



NIELS BOHR
PROFESSORSHIP CENTRE FOR
CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

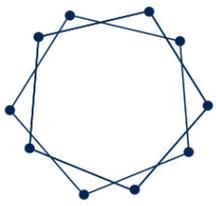


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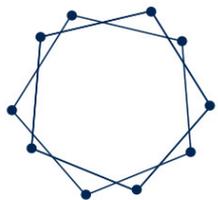
Chile, is happiness really coming?

Democracy and Dictatorship
over the last 50 years

David Carré







Chile, la alegría ya viene



Chile, happiness is coming

Chile, happiness is coming

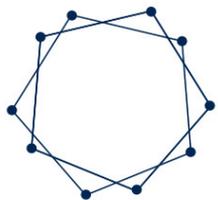
Chile, happiness is coming

Because whatever they say, I'm free of thinking

Because I feel that is the time for gaining freedom

It's enough of abuses, it's time to change

Because it's enough of misery, I'm going to say NO

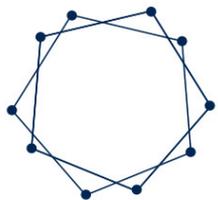


Chile, la alegría ya viene



*Because after the storm comes the rainbow
Because I want a thousand ways of thinking to blossom
Because without the dictatorship, happiness will come
Because I think of the future, I'm going to say NO*

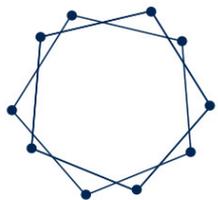
*Let's end with death, today is the chance
Of defeating violence with the weapons of peace
Because I believe that my country needs dignity
For a Chile for all, we are going to say NO*



Chile, la alegría ya viene



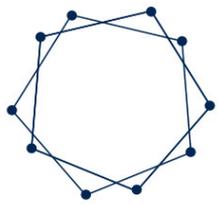
- Chile after 1990 – Dictatorship as past time
- Moghaddam's macro-micro change and continuum appears as thought-provoking ideas



Chile, la alegría ya viene



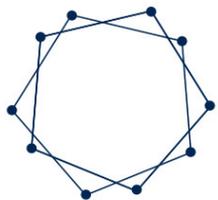
- Common assumption – Historical periods end in a specific time mark
- When the dictator is ousted, that dictatorship is over for good

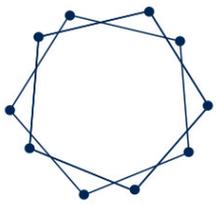


Aim



- This is hardly the case for Chile's most recent dictatorship (1973-1990)
- While democracy formally returned on March 11th, 1990...

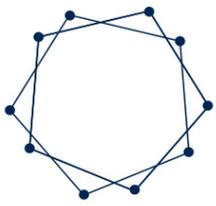




This presentation



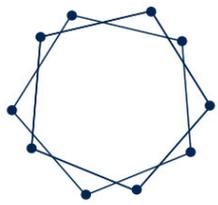
- Dictatorship's legacy projected through unchanged constitution and major laws
- ...and by strengthening colonial, anti-democratic ways of thinking and acting in the social world



This presentation



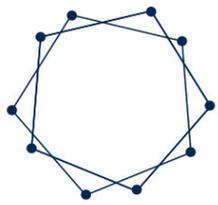
- In Moghaddam's terms:
- The end of 1973-1990 dictatorship implied a 1st order change, it conveyed a partial 2nd order change, but it did not promoted a 3rd order change – at least toward democracy!



This presentation



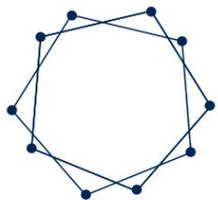
- And the other way around:
- The 1973-1990 dictatorship in Chile fostered a 1st, 2nd, and a 3rd order change – though in the opposite direction of democracy



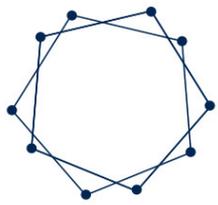
Outline



- Intro – Roots of dictatorship
- Contextualization – Chile over the last 50 years
- Psychological explorations
 - Monetization of social life
 - Minor crime & the 'flaite'



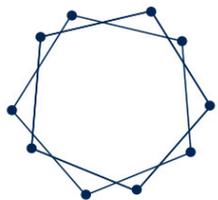
Roots of Dictatorship



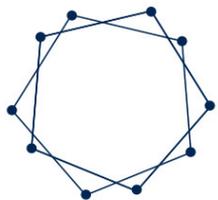
Roots of Dictatorship

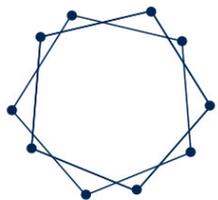


- What does the term 'dictatorship' mean?
- Based on the verb 'to dictate'
- Merriam-Webster:
2.b "To impose, pronounce, or specify authoritatively"



Where does it come from?

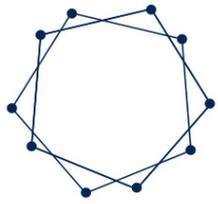




Roots of Dictatorship



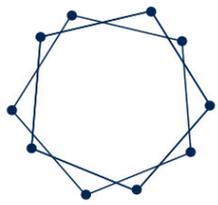
- Roman *Republic*
- Extraordinary magistrate – former Consul
- Derived from the voice '*dicto*'



Roots of Dictatorship



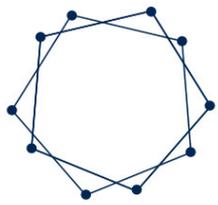
- Authorized by Roman Senate
- *Imperium magnum*
- Appointed for a specific 'causa'



Roots of Dictatorship



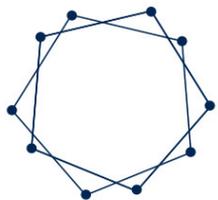
- HOWEVER!
- Dictators' laws had effect *only* during his office
- His actions were thereafter treated as if they had never happened – legally



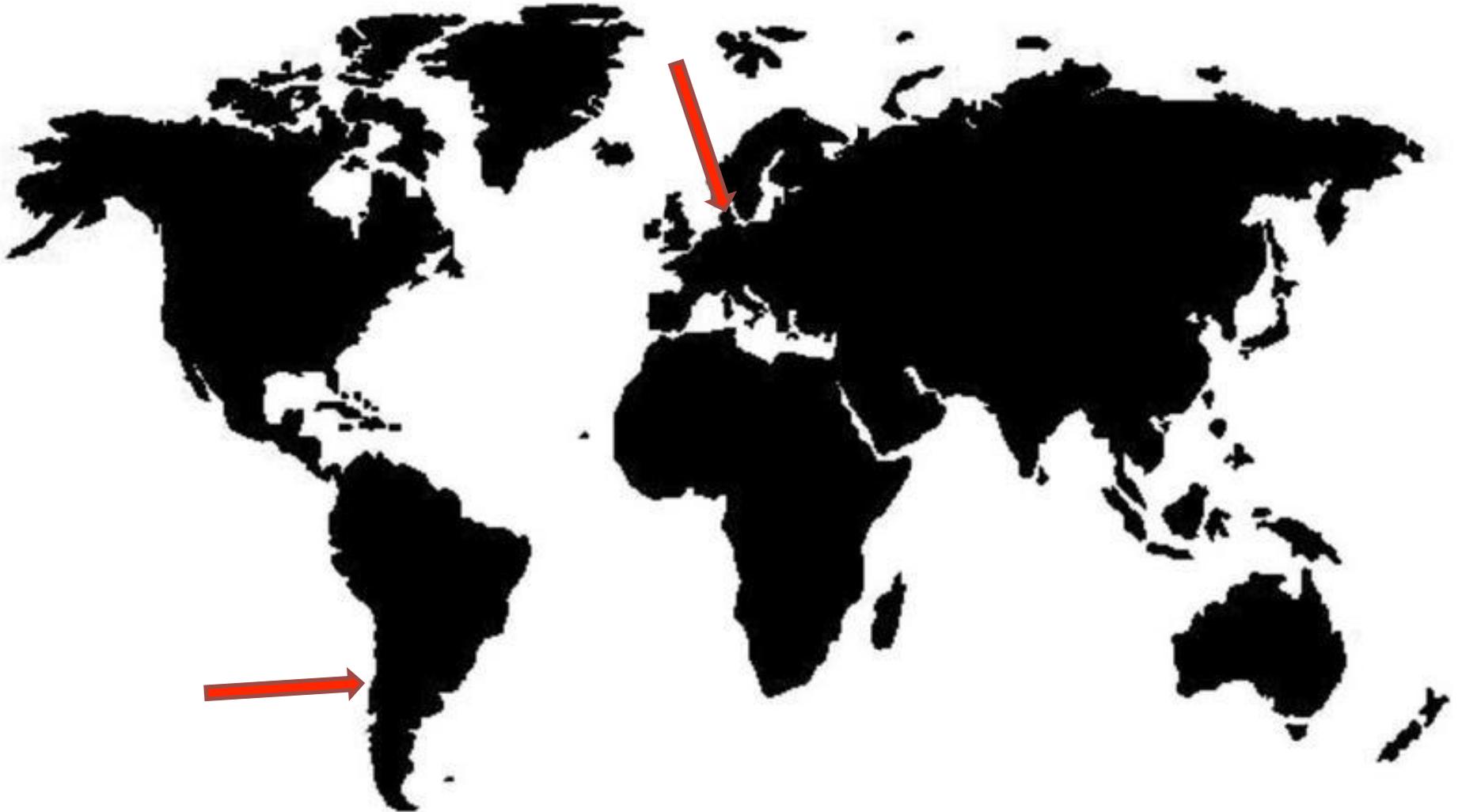
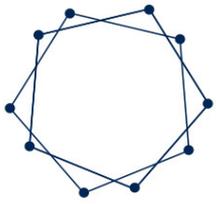
Roots of Dictatorship

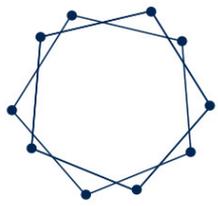


- This resembles the 'sharp ending' assumption
- Yet, the Chilean case offer more resistance to this treatment...



Chile over the last 50 years

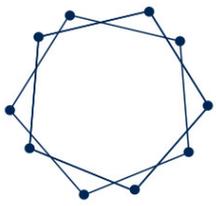




Road to the Coup



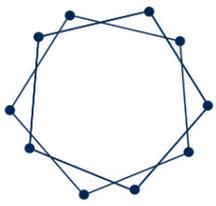
- Global Scenario
- Cold War
- CIA's *National Security Doctrine* for Latin American countries



Road to the Coup



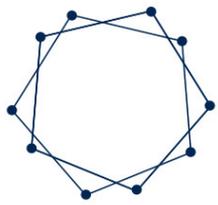
- Regional Scenario
- Rise of communists movements after Cuban revolution
- ...followed by military coup d'états in almost all of Latin America



Road to the Coup



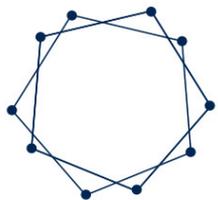
- National Scenario
- In 1970, S. Allende (Popular Front) becomes president
- First marxist government *democratically* elected in the region



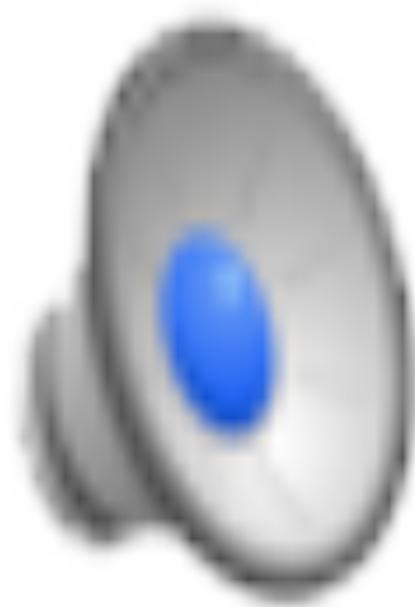
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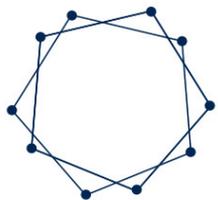


- National Scenario
- Deep, accelerated social reforms
- ...plus intensive destabilizing efforts by CIA, US corporations, and Chilean land- and industry-owners



September 11th, 1973

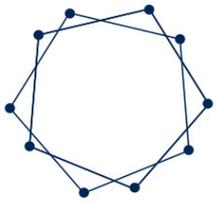


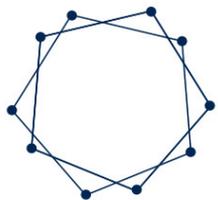


Dictatorship: 1973-1990



- 'Front-office' of the dictatorship
- A. Pinochet leading a Military Junta
- 200,000 into exile
28,000 arrests with probable torture
3,200 killed or disappeared



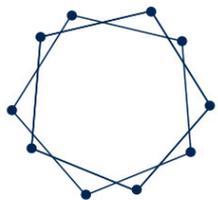


Dictatorship: 1973-1990



- “Back-office” of the dictatorship
- *Civilian*-Military dictatorship
- Right-wing politicians, industry-owners, Chicago Boys
- Ruling elite backed by neoliberal ideology

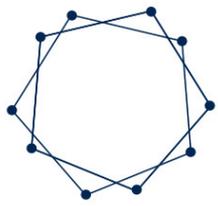




Dictatorship: 1982-1988

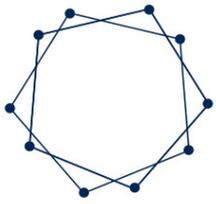


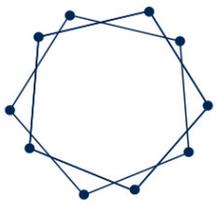
- Disastrous economic crisis
- Massive demonstrations in urban slums and poor areas
- International pressure on the regime
- Arrangement of 1988' referendum – Yes/No

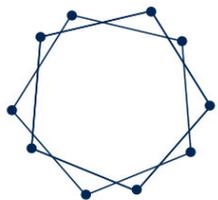


March 11th, 1990





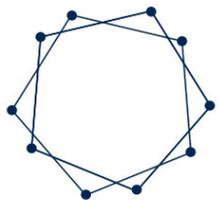




Transitional Politics – 1990s



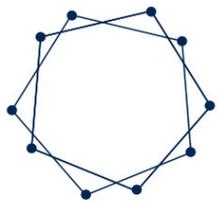
- Politics & Justice made “as far as possible”
- 1991 & 1993 – Actual risk of another coup
- 1998 – Pinochet’s detention in London



Transitional Politics – 2000s



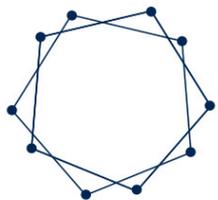
- Technocracy and “major agreements”
- Economy grows; and so inequality
- 2000 – A Socialist president is elected
- 2010 – Right-wing coalition takes office



Current period – 2011...



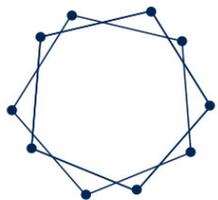
- Re-emergence of social movements
- Open questioning of the continuity between dictatorship and (transitional) democracy
- Revision of the alleged success of the country – for whom?



Summarizing – 1990-2011



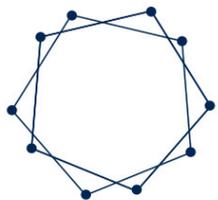
- Following Moghaddam's:
- Allende's "democratic revolution" followed the usual pattern, ending up ousted
- Insufficient psychological preparation of the citizenry? or sufficient external pressure?



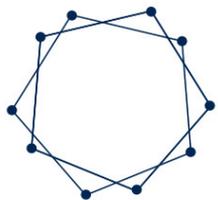
Summarizing – 1990-2011



- Following Moghaddam's:
- Through its major social and political overhaul, Chilean 1973-1990 dictatorship generated 1st and 2nd order change
- Did it manage to promote lasting 3rd order change – in the opposite direction of A.D.?



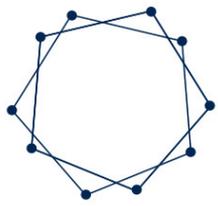
Psychological Explorations



Psychological explorations



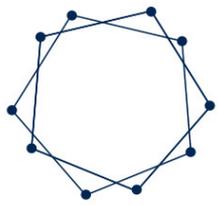
- Today – Puzzling, pressing social issues
- Monetization of social life – Life is solved with a few bucks
- Minor crime – Understanding and relating to the 'flaite' sub-culture



Monetization of Life



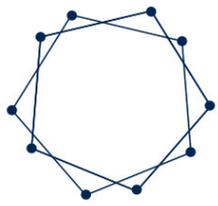
- Ideology – Make the country free
- Civilians – Economic (neoliberal) laboratory
- Ideas in Action
 - Privatization of social services & companies
 - Asymmetric work relations
 - Individual-based pension system



Monetization of Life



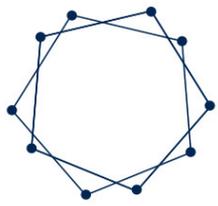
- UNDP's 1998 report on Human Development
- Narrow 'social circuits'
- Low contact between different income-level groups



Monetization of Life



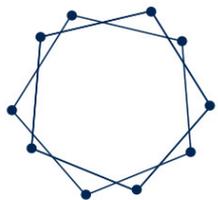
- Cultural support for educational market (Bellei, Canales & Orellana, 2013)
- 'The right to pay for quality...
- ...and avoid those schools when anybody can get in'



Monetization of Life



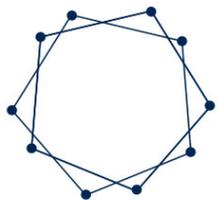
- Fragmentation of social fabric
- I only (want to) know and meet those with similar income to me
- Strong in-group-out group distinction
- Solving everything through money



Minor crime & the 'Flaite'



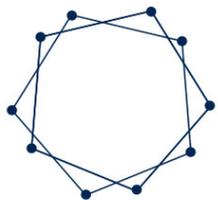
- Ideology – Extirpating the “marxist cancer”
- Doctrine of the “inner enemy”
- No one to be trusted – “They sure were up to something...”



Minor crime & the 'Flaite'



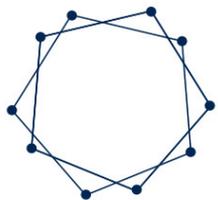
- Actions – Urban segregation
- Putting the poor away; all crammed
- Public services in decline; bad education, healthcare and transport



Minor crime & the 'Flaite'



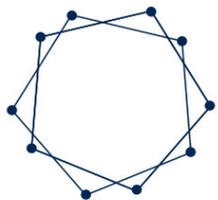
- How to get out of this lock?
- Crime as best life option
- Minor, violent crime targeted on rich neighborhoods
- Exaltation of 'thug life'

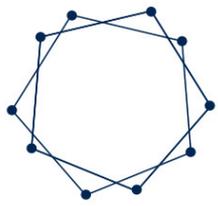


Minor crime & the 'Flaite'



- Citizenry reaction
- "Let's kill them all"
- "They're social scum"
- "They're poor because they're lazy" (+40%)
- Strengthening of colonial classism...plus authoritarian repression

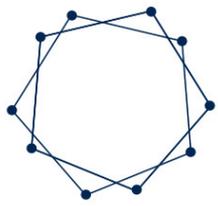




Concluding Remarks



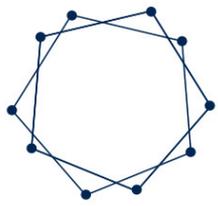
- Moghaddam's ideas are thought-provoking for Chile's most recent dictatorship
- It helps to unravel "transitional politics" (1990-2010)
- Foster a psychological understanding of current social issues: monetization of social life and minor crime



Concluding Remarks



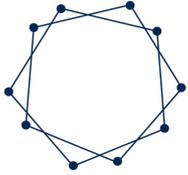
- Moreover – Actual, real democracy as responsibility of elites *and* citizenry
- Social change and better democracy does not come by putting a ballot in a box
- Democracy as a way of living together – rather than a just a voting system



Concluding Remarks



- Chile – Pushing for more democracy from grassroots
- 1990-2010 – Democratic transition as a false step, a half step, or maybe baby steps?
- Is it happiness finally coming? Or are we closing that window of opportunity?



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Thanks for your attention!

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