



Data Driven: Electoral Intelligence · May 7, 2023

Election of Constitutional Counselors and Scenarios

www.decidechile.cl

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The Unholster logo consists of a stylized 'U' made of three vertical bars of increasing height, followed by the word 'unholster' in a lowercase, sans-serif font.

MAY 7th

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DecideChile

A Platform by Unholster

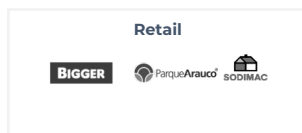
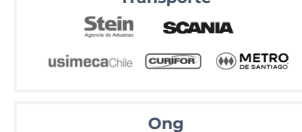
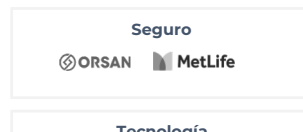


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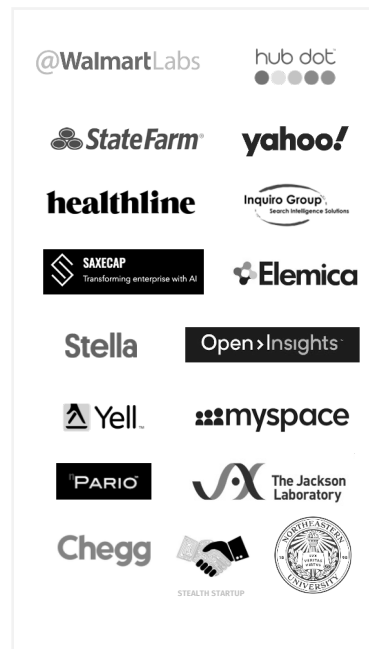
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Nacionales



Internacionales



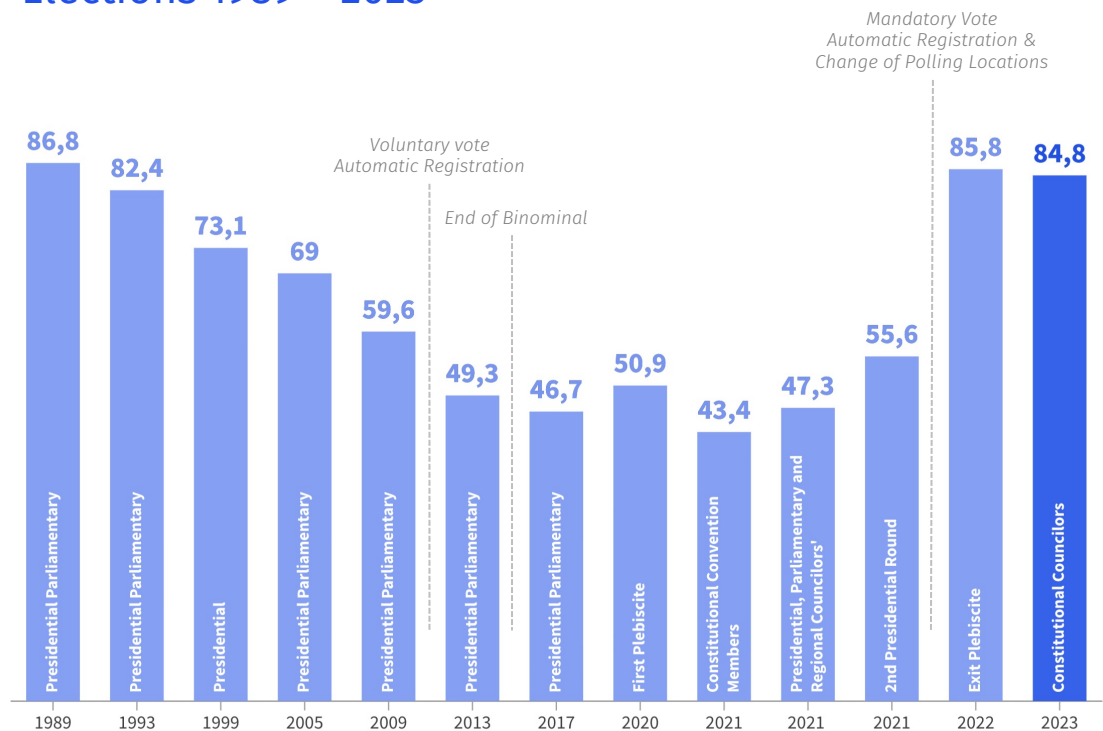
MAY 7th

Results from the Election

- Evolution of Participation
- General Results
- Voting during the 4 processes
- Voting on May 7 v/s 2022 Plebiscite

Evolution of Participation

Elections 1989 – 2023



Source: Repository created by DecideChile.

» The election of the Constitutional Council is the third voting process with the highest participation since 1989, at 84.8%.

General Results

Elections for Constitutional Counsel

Consejo Constitucional



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16 Unidad para Chile

2.800.973 votos

06 PS
04 RD
00 PL
00 AH

04 CS
02 PC
00 FRVS
00 COM

00 Todo por Chile

877.199 votos

00 PPD
00 PR
00 DC

00 Indep.

48.495 votos

00 IND

00 Partido de la Gente

537.067 votos

00 PDG

11 Chile Seguro

2.063.892 votos

06 UDI
01 EVO

04 RN

23 Partido Republicano

3.468.143 votos

23 REP

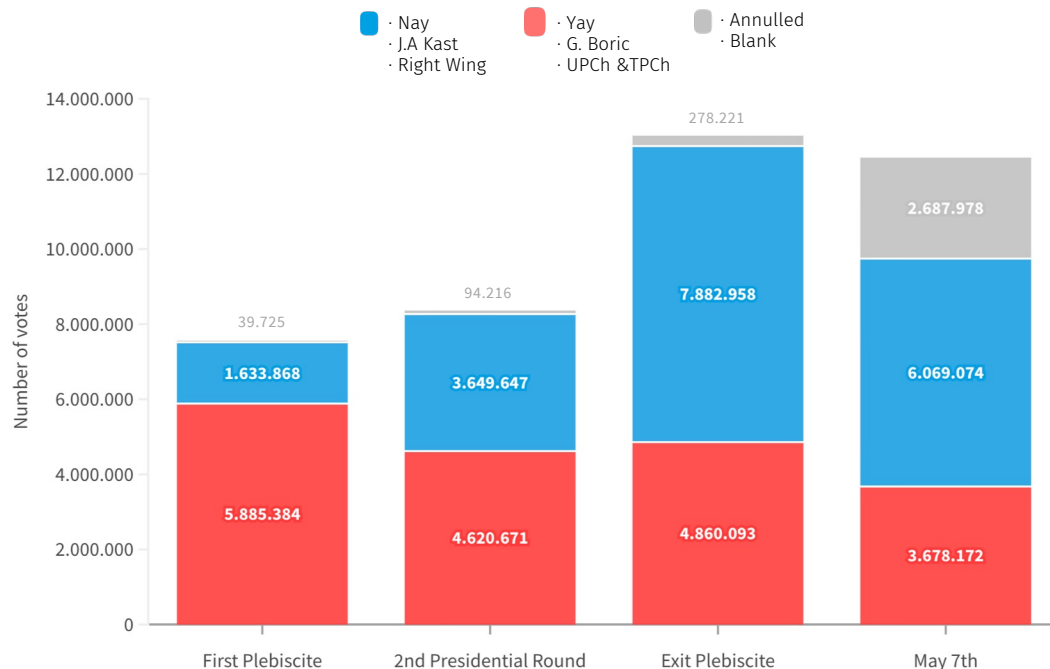
01 Pueblos Indígenas

306.439 votos

01 MAP

Voting during the 4 processes

2020 – 2021 - 2022 – 2023 Elections



Source: This report was prepared using data from SERVEL: electoral results and 2023 electoral roll (via CHV). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

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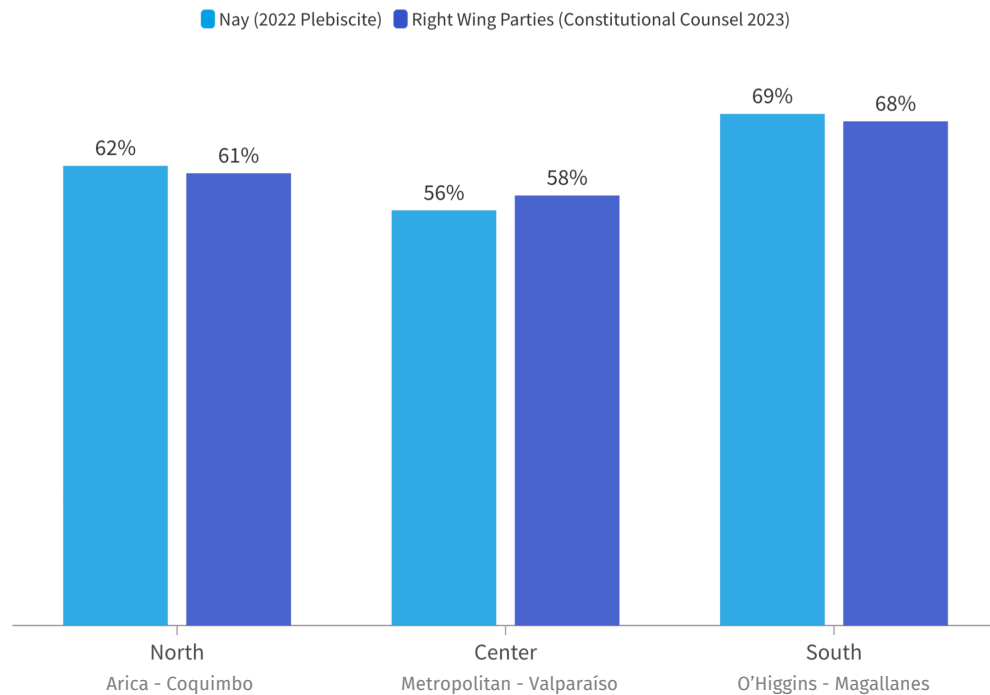
» One of the most surprising facts for the election of May 7th: 2.7 million votes annulled or blank.

» The voting for Yay and Nay for the Exit Plebiscite and the votes received by the right and the left in the election of May 7th were similar in proportional terms.

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May 7th v/s 2022 Plebiscite

Geographic Zone



Source: Repository created by DecideChile.

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» The votes received by the right (PDG, REP, RN, UDI & Evópoli) by geographic zone were very similar to the numbers obtained by the Nay option for the Exit Plebiscite.

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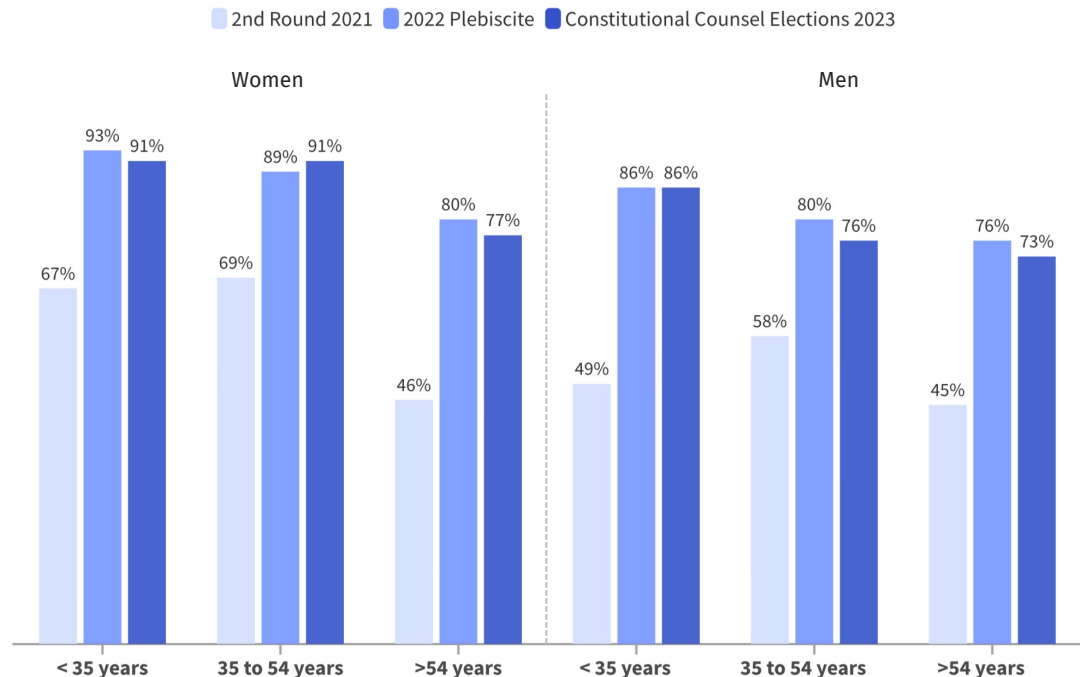
Unholster Model

Segmentation by gender
and age range

- Rate of participation
- 2023 Election v/s 2022 Plebiscite and 2nd Presidential Round 2021
- Annulled and Blank
- 2022 Plebiscite and 2nd Round in 2021
- The *Republicano* Vote

Rate of Participation

Constitutional Counsel Elections



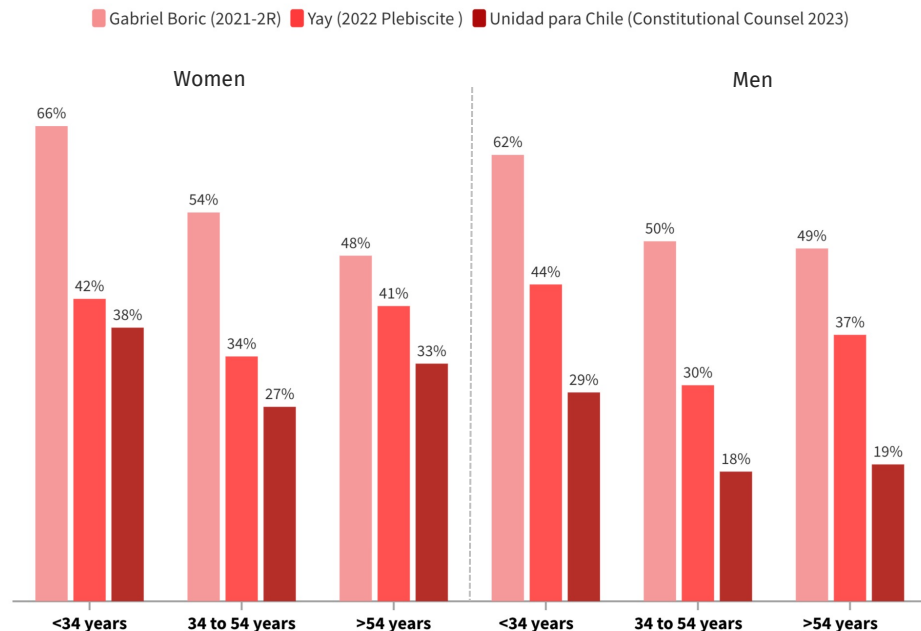
Source: This report was prepared using data from SERVEL: electoral results and 2023 electoral roll (via CHV). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

Unholster Model: Segmentation
by gender and age groups

- » Participation in the election of May 7th was very similar to that of the Exit Plebiscite of 2022.
- » The largest differences can be seen in men, where participation was lower in the groups of voters over 34 years of age.

2023 Election, 2022 Plebiscite and 2nd Presidential Round 2021

Gender and Age Range



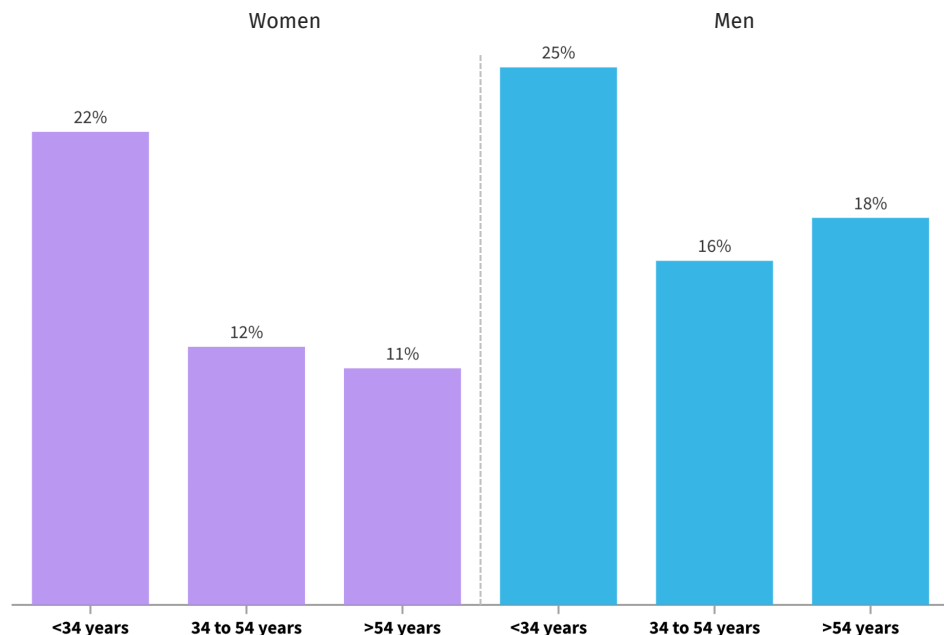
Source: This report was prepared using data from SERVEL: electoral results and 2023 electoral roll (via CHV). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

Unholster Model: Segmentation
by gender and age groups

- » The coalition headed by President Gabriel Boric had lower results among the men than the women who voted.
- » The coalition headed by the President registered a larger difference in the votes obtained during the second presidential round among the men who voted.
- » Regarding men who voted under the age of 35, 62% of those who voted in this election voted for the President in the second round, compared to 29% who voted for Unidad para Chile.

Annulled and Blank

Gender and Age Range



Source: This report was prepared using data from SERVEL: electoral results and 2023 electoral roll (via CHV). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

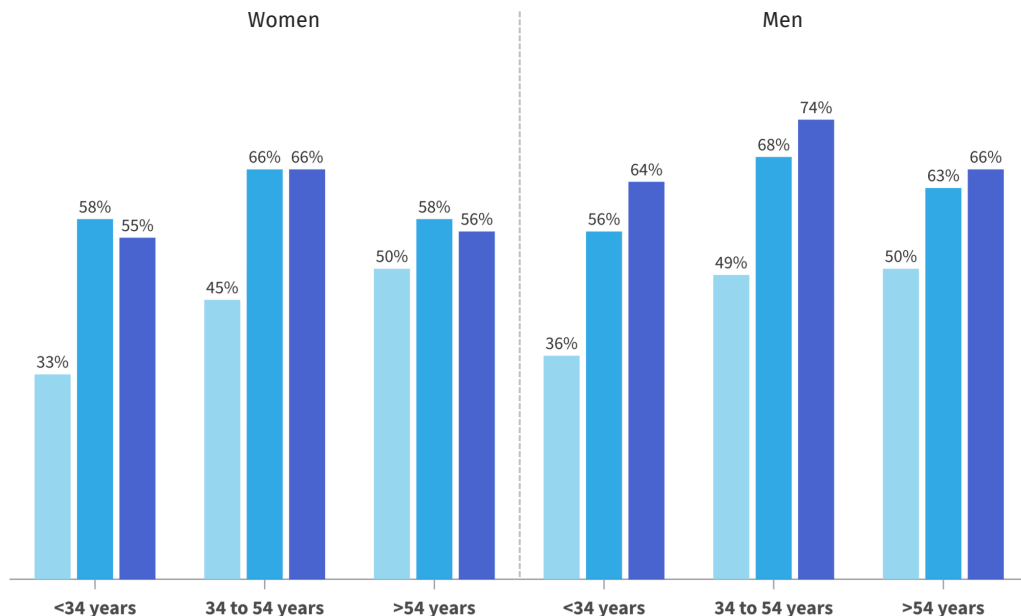
Unholster Model: Segmentation
by gender and age groups

- » Annulled and blank votes were more prevalent among men than women.
- » Annulled and blank votes were higher among those under 35 years of age than in the older age groups: 22% of the women and 25% of the men.

2022 Plebiscite & 2nd Round in 2021

Gender and Age Range

■ J.A. Kast (2021-2R) ■ Nay (2022 Plebiscite) ■ CS - PDG - PR (Constitutional Counsel 2023)



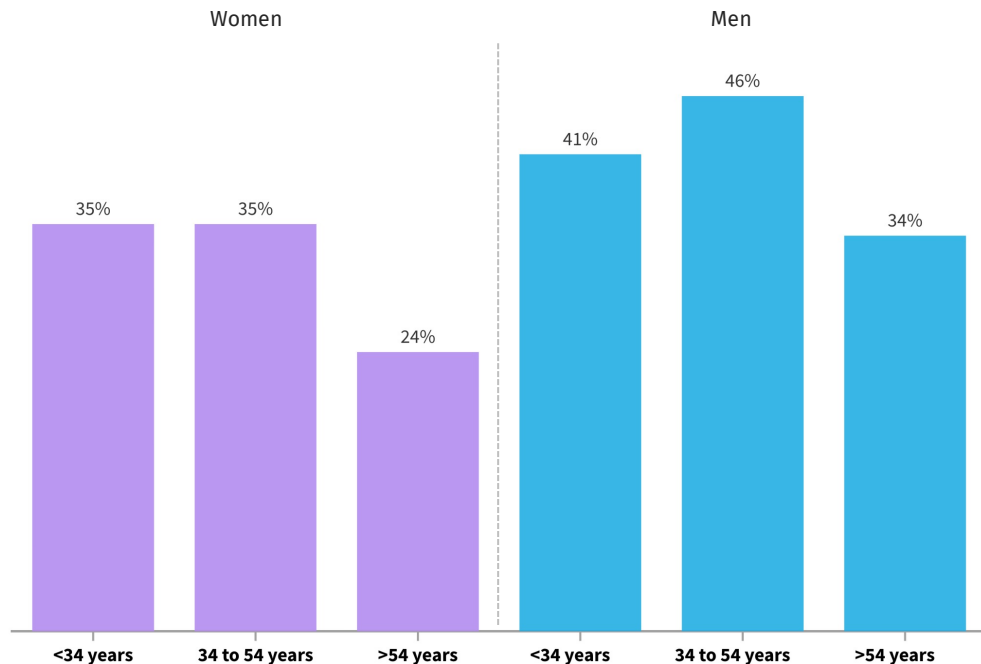
Source: This report was prepared using data from SERVEL: electoral results and 2023 electoral roll (via CHV). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

Unholster Model: Segmentation
by gender and age groups

- » The right (Chile Seguro, Partido de la Gente, Partido Republicano) registered its best results among the men who voted.
- » The most representative voting age group for the right is between 35 and 54 years of age, where 75% voted for it.

The *Republicano* Vote

Gender and Age Range



Source: This report was prepared using data from SERVEL: electoral results and 2023 electoral roll (via CHV). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

Unholster Model: Segmentation
by gender and age groups

- » The Partido Republicano obtained better results among the men than the women who voted.
- » The lower vote for this party among women was obtained from those over 54 years of age, with 24%.
- » Meanwhile, among men, the highest number of votes came from those between 35 and 54 years of age: 46% voted for Republicanos.

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Comparison of elections

- 2022 Exit Plebiscite
- Elections May 2021 & December 2021
- Elected constituents 2021
- Experts and Counselors Commission

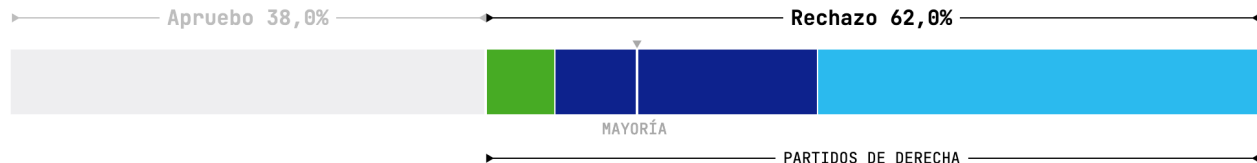
Comparison

2022 Exit Plebiscite

Comparador Plebiscito de Salida 2022 ⓘ

La votación obtenida en esta elección por los partidos políticos que apoyaron institucionalmente la opción Rechazo, ¿logra igualar la votación del plebiscito de salida?

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5,5% Partido de La Gente

537 k votos

5,5% PDG

21,1% Chile Seguro

2 M votos

7,4% RN
8,9% UDI
4,8% EVO

35,4% Partido Republicano

3 M votos

35,4% REP

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












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This report has been made using data from SERVEL: 2022 electoral results and register (via La Tercera). The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

- » In proportional terms, the Nays registered for the Exit Plebiscite was equal to the voting obtained by the parties of the right (PR, UDI, RN, EVO, PDG) in the May 7th election.
- » 62% in both cases.

Comparison

Votes by list according to the specific election

ELECCIONES	UNIDAD PARA CHILE ⓘ	TODO POR CHILE ⓘ	PARTIDO DE LA GENTE	CHILE SEGURO ⓘ	PARTIDO REPUBLICANO	LISTA DEL PUEBLO	NUEVA CONSTITUCIÓN	OTROS
2023 Constitutional Counsel	28,6% 	9,0% 	5,5% 	21,1% 	35,4% 	--	--	0,5% 
2021 Diputadas y Diputados	27,9% 	9,8% 	8,4% 	25,1% 	10,5% 	--	--	18,3% 
2021 Constituyentes	23,7% 	7,4% 	--	19,5% 	--	16,1% 	8,1% 	24,1% 

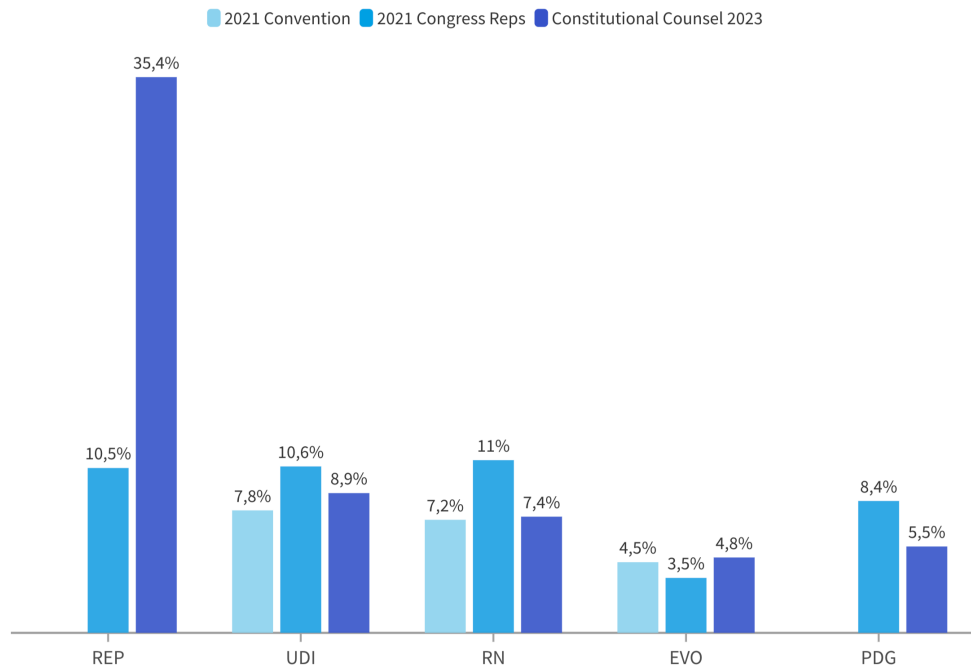
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This report has been made using data from SERVEL: 2022 electoral results and register (via La Tercera).
The analysis follows the methods described in the book "Los Dos Chiles", by the founders of DecideChile.

- » The big winner was the Partido Republicano which increased its votes from 10.5% to 35.4%.
- » The Government coalition also increased its votes, though only slightly, from 27.9% to 28.6%.
- » The PDG was one of the biggest losers, as it did not get any seats and saw voting fall from 8.4% to 5.5%
- » Chile Seguro also saw a dip in voting from 25.1% to 21.1%.
- » The category "Others", plummeted from 16.8% to less than 0.5%.

Comparison

Right Wing Political Parties



Source: Own calculations based on data from SERVEL.

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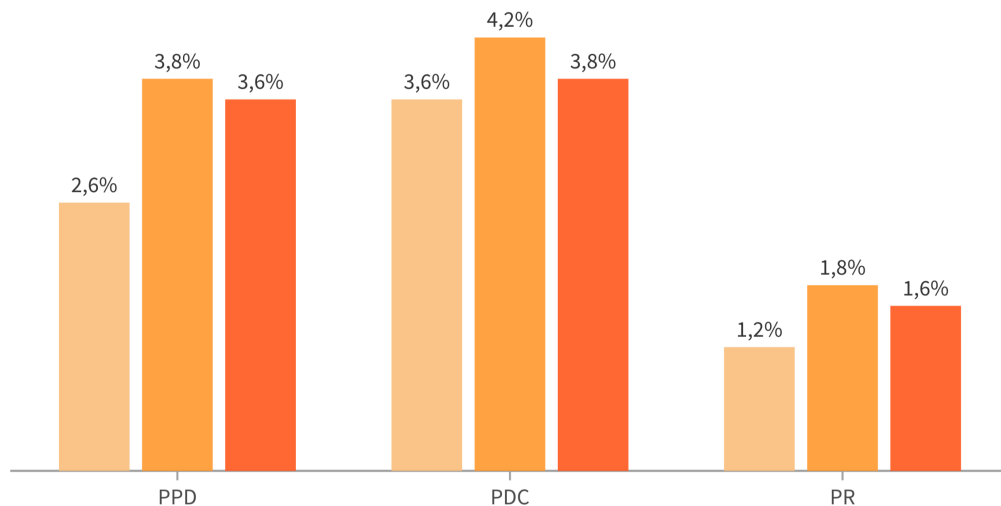
- » The big winner of the May 7th election was the Partido Republicano which increased its votes from 10.5% to 35.4%.
- » PDG, RN and UDI registered a decrease in votes.
- » Evópoli had its best result in the past three election, with 4.8%.

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Comparison

Centrist Political Parties

2021 Convention 2021 Congress Reps Constitutional Counsel 2023



Source: Own calculations based on data from SERVEL.

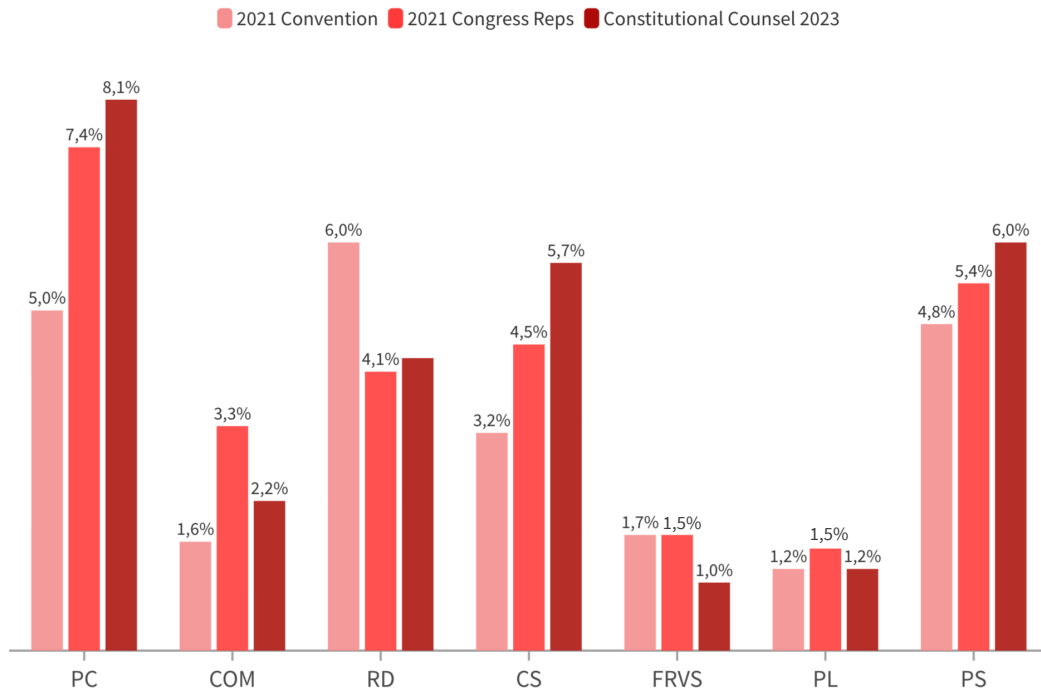
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- » The three centrist political parties saw their votes go down only slightly.
- » However, no centrist representative was elected.

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Comparison

Left Wing Political Parties



Source: Own calculations based on data from SERVEL.

- » The three main parties for Unidad por Chile registered an increase in votes.
- » The PC went from 7.4% to 8.1%: the CS went from 4.5% to 5.7%, and the PS went from 5.4% to 6.0%.

Comparison

2021 Convention· Expert Commission 2023 · Const. Counsel 2023



	Convention May 2021		Expert Commission		Const. Counsel	
Party	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Partido Republicano	0	0%	1	4,2%	23	45,1%
Chile Seguro	37	23,8%	10	41,7%	11	21,6%
Partido de la Gente	0	0%	1	4,1%	0	0%
Todo por Chile	6	3,9%	5	20,8%	0	0%
Unidad para Chile	45	29,0%	7	29,2%	16	31,3%
Lista del Pueblo	27	17,4%				
No Neutrales	11	7,1%				
Pueblos Indígenas	17	11,0%			1	2%
Otros	12	7,7%				

Source: DecideChile

- » During the Constitutional Convention for the previous process, the right elected 23.8% of representatives, so they held less than 3/5. hence, the sector had no power to veto the decisions of the constitutional convention.
- » For the Experts Commission, the right holds 50% of the seats, while the left holds the other 50%.
- » In the new Constitutional Counsel, the REP has the power to veto, with 23 counselors, while the right (REP+Chile Seguro) has over 30 (3/5) of the votes needed to approve the regulations.



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Consequences of the elections

- Balance of forces in government parties
- Impact on the Government
- Consequences for the reforms

Balance of forces in government parties



Cabinet

- Changes in the cabinet will depend on the pressure put on the Presidency by the PC & the FA. The transversal defeat suffered has slowed the urgency to make such decisions.
- Apruebo Dignidad: Frente Amplio has obtained four times more seats than the PC.
- The comparison between the coalitions that support the government makes it more difficult for the Presidency to remain aligned with Socialismo Democrático.
- The idea to move to the center by incorporating the DC has lost strength due to the poor results obtained in the election (no counselors elected).



Relation with Congress

- The Government's capacity to negotiate is weakened in all fronts.
- The coalitions that sustain the Government have incentives to be divided in Congress: while PC/FA could reject agreements with Chile Vamos, Socialismo Democrático could seek such agreements to move forward any structural reforms.
- The Government must balance its concessions to the centrist parties (PPD, PDC, PR) due to their poor results.
- The poor result obtained by the PDG will reduce its influence in Congress.



Relation with the Counsel

- The Government will have a distant (but institutional) relation with the Counsel.
- The dialogue will be more fluid if the president of the counsel comes from either UDI, RN or EVO, instead of the REP.
- The person representing the Government that must maintain a dialogue is the Segpres minister, Álvaro Elizalde, who promoted the new constitutional agreement while he presided the Senate.

Balance of forces in right wing parties



Winners and Losers

- The REP is the big winner of the election (23 counselors), and a victory for José Antonio Kast, who founded the party in 2019, to become the most voted party in only four years.
- The defeat of Chile Vamos: the party elected half the number of counselors than the REP.
- The UDI has lost voters. Party supporters could start fleeing to the REP.
- RN suffers a dip in the number of votes obtained. Francisco Chahuán, Diego Schalper and Paulina Núñez once again face off over the control of the party.
- Evópoli has elected one counselor, Gloria Hutt, in the Metropolitan Region.



Legislative Priorities

- In order to differentiate themselves from the REP, RN, UDI & Evópoli have a year to reach agreements with the Government before the start of the municipal campaign.
- Chile Vamos will ask for changes in legislative priorities, with an emphasis on the agenda for safety.
- Reform of Isapres: The Government will have to mediate first with the opposition any possible modifications.
- Pension Reform: Chile Vamos will condition any support to the Government :
 - Eliminating notional accounts
 - Limit separation of the industry
- Tax Reform: the degree of agreement will be limited.



Upcoming Elections

- The REP will seek to become the party with the most mayors for the 2024 municipal election. It will prioritize Santiago and Valparaíso. This is indispensable for the 2025 presidential election.
- For the same scenario, UDI will foster its mayors Evelyn Matthei and Rodolfo Carter for the presidential elections of 2025.
- RN could consolidate its dominion in Chile Vamos considering the weakness of UDI.
- Evópoli is at a crossroads after it supported José Antonio Kast in the 2021 second round . It will seek to differentiate itself by moving to the center.

Balance of forces for centrist parties



Winners and Losers

- The PDC has had no counselors elected. For the Convention it had two (Christian Viera and Fuad Chahín), though only one (Chahín) was a supporter. Later, Chahín left the party.
- The president of the PPD has suffered her second defeat: first, running for the Senate in 2021, and now as counselor. The strategy to have a list that differed from the left flopped and her position is now at risk.
- For the right, the party that could better capitalize a move to the center is Evópoli.
- As per the left, the DC has “emptied out” and the future of recently-formed parties is uncertain, such as Amarillos and Demócratas.



Legislative Priorities

- Due to the poor results, the PPD will tend to move its agenda to the left, in order to move closer to the positions of the Government. Voting members would tend to a higher dispersion in votes.
- The DC would remain away from the Government and the right, if Alberto Undurraga remains as president. Congress representatives such as Eric Aedo, that could reach the presidency of the party, would tend to join forces with the Government. Any support to the projects presented by the Government in Congress will depend on this relationship.



Upcoming Elections

- After the defeat, the board of the PPD (current or new) will be pressured to become a part of the lists where the PS is integrated.
- The DC has two options: (1) continue with the same strategy as the PPD, (2) persevere in its own path, with the risk of being left out of any upcoming election positions (specially legislative).
- Amarillos and Demócratas face two roads: (1) the results show there is a centrist area that can be fought for, or (2) this is a problem, because nowadays voters seek more polarized options.

Impact on the Government

Agenda

- The Government faces a loss of control of the agenda, due to the advance of the right.
- As per the tax issue, the opposition could wait for the Codelco-SQM agreement to see new fiscal revenue before approving any tax changes.
- Chile Vamos will expect the Government to moderate its reforms before starting any negotiations.
- The Government faces new flanks from the left with populist measures, first with the pension withdrawals and now with the CAE. This shows that a sector within the left is not happy with its government.

Winners and Losers

- There are no winners in the government in the face of these results.
- The vice-president, Carolina Tohá, is one of the biggest losers here, since she was not capable of organizing her party for this election.
- Álvaro Elizalde is the least affected, only because he joined the government late, and will have a liaison role with the Counsel.
- In relative terms, the party of the Presidency can celebrate. The votes obtained went from 3.2% to 5.4% between both elections for the Convention.

Government Legacy

- The commemoration of the 50 years since the coup will lose momentum, due to the unprecedented irruption of the right in an election.
- One of the possibilities for the President was to leave behind a new Constitution, but now, even if one is approved, it will not please its sector.
- Considering the uncertain results of the reforms, what is left as legacy are all the administrative measures, such as the lithium agreement between Codelco-SQM.

Consequences for the process

Expert Commission

- The commission has less than a month to agree on a draft. Priorities:
 - For the left: (1) The supportive role of the State, (2) Water rights
 - For the right: (1) Freedom of choice for the people, (2) Subsidiary role of the State.
- Considering this new scenario, the incentives of the experts in Chile Vamos is to reach large agreements, before the Republicanos arrive at the Constitutional Counsel.
- The left would be divided. On the one hand, the PS would seek agreements with the right (ChV), while PC/RD would not. The big question will be what will the CS do, as the party of the President.

Counsel

- The first sign from the new counsel: if the president is from the REP, instead of the UDI/RN/EVO, a more polarized climate could be expected
- The debate will be more tense than at the expert commission due to the absence of a centrist group.
- REP will reject the proposals for the draft. For example, it will vote to ensure the freedom of choice for the people, specially in terms of the "Social Democratic Rule of Law".
- The draft approved by the Counsel will be more minimalist than the one provided by the Commission.

Scenarios

- Chile Vamos will have an articulating role to play in the commission and in the Counsel, which it has not played before.
- Nowadays, the probabilities for a new Constitution are low.
- The Counsel not only has to generate a draft but also convince the public that it is necessary to approve said draft.
- If during the first weeks of the Counsel, the right manages to achieve a framework agreement with the left, the chances of having a new constitution go up. This type of agreement has not been achieved in Congress. The role of the UDI will be important for this.
- Annulled and blank votes reached 2.7 million and could be protest votes that could transform into Nay votes for the Exit Plebiscite.

Consequences for the reforms

Isapres

- The Government is divided between two souls in terms of how to address the reform.
- The Government would postpone the presentation of the project, and it would first try to mediate any key points with the opposition.
- Conflict points: (1) devaluation needed for the Isapres, (2) room for Isapres to increase prices in the future.
- In this reform, the Right, specially the REP, would defend the possibility of people being free to chose their health provider, as is done nowadays via Isapres.

Pensions

- There is little progress in the reform for the pensions system.
- The Right could ask for the moderation of the reform in order to negotiate. There are three specific points: (1) eliminate notional accounts (the government has already moved in this direction), (2) freedom of the people to choose their saving manager, (3) limit the separation of the industry.
- The left would demand, in order to continue on to process into law: (1) solidarity with new pension payments, (2) separation of the industry.
- The Government would have to negotiate with the right, accepting to eliminate notional accounts in exchange for having solidarity in the new pension payments.
- The big question is what will happen with the separation of the industry.

Taxes

- The Government will focus after the election on approving the modification of the royalties.
- The collection process is not clear for the new tax reform the government wishes to propose.
- Any new potential income for Chile from the Codelco/SQM agreement will influence the tax reform. The Right will ask for it to be lower, because there are new lithium resources available.

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Scenarios for the Exit Plebiscite 2023

- "In favor" option wins
- "Against it" option wins

"In favor" option wins

Exit Plebiscite 2023

Short Term

- Big win for political parties.
- Even if a part of the Government coalition does not like the new Constitution, it will be a milestone for President Boric. A leftist Government, with a minority, would have achieved a new Constitution.
- The government faces an important change of path, because it will have to implement the new Constitution.
- All legal and administrative modifications implied in the new Constitution will consume an important part of the agenda.

Mid and Long Term

- The political system will be less fragmented and that will help in terms of governability for the upcoming administrations.
- It will be the start of a new political cycle that will be characterized by new alliances.
- The alliances that are generated by the Constitutional Counsel will be a first step towards a new political scenario.

Impact on politics and economy

- The agenda of this Government has already been played.
- The upcoming governments will start a new wave of reforms and will carry the new principles of the Constitution into law.
- The economy will be glad about the new scenario, as it will demonstrate that the political system can reach agreements.
- Increased pressure to take advantage of this scenario for more reforms.

"Against it" option wins

Exit Plebiscite 2023

Short Term

- A failure for the political parties, that designed and led the second process. While the first process belonged to social movements, this belonged to the parties.
- The lack of minimal agreements reflects the fact that the country is strongly politically divided in the most basic things.
- President Boric loses the opportunity to have such a big milestones as part of his administration.
- However, his coalition, would be glad about his, as it will probably dislike the draft.

Mid and Long Term

- The discussion to reform the Constitution will move to congress.
- In principle, this would be more feasible, as the quorum to modify is currently 4/7, unlike the 3/5 for the previous two processes
- The problem is that, due to the current fragmentation of the political system, this will be slower.

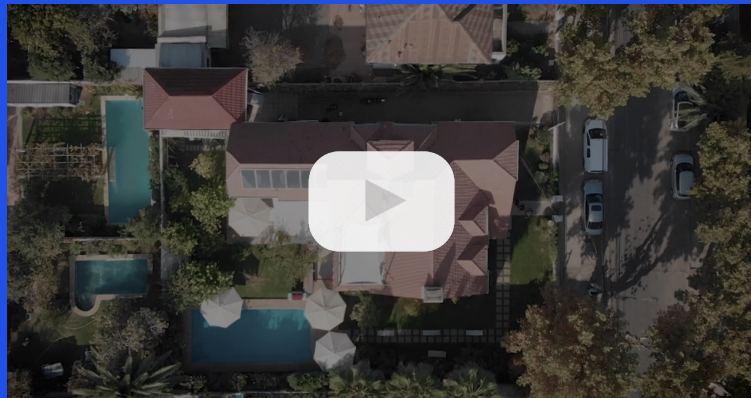
Impact on politics and economy

- The political system will remain fragmented for a long time.
- Unless there are clear majorities in the elections, the probability for important future reforms would be low.
- Reforms related to pension, health, modernization of the state and the work market face more difficulties.
- Any decentralization proposals could obtain more support.
- Increased risk of new pension withdrawals.

ELECTORAL INTELLIGENCE

Elections Analysis

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