

DRCLAS Harvard University - Chile Regional Office
December 2020 - February 2024



ANDES & SOUTHERN CONE

Webinar Series Report **ACADEMIC FORUM FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN CHILE**

Initiative led by **Steven Levitsky**, Professor of Government, Harvard University; Director of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.

Local Advisory Committee:

Claudio Fuentes, Universidad Diego Portales

Claudia Heiss, Universidad de Chile

Verónica Figueroa, Universidad de Chile

Juan Pablo Rodríguez, DRCLAS Visiting Scholar

Sol Serrano, Universidad Católica de Chile

Sebastián Soto, Universidad Católica de Chile

.....CONTENT



- ✓ Background
- ✓ Our contribution
- ✓ Results
- ✓ Conclusions



BACKGROUND

CHILE'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS

As a result of the protests that began in **October 2019** throughout the country, most political parties signed an agreement to draft a **new Constitution**.

On **October 25, 2020**, in a national plebiscite, citizens decided by a large majority (**78%**) to draft a new Constitution by a Constitutional Convention. In a ratification plebiscite held on **September 4, 2022**, the proposed text was **rejected by 61,9%** of the population.

BACKGROUND



CHILE'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS

On **May 7, 2023**, Chilean citizens elected 50 members of a new Constitutional Council for a **second constitutional** proposal. After the completion of the Council's work, another ratification plebiscite took place on **December 17, 2023**.

The proposal was **rejected** once again, this time **by 55,8%**, and the **process came to an end**. As there was no mention of a third process, the 1980 Constitution, that has been reformed around 70 times, remained in place.



OUR CONTRIBUTION

13

WORLDWIDE
WEBINARS

1

ACADEMIC FORUM
AT HARVARD

49

COUNTRIES (OUR AUDIENCE)

35

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONS

1

DRCLAS TUESDAY SEMINAR

66

SPEAKERS (SCHOLARS,
PRACTITIONERS AND OPINION
LEADERS)

OUR CONTRIBUTION

8 GLOBAL THEMATIC WEBINARS

2020

✓ December 2

2021

✓ January 29

✓ March 19

✓ May 4

✓ June 16

✓ October 6

✓ November 10

✓ December 9



OUR CONTRIBUTION



5 GLOBAL THEMATIC WEBINARS

2022

- ✓ March 30
- ✓ April 20
- ✓ July 13

2023

- ✓ May 31
- ✓ December 7

MARZO 30, 2022 **6PM ET / 7PM CHILE**
ESPAÑOL

FORO ACADÉMICO PARA LA NUEVA CONSTITUCIÓN EN CHILE, PRESENTA

PLURINACIONALIDAD Y CONSTITUCIONALISMO: PERSPECTIVAS INTERNACIONALES Y LECCIONES PARA CHILE

Palabras de Bienvenida: STEVEN LEVITSKY, Universidad de Harvard

Panelistas Internacionales: SOFIA CORDERO, Instituto de Altos Estudios Nacionales; DEBORAH J. VADAS, Universidad de Princeton

Panelistas Locales: SALVADOR MILLALEO, Universidad de Chile; DANIEL LOWE, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez

Moderado por: SOL SERRANO, Universidad Católica de Chile

Organiza: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

En colaboración con: HACHS, FUNDACIÓN LUKSEK SCHOLARS, LARCON LABORATORIO CONSTITUCIONAL, ESCUELA Y GOBIERNO, INSTITUTO DE ALTA INVESTIGACIÓN, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO

ABRIL 20, 2022 **12:30 - 14:15 ET / CHILE**
INGLÉS Y ESPAÑOL

FORO ACADÉMICO PARA LA NUEVA CONSTITUCIÓN EN CHILE, PRESENTA

CONSTITUCIÓN VERDE Y RECURSOS NATURALES

FOREST REINHARDT, Universidad de Harvard; MAISA ROSAS, Ministerio de Medio Ambiente, Chile; JORGE VIALVALES, Universidad de Cambridge; DOMINIQUE HENVE, Universidad Diego Portales; RICARDO WARRAZABAL, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile; VERÓNICA DELGADO, Universidad de Concepción; STEVEN LEVITSKY, Universidad de Harvard; CRISTIAN RODRIGUEZ-CHIFFELLE, Universidad de Harvard

Organiza: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

En colaboración con: HACHS, FUNDACIÓN LUKSEK SCHOLARS, LARCON LABORATORIO CONSTITUCIONAL, ESCUELA Y GOBIERNO, INSTITUTO DE ALTA INVESTIGACIÓN, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO

JULIO 13, 2022 **9:30AM ET / CHILE**
INGLÉS Y ESPAÑOL

FORO ACADÉMICO PARA LA NUEVA CONSTITUCIÓN EN CHILE, PRESENTA

¿CÓMO SE VE LA PROPUESTA DE LA NUEVA CONSTITUCIÓN EN CHILE?

STEVEN LEVITSKY, Universidad de Harvard

ROBERTO GARGABELLA, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella; DAVID LANDAU, Universidad Estatal de Florida; MIRIAM HENRIQUEZ, Universidad Alberto Hurtado; ALEXANDRA ONALLE, Universidad Católica de Chile; JUAN PABLO LUNA, Universidad Católica de Chile

Organiza: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

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MAYO 31, 2023 **9:30AM ET**
ESPAÑOL

FORO ACADÉMICO PARA LA NUEVA CONSTITUCIÓN EN CHILE, PRESENTA

LA ELECCIÓN DE LOS NUEVOS CONDESNOS CONSTITUCIONALES: PROCESAMIENTO DE RESULTADOS Y REFLEXIÓN SOBRE EL CAMINO A SEGUIR

Palabras de Bienvenida: STEVEN LEVITSKY, Universidad de Harvard

Panelista Internacional: MANUEL JOSE CEPEDA, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia

Panelistas Locales: MARIA CRISTINA ESCOBEDO, Universidad de Chile; GABRIEL NECRETTO, Pontificia Universidad Católica; JULIETA SUÁREZ-CAR, Pontificia Universidad Católica

Moderado por: VERÓNICA FLOREDA, Universidad de Chile

Organiza: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

En colaboración con: HACHS, FUNDACIÓN LUKSEK SCHOLARS, LARCON LABORATORIO CONSTITUCIONAL, ESCUELA Y GOBIERNO, INSTITUTO DE ALTA INVESTIGACIÓN, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO

CHILE REGIONAL OFFICE PRESENTS

A NEW CONSTITUTION: ANALYZING THE PROPOSAL TEN DAYS BEFORE THE PLEBISCITE

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7
@8.30 AM EST / 10.30 AM Chile

Welcoming Remarks: Steven Levitsky, Director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

Panelists: Carlos Frontaura, member of the Expert Commission; Lorena Gallardo, member of the Constitutional Council; Domingo Lopera, member of the Expert Commission; María Pardo, member of the Constitutional Council

Moderated by: Sebastián Soto, Vicepresident Expert Commission, DRCLAS Visiting Scholar

In collaboration with: HACHS, LARCON LABORATORIO CONSTITUCIONAL, ESCUELA Y GOBIERNO, INSTITUTO DE ALTA INVESTIGACIÓN, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO, INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO

Organized by: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

Scan the QR code for more information.

drclas.harvard.edu

Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube

OUR CONTRIBUTION

1

CONSTITUTIONAL FORUM AT HARVARD

12:00 PM Coffee

12:10 PM **First Panel**, Student Reflection: Harvard Association of Chilean Students

- **Pablo Eguiguren**, MPA-ID & MBA Candidate, Harvard Kennedy School and Harvard Business School, Rubenstein Fellow

- **María Elisa Zavala**, Associate, Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP

- **Moderated by: Claudia Bobadilla**, ALI Fellow 2022, Founder Puente Social Foundation

2:00 PM **Second Panel**, Academic Reflection: Advisory Committee Members from the Academic Forum for the New Constitution in Chile

- **Claudio Fuentes**, Professor, Political Science, Universidad Diego Portales

- **Cristián Rodríguez-Chiffelle**, DRCLAS Luksic Visiting Scholar 2022-2023

- **Sol Serrano**, Professor Institute of History, Universidad Católica de Chile

- **Discussant: Mark Tushnet, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law, Emeritus**, Harvard University

- **Moderated by: Steven Levitsky**, Director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin America Studies and Professor of Government, Harvard University

4:00 PM **Third panel**, Institutional Reflection

- **Patricio Fernández Chadwick**, journalist and writer, former member of the Chilean Constitutional Convention

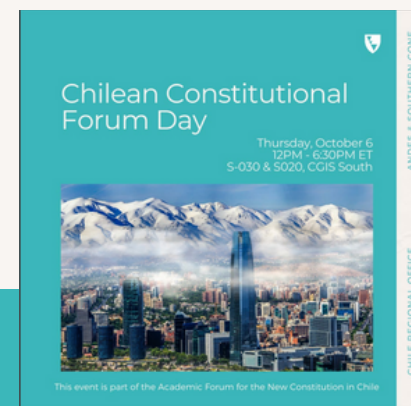
- **Ximena Rincón**, Senator of Chile

- **Rodrigo Vergara**, Senior Researcher CEP, Fmr. President Central Bank, Chile and Research Fellow, Harvard Kennedy School, Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government

- **Discussant: David Landau**, Dean for International Programs, and Mason Ladd Professor of Law and Associate, Florida State University

- **Moderated by: Steven Levitsky**, Director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Professor of Government, Harvard University

5:30 PM Reception



2021

October 6



100 +

participants

As Chileans rewrite their Constitution, what kind of **democratic innovation** might bring political and policy decision-making closer to citizens? What are the **prospects** and **pitfalls** of **direct democracy**?

OUR CONTRIBUTION

1

DRCLAS TUESDAY SEMINAR



✓ 2024
February 6

This seminar was the **last one** of the webinar series on the Chilean constitutional process. The second constitutional proposal was rejected by **55,8%** of the population on a plebiscite that took place on **December 17, 2023**.



OUR CONTRIBUTION

- ✓ The forum became an **analytical tool** to discuss in-depth the most pressing topics throughout the constitutional process.
 - ✓ This space of global reflection aggregated thinkers from **different political backgrounds** and **social perspectives**.
 - ✓ Thanks to the **Advisory Committee** in Chile, the selection of themes for each webinar conveyed the crucial moment that the constitutional process was going through.
-
- ✓ The initial debate between 2020 and 2022 focused on **social rights** and the future of Chile's **economic model** and how to restore legitimacy to a political system that lost public trust
 - ✓ In addition, it also analyzed how to improve **democratic representation**, especially of women, indigenous communities, and other historically under-represented minorities.
 - ✓ After the first proposal was rejected by the population in the 2022 plebiscite, in 2023 and 2024 we examined the **process itself and why it failed twice**.

RESULTS



Chile's constitutional process was **closely followed around the world**. We invited academics based abroad to get a general context as well as professors who teach at local universities to reach an audience as global as possible.

3,400+ total number of registrations to all webinars

2,200+ total number of attendees, showing a high level of participation (50%+) concerning the number of people registered.

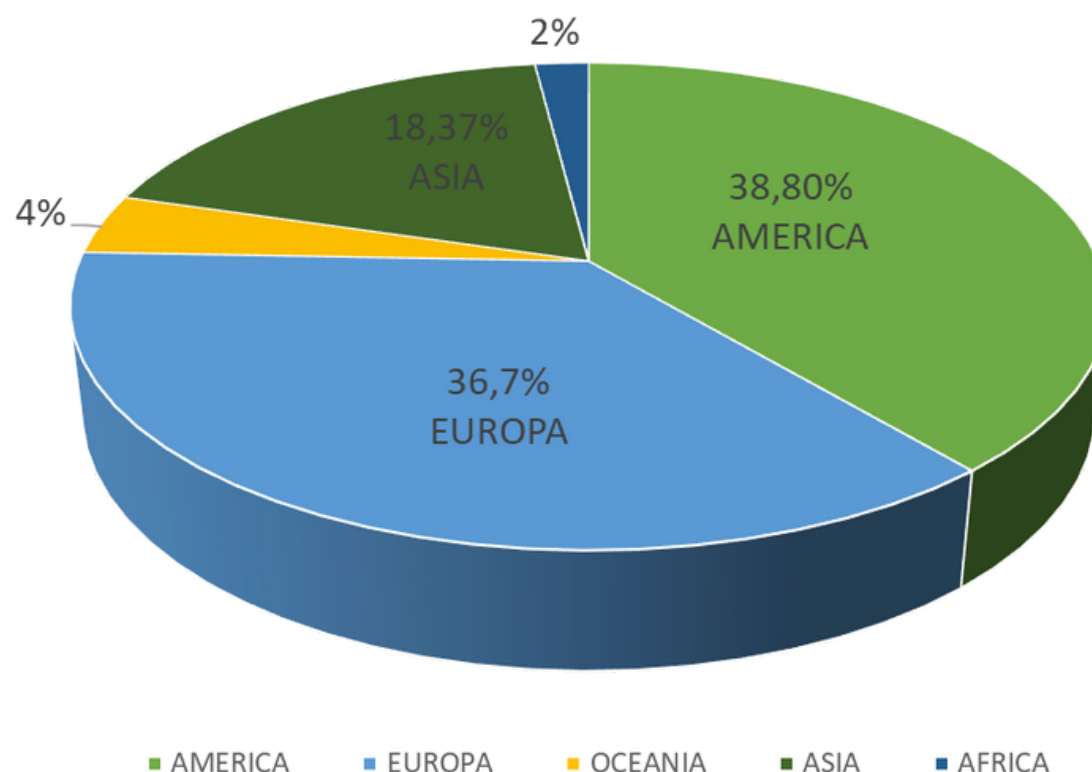
RESULTS

As of March 22, 2024

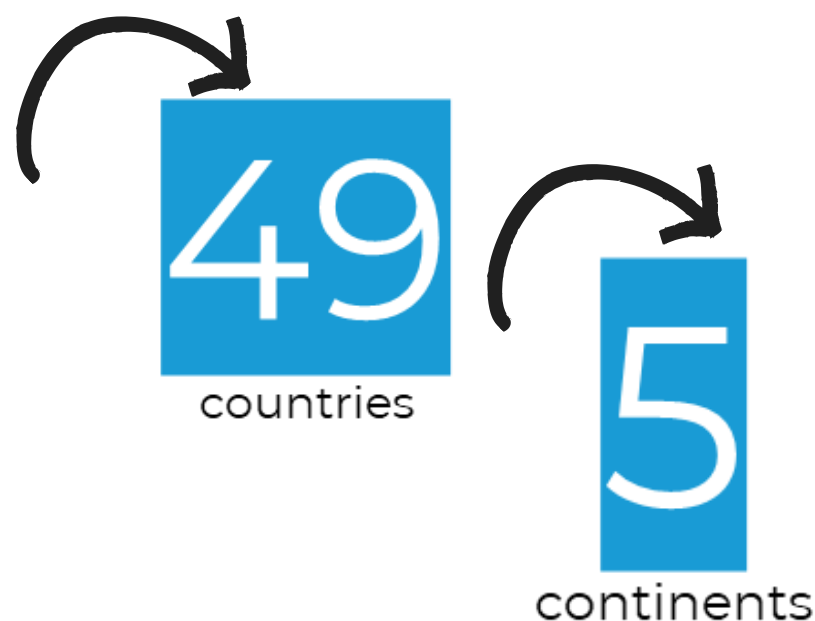


WORLDWIDE ATTENDEES

Distribution of attendees per continent (2020-2024)



Andorra	
Argentina	
Australia	
Austria	
Belgium	
Bhutan	
Bolivia	
Brazil	
Canada	
Chad	
Chile	
Colombia	
Costa Rica	
Czech Republic	
Cyprus	
Dominican Republic	
Ecuador	
El Salvador	
Finland	
France	
Germany	
Honduras	
Hong Kong	
India	
Indonesia	
Ireland	
Israel	
Italy	
Japan	
Korea	
Mexico	
Netherlands	
New Zealand	
Nicaragua	
Norway	
Oman	
Panama	
Paraguay	
Peru	
Portugal	
Singapore	
Slovenia	
Spain	
Switzerland	
Turkey	
United Kingdom	
United States	
Uruguay	
Venezuela	



Source: DRCLAS Chile Office data (2024).

RESULTS



THE THREE TOPICS OF **HIGHEST** INTEREST WEBINARS (LIVE) (2020-2024)



HOW DOES THE PROPOSAL OF CHILE'S NEW CONSTITUTION LOOK?

Wednesday, July 13, 2022, 9:30 am ET (9:30 Chile
Time)

*Steven Levitsky, Roberto Gargarella, David
Landau, Miriam Henríquez, Alejandra Ovalle,
Juan Pablo Luna.*

[VIEW EVENT](#)

1

368 attendees

Strengths and weaknesses of the
legal framework

July 13, 2022

2

241 attendees

The future of the Chilean
Economic model

June 16, 2021



THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE CHILEAN ECONOMY: A BREAK WITH THE PAST?

Wednesday, June 16, 2021, 9:30 am ET / Chile
Time

*Steve Levitsky, Cristián Rodríguez-Chiffelle, Dani
Rodrik, Claudia Sanhueza, Rodrigo Valdés,
Rodrigo Vergara*

[VIEW EVENT](#)

3



LAUNCH: ACADEMIC FORUM FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN CHILE

Wednesday, December 2, 2020, 3:00 pm ET

Claudia Heiss, Steven Levitsky, Juan Pablo Luna, Sebastián Soto

[VIEW EVENT](#)

231 attendees

Launch of the Academic Forum

December 2, 2020

RESULTS

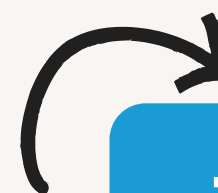
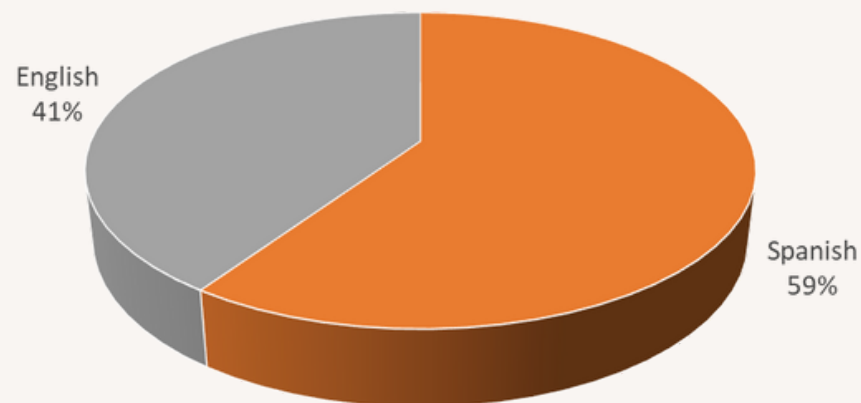
As of March 22, 2024



YOUTUBE VIEWS (2020-2024)

Both the percentage of English-speaking attendees and the global audience support the high international interest in the Chilean constitutional process. We aggregated all webinars on our webpage for an **educational** and **academic analysis purpose**.

Language Preference



14
Videos

8,235

total views

3,873

English version

4,362

Spanish version

Click here to watch all webinars:

<https://drclas.harvard.edu/chile-en>

Source: DRCLAS Chile Office data (2024).



RESULTS

As of March 22, 2024

THE MOST POPULAR WEBINAR OF BOTH LIVE SERIES AND THE YOUTUBE CHANNEL:

July 13, 2022

How does the proposal of Chile's new Constitution look?

We contribute to the debate by presenting different perspectives from academic experts, both Chilean and international, on the strengths and weaknesses of the new legal framework represented in the draft of the new Constitution.

Steven Levitsky, Harvard University

Roberto Gargarella, Universidad de Buenos Aires

David Landau, Florida State University

Miriam Henríquez, Universidad Alberto Hurtado

Alejandra Ovalle, Universidad Católica de Chile

Juan Pablo Luna, Universidad Católica de Chile

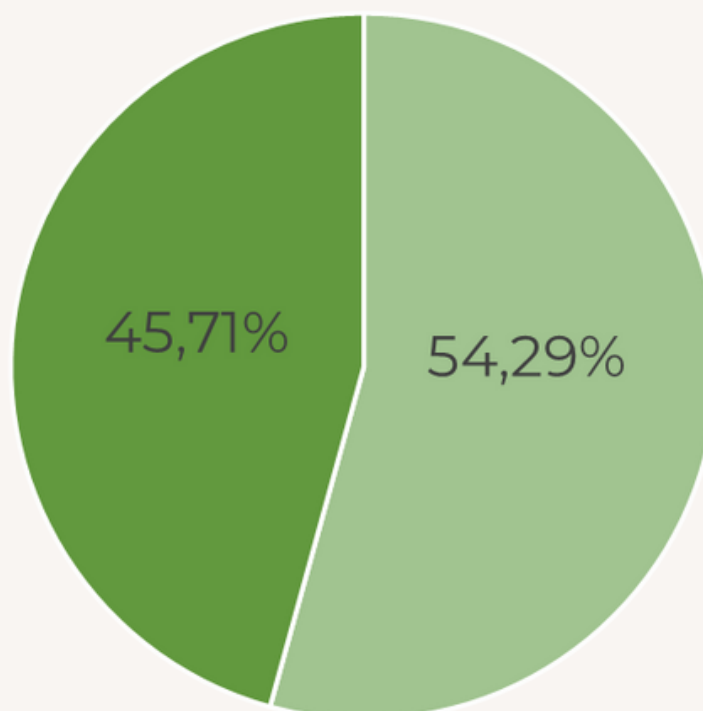
RESULTS

As of March 22, 2024



SPEAKERS BY ORIGIN

Percentage of organizations represented
(2020-2024)



Local International

Nearly **54%** of the speakers were coming from local universities, think tanks and institutions, while **46%** of the total had international affiliation.

Six out of seven members of the Advisory Committee in Chile are former **DRCLAS Visiting Scholars** and all participated as panelists in each webinar.

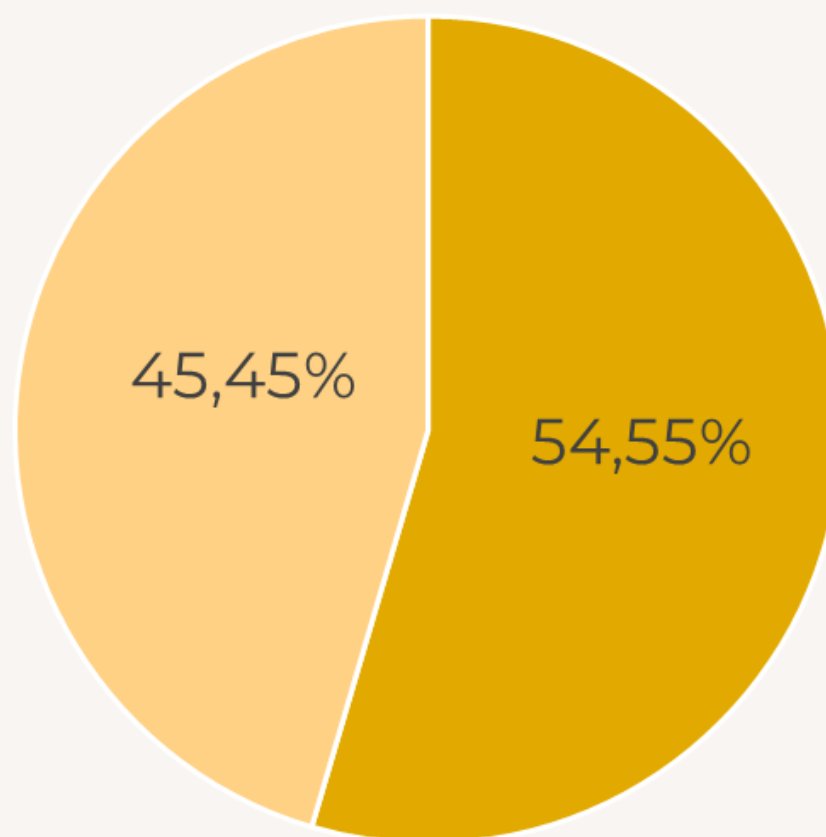


RESULTS

As of March 22, 2024

SPEAKERS BY GENDER

Percentage of speakers by gender (2020-2024)



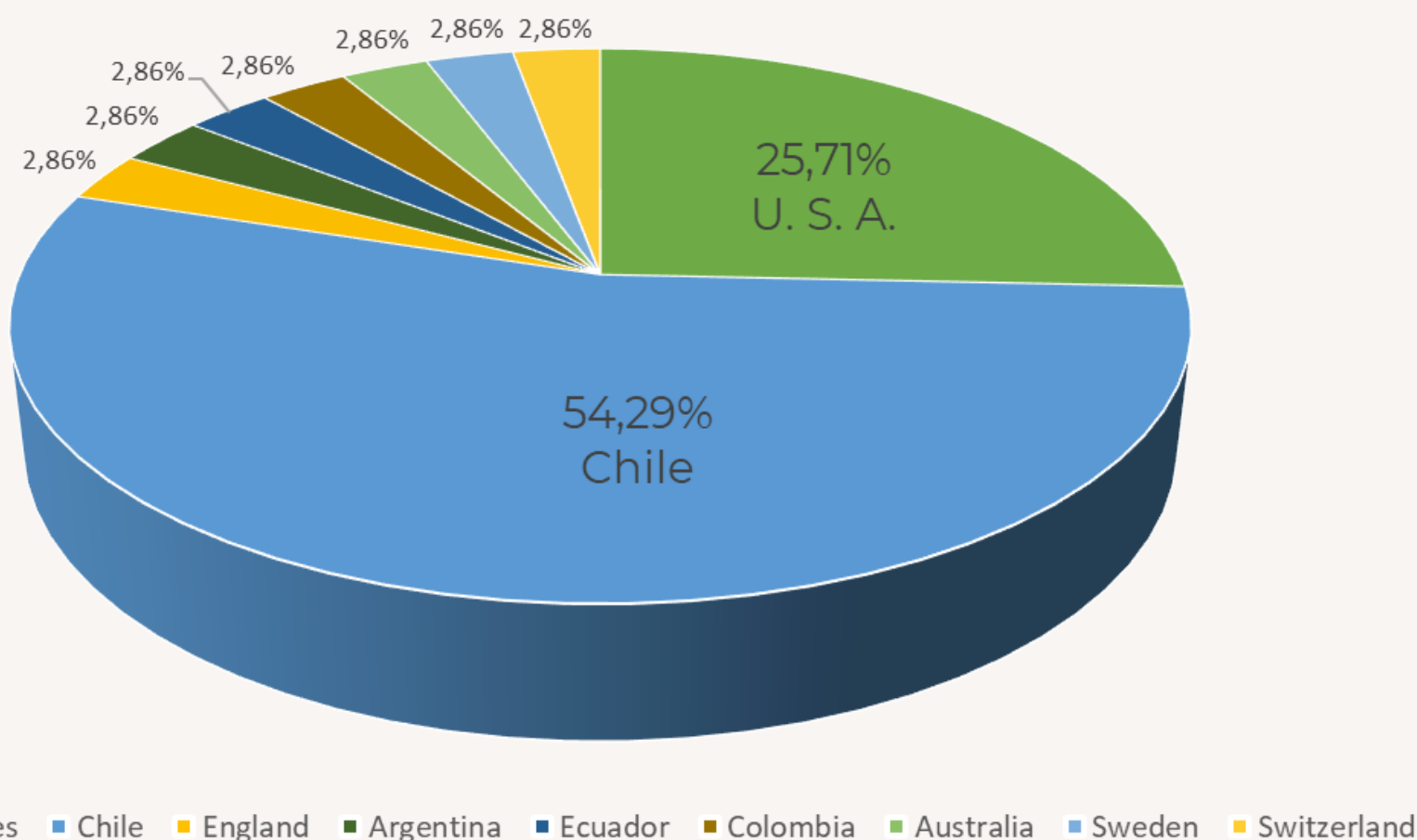
■ Male ■ Female

Around **45,4 %** of the speakers were **women** and **54,5%** were **men**.

RESULTS

SPEAKERS BY COUNTRY

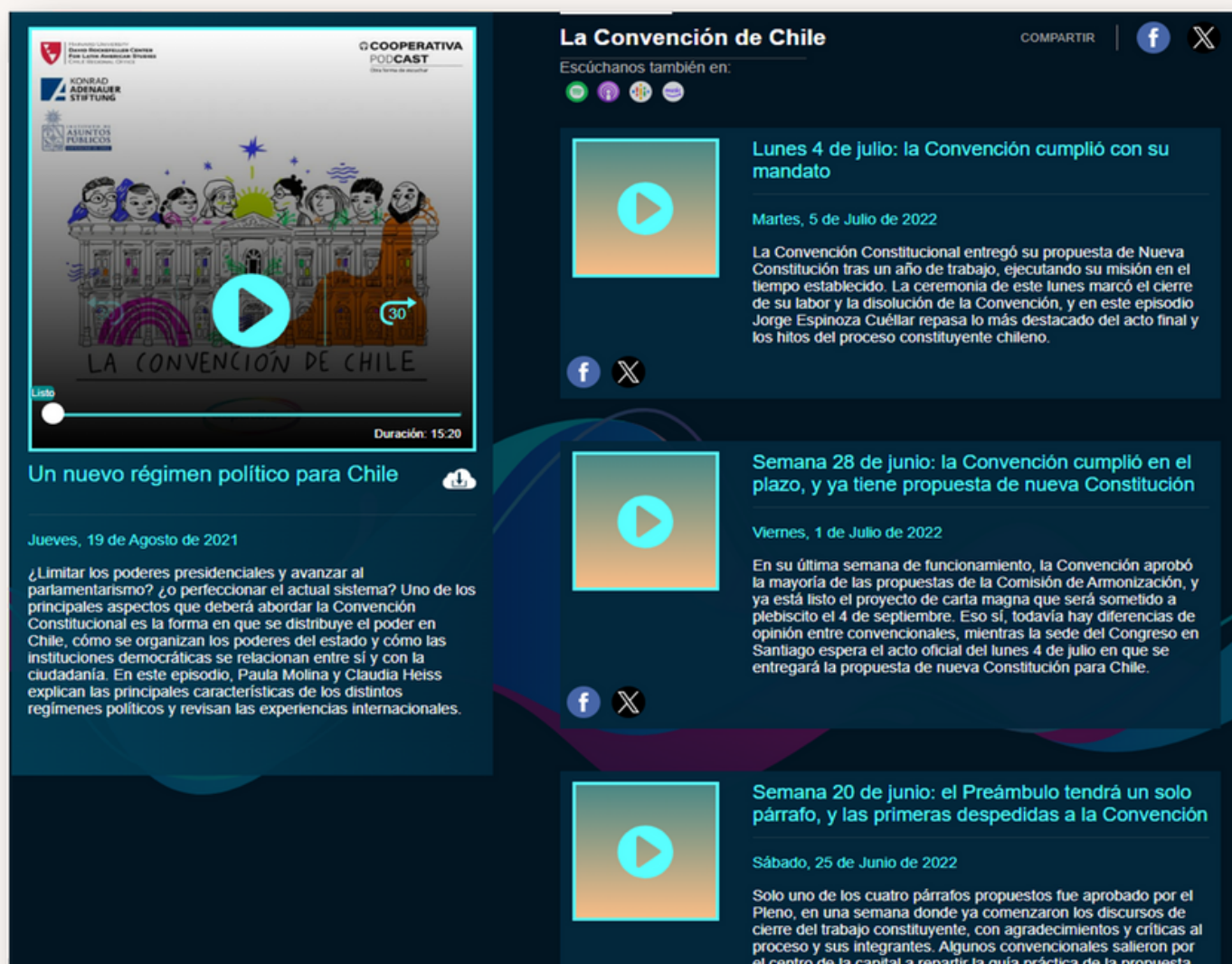
Universities, think tank and other institutions per country
(speakers' affiliation) 2020-2024



A total of **66** speakers affiliated to **35** prestigious universities, think tanks and institutions from **nine countries** participated in our webinar series to foster academic debate.

RESULTS

MEDIA PROJECT



[https://cooperativapodcast.cl/la-convencion-de-chile?
ts=20220705123831&categoria=la-convenci%C3%B3n-de-chile](https://cooperativapodcast.cl/la-convencion-de-chile?ts=20220705123831&categoria=la-convenci%C3%B3n-de-chile)

Our webinar series resulted in a one-year **Chile's Convention** project; a podcast run by Radio Cooperativa.

RESULTS

MEDIA COVERAGE – UNIVERSITIES



Universidad del Desarrollo
Centro de Justicia Constitucional

The Harvard Crimson



Universidad Diego Portales
Laboratorio Constitucional



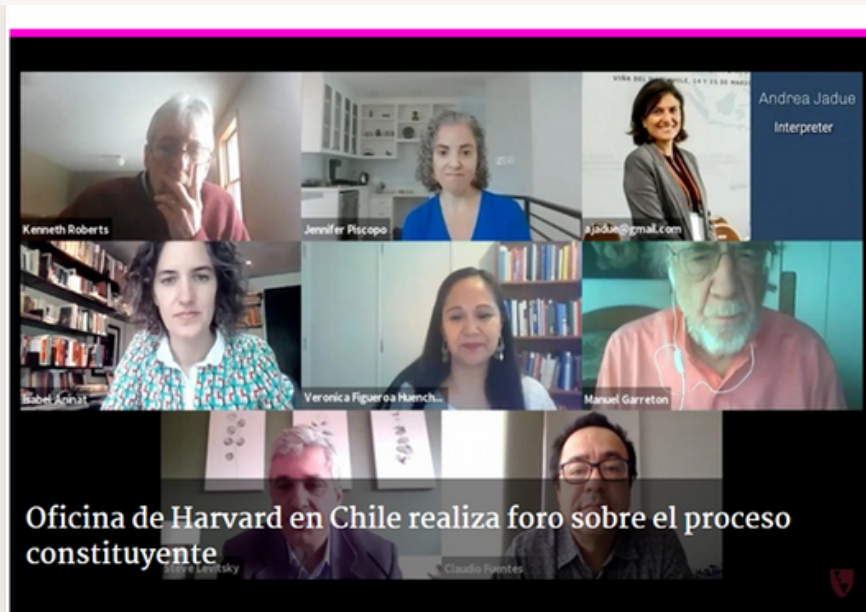
Universidad Católica
Instituto de Ciencia Política
y Educación



Universidad Austral de Chile
Diario UACH

RESULTS

MEDIA COVERAGE – OTHER SOURCES



Diario Financiero



La Voz de Chile



Fundación Luksic Scholars



Instituto Milenio
Fundamentos de los Datos





CONCLUSIONS

- ✓ The Academic **Forum for the new Constitution in Chile** contributed with a high-level of panelists to an enlightening **academic debate** on Chile's constitutional process (2020-2023).
- ✓ A total of **66 scholars, practitioners** and **opinion leaders** from **35 institutions** both in Chile and abroad participated as speakers, bringing together different points of view and political perspectives.
- ✓ This critical thinking promoted a **transversal dialogue** concerning the constitutional process in Chile about the most relevant topics in the nation-building project. The **Forum** held between December 2020 and February 2024, reached a global audience in **49 countries**, reaffirming our initial commitment of reaching the largest audience globally.
- ✓ We are offering this platform for constant educational purposes and reviews. Up to this date, our **14 videos in English and Spanish** (webinars, forum and seminar) had **8,200+ views** (March 2024).
- ✓ The webinars organized in the pandemic, between 2021 and 2022 during the **first stage of the constitutional process** attracted the largest number of attendees, the legal framework being the highest topic of interest of the series.



DAVID ROCKEFELLER CENTER
FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THANK YOU

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