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From cacero lazo to rechazo

- **six voices on why they first endorsed the Estallido Social but subsequently rejected the new constitution**

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Bachelor in Sociology, 15 credits

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Abstract

This case study focuses on an episode of the Chilean constitutional process within the context of the social unrest of 2019– the Estallido Social.

The social unrest gathered millions of citizens asking for, among other things reforms, and a new constitution. The unrest accomplished a change of the constitution with a significant majority, yet when the last referendum was held, the results showed a majority of 61.89 % had rejected the proposal for the new constitution. This result implied people who first supported the unrest must have changed their minds. That partition is what is being analyzed in this study, the purpose being to explore why these voters changed their minds.

The results are based on interviews with six people who endorsed the social uprising and reviewed through theories on ideology and critical discourse analysis. The study shows that there are two main intersecting themes among the interviewees, which are: 1) misalignment between expected outcomes of the Estallido Social, and what they perceive was delivered as a response, and 2) concerns about the outcome expressed as distrust and fear regarding the constitutional process. These concerns being influenced by hegemonic power discourses and ideology, contributing to an unidentification with the constitutional process, and the ‘side’ represented by it. Thus, the voters interviewed might not have had a change of heart, but of sides.

Keywords: Chile, Constitution, Estallido Social, Latin America, Rechazo.

Index

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Purpose statement.....	2
2. Theoretical framework.....	3
2.1. Previous research.....	3
2.2. Theory.....	5
3. Methodology.....	8
3.1. Case study.....	8
3.2. Data collection.....	9
3.3. Operationalization.....	11
3.4. Positionality, ethics, and validity.....	12
4. Case background.....	14
4.1. The Estallido Social.....	14
4.2. Why a New Constitution?.....	15
5. Results.....	17
5.1. What were the expectations of the Estallido Social?.....	17
5.2. What were the main reasons for voting Rechazo?.....	20
6. Analysis.....	25
7. Conclusions.....	30
References.....	32
Appendix.....	34
Appendix 1. Interview guide.....	34
Appendix 2. Interviewees.....	36
Appendix 3. Coding scheme.....	37
Appendix 4. Table for data analysis.....	38

1. Introduction

In 2019 millions of Chilean citizens took to the streets in massive protests across the country. What started as a student mobilization against a rise in the subway fare developed into massive protests in a matter of days, Chile had awakened - *Chile despertó!*

Two main factors provoked the social uprising: social inequality resulting from an unequal distribution of resources and access to society; and the unfulfilled transition to democracy, with a neoliberal constitutional heritage from the Pinochet era. These factors created a sense of impotence and frustration that led to the contentious episode with claims for social justice focused on pensions, healthcare, and education, reflecting traditional social movement demands; and claims asking for Indigenous rights, women's rights, and inclusion of the LGBTQI+ community. As the protests expanded and more regions joined, these various petitions became one - a new constitution for Chile.

The calls for a new constitution succeeded, and on November 15, 2019, the Chilean government, together with a broad coalition of political parties, including a significant part of the opposition, agreed to hold a referendum on the topic. The referendum was held on the 25th of October 2020, and the outcome was positive for a new constitution with a 78% majority. Furthermore, the constitution would be written by a constitutional assembly – that is, representatives chosen through specific elections. On July 4th, 2022, the Constitutional Assembly presented their proposal for a new constitution, and two months later, after massive campaigns from both sides - *Apruebo* and *Rechazo*, it was time to vote. Subsequently, on September 4, 2022, Chilean citizens finally voted on the proposal for a fresh start - the new constitution.

The results were unexpected, a majority of 61.89 % rejected the proposal – they voted for *Rechazo*. But why? Of course, many factors influenced this result, among others the imposed mandatory vote for these elections, which opens a discussion on political consciousness, debate, and representative democracy. Yet, to reach such an overwhelming rejection rate some of those who first voted for a new constitution must have changed their minds. What made these voters have a change of heart? It is precisely this partition I set out to study here, the one between the endorsement of the social unrest and the approval of writing a new constitution, and the last referendum's rejection of the proposal for a new constitution.

1.1. Purpose statement

The purpose of this study is to understand why Chilean citizens who first endorsed the social unrest, and perhaps even participated in the mobilizations later rejected the proposal for a new constitution. What made them change sides?

Due to the recent nature of the topic, no previous research existed focusing on this specific perspective at the time of the study. At the same time, this reinforces the relevance of the thesis as these perspectives have not yet been studied to a wider extent, as such it can be a contribution to further mapping and study of the case (Bryman:2011:359).

At this stage of the research, the rejection of the proposal of a new constitution will generally be defined as *Rechazo*, which means rejection and was the term used on the ballots. The social unrest that initiated in October 2019 will generally be cited as the Estallido Social.

The data has been gathered through semi-structured interviews, where the participants have been chosen through snowball selection; the results are further analyzed through a discussion on ideology and critical discourse analysis.

This thesis explores the expectations of the Estallido Social as to better understand what might have led former supporters of the social uprising to [eventually] change their minds and reject the proposal for the new constitution and vote for Rechazo.

1.1.1. Research Questions (RQs)

RQ 1: Why did voters who first endorsed the Estallido Social reject the new constitution?

RQ1.1: What were the expectations of the Estallido Social?

RQ 1.2: What were the main reasons for voting Rechazo?

2. Theoretical framework

This section serves to introduce the theoretical framework of this case study as well as connect the thesis to the relevant research context. Firstly, I will present previous research within fields in which this study could be considered akin, thereafter proceeding to explain the main theoretical concepts from which the analysis is grounded, finalizing each section by presenting each theory's relevance for the analysis.

2.1. Previous research

The literature overview chosen for this case study is focused on ideology, and studies examining the Estallido Social and the constitutional process.

2.1.1. *Ideology in Chile*

In *Reevaluating the Role of ideology in Chile*, Visconti (2021) discusses how ideology is still relevant in influencing voters' electoral choices, based on the premise that ideology has historically played an important role in the Chilean voter's choice. Visconti (2021:1,19) points out that the ideological differences at this time tend to align around two main opposites: authoritarianism and democracy, as opposed to the traditional left-right or left-center-right division; and that deal breakers in Chile today are issues of inequality, immigration, abortion, and same-sex marriage. The study concludes that ideology is still relevant among voters -even if they do not necessarily identify with a specific ideology, politicians' ideological residence still influences voters' selections (Visconti:2021:1,19).

In *Mapping the complexity of political ideology using emergent networks: the Chilean case*; Raveau, Couyoumdjian, and Fuentes-Bravo (2022) propose a method of portraying political ideology using network theory. Their analysis is based on a case from the Chilean constituent process of 2015-2016, where “meetings were held throughout the country to discuss which Values, Rights, Duties, and Institutions should be included in the new constitution (Raveau, Couyoumdjian & Fuentes-Bravo:2022:1)”. The study captures the presence of distinct differences between the traditional left and the progressive left in Chile, for both values and rights, and that the traditional left is closer to the right than the progressive left regarding values. Among the right-wing constellation, the divide is not as prominent (Raveau, Couyoumdjian & Fuentes-Bravo:2022:14).

2.1.2. On the Estallido Social and the New Constitution

In *#Chiledespertó: causas del estallido social en Chile*, Jiménez-Yañez (2020:952) reflects upon the development of the Estallido Social, describing a movement that had lost faith in a political class without popular anchoring. Jiménez-Yañez (2020:956) argues that social unrest to a certain extent reflected a dissatisfied middle class struggling to make it to the end of the month looking for a solution to their diminished quality of life. It was not class struggle nor a radical awakening. More than a revolt it was a reaction; a consumer dissatisfaction: “*They do not want a revolution; they want to attract attention and have their demands met (Jiménez-Yañez:2020:956 [translated])*”.

In *What Constitution? On Chile's Constitutional Awakening*, Ansaldi and Pardo-Vergara (2020:7) discuss the social uprising in Chile and the social movement's demands for a new constitution, examining what the demand for a new constitution is a demand for. Their reasoning starts from a historical retrospective wherein they discuss the legacy of Pinochet's dictatorship and the neoliberal model that was implemented, as well as the 1980 constitution and the obstacles it posed to change this model. What they suggest is that the demand for a new constitution, beyond discarding Pinochet's constitutional legacy, is primarily an expression of systemic criticism which, to be met, would require a reconfiguration, a legal and ideological restructuring on several levels to truly change the constituted relation between capital, state, and society (Ansaldi & Pardo-Vergara:2020: 35f).

In *The Future of Democracy in Chile*, Benedikter, Cruz Infante and Zlosilo (2021:172) ask where Chile is headed after the Constitutional Referendum of October 2020, and discuss whether this constitutional process may be the opportunity for Chile to transcend from ‘adolescent neoliberal democracy’ to a ‘mature welfare democracy’. According to Benedikter, Cruz Infante, and Zlosilo (2021:178f), Chileans have been waiting for better times to come since the return of democracy, and therefore have put their faith in big changes with this constitutional process – the fulfillment of the ‘better times to come’; this is a risk, they argue, since the expectations of the process may be unrealistic. Politicians must ensure a realistic perspective of the process as well as including citizens in dialogue; if this does not happen, Chile will not be able to manage a systemic transition in a reconciliatory and secure manner.

In *The Chilean Social Outbreak: towards a New Constitutionalism?* Dulci and Sadivia (2021) discuss the neoliberal and colonial legacy that constituted Chile's discourse until the Estallido Social. Dulci and Sadivia (2021:50f) expected the constitutional process to be an opportunity to initiate a democratic process ‘from below’ based on citizen demands. Likewise, the new constitution could,

according to Dulci and Sadivia (2021:50f) symbolize a framework for a new constitutional praxis in Latin America; going beyond the conception of the State, where the subaltern takes part in the production of law.

2.2. Theory

When intending to understand the data gathered, this case study has chosen to base its analysis on a discussion of ideology and discourse. First, ideology as a concept will be presented, followed by an introduction to critical discourse analysis, and concluding with a discussion on why this interface is fit.

2.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Power is a central notion for critical analysis. Critical discourse analysis theorizes dynamics of power, and studies and exposes inequalities as well as the reproduction of these (Dijk:2001:352f). Social power - the ability of some social groups to influence and/or control other social groups, is of special interest since it can help establish different types of power – how power is stated; and power bases – where the power comes from/to whom it is given to exercise (Dijk:2001:355). Types of power are, for example, coercion through capital, direct violence, authority, or knowledge; and the power bases are those that through the holding of capital - cultural and/or monetary, are able exercise that control of power.

Control of power by dominant groups permeate, according to critical discourse analysis perspectives, society through institutions and laws, habits, traditions, or discourse. By naturalizing their power through these structures and cultural formations the social groups holding power create a perception of consensus regarding these structures, and through that maintain and reproduce their dominance – Gramsci terms this ‘hegemony’ (in Dijk:355). Hegemony is normative - a dominating consensus that marks society and social dynamics. Racism, sexism, or class supremacy are examples of norms that permeate society, and examples of how hegemony can be expressed.

/.../recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media. (Dijk:2001:357)

What counts as credible sources or credible information is linked to the hegemonic discourse, where institutions, workplaces, or other societal structures permeate our understanding of what or who is trustworthy – who controls the topic (Dijk:2001:356f). This can also be influenced through for

example schooling or narrowed access to different perspectives, through for example the news. Domination is not necessarily coerced through direct violence but through other means of influence and persuasion too, for example, discourse; the dominated groups “*may more or less resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it “natural” (Dijk:2001:355)*”. Influencing people’s minds implicate influence over their actions, hence the more influence over discourse as one social group has, the more dominance.

Besides analyzing the visibly practiced implementation of power, critical discourse analysis could also help analyze its masked implementation, via means such as exclusion. Exclusion could imply who is or is not permitted (or perceived fit) to enter different public spaces based on for example gender, race, capacity, or sexual identity; or it could imply who or which opinions are being silenced, which cultural or religious expressions are acceptable to practice; whose knowledge is valued (Dijk:2001:357). How this exclusion is expressed in practice could be by censorship, interruption, not accepting speeches or publication from a woman or Black person, or more subtle by expressing power through everyday conversations, such as “*We have nothing against blacks, but . . . (Dijk:2001:361)*”

Although understanding critical discourse analysis is often applied as linguistic methodology, it is, due to its analytical basis also applicable as theory. Critical discourse analysis is, for this research, an important complement to ideology, providing a contextual and sociopolitical understanding to the analysis of the conversations held with the interviewees. For this specific case study, it is especially relevant to consider the interaction between personal and social cognition; where personal memories, knowledge, and opinions influence shared social representations of reality, as well as how these social representations influence collective actions and discourses (Dijk:2001:354).

Integrating critical discourse analysis into the theoretical framework aims to understand what power dimensions and inequalities can be recognized and what these might signal as reasons Chileans, who first endorsed the Estallido Social, later rejected the proposal for a new constitution.

2.2.2. Ideology

First, what is ideology? Ideology can be described as generalized beliefs, attitudes, or values, such as politics, morals, law, or religion; shared abstract ideas that have been idealized and universalized within specific social groups. The valuation of these normative [and generative] notions as superior, for the perceived greater good of society, can be called ideology (Martin: 2015: 3,8).

Martin (2015:4) reflects upon ideology and its influence when making decisions regarding, for example, political participation, stating that people generally are less consistent – less ‘politically sophisticated’, than what is sometimes claimed by political analysts. The ‘political sophistication’ model argues a person generates political opinions based on their values in combination with their beliefs, also understood as consciousness about the sociopolitical context. Values plus beliefs generate and reproduce ideology through this thought process as well as leading to actions – for example endorsing a specific policy. Martin (2015:5f) opposes this model claiming the perception of people's decision-making based on values might be exaggerated; proposing that people would, depending on the issue, simply go for what feels right according to their beliefs, be influenced by trustworthy representatives, or change opinions on specific topics. Guiding political practices with beliefs instead of values influences the capacity and willingness to contextual insight; ideology even could hinder us from the capacity to understand or retain information that contradicts our positions (Martin:2015:6).

When we have settled for what we believe is the correct ‘side’, we adjust to the decisions that come with that package. The package could be as simple as the idea of being on the right side versus the other, wrong side. That opposition becomes the political stand per se - who **do you not** identify with (Martin:2015:6f,9).

Ideology, instead of being the result of your values and beliefs, becomes the result of your self-concept, and the side you choose to be on: *The rule is, simply put, "I and my friends are good" and "those others are bad."* (Martin: 2015:16).

Through these discussions on ideological positioning, there is an opportunity to analyze the collected material linked to how this is reflected in the interviewees' positioning of the Estallido Social and then the constitutional process and referendum on the new proposal for the constitution.

3. Methodology

This section describes the methodological procedures of the study, discussing why the chosen strategies were considered the most appropriate. First, the chosen case study and delimitations will be presented. Second, the method for data collection, procedures, sampling, and outline is described. Third, the operationalization is detailed and discussed. The section is finalized with a reflection on the researcher's positionality, and the study's validity and reliability.

3.1. Case study

The study is conducted through a case study research strategy. The case study strategy focuses on a specific area or experience, process, or **episode**, which could serve as a key to a more profound understanding of the phenomenon, as well as understanding eventual patterns of which the case is an example (Denscombe:2018:85). As to be suitable as a case, it must be a distinct phenomenon that **stands by itself**, that is not fictitiously created solely for the studies purpose. This thesis focuses on an episode within the Chilean constitutional process, linked to the context of the social unrest – The Estallido Social. Consequently this strategy is an appropriate choice to help explore and understand the specific characteristics of this episode which the rejection represents (Denscombe:2018:86ff). Case studies try to understand the 'why' behind a phenomenon, not limiting the study to a description; thus, the research questions of this study match the purpose and enables a holistic understanding of the case (Denscombe:2018:86ff).

3.1.1. Case selection and delimitation

The Estallido Social is an emblematic phenomenon that has been showcased and covered by international media, as well as academia. Because of this context there are various approaches that could be of interest for sociological research. The choice to analyse the rejection surged from monitoring the electoral campaign and referendum results, where the curiosity to understand folks' decision to 'change sides' developed. What differentiates this study from previous research of the Estallido Social or the constitutional process in Chile, is the specific focus on those individuals who **endorsed** the Estallido Social, voted **for** a constitutional change, **but then rejected the proposal** in September 2022. The study is therefore delimited not to include voters beforehand convinced to reject the proposal, nor those convinced in favor.

The gathered data may teach us about the expectations and ideological antagonisms that the interviewees experienced, as well as the social factors and power dynamics which have influenced

them in rejecting the proposal for constitutional change, although they originally wanted the carta magna to change.

3.2. Data collection

The data collection for this study has been carried out through semi-structured interviews; used in qualitative research to conduct interviews based on a basic structure yet having the flexibility to adapt to conversation. This flexibility gives space for details, interpretations, or topics that were not considered by the researcher during the planning of the interview but are relevant for the interviewed (Bryman:2011:414ff).

The semi-structured interviews were performed both through presential interviews, as well as through phone calls. The interviews were performed following the structure of an interview guide (see Appendix 1.), to discuss what the person's expectations of the Estallido Social were, why they felt these expectations were not being met by the proposal for a new constitution, or what the main reasons to reject it were, as well as what might have influenced them.

The interviewees were invited to share their experiences from the Estallido Social to open the discussion and frame the context of the case; thereafter the interview proceeded to discuss their expectations of outcomes. During this segment the focus is to understand their perspectives of the movement, the reasons for their endorsement, possible participation, and why they initially supported the process. Thereafter, the focus shifts towards their rejection and what influenced their vote. Maintaining the focus on the process around the Estallido Social and their later rejection, while adapting the conversation to the interviewees' prioritized topics, memories, or experiences made the semi-structured interview the best option for this study's data collection.

3.2.1. Sampling

The selection of the interviewees was completed with a targeted sampling through snowball selection. The interviewees' profile required it to be a person who:

- 1) endorsed the Estallido Social
- 2) voted for constitutional reform in the referendum of October 2020
- 3) rejected the proposal in the September 2022 referendum.

Targeted sampling focuses strategically on the aim of the investigation, for example selecting specific areas, groups, documents, etcetera, relevant for answering the research questions; this sampling technique is recommended when using interviews as a method (Bryman:2011: 434f).

Initially, I researched groups on social media campaigning for rejection from a center-left perspective, presenting themselves as supporters of constitutional reform but not the content within the presented proposal. These groups were *Amarillos por Chile*, *Una que nos Una*, *Gente del Sur*, and *Ni esta Ni la anterior*. Out of these groups *Ni esta Ni la anterior* was the group that matched the research questions best, communicating their participation in the social uprising through their campaign video, targeting persons who identified with the Estallido Social (*Ni esta Ni la anterior*:2022); nevertheless all of the group's supporters could potentially match the delimitation framework, which is why they were all approached through the comment section of their most viewed campaign videos asking for interviews – with no success. Thereafter, the groups were approached through the presented contact information, asking to be put in touch with someone to interview – again, with no success.

The next initiative – which was successful, was to reach out to personal networks. A Facebook story was shared asking for interviews, describing the interviewee's profile, and adding contact information; as well as a WhatsApp message with two alternative images: one with an activist outline and the other more conservative, reaching out for a center-left identity; the images were added to facilitate the diffusion. The messages were shared to networks with Chilean affiliation, asking for assistance reaching out. When prioritizing among possible interviewees, affirmative action was applied to reach equal gender representation.

An observation made while sharing these messages was remarked upon by at least four individuals contacted, who commented they did not know anyone who had voted *Rechazo* among their acquaintances, and two pointed out they had even ended relationships with family members who were *Rechazo* supporters. Other reactions were of frustration about the *Rechazo* voters, whose intentions they simply could not understand. One person contacted commented that the profile was hard to find since those who participated did not vote for *Rechazo*. Considering that out of six interviewed persons for this study only one did not actively participate in the social uprising, although he endorsed it; and three of these six also participated in one or more protest; these observations strengthened the thesis purpose, case selection, and sampling.

3.3. Operationalization

This section describes how the research question is going to be approached. First, the research questions are presented and explained; thereafter the coding scheme for processing and analyzing the data is described.

3.3.1. Analytical concepts

To answer the main analytical research question: *Why did voters who first endorsed the Estallido Social reject the new constitution?* Two describing sub-questions have been operationalized, both of which focus on the interviewee's subjective perspectives on:

RQ1.1: What were their expectations of the Estallido Social?

Understanding **expectations**, as the reasons that made them endorse and/or participate in the social uprising; and what actual expectations of outcomes they had about the social uprising: for example specific reforms, ideological perspectives, democratic perspectives, personal values, etc. Participation in the social uprising is understood as actions executed to publicly endorse the *Estallido Social*; for example going to town meetings, protests, local councils, or 'cacerolazos' (banging casseroles tins, pans, or other kitchen utensils).

RQ 1.2: What were the main reasons for voting Rechazo?

Understanding the **main reasons**, as the arguments the interviewees presented for their rejection of the proposal: for example the actual content, misalignment with their expectations, values, or ideological perspectives, or other factors they describe as decisive or important; and what might have influenced them: for example, friends/family, ideological perspectives, personal values, the media, or other persons or factors they describe that had impact on their decision.

3.3.2. Analytical process

The analysis was processed through various steps; the interviews were transcribed using the app Transkriptor, then listened and read through to find patterns and main themes. The main themes were narrowed down by a curated coding scheme (See Appendix 3.), inspired by Belotto (2018). Thereafter a table (See Appendix 4.) was constructed to quantify the main themes and to get an overview of the frequency, similarities, and differences within each category. Subsequently, quotes were selected, edited, and translated from Spanish to English by the researcher.

3.4. Positionality, ethics, and validity

3.4.1. *My loci of enunciation*

To explore this topic denotes a wish to understand the *Rechazo* from a sociological perspective, as well as a personal interest and authentic commitment to listen to these standpoints; not only to comprehend this specific outcome but also to inspire a discussion on the 'misalignments' or 'gaps' encountered within social mobilizations such as the Estallido Social.

The background knowledge possessed is based on both lived experiences as well as academia; having lived in Chile and worked on themes related to transitional justice in Latin America. I have also deepened my knowledge, taking courses in Latin American studies, and written a bachelor thesis in political science analyzing the social unrest in Chile through theories on contentious politics and democratization, answering the question: *Why did the social uprising in Chile emerge?*

3.4.2. *Ethics*

Ethical perspectives that were considered were the researchers' alignment with the case studied, which required awareness and transparency, as well as to what extent to share personal views and theoretical approaches. These themes were deliberatively discussed with the academic supervisor agreeing that awareness and transparency, together with a steady focus on the purpose of the thesis was of pivotal importance.

To protect the integrity of the persons interviewed their identity will remain anonymous through the text. The persons interviewed were informed about the recording of the interviews as well as the possibility to withdraw their participation at any time.

3.4.3. *Validity & reliability*

Through the delimitation, theoretical framework, and methodological process, this study has strived for validity - measuring what it proposed to measure, as well as facilitating the possibility to recreate the study by presenting methodology and tables for data processing; aware that it is possible to create an acceptable, but not complete, picture of all factors regarding the interviewees' endorsement of the social uprising and later rejection of the constitutional proposal. However, these demarcations provide an opportunity to build on the study in the future, where the possibility of further interviews could be explored for deeper insight.

The reliability of the study lies in the researchers' will for transparency and strives to correctly gather and process the data, which has been the purpose of this study (Esaiasson et al.:2017: 57f, 63). As to strengthen the reliability of the study, the methodology has been thoroughly described and appended (see Appendix). The data generated for this study has been gathered in Spanish and translated by the researcher, thus no data has been lost due to language barriers as for example external translators can comprehend.

4. Case background

This chapter outlines the contextual background of the Estallido Social and the Constitutional process by first giving an overview of the surge to the social unrest, to further continue with a discussion on the constitutional process and its historical background.

4.1. The Estallido Social

When the social unrest surged on the streets of Santiago in 2019, and then grew into a massive protest and social movement there was a wave of surprise among reporters and political commentators. Chile had long been considered Latin America's economic champion, standing out as a developed country regarding growth, democratic stability, and social peace (Benedikter, Cruz Infante & Zlosilo: 2021:172; Morales Quiroga:2021:556). Yet, it is, at the same time, a country with great economic inequality and among the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, one year before the social unrest, showed the largest income gap between the 10% richest part of the population and the poorest 10% (OECD:2018).

Through the social mobilizations, a deep popular discontent of the actual social and economic uncertainty was depicted, with an acute need to push social reforms and improve the lower and middle classes' economic situation. *Chile despertó!* Translated to 'Chile has awakened', was one of the most prominent slogans from the Estallido Social and suggested the lower and middle classes, were not going to take it anymore. What had started with student protests about a \$30 peso increase in the subway fare, became increasing frustration among certain segments of the population concerning the impact that rising costs of living have on a family. The lower and middle classes had lost trust in the political and entrepreneurial classes, perceiving they had no connection to normal people's reality (Benedikter, Cruz Infante & Zlosilo: 2021:172f; Jiménez-Yañez:2020:951f; Morales Quiroga:2021:556).

The focus of the demands to achieve equality was a redistribution of resources and access to society; together with social reforms focusing on pensions, healthcare, and education. A survey executed a month into the social unrest also included delinquency among the main themes considered by 83% of the interviewed to be important (Dulci & Sadivia: 2021:44); and as Ansaldi and Pardo-Vergara (2020:11) put it: "*Although one can name some demands that are raised more often, it seems as if the list is never-ending, their depth and scope extending to the very foundations of society*".

4.2. Why a New Constitution?

The unequal distribution of resources and influence, as well as discontent with the political system, and its legal foundation -the constitution - was perceived as 'blocking' democratic processes through its neoliberal framework and therefore hindering a full democratic consolidation. “*No son 30 pesos - son 30 años!*” was another popular slogan from the unrest that translates into ‘it’s not 30 pesos it is 30 years’, referring to the rise of the subway fare, but also to the 30 years of democracy operating within the same neoliberal framework as implemented during Pinochet’s’ authoritarian rule, a reason for one of the claims of greater consensus being the call for a new constitution (Ansaldi & Pardo-Vergara:2020: 35; Dulci & Sadivia: 2021:43, 50).

Chile was part of the third wave of democratization that began in Latin America in the late 70s, although it took until 1990 for the country to transition to democracy when then-dictator Augusto Pinochet held a referendum on his continued tenure in power and lost. The opposition won with barely 56% against 44% in support of the continued authoritarian rule. The strong popular support for Pinochet, despite his loss in the referendum, shows the ideological polarization at the time, a polarization that to some extent continues today (Morales Quiroga:2021:556; Oelsner & Bain: 2018: 306f).

Before the military junta handed over power and permitted parliamentary elections, in 1989, they implemented what is known as *leyes de amarre* – law reforms that ensured that the power they held was not fully taken away from them, among other things by appointing Pinochet and other military advisors as senators for life, taking away the power to appoint military commanders from the president, and changing the constitution so that the neoliberal policies introduced during Pinochet’s regime became a binding part of it. Through *leyes de amarre* – the military-led regime prevented the system from being changed, limiting the ability to implement social reforms without first changing the constitution (Oelsner & Bain: 2018: 318f).

There have been various minor reforms to the constitution since the return of democracy. Michelle Bachelet, former president through the center-left coalition *La Concertación*, possibly came the furthest in her attempt to reform. During her second time in office, she planned for a constitutional change to be implemented in 2018. She, therefore, initiated a constitutional political process as well as a deliberative-oriented process – as citizen dialogues. But the then-initiated process did not reach all planned steps before the change of government [to Piñera] and was not consummated (Ansaldi & Pardo-Vergara: 2020:11).

Because of the sense of urgency that led to the Estallido Social, and the historic load that the 'old constitution' carries for some; the New Constitution was loaded with expectations. The process could be understood as a possibility to take a step further towards the consolidation of a 'mature welfare democracy', a deepening of the democratic and socioeconomic model. To others, it could be understood as a break with the neoliberal model and Pinochet's legacy, even revindication. Or it could be understood as the alternative that was offered to implement the social reforms and changes as reasons for taking to the streets. (Ansaldi & Pardo-Vergara: 2020:35f; Benedikter, Cruz Infante & Zlosilo:2021:172; Dulci & Sadivia:2021:50f).

5. Results

This section will present and discuss the gathered data. Firstly, the discussion goes through the expectations of the Estallido Social and the New Constitution (see RQ1.1.). Secondly, it discusses the six interviewees' main reasons for rejecting the proposal for a new constitution, as well as what might have influenced that decision (see RQ 1.2.).

5.1. What were the expectations of the Estallido Social?

A general need for change and social reforms are the two main reasons mentioned among the interviewees as to why they initially chose to endorse the social uprising. The change they were asking for was foremost focused on social issues, but there was also a perception among three of the interviewees about economic uncertainty, described as a decreased quality of life and an increased cost of living that endorsed the idea that a change was needed. As one of the interviewees comments:

I think it was in the air for some years. On the streets, there was already a buzz that people were tired and that something was going to happen at any moment. I think we were waiting for the moment when someone would rise, and we were all going to support it. And this was what happened. It began on TV, the student protests and everything, and we were all students once, so we went out supporting the students, that movement; and then I think it got out of hand. One thing led to another and then we started to get a little more violent. (I1:00:05:07)

Five out of six of those interviewed described a sense of tiredness and frustration about how things in Chile were going, claiming it was time for a shift, which made them endorse the social uprising. The possibility the unrest would lead to an actual change caused illusion and hope about a different life and society. Out of the six interviewees, five individuals not only endorsed, but also participated in the social movement that the Estallido Social represented; either through protests, or *cacerolazos* (see 3.3.1.). Of those interviewees that participated in the Estallido Social, at least four mentioned that they had participated with their families. As one of the interviewed described:

We all walked together with the same energy - let's go for that change! This is going to be historic, I told the girls, if we achieve a change, in the future you are going to feel proud that you participated in this protest, that you protested with your parents, with the frying pan and everything. (I3:01:02:12)

Besides the general need for change, five out of six interviewees mentioned the urge for social reforms as an important reason to endorse the social unrest, as well as where their expectations of actual outcomes of the Estallido Social lay. Healthcare and education were emphasized in the interviews by four out of the six interviewed. One of the interviewees explained that:

What I supported were three main points that somehow had to be improved and those were the ones that were mainly on the lips of people from 2010 until the Estallido Social in 2018. Those were health, education, and redistribution of income in some way. (I4:2023:00:12:27)

Regarding concerns for the need to reform the public health system, more than one interviewee described the long waiting hours, and the gap between private and public healthcare as a strong social marker in Chilean society today. Dissatisfaction regarding the queues and prices of medicine was specifically described by two of the interviewees (I3, I5), who also thoroughly described their experiences and perceptions about the access to health and prices of medicine, the vulnerability felt upon this reality, as well as empathy towards those who might be even more exposed, such as the elderly. As one individual commented in the interviews:

For me, it [health] is an issue. Because, well, I belong to... I don't know whether to say lower, middle class. Where I mean, I don't have, or maybe if I have access to the clinic for me it is very expensive. And it is a huge difference between a [private] clinic and a [public] hospital, for example. (I3:2023:00:12:11)

Likewise, another interviewee notes:

The healthcare here in Chile is a case aside. If you have money, you have care; if you do not, you will have to wait, and the ones who do not, just die (I5:2023:00:18:10).

Educational reforms were, as mentioned, also presented as an important demand among those interviewed. One interviewee underlines the importance of education, together with public healthcare, as fundamental for the continuation of development, key factors for national progress: *“Health and education are the two fundamental pillars of any developed society, that wants to go towards further development (I4:2023: 00:25:45)”*.

Among the interviewed, four out of five expected social reforms as an outcome of the Estallido Social. These reforms were, in different ways, described as important for the future of their children, as well as an important factor in reducing the wealth gap (I5:2023:01:10); even though, there were

different perceptions among the interviewees to what extent the social reforms should be funded. As one interviewee explained:

I needed to give my daughter a future, better education. Yes, I did agree with that. But several persons at the protests talked about free education and, in my opinion, I do agree, but not 100%. Because, in the end, if that were to happen here, if everything was free, then it would not be valued. /.../ So, I don't want that for the future of my girls. Well, yes, they could be awarded scholarships, maybe that would help, but no, not 100% free of charge. (I3:00:09:04)

This comment asserts that gratuity might have a negative effect, and an argument presented is that being handed education for free, might devalue the status of Chilean education like in Venezuela (I3:2003:09:10). The importance to 'earn the right', was also mentioned by other interviewees: one interviewee (I4) reflected upon life as not necessarily being easy in Chile, yet you might need to suck it up and earn it, while another interviewee (I5) observed a contradiction between the redistribution of wealth and her perspective on gratuity where people might learn not to work for things in life if they are being served things for free.

Adding to education and healthcare, the possibility of discarding or reforming the Administradora de fondo de Pensiones (AFP) – the pension funds administration; and reforms that somehow address the situation of the elderly, for example regarding their living standards were also mentioned as prioritized social reforms by two of the interviewees (I1, I5). Two other interviewees instead asked for an iron fist with delinquency, where both wanted to see harder penalties, for example against rapists (I3, I6).

For yet another of the interviewees (I2), who deviates from the rest regarding their main expectations of the Estallido Social; the social unrest and the claim for a new constitution was primarily a possibility to consolidate an already functioning and thriving democracy, where the new constitution could have become a tool for deepening democracy and take yet another leap towards progress (I2:2023:00:07:04). For him, the argument that Chile was not doing well, is not accurate, pointing out that the claim '*no son 30 pesos - son 30 años*' indicating these thirty years of democracy have been deepening the divide is false. On this he comments:

That is why I also disagree with that part of the discourse of the social unrest, that about the 30 years - the 30 years; please, these were the best 30 years that Chile has had in its history, it never grew more, and it never reached a higher index of social equity. (I2:00:20:10)

Another of the individuals interviewed agreed with this understanding of Chilean development. Explaining the divide as a result of rapid growth in the last years, yet claiming change is necessary as well as redistribution of wealth; arguing that is not necessarily easy to live in Chile, but it is in practice a relatively good and functional country that needs to keep developing (I4).

While it is not possible to generalize the interviewees opinions for a greater population, it was the general need for change that dominated their illusions and expectations regarding the social unrest, while social reforms – predominantly healthcare and education, were emphasized by four out of six interviewees when asked about expectations of outcomes of the Estallido Social and the constituent process. But even though there were similarities there was still a great variety of expectations, or as one interviewee described it “*each wanted something different, and it was never very organic (I2:00:28:16)*”; since there are highly individual perceptions on what the change should be. Not to mention how these expectations should be implemented, when even among the interviewees expecting better healthcare or educational reforms there were diverse observations about the urgency, and to which extent it should be subsidized by public funding.

5.2. What were the main reasons for voting Rechazo?

The results show there was a wide range of reasons as to why the interviewees chose to reject the proposal for a new constitution, but simply put: it was not what they expected. While, as mentioned in the section above, the urge for a change was prominent among the interviewees, the actual expectations of the process differed, which may be why the arguments about where the misalignment lies, vary.

For one interviewee the disillusion did not come with the presented proposal on a new constitution, but already in November 2019, when the agreement on the constitutional process began. The process was settled from above, he states: “*It was imposed. It was something imposed by the parties because it was not something that the people asked for (I1:00:07:19)*”. According to this perspective one important factor for the perceived misalignment is the constitutional process per se, where that ‘solution’ to the social unrest was not attending the movements demands.

Another interviewee agrees that the constitutional process was started by the parties, specifically parties with an affiliation to the left (I2:00:55:00), yet still saw it as a possibility to perfect the Chilean democratic and economic model. For him, the main reasons to reject the proposal were ideological; his focus mainly being a critique against what he called imposed terminologies – such as

plurinational; that is, a recognition of the existence of various nations within the Chilean state. As he explained:

Yes, we can recognize the Indigenous communities, they can be recognized. We can know about their history, their culture, their language; their communication, and it can be recognized. But not establish separatism based on a misunderstood plurinationality. (I2:00:25 I2)

To I2, the term plurinationality, as well as the suggested restructuring of the economic and political model, together with a reform of the judicial system; has a neo-Marxist character that should, according to his standpoint, not be applied to the Chilean model which is already good but could become better with some adjustments, as he declares: – *“Yes, of course, there are gaps /.../. But they are surmountable gaps, without burning the [political and economic] model (I2:00:18:19)”*.

The critique presented regarding Chile as a plurinational state, as well as the modification of the political framework was also mentioned by I4, who expressed that the cornerstones that distressed him with the constitutional proposal, and the reason upon which he rejected the same; was the plurinationality, as well as the alteration of the powers of the State and the judicial system (I4:00:33:43). Even though the other interviewees also mentioned they wanted a change, they also stated that they were not aiming for a complete change of the state’s foundation; the distinct answers by I2 and I4 criticizing and presenting the alteration of the political and judiciary foundations as main reasons to reject the proposal, differs from the other persons interviewed. These two interviewees have the fact that they are both professionals in common, with higher education in reputable fields.

Plurinationality is one of the areas which is, by some of the interviewees, described as minority policies. Even if plurinationality was not perceived as the main reason to reject the proposal, it was still recognized as a factor to vote for *Rechazo* by four of the interviewed. By a fifth interviewee whom herself belongs to the Mapuche, one of the Indigenous nations within Chile that would be recognized by the terminology ‘plurinational’; the concept is described as irrelevant to her, nevertheless stating that she would not leave the country in hands of a Mapuche, referring specifically to an elected female Mapuche constituent (I3:00:45:00). By one of the interviewees (I4) the constitutional proposal was perceived as too partisan, and by another it was described as a constitution written for minorities where the demands of the majority were overruled. As he commented:

We did not ask to make changes regarding gender identity, that movement was a minority. Attributions were taken to change things related to minorities. And minorities, although they might move votes and everything, they are not the majority of the population, as the word minority says. I'm talking about ethnic, sexual minorities. All those kinds of minorities. (I1 00:18:41)

Although five out of six of the interviewees did not argue sexual identity or gender issues would have been hinder their approval of the new constitution, some of them did still express that they perceived there was too much of a focus on these topics in relation to the issues they wanted to prioritize. One interviewee stated several times she was not homophobic but thought the focus on those issues was disproportionate (I3). Her main reason to reject the proposal was not these rights though, but that she was strongly against a more permissive regulation of abortion (I3).

The results also present a tendency among the persons interviewed to reject the proposal out of concern or fear about the outcome. For some of the interviewees, the concerns became an argument for rejection. For example, one of the persons interviewed described fear influenced her decision to reject the proposal for a new constitution:

[the proposal] didn't represent what I wanted. And in the end, I understood as if I voted for approval, I was going to sink my children's future. In the end, it was a fear. So, I said - I prefer things to stay as they are, because as it is now it is possible to survive. I'm going for the rejection before we screw it up (I3:00:54:20).

Following the argumentation made by I2 and I4 regarding a refoundation of the judiciary and political foundations, there is also an implied perception of danger expressed that goes with the ideological critique (I4:00:00:29), an alert about more radical ideological influences. As one interviewee asserts:

A model like the one that was intended to be installed through that Constitution was not going to work, what it collected includes elements of *Chavismo*, elements of the Bolivarian state, that Chile is not aligned with in any way (I2:00:18:19)

A specific concern, addressed by five out of six of the respondents, was the constituent assembly's lack of trustworthiness. This lack of trust is partially directed towards the bureaucracy that transformed the constituent assembly into "*yet another senate*" as stated by I1(00:22:00), who felt the process reminded him of the usual political debates between left and right and was not representing the change the Estallido Social had been asking for. The lack of trustworthiness was

also based on how the interviewees perceived the assembly's elected constituent's capacity to draft the new constitution. This division and conflict perceived about the representatives of the assembly, together with debates on their salary and per diem, was understood by some of the interviewees (I1, I5, I6) as a sign they were just like any other politicians or that they were just there to earn money. One of the interviewees notes:

It didn't seem serious to me [the proposal]. I didn't like the way they were making the laws. Because one should try to unite, not divide. And I tell you, I don't know why they wanted to chop Chile into pieces like that. But it is not the way. (I5 00:51:19)

Likewise, another interviewee comments:

I mean, as I was watching Aunty Pikachu dancing on TV, or those kinds of stupidities that these personas did, I thought - why did I vote *Apruebo*? The level of the persons was not ideal for generating a constitution. (I4 00:43:03)

The lack of trust, as read in the quote above, is directed towards the persons elected and their capacity to lead and process a constitutional process. Aunty Pikachu, who in the quote is set as a negative example is a kindergarten teacher and recognized profile of the Estallido Social, among other things because of her Pikachu outfit (Chile Convención:2023). Their formation, but foremost their acting in plenary is mentioned as a main reason for distrust. Another interviewee, who stated she did not read the proposal on new constitution, explained how her perception of the elected constituent assembly influenced her perception of the process:

Well, I rejected it because I did not agree with the new constitution, as I mentioned earlier, I did not read it. I am not very political, the truth is I rejected it because there were many things that I didn't like, first, those who wrote it, people who didn't understand politics, even a woman who was in the Estallido wrote it. (I6: 00:19:45)

The concerns about the constitutional changes as well as a lack of trust for the constituent assembly, can for some of the interviewees be read as an important factor to vote reject, and among others as a factor that influenced their rejection. As stated in the example above, not everyone informed themselves through an in-depth reading of the actual constitutional document, but their perception of the assembly and concerns might have been enough to reject the constitutional process. A general impression from the interviews is that even though the interviewees might not have read the new

constitutional document in depth; they informed themselves through the news and other media; as well as through deliberative conversations with friends, family, and neighbors (I1, I3, I4; I5, I6).

While it is not possible to generalize the interviewees subjective perspectives on why they rejected the new constitution, based on the discussions presented, one transversal motive to reject appears to be a variety of concerns, and even fears, regarding the outcome for the country or for their family if the new constitution were to be approved.

6. Analysis

This section aims to answer the main research question - Why did voters who first endorsed the Estallido Social reject the new constitution? The exploration of data (see 5.) will be performed through a critical discourse analysis and an understanding of ideology as presented in 2.2. The analysis also tries to reflect upon previous research as well as the case background. The main themes to be outlined are misalignment with expectations, as well as concerns about the possible outcome of an approval to the new constitution.

6.1. Expectation ≠ reality = misalignment.

As can be understood from the Case background and Previous research, the narrative regarding the Estallido Social and the new constitution focuses on a transformative social power aiming for a change – Chile has awakened! According to previous studies the expectations put on the Estallido Social and the New Constitution focused on social equity and social reforms such as healthcare, education, and pensions, and in taking a leap towards progressive democracy with a rights approach, ending Pinochet’s neoliberal and authoritarian legacy.

Analyzing the results, the interviewees agree on the described need for change as a main reason as to why they endorsed and/or participated in the movement, as five out of six interviewees did; but as revised in the results, the change they expected varied. This could be understood as a reflection of the varied and broad movement the Estallido Social represented; a gathering of traditional social movement claims as well as progressive and radical new social movements focusing on Indigenous rights, women's rights, and LGBTQI+ inclusion. A broad movement that might never have unified its demands, even if the new constitution was presented as one; that is the agreement of the 15th of November 2019, approximately one month after the social unrest started, could be understood as an agreement executed ‘from above’, and not necessarily the *consented claim* and/or *opportunity to change* as portrayed in some of the previous research articles presented (see 2.1.2).

Various scholars in previous research also seem to agree with the description of the constitutional process as a step towards deepening Chilean democracy. Among them, Dulci and Sadivia (2021) describe their expectation of the New Constitution as a process from below, an opening to break the Pinochet legacy and let the subaltern speak in the drafting of the new Magna Carta. Yet, the results from the survey regarding the support for the social uprising they refer to in their article do not indicate a new constitution as the main reason to endorse the movement, but rather it refers to social

factors: social equity and reforms in the health sector, education, and pensions, as well as dealing with delinquency (Dulci & Sadvia: 2021:44).

One person interviewed, I1, portrayed the constitutional process as the main reason he rejected the proposal and voted *Rechazo*, claiming that it was not what ‘they’ had asked for. What they had asked for, according to I1, were social reforms; in his case focusing on pensions, education, and work legislation (appendix 4). And studying the data gathered through the interviews, the survey presented by Dulci and Saldivia (2021:44), does correlate with five out of six interviewees’ reasons to endorse the Estallido Social. I2 is the only individual to focus primarily on a consolidation of democracy, although not specifically 'from below', but as mentioned in the results, to further fulfill the actual economic and political model.

Dijk (2001) discusses the *hegemonic power to control the topic* to coerce power. Observing the results regarding the misalignment between the interviewee’s expectations from the Estallido social and their interpretations of what was offered in the new constitution, it may be relevant to discuss who had the power to control what became the main demand – the call for a new constitution. It is not that this demand did not exist among the protesters, yet the survey presented in Dulci & Sadvia (2021), as well as the results presented (see 5.1.) do point towards other topics as being those expected to be resolved because of the Estallido Social.

It is not controversial to vote against a constitutional proposal that was not what you expected, or against a solution that you did not ask for; yet the results portray the misalignment as the main reason for its rejection. This gives rise to questions regarding the need to deepen our understanding of the misalignment between expectations of the Estallido Social based on social equality and reforms, and the initiation of a stretched constitutional process. Understanding a change of the constitution, as mentioned in the case background (see 4.2.) could enable these reforms, the communication and process could have been clearer, as suggested by Benedikter, Cruz Infante & Zlosilo (2021) (see 2.1.2.); why was it not? That, in combination with the initiative to the constitutional agreement could be relevant to further research.

6.2. Concerns about the outcome

Interpreting the results, the interviewees express their concerns about the constitutional process through distrust for the elected constituents and fear for what might happen if the other side – the *Apruebo*, wins.

The perception among the interviewees that concerns the constitutional assembly is, as presented in the results, described in terms of not being trustworthy. The lack of trustworthiness is expressed through comments that describe the elected constituents' deficit in political capacity, as well as implying their level was below desirable standards, and questioning their commitment. Concerns related to conflicts and division within the assembly were also expressed, questioning what the purpose of selecting constituents separated from the already existing political infrastructure was, when they behave like another senate (see 5.2.).

What and who counts as credible is discussed by Dijk (2001) as linked to the hegemonic discourse, where societal structures permeate our understanding of what or who is trustworthy. The results show a discourse reproduced by the interviewees based on a questioning of the elected constituent's knowledge, qualifications and capacity based on ideological premises where politics - and in this specific case the constitution; cannot be written by commoners. The level required was, according to some of the interviewed persons, not being met, exemplified by two of the interviewees by 'Aunty Pikachu' a woman with a working-class background who participated in the Estallido Social (see 5.2.). The mere fact she participated in the protest was by one of the interviewees expressed negatively, which could be interpreted as there being an unnamed difference in competence and credibility between those doing institutional politics, and those on the streets participating in a social movement. The disqualification of Aunty Pikachu could in this case also be understood as an indirect exclusion through lack of trust, based on class and gender - her being a female kindergarten teacher.

Another interviewee expressed concerns about the elected female Mapuche constituent - stating she would not leave the country in the hands of Mapuches, herself being of Mapuche origin (see 5.2.); could be understood as the naturalization and internalization of racism as hegemonic discourse. The rejection of this constituent's authority, credibility and trustworthiness can be understood through the interviewee's hegemonic discourse based on race. Likewise, rejection towards sexual identities and other minorities are expressed in the results; where some of the interviewees discredited the new constitution based on a perceived lack of proportionality between the content of their assumed interest and content 'written for minorities'; as well as subtly exercising power and exclusion by everyday comments such as 'I'm not homophobic, but [...] (see 5.2.). Understanding the rejection of the quality of the constitution through critical discourse analysis makes the constitutional process being measured through these opinions visible. Opinions based upon hegemonic perceptions about which social groups or identities should be permitted conform to a political and legislative platform; as well as which social groups or identities should be permitted to integrate legislation through

content – that is by being included in the legislation, without the proportionality of your rights being questioned (see 2.2.1).

Other concerns expressed were related to the economic and political model. By one interviewee, the constitutional assembly was described as a partisan cluster, expressing a perceived danger with the change of constitution based on the foundation of the judicial, political, and economic system (see appendix 4). While another interviewee stated that he considered the new constitution a neo-Marxist proposition inspired by Venezuela and their Bolivarian foundation; so it did not concur with his social democratic views (see 5.2.). Another ideological standpoint expressed in the results is the concept of ‘earn the right’, which could be presented in contrast to a rights perspective – that is where, for example, education and health are considered a human right, assigned not earned.

While the perception of the new constitution as an ideological menace could be understood as a reflection of the dominating discourse described and discussed above; there is yet another factor that could be interesting to discuss which connects the concerns expressed with the rhetorical questions expressed in the introduction asking if the new constitution might be too radical? Based on these interviewees’ answers, it seems that it was indeed too radical, yet based on varied expectations and different ideological standpoints regarding where the radicality laid. And regarding what made these voters have a change of heart, it seems they did not necessarily change their viewpoints, at least not ideologically.

As noted in the results, their opinion regarding values and beliefs based on what is needed to be done has not necessarily changed. What has changed is their perception about who or what they want to side with, and how they identify concerning the constitutional process. Martin (2015) explains that when an individual has settled for the side that they believe is the correct, then their decisions will adjust to that 'package'.

While the interviewees initially did side with The Estallido Social – that is, parting from their own positionality based on individual ideas on what needed to change, or the consolidation of a successful political and economic model; there were concerns about the constitutional process that made them feel they did not identify with that ‘side’ anymore at the time of the referendum in September 2022. Understanding Martin's (2015) reflection on ideology, individuals’ actions and political participation are strongly influenced by the ‘side’ or ‘political package’ they have decided to settle with. Hence why voters’ initial endorsement of the Estallido Social later rejection can be understood based on their concerns about the constitutional process. The interviewees concern about the constitutional process created a distance to the side they first identified with. Without necessarily

changing their views on what change is needed, they changed affiliation when they settled for what they believed was the correct side - not the dividing side, nor the trivial and unqualified side. Voting for rejection – Rechazo; seems therefore to be a vote against the other side, influenced by their perceptions regarding the assembly's' lack of credibility and trustworthiness.

7. Conclusions

This section aims to give an outlook to the key findings and arguments. Firstly, the purpose, results and concluding analysis will be summarized, finalizing with recommendations on further research.

As presented, this case study has focused on an episode of the Chilean constitutional process within the context of the social unrest – the Estallido Social; analyzing why individuals who first supported the unrest, then rejected the proposal and voted Rechazo. The purpose has consequently been to explore this partition, the one between the endorsement of the Estallido Social - based on the interviewees' expectations of the outcomes; and their later change of heart, rejecting the proposal for a new constitution .

So, why did voters who first endorsed the Estallido Social reject the new constitution? While it is not conceivable to generalize the subjective perspectives shared by the interviewees to a greater population; we can still observe some clusters of intersecting themes. Firstly, all reasons to reject stem from a misalignment between what they were expecting as an outcome from the Estallido Social, and what they perceived was delivered as a solution. Secondly, there are a variety of expressions of concerns, distrust, and fear regarding the process and about outcome in the case of the proposal's approval, and distrust towards the elected constituted assembly, and the content. These concerns strongly being influenced by hegemonic power discourses and ideology. These two factors contributed, in various ways, to an un identification with the constitutional process.

While the interviewees initially 'sided' with The Estallido Social – parting from their individual positionalities and based on their vision on what needed to change: consolidation of an economic model, iron fist against delinquency or social reforms such as better public healthcare; their concerns acquired during the constitutional process, for example regarding the trustworthiness of the constituent assembly and the quality of the proposal on new constitution made them deliberate -or feel- they did not identify with that 'side' anymore at the time of the referendum. That is, their opinions as why they participated in the Estallido Social did not necessarily change; but their perception of which side they wanted to belong to shifted. They changed side not necessarily heart.

There is no previous research focusing on this perspective, whereby this thesis can be considered a contribution to further exploration of this case, for example with a greater population of interviewees, and deepening the analysis to more specific variables such as gender, class, education, race/ethnicity, or region. These could be studied either in depth, focusing on one specific variable: or through a comparative study, analysing possible discrepancies and intersections. Other areas of research that could be explored could be a discourse analysis of the media and political campaigns

before the referendum, as to understand to which extent the language and themes focused could have influenced the voters' perceptions on the constitutional process, or the constituent assembly. Another theoretical framework could, depending on the focus, also contribute to further understanding the role of the Rechazo vote in the context of Latin American studies, [frustrated] social movements, or the role of ideology in contentious episodes.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Interview guide

Intro

First, I would like to introduce myself and the topic and let the person present him/herself briefly.

- Hi xx, I'm so thankful you could be here today, it is going to be of great help to listen to you and your experiences. As you know this interview will help me get a bit further into the reasoning of people who voted *Rechazo*, but earlier were in favor of a new constitution.
- I would like to ask you to present yourself, for example sharing your name, your age, where you live, and what you do for a living.
- Do you identify with any political stance?

The Estallido Social

[show or describe pictures from the Estallido Social]

[pause to see if there is any spontaneous comment or reaction]

- How do you remember the Estallido Social?
- Did you take part in any of these manifestations?
- How did you participate?
- What did it mean to you?

It started with the students, then more and more joined.

- What made you join?
- What were your expectations with the Estallido Social?

A new constitution

Then it concentrated on one major demand: A new constitution for Chile ... [pause for comment or reaction]

- How did you feel about that?
- What were your hopes or expectations with this demand?

[the purpose here is to understand what a misalignment between expectations and reality could be as expressed through the proposal]

- So, you were expecting... [repeat with other words what they say and give space for clarifications]
- ...and how did the new constitution match that?

- What made you decide on your vote?
- Which were the main reasons why you felt you should NOT approve the new proposal?
- Any deal breakers?
- What influenced you in your decision?

I have friends who for example had not read the Constitution but were guided by recommendations and for example, the parties they usually vote for...

- Was there anyone close to you who influenced your decision? E.g. parents/kids, friends, a political representative, any media?

I've read news articles that criticize the use of the word Plurinational when describing Chile.

- What do you understand as plurinational?
- How do you feel about that?
- Were there some topics that you don't think belong in a constitution, or that you simply don't agree with?
[sexual identity/inclusion, gender issues, etc.]
- Why? Why not? How? etc.?

Round up

- Was there something you did agree with in the proposal for a new constitution?
- Do you feel comfortable talking about your decision?
- Have you ever regretted your decision?
- Is there something related to this topic that you feel I have not asked you about or something you would like to discuss further?

Then I think I am done unless you would like to add something.

[keep recording in case of small talk]

Appendix 2. Interviewees

The interviewees were asked to introduce themselves focusing on name, age, occupation, and political viewpoints, as well as whether they participated in the social uprising or not. To protect their integrity the interviewees are presented as (Ix) for interview + assigned number.

(I1) 290323 Temuco, Chile. Face-to-face.	Man, 39 years old. Christian identity. Works as an independent construction worker. Living with his wife and three kids in an outer suburb of Temuco. Identifies himself politically as center. Endorsed and participated in the social uprising, both in protests and <i>cacerolazos</i> with his family.
(I2) 050423 Temuco, Chile. Face-to-face.	Man, 49 years old. Works at the staff of a center-left deputy in Temuco. Academic background in history and law studies. Identifies as a social democrat. Participated in some of the events surrounding the social unrest.
(I3) 060423 Temuco, Chile. Face-to-face.	Woman, 32 years old. Mapuche. Works weekends at a supermarket/home improvement store, and the rest of the week as a stay-at-home mom. Living with her husband and three kids in an outer suburb of Temuco. Identifies as politically neutral. Endorsed and participated in the social uprising, both in protests and <i>cacerolazos</i> with her family.
(I4) 060523 Zoom.	Man, 40 years old. Works as an electronic civil engineer in the Atacama region, from Temuco. In a partnership with two kids. Identifies himself politically as center. Endorsed but did not participate in the social unrest.
(I5) 120423 Temuco, Chile. Face-to-face.	Woman, 70 years old. Housewife. From Temuco. Grown-up children. Does not identify with any specific political opinion. Endorsed and participated in the social unrest through <i>cacerolazos</i> with her family.
(I6) 140423 Temuco, Chile. Face-to-face.	Woman, 33 years old. Midwife at the public hospital. In a partnership with two kids. Identifies more as right wing. Endorsed and participated in the social uprising through <i>cacerolazos</i> with her family.

Appendix 3. Coding scheme

Research Questions	Categories	Primary themes	Secondary themes
<i>What were the expectations of the Estallido Social?</i>	<p>What made them endorse/ participate in the social uprising?</p> <p>What actual expectations of outcomes did they have?</p>	<p>Democracy</p> <p>General need for change</p> <p>Social reforms</p> <p>Economic reforms</p>	<p>Consolidation</p> <p>It was about time...</p> <p>Cost of living/ Quality of life</p> <p>Healthcare</p> <p>AFP/ pensions</p> <p>Education</p> <p>Redistribution of wealth</p>
<i>What were the main reasons for voting Rechazo?</i>	Main arguments to reject the proposal?	<p>Perceptions about the constituent assembly</p> <p>Perceptions about the process</p> <p>Perceptions about the content</p> <p>Values</p> <p>What influenced their decision?</p>	<p>Not capable</p> <p>Not trustworthy</p> <p>Same left/right</p> <p>Not what expected</p> <p>Redistribution</p> <p>Refoundation of state/ reorganization of pol. Ec. Judiciary structures</p> <p>Capitalism/neoliberalism</p> <p>Plurinationalism</p> <p>Racism/Gender/sexual identities</p> <p>Friends/family/neighbors</p> <p>The content</p> <p>Fear/concerns</p> <p>Media/ campaigns</p> <p>other</p>

Appendix 4. Table for data analysis

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA
1		what made them endorse/participate Y/N:(priorities:1,2,3)					what expectations on outcomes did they have Y/N:(priorities:1,2,3)					main arguments to reject Y/N:(priorities:1,2,3)				what influenced this decision Y/N:(priorities:1,2,3)				other ideology/beliefs Y/N:(priorities:1,2,3)							
2				democratic factors	economic factors	social factors	general need for change	democratic factors	economic factors	social factors	other	misalignment with expectations	perceptions about the content	perceptions about the constituent	other	perceptions about the content	perceptions about the constituent	discussions/debates	media/news	other	pluralist	gender	sexual identity	capitalism/neo liberalism	nationalism	concerns	chile has resources
3		participated?	general need for change	consolidation, upgrade, other	quality of life, cost of living, redistribution, other	e.g. health, education, pensions, elderly		consolidation, upgrade, other	quality of life, cost of living, redistribution, other	e.g. health, education, pensions, elderly			not the reforms they expected	performance assembly / the process		not the reforms they expected	the assembly / the process	family/friends/neighbors	social media/news outlets, etc	ideology, etc	a main factor / not a factor	a main factor / not a factor	a main factor / not a factor	a main factor / not a factor	a main factor / not a factor	concerns an abrupt or worse somehow	perception
4																											
5	I1	Y	Y (3)		Y (1)	Y (2)	Y (2)		Y (1) redistribution	1. (co. AFP) education / worker	3. workers' rights	Y (1)	1. written for minority	Y (2)		Y (3)	Y (1. disil)	Y (2)	Y (3)	Y (3)	N	a factor	a factor	capitalism, need to surge		Y	Y
6	I2	Y	N	Y (1,2)		Y (3)	N	Y (1. consolidate ec. pol. model)	Y (2. end poverty, redistribution wealth.			Y	1. plurinationality 2. economic framework 3. restructuring of the judiciary and political	N						Y (1. ideology / 2. he is the influencer)	Y. main factor	N	N	market distribute wealth	Y	Y	
7	I3	Y	Y (1,2)		Y (3)	Y (1,2)			Y (3) education, health	3. judiciary, iron fist laws		Y (2)	Y (1 no to abortion (srhr))	Y (mapuch 3. fear	Y (1. the draft)		2. neighbors	3. soc. med			no, but would not endorse mapuches in	no, but strongly against abortion	"not a homophobic, but disproportionate focus."	market perspective on Education	Y (fear)	Y	
8	I4	N	Y (1)		Y (3)	Y (2)	Y (1)		Y (2) health care, education			Y	Y (1. no to refoundation)	1. 2. partisan institutions (the assembly)		Y (1. the draft)		Y (3. opinion)	1. 2. opinion / professional concertación	Y. main factor	N	N	work to earn	same rules	Y (dangerous)	Y	
9	I5	Y	Y 3		Y (1,2)	Y			Y (1. elders, health care, education)			Y (1)	3. redistribution wealth	Y (2. the assembly)				3. family	Y (1. 100 i	Y (2. ideology)	Y. a factor	N	N (but commented disproportionate focus)	work to earn	same rules	Y (chakra)	
10	I6	Y	Y (1,2)		Y (3)	Y (1)	Y (2)	Y (3) cost	Y (3. health	3. Iron fist	Y (1)	Y. too many changes	(2) the assembly / tired of the process			Y (2. perception of the assembly)	Y (1. friends and family)	Y (2. media / TV)			Y. a factor	N	N		Y. flag	Y	Y
11	y total		5	1	3	5	3	1	3	5	x	4	3	4	3	3	2	4	x	4	4	4	1 (3)	5	3	6	5
12										health 4																	
13										education 4																	
14																											

