markets (Robledo, 2020). At the same time, their confidence in economic growth was solidifying the growth paradigm in Chilean territory. Since this program was never attempted before, “this experience would then become perceived as the ‘tried-and-true’ developmental model not only across the global South, but also, with varying degrees, across the North” (Barder, 2013, p. 104). Chile had become the laboratory for neoliberalism.

2.2.2 Inequalities and colonialism

In present days, Chile is predominantly seen as one of Latin America’s most prosperous nations (BBC News, 2020), with a higher GDP per capita than most of its neighbors and several other achievements in the field of public finances (The World Bank, 2019). However, there is an Achilles tendon of the ‘model’: inequalities. Economic growth has not managed to lower the gaps between the richest and poorest Chileans. Chile is among the most unequal countries of the OECD members (Figure 3). Illustrating exclusively income inequalities (In Chile inequalities are present in numerous domains), in 2013 the richest 1% earned one third of the whole country’s declared income (The World Bank, 2014). The minimum wage in Chile is as for March 2021 \$326.500 Chilean Pesos (CLP) per month (around 450 USD) (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, n.d.-a), an amount that is dominantly considered not enough for a family to make ends meet (Kremerman, 2017), and according to estimations it is earned by 11% of the population (Durán & Kremerman, 2020). In addition, roughly 50% of Chilean workers earn less than 620 USD per month (Durán & Kremerman, 2019). In virtue of this, plus the dependance on “capital accumulation that demands a precarious labor force and natural resources exploitation” of the growth-based economic model and that “to keep its competitiveness requires to perpetuate inequalities” (Robledo, 2020, p. 10), Chilean growth has been labeled as ‘impoverishing growth’ (Robledo, 2020).

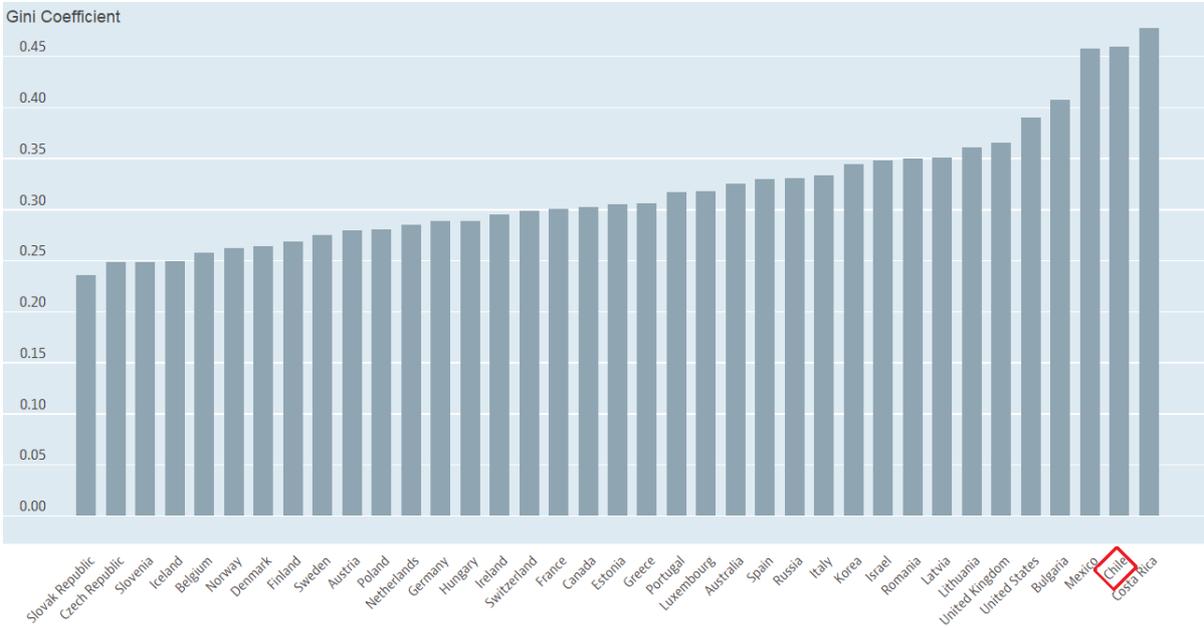


Figure 3. Income inequality by GINI coefficient in OECD countries, after transfers. The Y axis corresponds to the GINI coefficient values (which go from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality)). 2019 data. Chile is highlighted in red. Graph retrieved and adapted from (OECD, n.d.).

The conditions above described suggest 'neo-slavery' conditions in Chile, a situation in which workers are free in paper, but their life conditions are weakened through poverty pay rates and high supply of work replacement. Under 'neo-slavery' circumstances, workers that are "technically free have few choices, and are forced to accept their lot" (Lashley, 2018, p. 20).

But growth proponents in Chile have not been particularly moved by the above-mentioned. They have traditionally subscribed to the 'classic' argument that inequalities are "no problem as long as the have-nots were (are) able to improve their position along the way" (Sachs, 2009, p. xiv), arguing that the trickle-down effect will eventually, and already have, reached them (Cifuentes, 2018; Libertad y Desarrollo, 2018).

At the same time, there is a tendency that shows that poverty and income levels in Chile are correlated with ethnicity. Concentrations of indigenous people have been identified as robust determinants of income inequalities in Chile (Mieres Brevis, 2020), pre-hispanic populations presenting higher poverty levels than non-indigenous people (14,5% vs 8% in terms of income and 30,2% vs 19,7% considering multidimensional factors) (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social y Familia, 2017). In the Metropolitan Region, the region with the highest number of pre-hispanic populations in Chile, the monthly income difference between indigenous and non-indigenous groups is around 28,5% (Gajardo, 2019).

Some scholars indicate that the fact that the 'losers' of the model are predominantly indigenous is not a coincidence. They affirm that ethnic socio-economic differences are linked with the implementation of capitalism, arguing that its accumulative main feature requires "loss, disposability, and the unequal differentiation of human value" (Melamed, 2015, p. 77). For Jodi Melamed (2015, p. 77) "procedures of racialization and capitalism are ultimately never separable from each other". Cedric Robinson labeled capitalism as 'racial capitalism' (Robinson, 1983).

In the case of Chile, valuating humans differently has profound connections to colonialism. Since the Spaniards arrival, the local communities in Chilean territory were represented as inferior, leading to a historical 'naturalized hierarchy' (Lincopi, 2016). In Chile, local elites traditionally only mixed with European descendants and dominated the economic sphere for centuries (till present days). Lower social classes did mix with indigenous groups and consequently have shared physical attributes with them since. Hence, possessing European physical appearance or name became indicator of higher status (Meeus et al., 2016). Concurrently, individuals having indigenous-related appearances and names were stereotyped in several ways, such as being poor and inferior, reinforcing the naturalized hierarchy, which has led to their historical discrimination and marginalization (Mitnick, 2004).

This naturalized hierarchy is still palpable in post-colonial Chile. Social classes can be differentiated not only through economic, social and cultural aspects, but also through ethnic and racial ones (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016). This is perfectly embodied by Oscar Contardo (2008, p. 84): “A Chilean from any social stratum is capable of estimating, with a low error margin the income, address, education and labour conditions of a fellow countryman based on the other’s person physical appearance”. The prior demonstrates a low social mobility, in which skin color and aspect has played a crucial role (Palet et al., 2017). This is verbalized by Alejandro Lipschutz, who referred to Chile as a ‘Pigmentocracy’, in which “skin color is a central axis of social stratification” (Telles, 2014, p. 3). According to Edward Telles (2014, p. 4), “skin color is a more consistent but overlooked dimension of ethnoracial inequality in Latin America”. In the case of Chile, where skin color differences are a continuum, and are sometimes difficult to categorize, an important variable to take into account are the phenotype differences such as pre-hispanic traits (Meeus et al., 2016).

2.2.3 2019: Social outbreak – 18-O

However, present times have also shown opposition to the growth paradigm, the economic system, and inequalities in Chile. To trace the origins of this rejection trend we need to look back to 2006. This year, high school students manifested in big numbers, claiming for a better, gratuitous, and fair educational system. They paralyzed the classes for more than two months, revolutionizing the country’s political and social atmosphere. In the opinion of Beatriz Silva (2009, p. 3), this ‘revolution’ “shook the consciousness of a country immersed in a historical post-dictatorship period that seemed eternal”. Since then, diverse ‘features’ of the model have been openly questioned by numerous social movements, such as the privately-owned pensions scheme, healthcare and education systems, plus the request of an increased welfare and tax reform that targets the higher-income groups (Segovia & Gamboa, 2012).

But it was not until 2019 that manifestations reached new heights. In October of that year, in response to a metro fare raise, high-school students massively trespassed the metro system for a few days. However, more people were joining the students, and what had started as a school students’-protest against the metro fare scaled to a massive national protest with a much wider focus after a few weeks. The night of October 18th (the 18-O) marked the beginning of a radicalization of the protests, in which manifestants attained higher levels of violence, for which the government responded with a repression and a curfew (Waissbluth, 2020). The manifestations lasted for more than four months, stopping only due to the COVID-19 outbreak (BBC News Mundo, 2020). During this period, there were peaks of more than 2 million people on the streets, across the whole country

(Deutsche Welle, 2019; Redacción BBC News Mundo, 2019). Their claims were so many and diverse that any list could not be completely accurate, but a more just and equal society, better pensions, less impunity from crimes, more welfare and better salaries are constantly mentioned (Waissbluth, 2020). These demands are profoundly connected to the economic model. Figure 4 illustrates this.



Figure 4. 18-O mural. On top it can be read “the worst cancer is inequality” and in the bottom “\$hilean revolution”, with a monetary symbol replacing the ‘C’, challenging the current role of money in Chilean society. Image retrieved from: (Lepinado, 2020).

Nowadays, the transitory aftermath is that the country will write a new constitution (approved by popular referendum, the previous one was written in 1980 during the dictatorship), which is seen by its proponents as an important step towards a less neoliberal and more egalitarian society. To exemplify, figure 5 shows a candidate’s banner to promote his participation in the Constitutional Convention, expressly stating this post-18-O anti-neoliberalism spirit. Apart from the constitution, no important changes to the ‘model’ have been executed nor planned.



Figure 5. Constitutional Convention candidate Fernando Atria posing with his promotional banner for the Constitutional Convention elections. On top it reads “for a Constitution without a single hair of neoliberalism”. Image retrieved from his personal Twitter account: https://twitter.com/fernando_atria/status/1372314462074589184.

3 Theoretical entry points

3.1 Critical Realism - *Critical social constructionist research*

When intending to perform a content analysis, this study begins with a notion that reality is discursively constructed (Cameron, 2001), which shapes it to the point that the taken-for-granted and naturalized contents through discourse become the assumed reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). However, this work leans more into a Critical Realist approach than a pure Constructivist one, because it acknowledges the existence of reality beyond the discourse, and rejects the so called ‘epistemic fallacy’, the reduction of reality to just discursive reality (Fletcher, 2017). This work intends to get closer to reality through gaining knowledge on the narrative of authorities. In other words, it aims to reach the realist ontology through interpretative epistemology (Bygstad & Munkvold, 2011).

Even though this study rejects the absolute contingent representations of the world, it accepts that several elements are assumed, especially in speeches, and points to shed light on them. On account of this, this work employs a ‘critical social constructionist research’ focus to examine the presidential narratives, which aims to “denaturalize the taken-for-granted understandings of reality” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002b, p. 10). Nevertheless, it is important to mention that these understandings of reality and taking-for-granted processes are not necessarily conscious (Cameron, 2001).

3.2 Political Ecology

In addition, this study takes a political ecology approach, aiming to expose “how economic and political power shape social and environmental outcomes” (Bridge et al., 2018, p. 164) through the analysis of presidential speeches and their subsequent influence onto the economic and political systems, which are profoundly linked with the sustainability-related effects.

It also follows what Svarstad et al. (2018) hold as one of the main tasks of political ecology, intending to “uncover exercises of discursive power by elites as well as ways in which dominant discourses are modified, adapted and resisted” (2018, p. 359). Inspired by Svarstad et al. (2018), I take an actor-oriented approach to identify those who carry out the environmental interventions, in this case the presidents (representing the elites), who through discourse influence them, and those who resist them, represented by the 18-O mass. In the same vein, a Foucauldian post-structuralist power perspective approach implied complementing the actor-oriented approach, acknowledging the discursive power of presidential speeches, in which “some actors exercise power through the establishment of discourses on issues and narratives of specific cases in ways that are suitable to themselves” (Svarstad et al., 2018, p. 356).

3.3 Growth Paradigm

This study employs as ‘sensitizing’ concepts the four discourses presented in the background (see section 2.1) that influenced the establishment of the growth paradigm (GDP as an adequate economy measure, growth as a panacea, growth paired to progress, and growth as limitless) (Schmelzer, 2015). This means that they serve as references and guidance regarding where and how to look when assessing discourses around growth (Blumer, 1954), providing a path to observe and analyze, but they do not determine the outcomes.

3.4 Analytical Concepts

In order to analyze the results obtained, this work leans onto two theoretical concepts to intend to respond research questions n°3 and n°4: Hegemony and Coloniality.

3.4.1 Hegemony

The term hegemony, even though largely related to the work of Antonio Gramsci, has long history before him, and traditionally has signified “some combination of authority, leadership and domination” (Ives, 2015, p. 63). Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe state that discourses present hegemonic practices. For them, “discourses, by way of hegemonic closures, fix meanings in particular

ways and, thus, exclude all other meaning potentials, and that, through myths about society and identity, the discursive constructions appear as natural and delimited aspects of reality” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002b, p. 10). Furthermore, hegemony manifests by subtle means, and is utilized by dominant classes to maintain power, mostly through cohesion and consent, in which discourse plays a crucial role by establishing ‘common-sense’ views (Jaques et al., 2019). The hegemonic concept “refers explicitly to the way in which unequal power relations are established and maintained within the social order of capitalism” (Jaques et al., 2019, p. 4). Thus, hegemony becomes a useful tool for the analysis.

In addition to the prior, this work takes inspiration from past studies that have utilized hegemony to assess the main topics and concepts utilized for this study, which provided ample existing theoretical base and certify its relevance for the thesis’ topic. Specific examples are the hegemony of growth (Schmelzer, 2015), market hegemony (Munck, 2013), neoliberal hegemony (Robledo, 2020), western hegemony (Sachs, 2009) and green growth discourse hegemony (Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018).

In particular, even though this work does utilize hegemonic concepts developed by Antonio Gramsci, this work leans more into what has been defined as ‘Neo-Gramscian’ approach towards hegemony, closer to the concepts elaborated by Laclau and Mouffe. A neo-Gramscian approach takes distance from Gramsci’s focus on fundamental classes and the existence of a single-hegemonic center (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001), incorporating the existence of a counter-hegemonic bloc and analytical concepts towards the discourses around hegemonic practices, such as the empty signifier element that unifies the hegemonic discourses (Ives, 2015; Methmann & Rothe, 2012). These ‘Neo-Gramscian’ conceptualizations serve as ‘sensitizing concepts’ as well. They guide the assessment on sustainability discourses, but they not fully determine it (Blumer, 1954).

More precisely, the analysis portion, utilizing predominantly ‘Neo-Gramscian’ hegemony concepts, will assess discursive tendencies, emphasizing how “through the exercise of a particular language a dominating and integrative myth is reified by the historical bloc” (Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018, p. 26). This work conceptualizes myth as a comfortable but floating concept which cannot be verified nor proved (Feldman, 2004) and the historical bloc as a “discourse coalition of networks of governmental, corporate and non-governmental actors” (Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018, p. 26), which in our case will be limited to the observation of presidential speeches. Additionally, I lean onto the concepts of ‘empty signifier’, the central concept that unifies the ‘nodal points’ (hegemonic argument) and provides validity to the hegemonic project, and ‘war of position’, “the strategic building of hegemony through the institutionalization and the step-wise integration of counter-hegemonic positions into the hegemonic discourse, with the strategic objective of incrementally

altering, reforming or even revolutionizing the character of the hegemonic discourse” (Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018, p. 26). Finally, this work assess populist and post-political tendencies of avoiding reforms and preserve consensus, strongly linked to hegemonic practices (Lövbrand et al., 2015).

3.4.2 Coloniality

This work utilizes a coloniality lens to portray the analysis, acknowledging the “complex and ongoing impacts of colonial encounters and power matrices for both colonized and colonizing societies” (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2019, p. 2). To provide a deeper examination of the winners and the losers of the current model in Chile, I examine ethnoracial inequalities and assess the ongoing Chilean pigmentocracy described in the background (see also Telles, 2014) to understand the environment in which the presidential speeches take place. The theory of ‘racial capitalism’ serves as an entry point to explain the causalities behind this (Melamed, 2015). Additionally, Walter Mignolo’s (2009) concept of de-colonial cosmopolitanism, denoting the manifestations against the established inherited norms, is borrowed to assess the responses in Chile to the established ‘system’.

In addition, coloniality is utilized to interpret the environmental situation in Chile, in which also winners and losers from environmental impacts can be analyzed through a colonial racism lens (Castillo, 2018). Similarly, utilizing a colonization of nature angle contributes to comprehend the attitudes and perceptions towards the natural environment and the symptomatic speeches produced (Fischer-Kowalski & Haberl, 1998; Mrozowski, 1999). Closely linked to this, and also aiming to understand the attitudes towards nature and its subsequent narratives, is the way the natural environment is framed, dominantly humans above it (Lakoff, 2010). According to Eva Lövbrand (2015), this ‘serfdom’ of nature, the ‘humanization’ of the natural environment, has led to an observed ‘post-natural’ ontology, with nature being “domesticated, technologized and capitalized” to the extent it can no longer be considered natural (Lövbrand et al., 2015, p. 213).

4 Methodology

4.1 Qualitative Approach – Content Analysis

This work’s methodology follows a qualitative approach, but it can fall into several distinct categorizations and methodologies, because of the “confusion and overlap between different named forms of analysis” (Tight, 2019, p. 5). Moreover, this work’s methods were guided by its aim (Santander, 2011), and were “shaped and influenced by the nature of the phenomena under investigation [...] and the particular research question”(Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 2).

Consequently, this study ends up employing a toolbox containing methods from critical discourse analysis and pragmatics. Even though this study borrows components from Fairclough's critical discourse analysis methodology, it does not follow this method completely, in order to maintain certain flexibility towards the analysis, to keep closer to the work's aim. Due to this, the overall methodology is labeled as a wider method called 'content analysis'. According to Ole Holsti, content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Tight, 2019, p. 5), which according to Klaus Krippendorff is also "exploratory in process, and predictive or inferential in intent" (Tight, 2019, p. 6).

4.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The decision of employing a critical discourse analysis is based on the need to decipher the signs provided in the speeches, given the opacity of the language which characterizes discourses (Santander, 2011). Additionally, it is important to scrutinize discourses, owing to the important effects they produce on social reality (Santander, 2011). According to Foucault "discourses shape social reality and constrain actors" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 4). Thus, this work systematically and objectively explores how economic growth and the environment are positioned in the presidential speeches, utilizing diverse Fairclough's critical discourse analysis techniques. In first place, this study employs a modality assessment to shed light on the affinity of the speaker (presidents) with the statements, and also to distinguish between the information that is delivered from the information that is assumed to be known (Fairclough, 2009; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002a). Secondly, I evaluate transitivity to distinguish the presence of nominalizations and enthymemes within the speech (Atkinson et al., 2011; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002a). Nominalizations are appealing concepts which aim to simplify the complexity of certain topics, eventually backgrounding the tedious process they convey. According to Fairclough, often "one finds nominalizations themselves taking on the roles of goals" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 183). Enthymemes are a similar idea, but slightly different. They refer to inferences that are incomplete or careless, missing out "on the one hand the taken-for-granted aspects of the story and secondly the controversial, avoiding disagreement" (Atkinson et al., 2011, p. 13). They are also referred as 'fuzzwords' (Cornwall, 2007) or 'oxymorons' (Kothari et al., 2019). Nominalizations and enthymemes are not mutually exclusive, meaning that some words or concepts can be both at the same time.

A final method borrowed from critical discourse analysis is the observation of reiteration of ideas within the president's discourse. As stated by Deborah Cameron (2001, p. 129) "the repetition of the same pattern in many instances and on many occasions does the work of naturalizing a particular

view of reality". Therefore, this study aims to grasp which realities are being presented as natural in the speeches by reiteration.

4.1.2 Pragmatics

From pragmatics, this work borrows methodology on how to determine the intentionality of speech acts. It utilizes J.L. Austin's framework to distinguish between the locution (what is said) from the illocution (what is intended) of the presidents' words (Cameron, 2001; Thomas, 1995). It also draws upon H. Paul Grice's pragmatic principle to infer the meaning through context in cases which the illocution is not evident, given that commonly "utterances do not contain meaning but provides evidence on the basis of which the hearer can work it out" (Cameron, 2001, p. 78). For this reason, not just individual utterances were analyzed, but whole paragraphs, to grasp the cumulative effect of the mentions to economic growth and the environment.

4.2 Material Studied – 21 de Mayo speeches

This work examines the official transcriptions of five presidential *21 de Mayo* speeches (listed in Table 1) (May 21st speeches, also known as *Cuenta Pública* "Public Account" or *Mensaje Presidencial* "Presidential Message") given by the latest presidents of the Republic of Chile: Michelle Bachelet and Sebastián Piñera (Figure 6). They correspond to the initial two speeches delivered by former president Bachelet in her latest presidential period (2014-2018) and the first two made by president Piñera in his present mandate as well (2018-2022), plus Piñera's most recent one. The initial speeches were considered because they represent the first instance in which the head of states address the country, and is expected that these speeches focus more on objectives and priorities rather than assessing the performance of the government in place (López Escarcena, 2013). The second speeches were included to nourish the analysis, not responding to a particular characteristic of them. Piñera's 2020 speech was additionally considered because it was emitted post-18-O events, and besides, due to its contemporaneousness.

Table 1. Speeches considered for the analysis.

| Date | Author | Reference |
|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 21/05/2014 | Michelle Bachelet | (Bachelet, 2014) |
| 21/05/2015 | Michelle Bachelet | (Bachelet, 2015) |
| 01/06/2018 | Sebastián Piñera | (Piñera, 2018) |
| 01/06/2019 | Sebastián Piñera | (Piñera, 2019) |
| 31/07/2020 | Sebastián Piñera | (Piñera, 2020) |



Figure 6. Current United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights and former president of Chile Michelle Bachelet (left) during her 2015 speech and current president of Chile Sebastián Piñera (right) in his 2019 speech. Images retrieved from: (El Mercurio, 2015) and (Comandari, 2020) respectively.

The *21 de Mayo* speeches correspond to an annual tradition that traces back to the year 1833, in which presidents provide the nation with a status of the administration and politics of the government and communicate the central office's priorities. They are particularly interesting for this work's goal because they are highly strategic and are seen as a key tool to enhance the government's popularity (López Escarcena, 2013). To do so, presidents "portray a certain vision for the country's future" and "highlight the actions taken and the necessity of executing the ones not yet materialized" (López Escarcena, 2013, p. 126). Hence, the *21 de Mayo* speeches are crucial within the field of political action in Chile (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008).

The decision of analyzing Bachelet and Piñera is twofold. In first place, they are the most recent leaders of the nation and have governed in an era in which environmental issues have grown in importance. Secondly, they belong to two different political coalitions. Michelle Bachelet is a Socialist party member, and during her latest presidential period her party belonged to a center-left coalition called *Nueva Mayoría* (“New Majority”) (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, n.d.-c). Conversely, Sebastián Piñera is a *Renovación Nacional* (“National Renovation”) party member, a center-right party colluded with other three right parties forming *Chile Vamos* (“Let’s go Chile”) (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, n.d.-b). Therefore, to grasp the governmental narratives of the government, regarding the political tendency of the office, both coalitions were examined together. Although some differences between both presidents are mentioned in the results, the intention is strictly chronological, not political.

The transcriptions in Spanish were obtained from official sources (Table 1) and imported into Nvivo12 software. To filter the mentions on economic growth and the environment I executed queries containing terms related to both topics (the exact terms utilized are shown in Appendix 10.1) and converted them into Nodes (Appendix 10.2 shows how Nodes look in Nvivo software). The next step was to review each of the nodes’ components and to exclude the paragraphs that contained the keywords but were not referring to economic growth nor the environment. Finally, a Microsoft Excel file was created to assess, for each economic growth or environmental utterance, the following: locution (the literal text), illocution, modality, aspects taken for granted (assumed already known info), nominalizations and enthymemes (a screenshot of the Microsoft Excel file is shown in Appendix 10.3). The analysis was conducted in Spanish language, and illustrative quotes included in this work were translated from Spanish to English by the author. The original quotes in Spanish language are listed in Appendix 10.4.

5 Results

This section presents the results obtained, categorizing them according to the topics analyzed: Economic Growth and Sustainability. Additionally, Table 2 summarizes the findings at the bottom of this section.

5.1 Economic growth

Most of the president’s utterances on economic growth can be classified into three identified discourses: 1) growth as a panacea, 2) growth as a success metric and 3) growth as a priority.

5.1.1 Growth as a panacea

All the speeches analyzed position economic growth as capable of solving almost all society's problems, as a sort of panacea for humanity. The most prevalent way of framing it is as a necessary precondition for achieving progress and development. Oftentimes this is stated explicitly: "I am referring to economic growth. This is not an ordinary topic, it is a fundamental pillar of our development" (Bachelet, 2015, p. 15), "there is no better development policy than economic growth" (Piñera, 2018, p. 9). But notably, in occasions economic growth is utilized as a synonym of development: "We do not point to any growth, but to an inclusive economic development" (Bachelet, 2015, p. 19). Another growth feature highlighted is its capability of reducing inequalities: "we aspire to grow in the future in a sustainable and sustained way, this is a key condition to advance in reducing inequalities in our country" (Bachelet, 2015, p. 16).

For making such utterances, Bachelet and Piñera employ constant nominalizations, turning complex processes (as economic growth tangibly generating progress and development or even reducing inequalities) into simplifications and abstracts through political rhetoric, appealing to emotional language and taking distance from facts (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008). Still, it is fair to mention that in political speeches deep explanations are not expected, and simplifications can be seen as a norm. Additionally, both presidents employ a 'categorical' modality when presenting growth's gargantuan benefits, presenting them as facts, as "true and incontrovertible" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002a, p. 21), leaving no room for questioning it.

Lastly, an important aspect to highlight is what is *not* mentioned, and therefore taken for granted. The main absent aspect when positioning growth as a panacea is that of alternatives. Economic growth is presented as the unique path towards development and the achievement of progress, but what about alternatives? By omitting this information, Bachelet and Piñera "indirectly hint as obvious" (Cameron, 2001, p. 128) that there are no feasible alternatives. Additionally, by exclusively trusting on economic growth to solve society's problems, and not addressing its problematic aspects, notably its boundaries, they imply that growth is limitless. Concepts utilized to avoid this controversy when mentioning growth benefits can be considered enthymemes, or fuzzwords, such as: 'equitable growth' or 'sustainable growth'.

5.1.2 Growth as a success metric

In both president's speeches we can identify an evident notion of success related to increases in economic growth, and of failure in case of a diminished growth. A clear example is the following

president Piñera's 2019 speech line (2019, p. 8): "There are rankings that make us proud, such as having lead the Latin American economic growth". Of special interest is the way stagnation is presented. As can be expected, it is treated as something undesirable, but they go beyond this, placing stagnation among the worst possible outcomes for society. President Piñera is literal on this, uttering that there is "nothing more retrograde than stagnation" (Piñera, 2019, p. 10). To expose growth as a success indicator, they utilize a 'categorical' modality, assuming that growth is a synonym of success. They take this for granted, and treat growth as a goal itself. As stated in the introduction, there is little discussion on the benefits that economic growth can bring, such as increased salaries and reduce unemployment. However, growth is a medium to reach such goals, not the goal. Therefore, by stating it as the goal, economic growth it is naturalized as a society's objective.

5.1.3 Growth as a priority

Considering that economic growth is framed as a panacea and a measure of success (5.1.1 and 5.1.2), it is then positioned as an urgent necessity. This is constantly uttered in both presidents' speeches. For instance, in her first speech, Michelle Bachelet defined economic growth as one of her priorities: "...together with a potent economic and energy program which generates growth and jobs, will be my government big priorities" (Bachelet, 2014, p. 4). Economic growth is not only set as a priority per-se, but also as the main goal for diverse sectors, which are prioritized and granted resources so they can contribute to economic growth. We can see this reproduced in the following utterance: "We need to move forward in making science a real pillar for growth" (Bachelet, 2015, p. 18). This shows how science is framed as important, but for economic growth.

The modality utilized when defining growth as a priority is 'necessity'. It is mostly employed after the categorical utterances on economic growth, following a facts-needs sequence. Generally, representing economic growth as a panacea and as a synonym of success appears at the beginning of the speeches, establishing the basis for stating growth as a priority in the latter sections. But in occasions, this facts-needs sequence appears jointly: "Today our economy is going through a deceleration period [...] This imposes a special preoccupation and it is imperative to work for enhancing our growth capacity" (Bachelet, 2015, p. 15).

Finally, and similarly to the previous discourse, even though presidents constantly frame economic growth as a priority, they assume that there is consensus around it. They take this for granted, and by not stating this openly they obscure the possibility of contesting the growth path (Cameron, 2001). However, it can't be determined if Chilean presidents are presupposing, based on their own

beliefs (or the government's, or the dominant sphere's), that the people's will is to enhance economic growth, or perhaps they do not consider important a consensus on this and just impose their worldviews.

5.2 Environment – Sustainability

Regarding sustainability and the environment, the principal discourses identified are: 1) sustainable development as the unique route towards progress, 2) technology and market approaches are the solution and an opportunity and 3) regarding climate change, we are all equally responsible for its solution.

5.2.1 Sustainable development: the unique route towards progress

A concept that is repeatedly uttered by both Bachelet and Piñera is 'sustainable development', which they position as the path to follow in order to progress, develop, grow and at the same time protect the natural environment. They not only consider this feasible and unproblematic, but they frame it as the unique pathway Chile can follow. The following categorical utterance reflects this perfectly: "Chile has opted for sustainable development, because there is no development without sustainability and no sustainability without development" (Piñera, 2020, p. 41). In this specific example sustainable development, apart from being positioned as the only option, it is presented as a result of an inexistent consensual decision. The sustainable development concept is utilized for a variety of sectors, which through green practices will achieve sustainability, their environmental impacts will be reduced, and nature will be treated fairly. Even unconventional sectors fall in this category, such as public spending, as you can see in the following utterance: "And these investments will have a label for being sustainable and mitigate climate change effects and protect our nature" (Piñera, 2020, p. 16).

However, sustainable development is not only granted the capacity to solve environmental issues. With the aid of nominalizations, it can also solve several other societal problems such as inequality and poverty: "Chile never before could reach in just a decade an integral, inclusive and sustainable development" (Piñera, 2019, p. 11). In a similar fashion to growth, sustainable development is another panacea for humanity.

The main taken-for-granted aspect of the utterances related to sustainable development is that they present growth and sustainable development as facts, as fixed concepts, without room for questioning them. We can see this manifested in the following quotes: (Chile) "can commit to sustainable development, green and nature-friendly, without sacrificing its potential for growth and

development” (Piñera, 2020, p. 40), “today we must guarantee that mining development is sustainable, but also competitive” (Bachelet, 2014, p. 18). We can interpret these as: given that we are growing and developing, we need to be as respectful on the environment as we can. They tacitly assume that Chileans prefer to ignore the precautionary approach towards nature and board the development-growth boat no matter what the consequences are.

These quotes also illustrate the second important assumed aspect of the speeches: they assume that sustainable development is unproblematic, when in reality is a largely contested concept (see section 2.1). To justify the ‘sustainable development’ route, presidents engage in constant repetition of the concept and its benefits, utilizing the ‘categorical’ modality, presenting the benefits as guaranteed, ignoring what science has to say on the subject (see section 2.1). To further legitimize sustainable development, they also repeat related ideas, such as ‘sustainable growth’ or ‘equitable development’, which can be considered enthymemes, but they are naturalized through the speeches.

5.2.2 Technology and market approaches are the solution and an opportunity.

In the latest speeches we have seen a discourse emerge around the certainty that climate change and our environmental issues can be solved with technology and through the market. Although the president does cover the environmental issues Chile is facing, enhancing awareness around them, the faith put in a sort of modernization project is vast. In other words, it is taken for granted in this discourse that efficiency and innovation, mainly in the energy sector through renewables, plus the effects driven by the market forces, can halt our environmental troubles and climate change impacts.

But renewables not only represent our salvation. They are also regarded as a big opportunity for economic growth and development. While talking about renewables, president Piñera told the country how “we are immensely rich in future energies [...] and Chile can transform into an energy exporting power” (Piñera, 2020, p. 40). The prior statement can be interpreted as a kind of reminder that our priority is the economy, not the environment.

5.2.3 Climate change: we are all equally responsible for its solution.

Both presidents address the environmental urgencies that Chile is suffering, and constantly label nature and the environment as priorities for the nation. But in line with the global tendency, the concept of climate change is emerging more and more.

Together with an enhancement of climate change mentions, we can observe a tendency of positioning climate change as a common problem for everyone; consequently, the solutions proposed need to be undertaken by everyone. We can see this reflected in Piñera’s words to the nation (2019, p. 25): “Help us, so with our small and big actions we can take better care of nature, our country and planet”. Even though it is certain that we all need to act, this obscures the fact we do not impact the environment equally. The main aspect that is taken for granted here is that it is irrelevant *who* is aggravating climate change in Chile, and who should be held as accountable for the impacts. This narrows the conceivable solutions.

Table 2. Summary of the discourses identified, and their correspondent main aspects taken for granted. Own creation.

| Topics Assessed | Discourse identified | Aspects taken for granted |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Economic Growth | Growth as a panacea | There are no alternatives to growth |
| | Growth as a success metric | Growth is a goal in itself |
| | Growth as a priority | There is consensus on growth seeking |
| Sustainable Development | Sustainable Development is the only option | Sustainable Development and growth are facts and unproblematic |
| | Technology and the market are the solution and an opportunity | Technology and the market can solve our environmental issues |
| | We are all equally responsible for solving climate change | The actors who exacerbate climate change are irrelevant |

6 Analysis

Aiming to respond RQ n°3 and RQ n°4, and following the theoretical entry points chosen, I employ two concepts that could be influencing the discourses uttered by Chilean presidents: Hegemony (section 6.1, responding RQ n°3) and Coloniality (section 6.2, responding RQ n°4). Subsequently, I provide a big picture of the analysis (section 6.3).

6.1 Hegemonic traits of presidential speeches

Numerous authors have already pointed out how both economic growth and green growth discourses present hegemonic traits (Schmelzer, 2015; Stegemann & Ossewaarde, 2018), even in the Chilean context (Robledo, 2020). In this case, the results also hint the presence of hegemony. The content of the presidents’ speeches matches in a high degree the four ‘sensitizing’ discourses (see section 3.3) by utilizing growth as a ‘success’ or ‘failure’ measure, positioning growth as capable of

solving most of our social, and also environmental, issues, and omitting the problematic aspects of growth, thereby tacitly assuming it is limitless.

For sustainability, the results also hint hegemonic traits, similar to the ones utilized as ‘sensitizing’, exposed by Stegemann & Ossewaarde (2018) when assessing green growth narratives. Likewise, in our case growth and sustainability narratives are intertwined and operate towards the same hegemonic goals. In the next paragraphs I expose the results of the neo-Gramscian analysis and portray the hegemonic discursive elements contained in the speeches.

In first place, I identify the empty signifier of the discourse around sustainability and growth, which appears to be ‘sustainable development’. The results show how sustainable development is an idea that appears more and more, in diverse fashions, framed as capable of several things. It hereby becomes the panacea for our issues, when in reality it is scientifically problematic and subject to contestation (Connelly, 2007; Sachs, 2009). As a result, sustainable development is rendered a myth, a comfortable concept that brings hope and justifies the perpetuation of growth, but now apparently within the environmental limits. It is supported by the constant repetition of its nodal points (the hegemonic arguments), which are the solutions sustainable development supposedly provides (according to the presidential speeches): solving our social problems, reducing inequalities, reaching progress, and respecting the environment.

Secondly, the results suggest a post-truth tendency of restructuring discursive elements into the hegemonic realm. The utilization of the empty signifier ‘sustainable development’ by hegemonic groups (in our case, the presidents) has been accompanied by the absorption of discursive elements apparently opposed to a hegemonic growth paradigm, such as equality and environmental protection, into the hegemonic realm of growth and sustainable development. Following Gramsci’s line, this absorption of concepts into the hegemonic narratives can be labeled as ‘sacrifices’, taking “account of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed. But, there is also no doubt that such sacrifices and such a compromise cannot touch the essential” (Gramsci, 2006, p. 86). In our case the essential is the preservation of the growth-based model. A clear example of this is the failure of Chile to subscribe to the Escazú agreement. The Regional Agreement on Access to Information, Public Participation and Justice in Environmental Matters in Latin America and the Caribbean, subscribed in Escazú, Costa Rica, is a clear step-forward to a more effective protection of the natural environment (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, n.d.). Chile’s absenteeism ratifies that its authorities’ commitment to nature has solid conditions.

Thirdly, the use of myths in presidential discourses to maneuver consent towards hegemony can also be labeled as populism, presenting post-political traits. The engagement in constant repetition of growth and sustainable development's capabilities and taking for granted aspects like consent on future alternatives can be seen as populist tactics to preserve the status-quo. Similarly, this status-quo preservation and the perpetuation of the economic model can respond to a seeking of consensus among the dominant sphere members. This characterizes modern politics, and is referred by some as post-politics (Lövbrand et al., 2015). Due to this, economic growth and sustainable development become the only paths exposed, consequently excluding feasible possibilities and disincentivizing social transformations (Kenis & Mathijs, 2014).

6.1.1 Counter-hegemony force.

As was touched upon earlier, among the 18-O basic claims are equality and social rights, but also natural environment protection. These claims directly challenge the growth paradigm, and sustainable development as well, meaning that the 18-O, from a neo-Gramscian lens, can represent a counter-hegemonic force, opposed to the green growth–sustainable development hegemony, represented by the government and local elites (the hegemonic bloc). The hegemonic bloc, by absorbing concepts and claims that naturally would belong to counter-hegemonic forces (such as equality and nature preservation), disguises the difference between both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces. Consequently, it establishes a 'war of position'. However, a different interpretation would indicate that it was the counter-hegemonic bloc who successfully integrated their equality and (or) sustainability positions into the hegemonic realm.

In the case of Chile, it is unclear if the presidential incorporations of equality and sustainability to the discourse respond to a proactive adoption of counter-hegemonic positions by the hegemonic bloc or if these (equality and sustainability) were 'placed' by counter-hegemonic factions. However, the remaining differences regarding equality and sustainability among both sides (growth-focused and sustainable development vs different economic model and nature preservation), manifested in the presidential discourse and the 18-O claims, hint that the counter-hegemonic positions have not greatly penetrated the hegemonic forces. Therefore, the scale would lean more towards the strategical absorption of counter-hegemonic positions by the hegemonic bloc.

6.2 Coloniality influence

From a colonial perspective, a factor that can contribute to the preserving of the economic growth-based economy in Chile is that elites and higher socio-economic groups in Chile do not perceive as

urgent, or even problematic, the existence of 'losers' in the 'system' who have substandard life conditions. Rooted in 'racial capitalism' theory, I argue that this can be a result of the big proportion of 'losers' of the 'model' belonging to mestizo and/or indigenous groups, who since colonial periods have been historically naturalized as inferior by the rest of society. In fact, a recently released study carried out by the Center of Conflict and Social Cohesion Studies supports this. They estimate that only a 28% of the Chilean economic elite (high positions of the largest enterprises in Chile, where indigenous facial traits are scarce) agrees with the statement "there should be a higher income equality", compared to a 56% of regular citizens (Atria & Rovira, 2021). It seems that within Chilean pigmentocracy some have normalized that the situation of the 'others' is miserable, or at least worse than theirs. Hence, why should this be an urgent matter for them? In plain words, it looks like a 'racial capitalism' is preserved at the expenditure of darker-skinned people's neo-slavery situation, with the promise that growth will reach them in the near future. The hope set on the trickle-down effect works as a comfortable myth to avoid important reforms that could effectively reduce inequalities and improve the lives of the 'losers' of the 'model'.

This sense of unurgency is reflected in both presidents' speeches. They repeatedly restate the importance of growth, mainly by framing it as a reducer of inequalities and as our most urgent priority. This allows the status quo to continue, solidifying the growth paradigm and consequently increasing the inequalities that growth was supposed to diminish.

In relation to the environment, this analysis utilizes coloniality in two different ways. In first place, it employs the 'colonization of nature' theory to attempt to explain a similar situation that was observed for economic growth, in which a naturalized hierarchy plays an important role on the causalities. Despite the presidential promises to develop the country sustainably, the country keeps on prioritizing economic growth, ignoring the recommended precautionary principle towards the environment. In other words, and complementing the prior point, the model is now also sustained at the expenditure of nature, which is commoditized, or colonized (Fischer-Kowalski & Haberl, 1998; Mrozowski, 1999), with the promise of growing and developing in a green and sustainable manner, which is largely problematic and uncertain. This can be rooted in the historical colonization of nature, strongly determined by the positioning of humanity over nature, whose main characteristic is framing nature as a mere resource: the so-called 'natural resources' (Merchant, 1995).

Secondly, a colonial perspective highlights that the individuals who predominantly cope with environmental impacts in Chile belong to indigenous communities, a situation that can be labeled (and indeed has been) as environmental racism (Castillo, 2018). The prior is also neglected by the sustainable development concept so frequently cited by the presidents. Complementing the

summary stated above, the model would be preserved at the expenditure of the natural environment, and indigenous and mestizos-looking people’s living conditions, with the promises that growth will eventually get to them and sustainable development will successfully protect nature.

However, the colonial-inherited naturalization above described has been rejected by a portion of the population: the counter-hegemonic bloc identified within the 18-O. Figure 7 illustrates this with art created during the manifestations. One banner reflects the popular rejection to the social statuses’ polarization in Chile, affirming that in a democracy your last name (a social status indicator in Chile) does (or should) not matter. The other banner highlights the environmental face of the manifestations through a metaphor, indicating that the people in the streets represent a river intending to recover its riverbed. The banners, and the 18-O, are palpable examples of what Mignolo referred to as ‘de-colonial cosmopolitanism’, a concept he applied to the trend of “transnational organizations not only manifesting themselves ‘against’ capitalism, globalization and questioning modernity, but also opening up global but non-capitalist horizons and de-linking from the idea that there is a single and main modernity surrounded by peripheral or alternative ones” (Mignolo, 2009, p. 41).



Figure 7. 18-O banners. The banner on the left reads “in democracy your last name does not matter” alluding to the social status that last names represent in Chile (closely related to coloniality) and questioning the democratic status of a society in which this occurs. The banner on the rights reads “we are the river recovering its riverbed” as a metaphor in which people intending to recover their rights and dignity represent a river recovering its stream, highlighting the droughts that affect Chile. Images retrieved from (Lepinado, 2020).

6.3 Big Picture

To illustrate what has been presented so far, figure 8 portrays a causal-loop diagram (CLD) representing this case study as a system (Haraldsson, 2004). In first place, post-colonial Chile influences the growth paradigm. The existence of a pigmentocracy reduces the incentives for the hegemonic bloc to modify the status-quo, consequently raising the hegemonic influence of the growth paradigm. From a systems-thinking perspective, I assume that the higher the pigmentocracy degree is (despite being difficult to measure), the larger the hegemonic influence becomes. Then, the more influential the growth hegemony is, the more reflected this will be in presidential *21 de Mayo* speeches, which at the same time positively *reinforce* the growth paradigm and contribute to the enhancement of inequalities and environmental issues by promoting the status-quo. Eventually, increased inequalities and ecological crises (because of the influence of the presidential speeches and the growth hegemony) will raise the influence of the counter-hegemonic bloc (the 18-O is a great example), which would then reduce the power of the growth paradigm (given there is a negative correlation between counter-hegemonic and hegemonic blocs' influence). However, in virtue of the robustness of the growth hegemony, this reduction is not a straightforward nor quick process. For this reason, the counter-hegemonic influence on the hegemonic side carries a *delay* (represented by 2 parallel lines), meaning that the counter-hegemonic side does not necessarily influence the hegemonic bloc. Therefore, the displayed *balancing* loop, which suggests that the counter-hegemonic influence keeps the hegemonic domination under reasonable levels, would only be *balanced* on paper. This is evidenced in our case study. The 18-O radicalization can be seen as a natural frustration of Chileans (counter-hegemonic groups) who 'exploded' because of their impossibility to influence the hegemonic institutions (represented by the delay in the illustration). In addition, the fact that the 18-O has not achieved significant systemic reforms certifies the difficulty of influencing the hegemonic bloc (represented by the delay). The hegemonic side, through countless practices, contributes to this delay. In this work we explored the discursive ones.

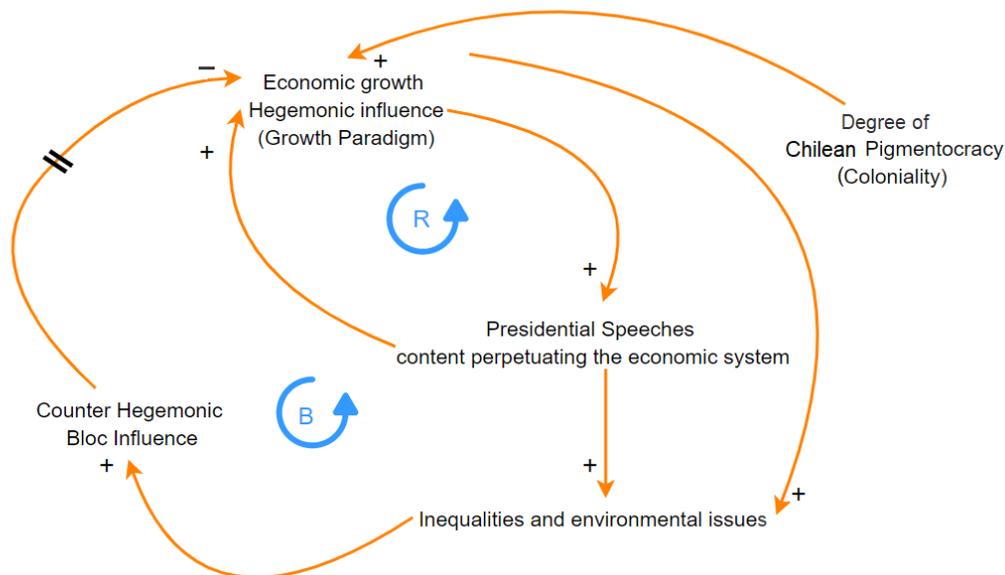


Figure 8. Causal-loop diagram (Haraldsson, 2004) illustrating how the concepts of hegemony and coloniality influence and relate to the speeches assessed. The degree of Chilean pigmentocracy positively influences the growth paradigm, which impacts positively the contents that perpetuate the economic system within presidential speeches and the inequalities and environmental issues observed. The presidential speeches content favoring the status-quo also impacts positively the hegemonic influence of economic growth, therefore establishing a reinforcing loop. Inequalities and environmental issues impact positively the influence of the counter-hegemonic bloc, which negatively impact the influence of the growth paradigm. However, this negative influence carries a delay (displayed as a pair of parallel black lines) due to the power of the growth hegemony, representing the difficulties for the counter-hegemonic growth to effectively influence the hegemonic bloc. This is reflected in the fact that the 18-O movement is not being able to provoke major systemic changes. Own Creation.

It is evident that innumerable other factors, not portrayed in this scheme nor mentioned in this thesis, also influence the components considered in this scheme and work (such as other hegemonic components, the media, the international political and economic landscape, and the COVID-19 pandemics). Due to the impossibility of studying them all, they had to be excluded, including within this work's boundaries only the presidential speeches analyzed and the influence of coloniality and the growth hegemony.

7 Discussion

7.1 Completely dismiss Economic Growth and Sustainable Development?

It is relevant to highlight that this work's focal intention is not to convince the reader that economic growth and/or sustainable development are expendable. The key takeaway from this work is that we should not just accept the taken-for-granted aspects of life without questioning them, which does not necessarily mean we should dismiss them. In the case of economic growth, it is a concept defined

almost a century ago. The context was different, especially in terms of environmental knowledge, when growth was established as a global priority to reach development (see section 2.1). Hence, is it time to begin reassessing it in the light of the results it has brought after all these years? The logical response is yes, but this does not imply it has to be abolished urgently. An immediate abolition would be especially difficult for Chile, a developing country, which presents higher opportunity costs of dismissing economic growth than developed countries (Daly, 2005).

A similar case occurs with sustainable development. It is an appealing and widely used term, but it carries assumptions along with it and avoids mentioning the drama associated to it (Connelly, 2007). It is evident that it should also be questioned, but less evident for Chile to completely dismiss it in short term.

This thesis should serve as an eye-opener for readers, especially Chileans, for the information that is commonly assumed and omitted, especially in political settings. And, for raising awareness on how structural forces (largely inherited) influence our conception of certain ideas and the ways these are framed.

7.2 What's next?

But in the light of the evidence, it seems clear that humankind needs to move beyond the traditional unilinear path to progress, which associates development with numbers and indicators, predominantly monetary (such as economic growth), and for which the 'more is preferred to less' neo-classical economics axiom (Miller & Meiners, 1986) is dominant. We need to embrace the fact that there are more pathways towards social evolution (Kothari et al., 2019). As was recently stated by the European Environmental Agency (2021), there is a "need to rethink and reframe societal notions of progress in broader terms". They also ask: Are our values materialistic? Our current lifestyles hint that the answer is yes, but I think not.

Nowadays diverse approaches intend to position themselves as feasible alternatives. The most popular ones intending to fade away from growth through a reformist angle, such as degrowth, a-growth or post-growth (Jackson, 2019; van den Bergh & Kallis, 2012). Others are more radical, intending to not also fade from growth, but also reforming the governmental sphere. Well-known proponents of this are eco-socialism and eco-anarchism (Wiedmann et al., 2020).

However, observing only these would be short-sighted. Different ways of conceiving life and approaching our fundamental values have existed long before these trends (Kothari et al., 2019), and special attention should be given to them. I refer to indigenous conceptions of life, who intend to

bring human beings closer to nature and each other rather than material accumulation. Our ancestors have lived this way for centuries and we have failed to continue their legacies. Examples that attempt to re-establish traditional life conventions are innumerable (see (Kothari et al., 2019) for a large compendium), but just to name a few I can mention the *Vilkap Sangam* movement in India, that aims to live conserving ecosystems, respecting ecological limits and situating social well-being, justice and an effective democracy as primary values (Kothari et al., 2019). Similarly, the *Buen vivir* concept in the Andean regions of Bolivia, Perú and Ecuador. It englobes a number of indigenous ideas and approaches to life, acknowledging the plurality of visions towards the concept of progress. It rejects the western notion of a single route towards development and wealth being related to accumulation (Kothari et al., 2014). In the case of Chile, we do not need to look that far for inspiration. The currently most influential pre-hispanic group in Chile, the *Mapuches*, has a profound connection with nature (Manosalva, 2017). For them, the natural environment has spiritual meanings and also sustainability-oriented provisional ones. Their lifestyles can inspire Chilean populations to originate similar initiatives towards a different future. Given the current social and environmental situation in Chile, and in several places of the world, we need to seriously assess and implement the existing alternatives, and not just situate them in our utopian dreams.

7.3 Limitations

Although this work contributes to sustainability science and gives insights into how the growth paradigm and sustainable development survive, it also presents limitations. Firstly, the assessment of the speeches entailed personal criteria. Even though I followed existing formal methodology, in a systematic way, analyzing speech content always presents particular characteristics, depending on the nature of the study. Therefore, it requires individual judgement, which is subject to diverse biases, and could indeed have affected the outcomes. In addition to this, the systematic characteristic of the research, which involved analyzing only phrases containing certain terms, could have omitted valuable information contained in utterances not including the keywords considered. Secondly, observing narrative has an intrinsic limitation when intending to extrapolate the findings to explain broader situations (Atkinson et al., 2011). This applies to this work as well. Even though the information can be considered valuable, it has a limited value when applying it in different contexts or levels. This is especially true for Global North societies, which differ vastly from the complex social structures observed in Latin American contexts (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016).

Additionally, this thesis excludes elements that could also play an important part on the analysis, which can be utilized in future research related to the topic. For instance, the hegemonic bloc can be

expanded to a global level, increasing the possibilities for analysis. Studies could focus on the discourses of diverse government institutions, the media, or influential people from other sectors. Also, the analysis could emphasize different sources, not just speeches. Valuable information could be found within policy documents or more informal instances. Additionally, diverse counter-hegemonic forces can be analyzed too, to contrast how they position the same topics. Finally, there is vast methodology on speech analysis that can generate different knowledge. Narrative analysis, grounded methodology or a purer critical discourse analysis, to name some, present interesting characteristics to be utilized in analyzing political speeches.

8 Concluding Remarks

This work highlights how the concepts of economic growth and sustainable development are positioned as the only alternatives for a sustainable future by presidents of Chile in the last decade. Particularly, growth is labeled as a necessity due its capacity of eventually solving all of society's problems, as not having limits, and as a unit of measure of success. In the case of sustainability, the government's strategy seems to be taking care of the environment as much as possible, but without correcting the growth path. This is characterized as feasible by technology and science, within a sustainable development strategy, ignoring its problematic aspects. Additionally, environmental issues are predominantly labeled as everyone's fault, failing to assign responsibilities that could lead to a different set of possible solutions.

Further, the presence of hegemony around the concepts of growth and sustainability is hinted by the rhetoric of the presidential speeches. It is discussed that the prior could be reinforced by the colonial history of modern Chile, from which we (Chileans) have inherited a naturalized discrimination towards people with indigenous traits. The fact that such groups are the 'losers' of the current 'model', I argue (based on 'racial capitalism' theory), reduces the incentives for policymakers and public opinion in general to radically modify the economic system.

Paradoxically, indigenous groups can serve as interesting examples of new ways of approaching life, taking distance from materialistic lifestyles towards more community and respecting-nature habits. Additionally, approaches beyond growth, such as de-growth, post-growth and eco-socialism (among others discussed, see section 7.2) raise important questions regarding our current growth-dependent model, and propose appealing options to redefine our future path as a humanity.

Unluckily, their adoption has proven to be extremely difficult, given the substantial power hegemonic growth-based economies possess. A frugal but palpable example is my friends' gathering in my

hometown, where I ruined the festive atmosphere when I proposed lifestyles that fade from material accumulation and questioned economic growth. This illustrates how the ‘decolonization of imagination’ has not occurred yet. After all, it seems that we have been looking at dominant indicators so much that we do not know how to look somewhere else anymore.

However, by critically analyzing the dominant discourses, revealing the common practices of assuming and omitting information, and exposing how these impact the public opinion, alternatives that commit to sustainable lifestyles that effectively acknowledge the precautionary principle towards nature have better chances to gain attention and emerge. This kind of work can also inspire social movements, such as the 18-O, to position alternatives in public opinion, and eventually contribute to the shaping of institutions and policy in the direction of a different future.

“Love is all you need”.

— John Lennon

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10 Appendices

10.1 Nvivo queries

10.1.1 Query for the Economic Growth Node

The screenshot shows the Nvivo interface for a query named "Crecimiento or crecer or creciendo". The query was created on 10-02-2021 at 17:49 by VGM and last modified on 03-03-2021 at 14:49. The search criteria are set to "Text Search Criteria" with the search text "crecimiento OR crecer OR creciendo" and a spread of "Broad Context". The search options include "Exact matches (e.g. 'talk')", "With stemmed words (e.g. 'talking')", "With synonyms (e.g. 'speak')", "With specializations (e.g. 'whisper")", and "With generalizations (e.g. 'communicate')".

| Name | Created On | Created By | Modified On | Modified By |
|------------------------------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| Crecimiento or crecer or creciendo | 10-02-2021 17:49 | VGM | 03-03-2021 14:49 | VGM |

Search for: crecimiento OR crecer OR creciendo

Spread to: Broad Context

- Exact matches (e.g. "talk")
- With stemmed words (e.g. "talking")
- With synonyms (e.g. "speak")
- With specializations (e.g. "whisper")
- With generalizations (e.g. "communicate")

10.1.2 Query for the Sustainability Node

The screenshot shows the Nvivo interface for a query named "Sustainability". The query was created on 11-02-2021 at 11:15 by VGM and last modified on 03-03-2021 at 14:50. The search criteria are set to "Text Search Criteria" with the search text "Sustentable OR sostenible OR sustentabilidad OR naturaleza OR verde OR ambiente OR climático OR calentamiento" and a spread of "Broad Context". The search options include "Exact matches (e.g. 'talk')", "With stemmed words (e.g. 'talking')", "With synonyms (e.g. 'speak')", "With specializations (e.g. 'whisper")", and "With generalizations (e.g. 'communicate')".

| Name | Created On | Created By | Modified On | Modified By |
|----------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| Sustainability | 11-02-2021 11:15 | VGM | 03-03-2021 14:50 | VGM |

Search for: Sustentable OR sostenible OR sustentabilidad OR naturaleza OR verde OR ambiente OR climático OR calentamiento

Spread to: Broad Context

- Exact matches (e.g. "talk")
- With stemmed words (e.g. "talking")
- With synonyms (e.g. "speak")
- With specializations (e.g. "whisper")
- With generalizations (e.g. "communicate")

10.2 Nvivo Nodes

10.2.1 Economic Growth Node

The screenshot shows the NVivo interface with two tabs: 'Growth Paragraphs' (selected) and 'Sustainability Paragraphs'. The main window displays a list of references for the 'Economic Growth Node' from a file named 'Bachelet 2014'. The interface includes a sidebar on the right with buttons for 'Summary', 'Reference', and 'PDF'. A vertical scrollbar is visible on the right side of the main content area.

Files\Bachelet 2014 > - 5 15 references coded [1,96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0,17% Coverage

Y no hay duda que hemos tenido un importante crecimiento económico, desarrollo de la infraestructura, en conectividad y en una serie de áreas que nos hacen ser vistos como un país líder en la región. Pero, al mismo tiempo, debemos reconocer que no hemos logrado superar las grandes desigualdades que nos afectan, ni terminar con los privilegios y abusos en distintos ámbitos de nuestra vida y de la marcha del país.

Reference 2 - 0,06% Coverage

Debemos reconocer que hay cambios que resultan indispensables y urgentes para hacer que el país no detenga su crecimiento y logre un desarrollo inclusivo.

Reference 3 - 0,25% Coverage

Y aquí me refiero específicamente a temas tan relevantes como la salud, la vivienda, las relaciones laborales, calidad de vida, cultura, transporte, deporte, lo que unido a un potente programa económico y energético que genere crecimiento y empleo, serán las grandes prioridades de mi gobierno. Esta propuesta de cambio interpela a todas las fuerzas políticas y sociales del país. Así como antes fuimos capaces juntos de poner a Chile en la senda del crecimiento económico con democracia, hoy necesitamos hacer un nuevo esfuerzo para que el desarrollo y el crecimiento sean más armónicos e integrales.

Reference 4 - 0,05% Coverage

Invertir en educación también es avanzar en productividad, que es la base de un crecimiento

10.2.2 Sustainability Node

Growth Paragraphs Sustainability Paragraphs ✕

<Files\\Bachelet 2014> - 5 11 references coded [2,05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0,11% Coverage

Hoy pocos dudan que Chile es un país distinto: más conectado con el mundo y entre sus regiones, con más aspiraciones, que se moviliza por la educación, en la defensa de sus comunidades y del medio ambiente, un país que reconoce y demanda sus derechos con claridad.

Reference 2 - 0,11% Coverage

Estas 56 medidas consideran programas y beneficios en áreas tan diversas como el deporte, la cultura, el medio ambiente, los pueblos originarios, la infraestructura, transporte, salas cuna, educación, aportes monetarios directos para las familias más vulnerables, entre otros.

Reference 3 - 0,15% Coverage

Pero cuando estamos hablando de potenciar nuestros sectores claves, queremos hacerlo también pensando en la inclusión y desarrollo de los pequeños productores. Sabemos que en materia de pesca, se requiere que apostemos por el fortalecimiento de la pesca artesanal, la sustentabilidad de los recursos del mar y el desarrollo productivo de esta actividad.

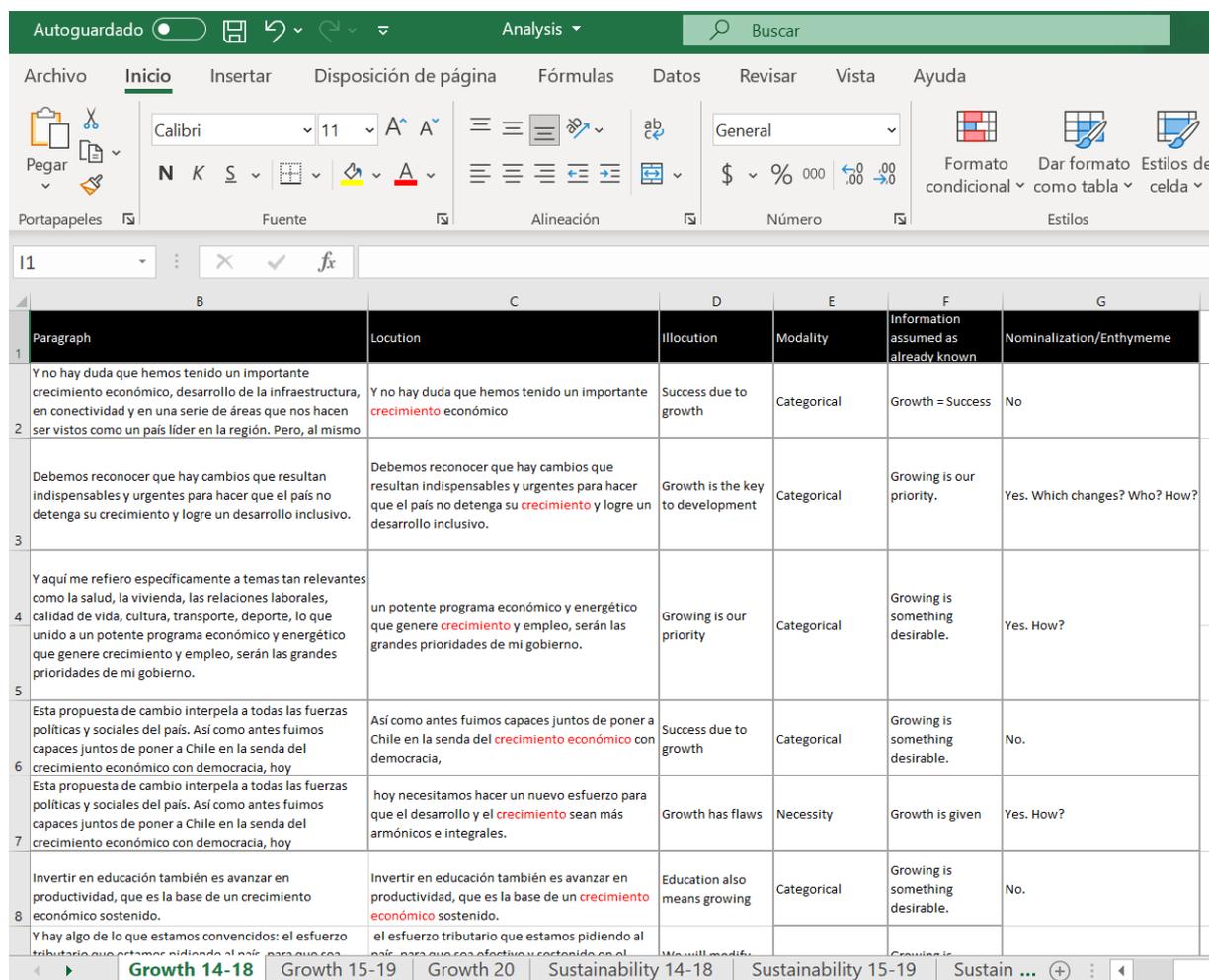
Reference 4 - 0,32% Coverage

Pero hay otro sector estratégico para Chile que nos permite combinar desarrollo económico con sustentabilidad, y es el turismo. Queremos desarrollar una estrategia turística moderna, que sea respetuosa de nuestro patrimonio cultural y ambiental. Y aquí también el Estado puede y debe tener un rol importante.

Por eso vamos a implementar un plan de desarrollo turístico sustentable en parques nacionales y áreas silvestres protegidas. Este plan incluirá importantes inversiones en infraestructura pública, recursos

Summary Reference PDF

10.3 Microsoft Excel file used for the assessment (screenshot)



10.4 Original quotes in Spanish language

| Economic Growth | Sustainability |
|--|---|
| Y no hay duda que hemos tenido un importante crecimiento económico | Hoy pocos dudan que Chile es un país distinto: más conectado con el mundo y entre sus regiones, con más aspiraciones, que se moviliza por la educación, en la defensa de sus comunidades y del medio ambiente |
| Debemos reconocer que hay cambios que resultan indispensables y urgentes para hacer que el país no detenga su crecimiento y logre un desarrollo inclusivo. | Estas 56 medidas consideran programas y beneficios en áreas tan diversas como el deporte, la cultura, el medio ambiente, los pueblos originarios, la infraestructura, transporte, salas cuna, educación, aportes monetarios directos para las familias más vulnerables, entre otros. |
| un potente programa económico y energético que genere crecimiento y empleo, serán las grandes prioridades de mi gobierno. | Sabemos que en materia de pesca, se requiere que apostemos por el fortalecimiento de la pesca artesanal, la sustentabilidad de los recursos del mar y el desarrollo productivo de esta actividad. Pero hay otro sector estratégico para Chile que nos permite combinar desarrollo económico con sustentabilidad, y es el turismo |

| | |
|--|--|
| Así como antes fuimos capaces juntos de poner a Chile en la senda del crecimiento económico con democracia, | Queremos desarrollar una estrategia turística moderna, que sea respetuosa de nuestro patrimonio cultural y ambiental. |
| hoy necesitamos hacer un nuevo esfuerzo para que el desarrollo y el crecimiento sean más armónicos e integrales. | Por eso vamos a implementar un plan de desarrollo turístico sustentable en parques nacionales y áreas silvestres protegidas |
| Invertir en educación también es avanzar en productividad, que es la base de un crecimiento económico sostenido. | No se ha contado con un Estado activo en el desarrollo de una planificación de largo plazo que genere las condiciones conducentes a un desarrollo energético seguro, sustentable, equitativo y a costos razonables |
| el esfuerzo tributario que estamos pidiendo al país, para que sea efectivo y sostenido en el largo plazo, debe ir acompañado de medidas eficaces y oportunas para aumentar la capacidad de nuestra economía para crecer | Hoy debemos garantizar que el desarrollo de la minería sea, a la vez, sustentable, pero también competitivo. |
| Sabemos por experiencia que no es posible construir equidad y calidad de vida sustentable y responsablemente sin un crecimiento económico sostenido y a buen ritmo. | Sustentable, porque la industria deberá no solamente cumplir con las leyes, sino también desarrollar un espíritu de responsabilidad social para ganarse la confianza de las comunidades, con un actuar temprano y transparente, que prevenga conflictos y promueva el diálogo. |
| Y sabemos también que la apuesta más inteligente, más eficiente y más rentable a largo plazo es que ese crecimiento tenga bases sólidas, que ponga en el centro de su estrategia el conocimiento, el espíritu emprendedor, la inversión en el capital humano, la creatividad y el trabajo de las personas. | Pero otra de las materias sobre las cuales debemos poner nuestra máxima atención, es en el cuidado de los glaciares |
| Y es justamente por esto que tenemos el desafío de acelerar el crecimiento económico de manera sostenida | Y dentro de los compromisos que asumimos como gobierno, vamos a enviar al Congreso un proyecto de Ley que crea el Servicio de Biodiversidad y Áreas Protegidas. |
| Hemos heredado una economía con bajo crecimiento, | Los bosques son también un pilar importante de nuestra economía y hay que apoyar la inversión en ellos, una inversión que sea social y medioambientalmente sustentable. |
| y debemos retomar prontamente la senda de crecimiento y el dinamismo económico | Pero tal vez, uno de los grandes desafíos para nuestra vida y nuestra economía es la gestión sustentable y sostenible de nuestros recursos hídricos |
| Elas generan en torno al 66 por ciento del empleo en nuestro país, y debemos fortalecer su contribución al crecimiento | El fenómeno del cambio climático ha alterado las condiciones que habíamos conocido, y yo lo he dicho muchas veces, la sequía que hemos visto ya no es una emergencia, llegó para quedarse. |
| Queremos que los destinos turísticos de nuestro país puedan constituirse de esta manera en clúster o polos de crecimiento. | No se trata, además, sólo de escasez hídrica, agravada por la larga sequía que experimentamos, sino también de la sobreexplotación de cuencas y del mal uso de los derechos de agua. |
| Para que la disminución de la desigualdad territorial y el incremento del crecimiento lleguen de manera directa a todos los chilenos y chilenas, se requiere de una política de Estado con inversión permanente y sostenida en infraestructura pública de calidad. | Y una ciudad a escala humana y ciudadana necesita de más áreas verdes y espacios públicos |
| Pero también un Estado moderno es un factor central si queremos seguir creciendo y alcanzar el bienestar para todos los chilenos y chilenas | Y éste es el camino que le proponemos a todos nuestros compatriotas, para alcanzar el desarrollo integral, inclusivo y sustentable |
| No puede haber calidad de vida en un país fragmentado, donde hay muchos y muchas que quedan fuera de los frutos del crecimiento y de la modernización del país. | sustentable, porque debe ser respetuoso y amistoso con nuestro medio ambiente y con nuestra naturaleza. |
| para dar mayores oportunidades de crecimiento a nuestros hermanos del MERCOSUR y a todo el continente. | Y, por tanto, produce un tremendo daño a nuestro ambiente y a nuestra naturaleza. |

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| Y hoy debemos avanzar juntos hacia el país que nos corresponde ser, de acuerdo a la riqueza y el nivel de crecimiento que hemos alcanzado | Agenda para retomar el crecimiento económico y el desarrollo sustentable, la creación de la Oficina de Gestión de Proyectos Sustentables |
| Estimularemos la innovación, la productividad y el crecimiento económico para darle un reimpulso y un mayor dinamismo a la economía. | Otra iniciativa que impactará positivamente en nuestra capacidad de crecer en forma sustentable |
| Después de una larga etapa de gran dinamismo, en que Chile crecía mucho más rápido que el mundo y que América Latina, | cuyo objetivo es promover el avance -en forma firme y clara- hacia una matriz energética más económica, más limpia, más sustentable y más competitiva |
| este progreso se vio interrumpido, porque descuidamos el valor de los acuerdos y el valor del crecimiento económico. | impulsar nuestra vigorosa marcha hacia el desarrollo integral, inclusivo y sustentable |
| Reforma Tributaria o Laboral, generó incertidumbre, debilitó los equilibrios macroeconómicos, frenó la innovación y el emprendimiento, redujo nuestra capacidad de crecer | para dar un gran salto adelante en la calidad, seguridad y sustentabilidad de nuestro sistema de transporte público. |
| Es decir, sólo la mitad del crecimiento del mundo en la misma época, y menos de un tercio del 5,3% que habíamos alcanzado durante nuestro primer Gobierno. | Y en los próximos días vamos a enviar al Congreso un nuevo sistema que no solamente va a proteger mejor nuestra naturaleza, sino que va a terminar con muchos elementos verdaderamente kafkianos que tiene el actual sistema, que al fin ni protege la naturaleza, ni promueve el desarrollo |
| para el logro de estos objetivos, es fundamental recuperar nuestra capacidad de crecer con fuerza | mejorar la cobertura y calidad de nuestra Red de Parques; fomentar el reciclaje, y también avanzar en muchas otras iniciativas, que son pequeñas cada una en sí misma, |
| porque no hay mejor política de desarrollo que el crecimiento económico, ni mejor política laboral que el pleno empleo. | un verdadero Eco-Parque que, al establecer condiciones de vida mucho más parecidos a los hábitats naturales de los animales, va a mejorar su calidad de vida y también va a facilitar el encuentro, la recreación, la experiencia y el conocimiento de nuestros niños, de nuestra flora y fauna natural. |
| Y entre sus grandes tareas están la recuperación de nuestra capacidad de crecer, de crear muchos y buenos empleos, y de mejorar los salarios de nuestros trabajadores. | El cambio climático y el calentamiento global, que son dos realidades que hace mucho tiempo están golpeando y afectando a nuestro país y que son, en parte, los responsables de la enorme sequía que estamos enfrentando desde hace ya más de 5 años |
| Nuestra tercera línea de acción durante este período se ha orientado a recuperar nuestra capacidad de crecer, de crear empleos, de mejorar los salarios y de poner orden en nuestras cuentas públicas. | exigen cambios drásticos en las políticas y en las conductas para compatibilizar el desarrollo con la protección de nuestro ambiente, naturaleza y nuestra forma de vida |
| Porque hemos aprendido que cuando Chile crece, todos los chilenos debemos crecer junto a nuestro país. | Aspiramos a crecer en el futuro de manera sustentable y sostenida, esta es una condición clave para avanzar en reducir la desigualdad en nuestro país y apoyar a las familias en sus proyectos de vida. |
| Otra iniciativa que impactará positivamente en nuestra capacidad de crecer en forma sustentable, es la "Ruta Energética 2018-2022", | Por eso, hemos elaborado un Plan de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable, que duplicará en los próximos cuatro años los recursos destinados a promoción nacional e internacional. |
| Para poder avanzar y financiar responsablemente todo lo anterior, un crecimiento económico sano y sólido es un imperativo fundamental. | En materia de Pesca, sabemos que el sector enfrenta una realidad compleja que nos obliga a avanzar hacia un escenario de mayor sustentabilidad de los recursos, junto con una necesaria diversificación de la actividad |
| un gran avance hacia un Sistema Tributario más moderno, más simple y más equitativo, que promueva la inversión, el ahorro y el crecimiento, | Hemos reformulado el proyecto que crea el Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Sustentable de la Pesca Artesanal y la Acuicultura de Pequeña Escala, y enviamos el Proyecto de Bonificación al cultivo y repoblamiento de Algas. |

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| Esto cuestiona las bases de nuestra convivencia: la confianza que nos debemos unos a otros, la calidad de nuestra democracia, la seguridad, el crecimiento económico. | Junto con ello, hemos tomado una serie de medidas para garantizar la sustentabilidad en la administración de nuestros recursos |
| fortalecer aquello que los hará más profundos: la legitimidad de la política, la solidez del crecimiento y la protección ante los riesgos naturales. | Ha llegado el tiempo de preparar el terreno para una minería sustentable y nuestra tarea es trabajar desde ya pensando en los próximos proyectos y las próximas décadas. |
| Me refiero al crecimiento económico. Este no es un ámbito cualquiera, es un pilar fundamental de nuestro desarrollo. | Este aporte representa un desafío sin precedentes que demandará de todos quienes se vinculan a esa empresa un grado superior de compromiso con la eficiencia, seguridad y sustentabilidad de sus operaciones mineras |
| Es muy cierto que el crecimiento por sí sólo no trae más equidad; pero sin crecimiento fuerte y sostenido, las políticas de equidad e inclusión carecen de bases sólidas. | Este año también es clave para la adopción de una agenda global post 2015 de objetivos de desarrollo sustentable. |
| Esto nos impone una preocupación especial y es imperativo trabajar para ampliar nuestra capacidad de crecimiento | A nuestro Gobierno, a este Congreso y a todos los chilenos y chilenas, nos corresponde liderar una Nueva Transición, una transición que nos permitirá, antes de que termine la próxima década, conquistar el desarrollo, derrotar la pobreza y alcanzar ese desarrollo integral, inclusivo y sustentable, que haga de Chile un país con valores y principios sólidos, en que todos tengamos verdaderas oportunidades para desplegar los talentos que Dios nos dio, y verdaderas seguridades para vivir nuestras vidas con la dignidad que merece todo ser humano, de forma que todos nuestros compatriotas puedan tener una vida más plena y más feliz, junto a sus familias y seres queridos. |
| Si a comienzos del año pasado se proyectaba que América Latina crecería en torno a tres por ciento en 2014, el crecimiento promedio de la región fue cercano al uno por ciento (Consensus Forecasts). Para este año se proyecta que la región podría crecer aún menos. | Los valores del mérito y el esfuerzo, el orden, el respeto, la unidad y amistad cívica y el cuidado de nuestra naturaleza |
| está contribuyendo no sólo a estimular la demanda en el corto plazo, sino también mejorar nuestra infraestructura, lo que apoya el crecimiento de mediano plazo. | Pero también es verdad que nunca antes un Chile con desarrollo integral, inclusivo y sustentable, había sido una meta alcanzable en un período de sólo una década |
| Aspiramos a crecer en el futuro de manera sustentable y sostenida | Por eso, estamos fortaleciendo la salud preventiva y el Programa Elige Vivir Sano, que prioriza la alimentación sana, el deporte y ejercicio, la vida en familia y el contacto con la naturaleza. |
| Para ello hemos diseñado políticas claras y consistentes para fomentar la productividad, la innovación y el crecimiento | Para mantener a Chile como líder mundial en minería, estamos desarrollando una minería moderna y sustentable y avanzando en una cartera de 44 grandes proyectos de inversión, que significan más de US\$65.000 millones en el período 2018 – 2027 |
| Qué duda cabe que una condición esencial para alcanzar cualquier objetivo que nos planteemos en términos de crecimiento actual y potencial, pasa por enfrentar los desafíos en materia energética | En la Cumbre contra el Cambio Climático, COP25, promoveremos compromisos más ambiciosos y exigibles que los logrados en la COP de París, para luchar contra el calentamiento global e incorporaremos la defensa de los Océanos y la Antártica como objetivos prioritarios |
| Ello nos permitirá avanzar en una verdadera transformación productiva que nos permita crecer más, pero de manera más justa y equitativa | Si bien Chile representa solo el 0.25% de las emisiones del planeta, es uno de las 10 naciones más vulnerables al cambio climático porque reúne siete de las nueve condiciones de vulnerabilidad definidas por el Panel de Expertos de Naciones Unidas. |

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| Necesitamos avanzar en hacer de la ciencia un verdadero pilar del crecimiento y fortalecer nuestras áreas estratégicas de desarrollo, así como expandir nuestra vocación por el conocimiento. La innovación es clave para impulsar la productividad y el crecimiento de nuestro país | Ayúdenos para que, con nuestras pequeñas y grandes acciones, cuidemos mejor la naturaleza y nuestro país y planeta |
| No apuntamos a cualquier crecimiento, sino a un desarrollo económico inclusivo. | No podemos olvidar que tenemos la inmensa responsabilidad de ser no sólo la primera generación en sufrir los efectos del cambio climático, sino la última que puede evitar una tragedia |
| Con esto no sólo profundizamos la democracia, sino que además damos la oportunidad de crecimiento y desarrollo a la medida de las regiones, conforme a sus necesidades. | Por último, enviaremos al Congreso la Ley Marco de Cambio Climático. |
| Reafirmo mi compromiso de impulsar sin descanso ni temor la tarea de hacer de Chile un país moderno, menos desigual, que amplía su capacidad de crecimiento con mejor educación para sus niños y niñas, con mejor salud para todos, más justo y transparente en sus relaciones, más seguro y con una democracia fortalecida. | Igual como la ciencia ha jugado un rol esencial en la lucha contra el cambio climático y el calentamiento global, hoy la ciencia juega un rol esencial en la lucha contra el coronavirus. |
| Hay rankings que nos ponen orgullosos, como haber liderado el crecimiento económico en América Latina. | Y estas inversiones van a tener un sello para que sean sustentables y mitiguen los efectos del cambio climático y protejan nuestra naturaleza. |
| Recibimos un país que había perdido gran parte de su capacidad de crecimiento, creación de empleos y mejora de salarios | este plan de recuperación va a contribuir a un Chile más inclusivo, a un Chile más descentralizado y a un Chile más sustentable. |
| El crecimiento es muy importante porque genera empleos, mejora los salarios, crea nuevas oportunidades y aporta recursos para financiar el gasto público | El Plan Elige Vivir Sano busca crear una verdadera cultura de vida sana con mejor alimentación, más deporte, más naturaleza, más familia y de esa forma vamos a tener una sociedad más sana y una sociedad más sana es una sociedad más feliz. |
| Igual como no hay mejor política laboral que el pleno empleo, no hay mejor política de desarrollo que el crecimiento económico, no hay nada más progresista que el desarrollo, ni nada más retrógrado que el estancamiento | Cuarto desafío, enfrentar el cambio climático y el calentamiento global. |
| Logramos triplicar el crecimiento, alcanzando un 4%, tres veces el promedio de América Latina y superior al mundo. | gradualmente reemplazar la calefacción a leña, que tanto contamina, para mejorar así la salud, el ambiente y la calidad de vida de esos compatriotas. |
| Este plan permitió que La Araucanía aumentara su crecimiento, entre 2017 y 2018 desde un 2.8% al 6.5%, siendo la región con mayor crecimiento del país, y redujera su tasa de desempleo de 8.8% a 6.2%. | Chile, por sus características naturales y por sus condiciones físicas, puede comprometerse con el desarrollo sustentable, verde y amistoso con la naturaleza sin sacrificar su potencial de crecimiento o de desarrollo |
| Primero, promover e incentivar el crecimiento, la creación de empleos, el incremento de salarios, la productividad, la innovación y el emprendimiento. | Otro de los efectos del cambio climático ha sido la escasez del agua. |
| Este plan nos va a permitir recuperar nuestra capacidad de crecer | Chile ha optado por un desarrollo sustentable, porque no hay desarrollo sin sustentabilidad y no hay sustentabilidad sin desarrollo. |
| Pero, además, Chile, por sus características naturales y por sus condiciones físicas, puede comprometerse con el desarrollo sustentable, verde y amistoso con la naturaleza sin sacrificar su potencial de crecimiento o de desarrollo | |
| La historia de Chile nos ha enseñado una y otra vez que cada vez que dejamos de lado y no aprovechamos las oportunidades que el país nos ofrece, nos estancamos, descuidamos el crecimiento o perdemos el sentido de una misión compartida, no hemos logrado alcanzar ningún objetivo. | |

