

Social Change and Children's Well-being in Chile

by

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Professor Mark Edwards

Chilean society has been changing rapidly for the last few decades during a time of rapid economic growth. Some sociological and economical analyses state that when a nation grows, inequality between the rich and poor grows too, leaving the poor behind. The Chilean economy is the most rapidly growing in Latin America in recent years. It is therefore important to examine whether or not the people's quality of life has improved in Chile over the last few years. Particularly, I focused on how the well-being of Chilean children has been changing over time. In addition, I looked at political issues about how the former leader, Augusto Pinochet, has been influencing both the political parties and the public. In terms of family issues, Chile is facing a serious issue; namely, it has one of the highest child abuse rates in the world. Also, I examined how new policies regarding health programs such as contraception and sex education have been difficult to advance in Chilean society because of the power of the Roman Catholic Church. Finally, I addressed new initiatives that the new president, Michelle Bachelet, has been promoting. In short, this thesis addresses this question -- what makes people's well-being improve over-time?

My approach was conducted using any available public literatures, via electronic methods, and my case study from El Monte, Chile where I conducted a participant observation.

The main findings substantiated the claim that people's quality of life has been improving because of Chile's rapid economic growth, increase of government's social spending, and the maintenance of traditional social structure. However, economic growth is also leading to a decline in children's health status because of declining environmental quality.

Introduction

The Republic of Chile is not only an interesting country to study, but it also important to understand. Compared to other South American countries, Chile has grown rapidly in the last 10 years. For a developing country, its level of general education is very high. After long years of military government administration, the political structure is approaching that of democracy, and with the recent rise of the new president, Michelle Bachelet, the country is moving slightly to the left again. There are two important questions to ask about Chile: (1) In the next few years, will Chilean society be more stable and (2) will the government solve many issues that the country is facing right now?

It is true that people's quality of life in Chile has been improving along with the current economic growth. However, at the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that among the fast-growing developing nations, there is more likely to be income inequality or a huge gap between rich and poor. Chile is facing this tendency because Chile is one of the top countries in which high inequality exists in the world, compared with other countries.

Along with this issue, what is happening to the well-being of Chilean children? Their overall well-being such as health status and educational level is strongly associated with their parents' background. Although it is reducing at a slow pace, the poverty rate of children has declined over-time, and the government has been spending more money on social programs for the last few years, helping low-income families having better lives. However, current family issues such as a high percent of family violence, particularly towards children are critical issues to be resolved because enriching the well-being of children will forge the future of Chile is very important.

As a student researcher and an intern at a government organization, I lived in Santiago and a suburb of Santiago for 4 months in 2006 to explore Chile in order to research, to understand, and to learn a real sense of Chilean society in terms of economics, politics, family structure, and children. A full seventeen years after Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship was over, I learned that people's political opinions are still divided between those who favor Pinochet and those who hate him. Pinochet was a hero for some people, but was a repressive dictator for others. And now, at the time of Pinochet's death, Chile is at a turning point.

The aim of this research paper is to examine what types of issues Chilean society is facing these days in terms of economic, political, and social developments and how they have been changing. It is important to address issues from these different viewpoints because all these issues are reflecting tomorrow's Chilean challenges. At the same time, through international comparison with the United States, both Chile and the United States could find any solutions for these issues. Overall, I hope readers will become more aware of current Chilean society and the country's issues without having any prejudice.

Chapter Breakdown

This thesis divides into five chapters. The first chapter will simply provide the background of Chile from different aspects such as historical (political), economic, and social background that need to be explained before I begin the main analytical chapters. The second chapter will examine patterns of poverty and inequality in Chile along with a comparison of the trends with those of the United States. The third chapter will describe how Chileans think about Augusto Pinochet's regime and how Chilean politics are facing

political polarization. The fourth chapter will describe the current family issues in Chile, particularly focusing on child abuse and the reasons for it. In addition, I will address how the Roman Catholic Church is powerful political influence in making decisions against people who desire to have official rights with regard to controversial issues such as the law of divorce and the introduction of sex education for the younger generation. Finally, the fifth chapter will address on future goals of new president, Michelle Bachelet, and how she will emphasize on improvement of social programs.

Chapter 1: Background of Chile

1. Historical/Political Background

The Republic of Chile became independent from Spain in 1818, following the wave of independence from colonization among South American countries. Although by the mid-twentieth century Chile was the most advantaged and stable country in Latin America, establishment of the current economic, social, and political situation in Chile came about during the late-twentieth century, when Chile had to face the struggle between military dictatorship and socialism. The political approaches of each president were different and included nationalism, socialism and democracy.

Eduardo Frei-Montalva's Democracy (1964-1970)

Eduardo Frei-Montalva was elected as the president in 1964. His major achievement was the development of the production of copper, which is a major export for Chile. The government took 51 percent ownership of the mines controlled by the United States' companies.¹

He believed that agrarian reform necessarily helps to raise the standard of living of rural workers and to increase agricultural production. However, the actual redistribution of land fell far short of promises and expectations. Therefore, during the Frei government, economic growth remained at a slow pace, and inflation stayed high. However, the Frei administration improved income distribution and increased access to education.

¹ Paul W. Drake, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. p. 45

Salvador Allende's Leftist Regime (1970-1973)

The Allende government was effective during the first year after the election. The birth of Allende's Popular Unity Party moved Chile's political system to socialism. Although this new birth of Popular Unity came under the spotlight in the world as an experiment of achievement, the party was having trouble managing the Chilean government because they had only 30% support from the Chilean citizens.²

In only one year, the Allende government also radicalized the process of agricultural reform and expropriated the area of the land which the Frei government took six years to work on. Also, Allende carried forward the nationalization of private business. These political reforms changed the Chilean economy. Low inflation and huge growth marked the first period, however, inflation later on led the Chilean economy to a severe financial deficit.

Augusto Pinochet: Military Rule (1973-1990)

Augusto Pinochet was a military dictator from 1973 to 1990. He came to power in a violent coup, which deposed the democratic socialist Salvador Allende in 1973. His economic policy was based on ideas from the "Chicago boys," who were economists trained at the University of Chicago and heavily influenced by the monetarist policies of Milton Friedman.³ He tried to suppress hyper inflation at the time and worked on privatization of business from nationalization. As a result of this radical change in

² Paul W. Drake, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. pp.47-51

³ "Storyline; Chapter 7: Chicago Boys and Pinochet" Commanding Heights by Public Broadcast Service (PBS). <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/story/ch_menu_02.html>

economic policies, although social spending of government was reduced this time, Chile's economy grew rapidly from 1976 to 1981. However, economic collapse occurred in 1982, and made Chilean politics go back to democracy.

Another important occurrence during Pinochet's regime was human rights abuses. It has been said that thousands of people were murdered, tortured, brutalized, and exiled, especially those who linked with the Popular Unity Party.⁴ Economically, Pinochet had moved Chile's focus from the state to the market. Politically, his regime pulverized the revolutionary Marxist Left. Socially, he fostered a new emphasis on individualism and consumerism, which widened the gap between rich and poor.

Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994)

After the military government was over, the Aylwin government took several steps to begin the process for social spending. The government reestablished the concept of a minimum salary and raised the minimum wage substantially. This wage was then increased yearly, and tied to the rate of inflation and productivity. In 1991, Aylwin increased social spending by 30 percent.⁵ The Aylwin regime also established a fund for social projects directed toward poverty alleviation at the beginning of its administration. Overall, between 1989 and 1993, social spending increased 45 percent.

Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006)

President Ricardo Lagos was considered a center-leftist. He is the first social democrat politician since Allende government. His government increased social spending,

⁴ Paul W. Drake, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. pp.51-54

⁵ Lois Hecht Oppenheim, Politics in Chile.

particularly for education, since he was a former education minister.⁶ Although he had to confront a high rate of national unemployment at this time, the unemployment rate reverted by 2003. Foreign relations in South America intensified especially with Bolivia over their access to the sea, and with Argentina as an important partner for natural gas.⁷ In terms of international relationships in other regions, the Lagos government had a great improvement in Free Trade Agreements with some European countries, the United States, and South Korea.

Michelle Bachelet (2006-present)

Michelle Bachelet is the current president of Chile. She is the first woman to hold this position in Chilean history. She is a socialist, and her main goals are emphasizing improvement of education, employment, and equal opportunities, because her career background was in public health sectors, such as: the Ministry of Health's West Santiago Health Service, the Pan-American Health Organization, the World Health Organization, and the German Corporation for Technical Cooperation.

One of Bachelet's immediate challenges is to reform the pension fund system, which was privatized by Pinochet in 1981. Among many faults of the system is that while the companies that invest workers' contributions in the stock market (and charge extraordinarily high commissions), they are making record profits. About three-fourths of retirees now receive less than the minimum monthly pension of \$140.⁸

⁶ Eugenio Tironi "Chile Under The Lagos Administration" America's Insights An Electronic Publication of Institute of the Americas. March 2000.

⁷ "Commanding Heights: Ricardo Lagos" Public Broadcast Service (PBS) January 2002.
< http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/shared/minitextlo/int_ricardolagos.html>

⁸ Pascale Bonnefoy, "Chile Looks (Slightly) Left" Nation. Vol. 282 Issue 11. 2006, March 20. pp.5-6

Her view of international relations is that they should improve. Bachelet said that the United States is a “strategic ally.” She has also said that Chile will be a totally different country by the end of her four-year term. Most of the scholars have said that she may prompt important changes from the point of view of empowering women and expanding preschool education. On the other hand, a great social gap between rich and poor remains, and Michelle Bachelet’s government will be remembered more for continuity than for change.

2. Economic Background

The important economic background in Chile is that Chile was facing a serious economic crisis during the Allende regime in about 1970. The Chilean economy has improved dramatically after Pinochet’s military government began in 1973 by the introduction of free market economic system. As a result of the change, the Chilean economy has grown the most in 1990s, and it continues until current years.

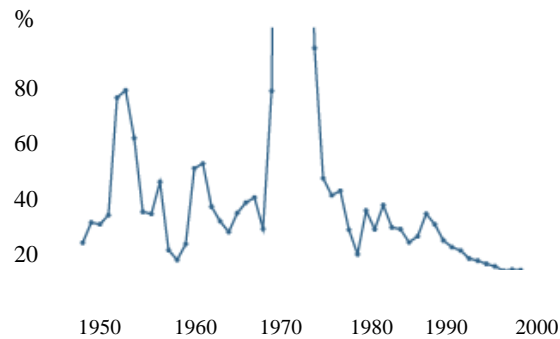
The Economic Crisis in 1970-1973

By the changes of economic policy such as agrarian reform and nationalization of private lands and copper mines during Allende regime, people’s salaries increased about 48 percent on average in 1970. However, in 1971, Popular Unity’s economic policies rapidly made a situation of inflation after that.⁹ In addition, the government expenditure was very high. The unions were very powerful and were able to negotiate for the entire

⁹ Sebastian Edwards et al. “Chapter 3: The Economy” in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. p.147

industries. It was difficult to lay off workers, and strikes could happen indefinitely. As a result of this situation, unemployment rate dropped to 3.8 percent by the end of 1971, the industrial production increased 6.3 percent in 1970, and agricultural productivity increased 5.3 percent. Thus, the real wages went up 27 percent, and Chilean government had a sense of euphoria in 1970. Following this situation, the Chilean government decided to nationalize large copper mines. As a result, the reform of banking system and large manufacturing firms was more difficult. In the meantime, the Allende government was in unstable state. The balance of payments deficit was \$298 million, and the inflation was 163 percent in 1971, which was shown in graph 1.¹⁰

Graph1: Inflation



Source: from International Monetary Fund

Military Government and Free Market Reform in 1973-1990

When the military government started in 1973 by Augusto Pinochet's leading, he took on economic reform in Chilean society. This period of time was dramatically changed by the military government. Inflation was reduced greatly, government deficit

¹⁰ Commanding Heights by Public Broadcast Service (PBS). Chile Country Profile. 2002. Heights Production, Inc. International Monetary Found.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/countries/cl/cl_inf.html>

was eliminated, the economy went through a dramatic liberalization of its foreign sector, and a strong market system was established.¹¹ The military government structure had a big influence on economic policy which Chile used to have. President Pinochet launched deregulation of business and encouraged privatization by following democratic leading society such as the United States.

Economic Growth in 1990s

From 1987 to 1996, the Chilean economy was growing rapidly, and poverty actually declined because of the rapid economic growth and governmental social spending for poor people. The recent economic growth of Chile is an expansion of international economics such as an increase in the export rate of copper and in international business. The GDP of Chile grew by 6 percent in real terms in 2000, driven by 13 percent rise in exports and by domestic demand.¹²

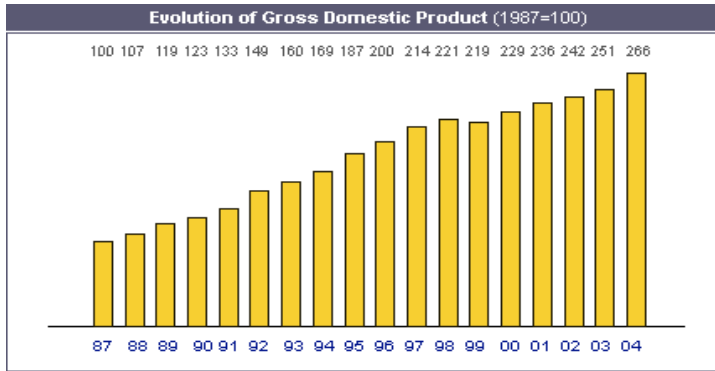
Graph 2 indicates the growth of GDP from 1987 to 2004. Chile's annual growth of GDP has been increasing as twice as much since 1987. Entering into 90's, their GDP growth is still growing even though it is slight increase.¹³ Overall, compared to 1980s, GDP in 1990s is quite high. After entering 2000s, the GDP continues growing in Chile.

Graph 2: Evolution of GDP in Chile, 1987-2004

¹¹ Sebastian Edwards and Alejandra Cox Edwards, "Chapter 3: The Economy" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. p.147

¹² Hernán Cortés "Chile" in Osvaldo Kacef and Jurgen Weller (ed.) The Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean. United Nations Publication, December, 2005. pp.169-175

¹³ Chile Foreign Investment Committee, "Sound Macroeconomic Fundamentals" 2000-2006.



Source: Foreign Investment Committee, based on Central Bank data
(www.doingbusinessin Chile.cl)

3. Social Background

People

If people travel to Santiago from Lima, Peru, the Chileans seem more Latin European-looking than the Peruvians. However, if people travel to Santiago from Buenos Aires, Argentina, Chileans seem to have more Native American features than Argentines. These different perspectives provide us an insight into the history the Chilean people.¹⁴

The nineteenth century had a wave of European immigration. Around 1845, particularly, there were German immigrants to the Chilean south. Because of this, the area of the country has still German influence in terms of German architecture and cuisine. People from Scotland and England also came to Chile at the same period. The

¹⁴ J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. pp75-80

other immigrants such as Italians, East European Jews, Swiss, and Croats came to Chile at the end of the nineteenth century.

There are Native Americans living in Chile. The term Mapuche (“people of the land”) now includes most of the Native Chilean groups. About 300,000 were estimated as living on reservations according to the 1982 census in Chile. Although indigenous culture still strongly remains in Chile, only 8.5 percent of the Mapuche have been designated as monolingual, and most Mapuche can speak Spanish too. The education level of Mapuche is quite high, and the literacy rate of Mapuche is about 81.2 percent. Thus, with the exception of indigenous groups, the Chilean population distinguishes itself as fundamentally homogeneous although there are slightly different by their region.

Social Class

People do not talk about social class very much in Chile. However, it is very clear to see the huge gap between rich and poor. Particularly, rich people are getting richer although poor people are slightly better-off with the economic growth. It has been said that two third of Chilean people live in Santiago city. Lower-class people are more likely to live in outside of Santiago because living costs are more expensive in Santiago. Therefore, they are more likely to be a great difference on social classes between people who living in Santiago and people who are living in outside of Santiago and any other different regions.

Public Healthcare

In recent years, Chile has had better quality of state-run social welfare systems in terms of social security program, healthcare, and education system. From 1970s to the early 1990s, the percentage of social spending by the government increased from 19 percent to 26 percent on GDP.¹⁵ Particularly, the Aylwin government increased social spending by more than U.S. \$1.5 billion after Pinochet's military government and enhanced healthcare and housing program. The Chilean healthcare program has showed a lot of improvement since then. The new Michelle Bachelet government has been raising more funds for the public health care system. Chile's principal public healthcare system is called the Universal Access and Explicit Guarantees (AUGE) which was established when Lagos administration.¹⁶ The AUGE added coverage for 15 more diseases on last July. The AUGE is the key concern for Bachelet administration for the next few years, and prospects to expand more.

Education System

The compulsory education for primary and secondary school has not been provided until 1930s by the government. In 1950s, the government created the National Council for School Aid and Grants (Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas), which are providing scholarships with making breakfast and lunch available to all children at the tuition-free private and public schools.¹⁷ This program was widespread, and primary school attendance reached to 96 percent in 1980s. Entering twentieth century, the Chilean government began to develop educational system more. They increased the improvement

¹⁵ J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. pp75-80

¹⁶ Laura Gillis "Chile's public health care system to have surplus funds in 2008" The Santiago Times. February, 2007.

<http://www.tcgnews.com/santiagotimes/index.php?nav=story&story_id=12904&topic_id=15>

¹⁷ J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment" in Rex A. Hudson (ed.) Chile: A Country Study. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994. pp75-80

of preprimary education, and the current Bachelet government is planning to spend more money for educational system.

The Role of the Church

The major church service is called “Hogar de Cristo” in Chile. It is well-known non-governmental organization provided by church, and they are providing services to the poor. “Hogar de Cristo” is mainly providing appropriate and loving shelters to the poor, particularly for breastfed babies, younger children, children, young people and families under social risk conditions, adults, physically and mentally disabled adults and terminally ill people. People can get involved easily by donating some money through supermarkets when they pay.¹⁸

The Role of the Family

In Chile, extended family is the most common family form although the nuclear family is getting popular in a big city such as Santiago. In the suburbs, it is not unusual to see that nuclear families are living together with their parents and their grandparents to help making a living each other. Since Chile still has a traditional social structure, men are still more likely to have advantages than women, in terms of job opportunities and social status. Men are more likely to be full-time workers and to make a living for family, and women are more likely to be at home or to be part-time workers for taking care of their children. The average total fertility rate has declined since entering 2000s, which is

¹⁸ Hogar de Cristo Official Homepage <<http://www.hogardecristo.com/navegacion/home.asp>>

2.4 during 2000 and 2005, compared with 3.0 during 1970 and 1980.¹⁹ The average age of marriage of woman is 23.4 years old for women and 25.8 years old for men.²⁰

¹⁹ “Population, Health and Human Well-being: Country Profile-Chile” Earth Trends: World Resources Institute. Washington D.C. 2001. < <http://earthtrends.wri.org/text/population-health/country-profile-37.html>>

²⁰ Economic and Social Data Ranking. < <http://www.dataranking.com/table.cgi?LG=e&TP=po08-2>>

Chapter 2: Poverty and Inequality in Chile: A Comparison with the United States

According to some economic theories, if a nation's economy is growing, more people are having a better life. However, sociological and some economic analyses explain that under these conditions, social inequality in the nation grows, leaving the poor behind. Chile is a country which is having some of the greatest economic growth since the 1970s among all Latin American countries. However, according to recent research, it has been found that Chile is a country which has the second highest level of income inequality in Latin America, following Brazil. Why is this happening like this? Why does inequality grow as the economy grows?

Brazil and Chile are the two countries that have the greatest number of new working opportunities available for people as a result of their recent economic growth. However, regardless of this positive situation, high income inequality between the rich and poor exists in Chile. In most nations that have experienced economic growth, the rich get richer, but the situation of the poor does not improve. Is Chilean society having a similar experience with its economic growth? With the current economic growth, has the poverty rate decreased in Chile since 1970s? Since parents' well-being is strongly related with children's well-being, I here examine how well-being of children has changed overtime with economic growth.

To better understand this, I provide an international comparison about the trend in inequality and poverty between Chile and the United States. Since the United States also has high income inequality as a developed nation, it is important to know how these two nations with different levels of national wealth are similar and different in terms of trends

in inequality and poverty. It is valuable to focus on this comparison and find the facts that we can learn from this comparison for the future economy of each nation.

I. Trends in Inequality and Poverty in Chile

As indicated in chapter 1, Chile has been the most successful economy in Latin America since the 1980s, and GDP per capita in Chile especially has increased a lot in the 1990s and early 2000s.* With economic growth, poverty has declined. However, high income inequality of this country still remains stable as poverty reduces.²¹ To illustrate

TABLE 1
POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN CHILE

	1990	1996
POVERTY INDICATORS ¹		
Headcount Index	0.42	0.27
Poverty Gap	0.17	0.10
FGT 2	0.09	0.05
INEQUALITY INDICATORS		
Per capita Income		
Gini	0.56	0.55
Coefficient of Variation	1.94	1.65
St. Dev. of Log income	0.99	0.98
Household Income		
Gini	0.54	0.54
Coefficient of Variation	1.63	1.59
St. Dev. of Log income	0.97	0.97
Earnings		
Gini	0.59	0.60
Coefficient of Variation	2.36	2.17
St. Dev. of Log income	1.03	1.04

Note: ¹ Poverty indicators are calculated using per capita income.

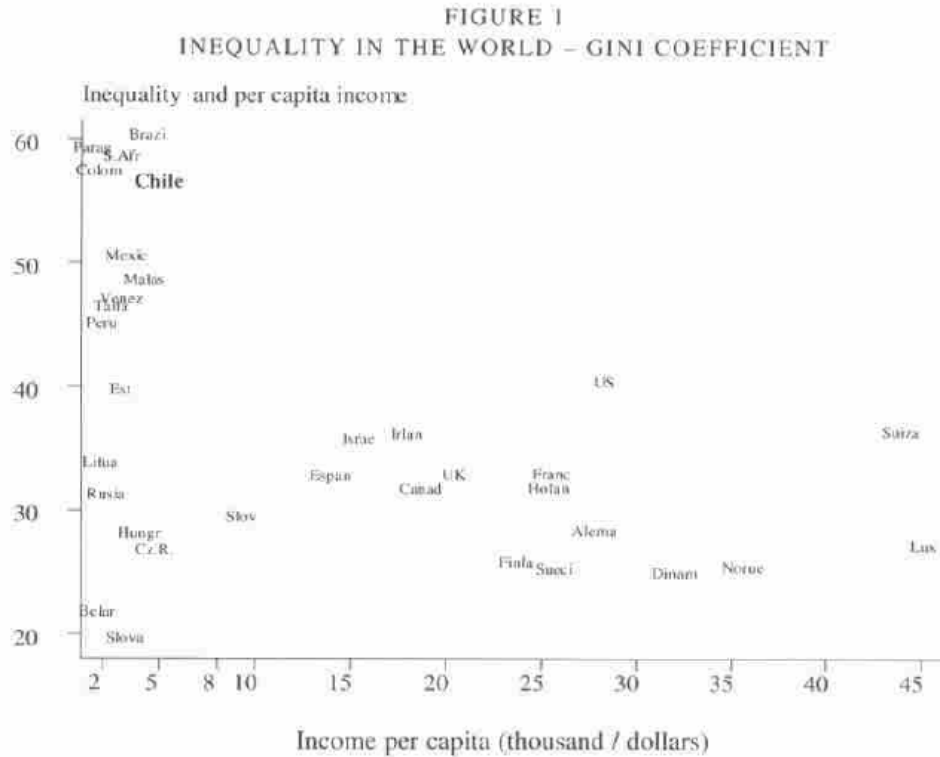
* Refer to Chapter 1.

²¹ Contreras, Dante "Poverty and Inequality in a Rapid Growth Economy: Chile 1990-96" The Journal of Development Studies. Published by Frank Cass, London. February 2003, pp.181-200.

the unusual relationship between inequality and poverty in Chile, I summarize several findings by Contreras (2003).

Table 1 shows poverty and inequality indicators from 1990 and 1996. For the poverty indicators, “headcount index” means the proportion of people living in poverty. This number has decreased significantly. The poverty gap is measured by the Gini coefficient, and the coefficient of variation and the standard deviation of the logarithm of income. From this data, we can see the poverty reduction from 1990 and 1996 in both the headcount index and poverty gap. At the national level, poverty has decreased from 42 percent to 27 percent, which is a good improvement. On the other hand, inequality indicators are made of three components, which are inequality by per capita income, inequality by household income, and inequality by earnings. Among all these indicators in 1990 and 1996, inequality is pretty stable while poverty has decreased in 1990 and 1996. For instance, inequality by per capita income is 56 percent in 1990 and 55 percent in 1996, and similar results are found in other indicators.

In addition to this indicator, figure 1 below shows inequality in the world. The countries which have high income inequalities are mostly from South American countries,



Source: World Bank.

and Chile has one of the highest income inequalities of anywhere in the world.²²

However, the interesting point is, again, that the poverty rate in Chile is decreasing when their economy is growing the most in 1990s with high income inequality exists. Therefore, the trends in inequality and poverty in Chile display an interesting pattern. This country has successfully reduced the percentage of poverty while their economy is most developing. In developed nations, it is unusual to see this type of result because when the nation's economy is growing so fast, the amount of effort that countries pour in for social spending is less. Thus, inequality grows more with economic

²² Contreras, Dante "Poverty and Inequality in a Rapid Growth Economy: Chile 1990-96" The Journal of Development Studies. Published by Frank Cass, London. February 2003, pp.181-200.

growth, causing a huge gap between rich and poor, where the rich get richer, but poor get more poor. This usually happens in American society. However, in Chile's case, as the economy has grown, the rich got richer, but the poor are also better-off. Income inequality did not grow very much. Nonetheless, there is still a huge income gap between rich and poor. The next finding also can be used to demonstrate the reality that economic growth has definitely helped the percentage of low-income people in Chile.

Table 2 describes the effect of economic growth on poverty alleviation.²³ I point out the indicators of headcount index and poverty gap in table 1. Growth effect percent

Table 2:
Datt-Ravallion Poverty Decomposition

	1990 %	1996 %	Total Change	Growth Effect %	Distribution Effect	Residual %
Headcount Index	40.2	27.8	-12.4	87.1	17.4	-4.5
Poverty Gap	17.7	10.6	-7.1	87.0	16.7	-3.6

indicates the percentage of poverty reduction that was caused by economic growth. Distribution effect means the percentage of changes in the inequality attributed to a decrease in poverty. From 1990 to 1996, poverty has reduced 12.4 percent during 1990 and 1996. This table indicates that 87 percent of the reduction can be attributed to economic growth, while only 17 percent can be attributed to the effects of redistribution of wealth from the rich to poor. This implies that increased opportunities for employment that bring incomes to poor people have been lifting the poor from poverty even while income inequality has remained fairly stable. In Chile, there appears to be evidence for

²³ Contreras, Dante "Poverty and Inequality in a Rapid Growth Economy: Chile 1990-96" The Journal of Development Studies. Published by Frank Cass, London. February 2003, pp.181-200.

the claim that ‘all boats float’ - when the economy has grown, everyone appears to be doing better.

II. Changes in Well-being of Chilean Children

In this section, I specifically focus on the trend in children’s well-being as it relates to current economic growth. Children’s well-being is strongly influenced by their parents’ well-being. Given the impressive reductions in poverty, under conditions of stable inequality in Chile since 1990s, what are the possible impacts on children’s well-being?

To explore the change of child’s well-being during the 1990s and early 2000s, there are many important indicators of a child’s well-being, two of which are homeownership and health. First, since parent’s wealth affects children’s wealth, their parent’s quality of living (measured by presence or absence of homeownership) is related with children’s well-being. To explore this issue, I draw on a case study of Esfuerzo, a location I visited in 2006. Second, the health condition of children has been changing with rapid economic growth, particularly in the metropolitan area of Santiago. As with many other nations who have had problems with environmental issues when their economy is growing, air pollution is becoming a serious issue in terms of changing children’s health.

1. Housing

a) Homeownership and Children’s Well-being

Homeownership has effects on children’s well-being. The Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University provides research on actual impact of homeownership on child outcomes.²⁴ According to their research, children of homeowners have better home environments, high cognitive test scores, and fewer behavior problems than do children of renters.

Figure 2: Means for Households Who Were Homeowners Throughout 1988-94, Renters Throughout 1988-94, and Those Who Changed Tenure Status

Variable	Owner	Renter	Change Tenure
HOME: Cognitive/Physical	60.1	38.1	50.4
HOME: Emotional	61.3	37.3	48.8
PIAT: Mathematics	54.7	40.1	48.5
PIAT: Reading	63.3	48.2	56.1
Behavior Problems	62.5	68.0	65.0

Source: Joint Center for Housing Studies

*"HOME: Cognitive/Physical" indicates index of the cognitive stimulation and physical environment.

Figure 2 indicates the means of three groups: those who own housing from 1988-94, those who rent housing during same period, and those who change tenure status.^{*} As a result, children of renters are more likely to obtain lower score of mathematics and reading assessments, have behavioral problems, and live in lower-rated home environments. On the other hand, children of owners have a higher percentage of all these three indicators than children of renters have low percentage. At the same time, children of owners are more likely to feel emotional support.

²⁴ Haurin, Donald R. et al. "The Impact of Homeownership on Child Outcomes" Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University. October, 2001.

* Most changes in tenure for this sample of young households are from renting to owning.

Thus, owning a home can bring more positive outcomes for children than can renting, providing children a higher quality home environment, higher emotional support, academic achievement, and less behavioral problems. Therefore, ownership is really important for children's well-being.

b) Case Study: Esfuerzo

El Monte, Chile, where I stayed for my internship, is a small town located outside of the Santiago region with about 20,000 people.²⁵ One of the areas in El Monte is called "Esfuerzo" a residential area in which the Chilean government financially helped people who did not have houses before. There were no people living this area before the government built houses for low-income people. In 2003, the government finished building houses and made low-income people move to live in this area. Speaking of people's quality of living in this region compared to other areas where there is extreme poverty exists; Esfuerzo is in average in Chile. Throughout government's investment for this area, residents' qualities of lives have changed for the better.

Most homes in Esfuerzo have fences to protect them, but some of the houses use scrap plastic materials for the roof, often with holes. The houses which have 1 or 2 rooms, along with a kitchen and bathroom, are considered the nicer houses in Esfuerzo. However, most of the houses are lacking tiles on the floor inside, so their floors are dirt.

One family has 2 or 3 children on average. Most of children are between 8 years old and 15 years old. Parents appear to wear used, worn out clothes. However, it seems like parents are trying to spend more money for their children to let them wear nicer cloths, so their children wear better quality of clothes. For example, when I was invited to

²⁵ Brinkoff, Thomas. "City Population Chile" <<http://www.citypopulation.de/Chile.html>> 2007.

a party one day in Esfuerzo, my co-workers and I were invited as their juries to judge their invented clothes about whose clothes are best.²⁶ And I realized that children are wearing nicer clothes for the party than their parents to try to stand out from other people by wearing nice clothes, and their parents told us that how happy they are spending money for children to buy nice clothes for some occasions.

Since this is a small residential area, most of all people in this community know each other. People are open to other people from different places, and children are really friendly and curious to people who are from outside of this community.

Although people in this residential area looks like having a standard level of living, this current condition may be from the fact that people are better-off right now.

My co-worker, Maria at governmental social service organization called SEDEJ (Servicio para el desarrollo de los jovenes: youth development service) has been working



Picture 1: Esfuerzo, El Monte



Picture 2: Chilean kids living in Esfuerzo, El Monte.

there for children's development since Esfuerzo was built by the government since 2001. Maria told me that Esfuerzo was in poor condition the first year. Most houses only had a kitchen and bathroom, and spaces for bedrooms and a living room, and no fence to

²⁶ Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. October, 2006

protect the homes. People were poor. They did not have enough work to earn money for their children. Children were also poor. According to Maria, when people are physically poor (ex; not having enough cloths to wear and not having a lot of food to eat and etc.), they start to be psychologically poor. She observed this in Esfuerzo, where people were not so friendly and open-minded, and sometimes, children engaged in robbery and other forms of delinquency.

Compared with the first year of Esfuerzo, people's living conditions have improved a lot in last few years. With governmental support for homeownership, people's lives changed a lot and are better-off. However, governmental support is not the only a reason for improvements for the people who are living in Esfuerzo. Growing levels of income for families, due to new work opportunities, houses created more stability in Esfuerzo, and people's qualities of lives in true meaning have changed in more rapid pace by receiving the governmental support. This can simply be explained by the outcome of economic growth in Chile. More people are getting jobs and improving the condition of homes, which can make children physically and psychologically better-off.

2. Change of Children's Health

a) Air Pollution and Children's Health in Santiago

Currently, about 6 million people are living in capital city, Santiago.²⁷ Santiago is located in a valley which keeps air trapped in the city. Therefore, the great view of metropolitan city, Santiago is hardly able to be seen most of the times because of smog.

²⁷ U.S. Department of State. Country Profile-Chile. August 2006.
<<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/1981.htm>>

With economic growth has come a serious decline in environmental quality in Santiago. Particularly in Santiago where the main industries are located, healthful damage towards people are big. Some researches have found evidence that air pollution actually contributes to respiratory disease, particularly among children in Santiago. This is not surprising since children are more vulnerable to the influences of air pollution.²⁸ Other research also shown that children's respiratory disease which was caused by indoor air pollution.²⁹ For instance, in children under 2 years old, respiratory disease happened most in winter time when there is high percentage of consumption of heating. Thus, recent industrialized progress is making children's health condition more serious in metropolitan city.

From my observation, whenever I go to Santiago with my host family, I never saw Andes Mountains from highway because even though it is sunny and there is no cloud in the sky, it was difficult to see Andes Mountains near Santiago because of bad quality of air. My host father explained that we are able to see clear Andes Mountains only a few times a year because of smog.

In conclusion, the well-being of children is improving in terms of increase of quality of living since 1990s of rapid economic growth and governmental support, and I demonstrated this improvement from my case study of Esfuerzo. However, there is also an important reality that children's health condition is getting worse in the big city because of air pollution from recent consumption of energy, which is caused by rapid economic growth. This is very important indicator because Santiago is a city where

²⁸ Ostro, Bart. D et al. "Air Pollution and Health Effects: A Study of Respiratory Illness Among Children in Santiago, Chile." *Environmental Health Perspective*. January, 1999. Vol. 107 Issue 1, p69

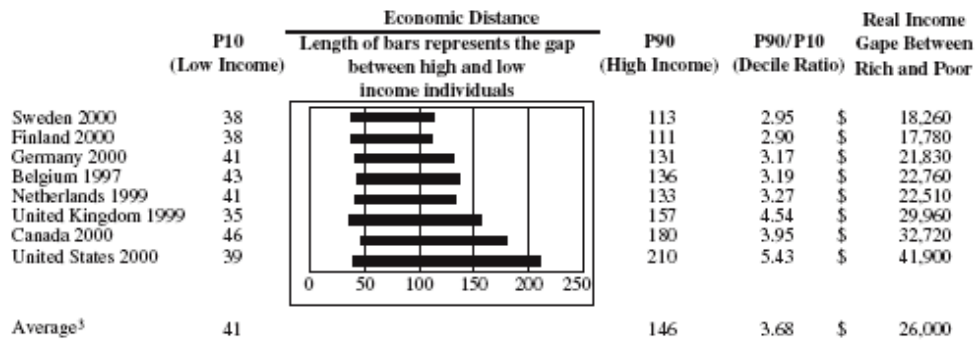
²⁹ Adonis M. et al. "Indoor Air Pollution in a Zone of Extreme Poverty of Metropolitan Santiago, Chile" Institute of Biomedical Sciences. University of Chile. Santiago, Chile. 2002.

population density is high, which simply tells us majority of people are taking risks in terms of health. Therefore, here we have important changes to Chilean children’s well-beings. Economic growth obviously has been increasing people’s quality of lives, however, we cannot forget the fact that economic growth always has been providing negative influence on people’s health.

III. Comparison of Inequality and Poverty Trends between Chile and U.S.

To better understand the Chilean example, I next compare Chile to the United States. Just like Chile^{*}, the United States also has high inequality. However, the level of wealth of both countries is different since one is developing and the other developed. Are the national trends of inequality and poverty different from each other?

Figure 3: Real Income Well-Being of All Persons in Eight Countries



¹Figures given are adjusted dollars per equivalent person (child) in own currency as a percent of own overall national median income (P50), weighted for the number of persons in each unit.

²Figures given are adjusted dollars per equivalent person 2000 U.S. dollars, weighted for the number of persons in each unit size, and relative to the overall U.S. median of \$24,416.

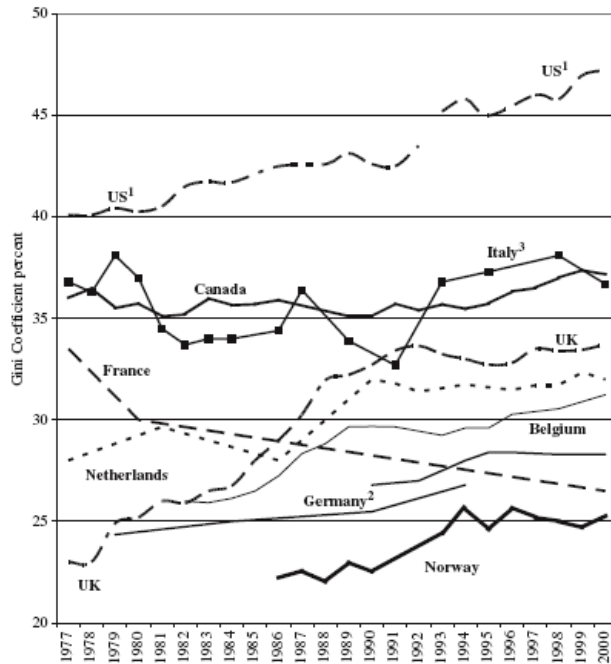
³Simple average.

SOURCE : Author’s calculations from Luxembourg Income Study.

* Refer to figure 1 (page 17)

Figure 3 describes real income well-being of all persons in eight developed countries.³⁰ Compared with other European countries, the real income gap between rich and poor of United States is bigger and almost as twice bigger as the gap of Sweden as same developed countries.

In contrast, Chile's inequality has been stable since the 1990s although their inequality rate remains still high. To address the change of inequality in the United States, I now indicate how inequality has changed over time in the United States between the 1980s and 2000s.



¹Major revisions in series (1993).
²German trends come from two time series, the government income and expenditure series until 1995 and the German Socio Economic Panel after. Germany includes the eastern states, as well as the western, after 1989.
³Italian series are from Brandolini (2002, 2004) and are for household disposable income excluding imputed rents, interest, and dividends.
 SOURCE: Atkinson (2000) and LIS; Canada, Statistics Canada (2002); U.S. Census Bureau (2003: Table B-3, B-6); Hauser and Wagner (2002); Hauser (2000); Förster (2000).

Figure 4: Visual Representation of Inequality Trends in rich countries

Figure 4 shows inequality trends of each rich nation during 1970 and 2000. Most of European countries decrease their inequality over time. The United Kingdom is the only European country whose their inequality increased after the 1980s, stabilizing after 1995. Compared with the UK's more recent stability of inequality, the inequality trend of the United States continues

³⁰ Smeeding, Timothy M. "Public Policy, Economic Inequality, and Poverty: The United States in Comparative Perspective" *Social Science Quarterly by the Southernwestern Science Association*, 2005.

increasing and even higher in the year of 2000.

Why does the United States have such different trends from other European countries? Their income growth is still low and even decreasing in the U.S. compared to other European countries. Between both Chile and the United States, people who are in the bottom of social class tend to be excluded from income growth and they keep themselves as working poor.

When we see the poverty rate, there is definite difference of poverty trends between Chile and the United States.

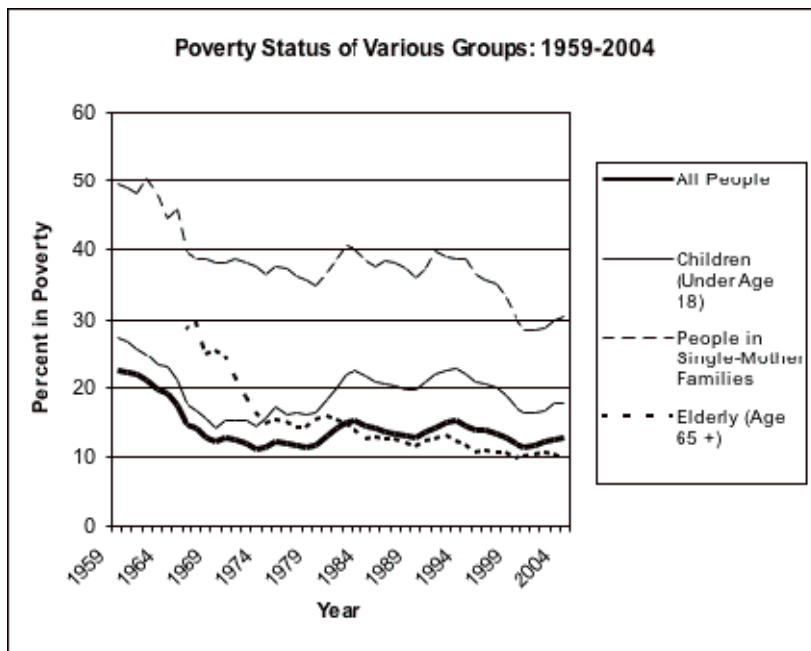


Figure 5: Poverty Status of Various Groups: 1959-2004
Source: National Poverty Center, University of Michigan

Figure 5 indicates change of the United States' poverty rate between 1959 and 2004.³¹

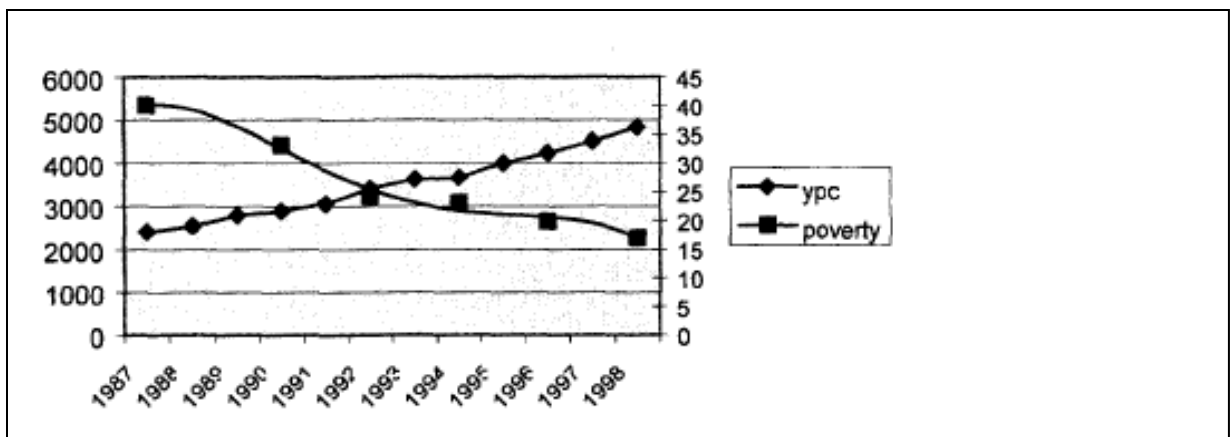
Poverty rate has steadily declined since 1950s, and hit low percentage in 1970s, which is between 11.1 percent and 12.6 percent. However, since the 1980s, poverty rate is pretty

³¹ "How has poverty changed overtime?" National Poverty Center, University of Michigan. 2006. <<http://www.npc.umich.edu/poverty/>>

stable although it is not decreasing. Although poverty rate decreased in 2000, poverty rate has risen each year since 2000.

On the other hand, the poverty rate in Chile is successfully decreasing since 1990s.* To address this change, figure 6 shows the overtime change of poverty and per capita income during 1987 and 1998 in Chile.³² Poverty in Chile has declined rapidly since 1987. In 1987, the poverty rate is about 40 percent. However, in 1998, their poverty rate is only about 15 percent, which has been a reduced 25 percentage points.

Figure 6: Poverty and Per Capita Income in Chile



Source: Department of World Bank

Thus, between the United States and Chile, the outcome of poverty reduction under economic growth in 1990s and early 2000s contains obvious differences. For two nations, both with inequality rates higher than anywhere else, the Chilean trend of

* Refer to [Trends in Inequality and Poverty in Chile](#). Page 16-19.

³² "Chile: Poverty and Income Distribution in a High Growth Economy; the case of Chile 1987-98" [Department of World Bank](#). Volume 1: Main Report. August, 2001.

poverty reduction is something that the United States has not experienced yet in their recent history.

The poverty rate for children in the United States also has tendencies similar to the overall poverty trend. As figure 5 demonstrates the trend of child poverty rate in the United States has remained high, around 17.8 percent in 2004. Although this percentage has been reduced since 1993, each recession period made children's poverty rate be peak³³, children's poverty rate has steadily risen in 2000s as well as overall poverty rate has risen recently. On the other hand, although there are no findings that particularly are measured for children's poverty rate, Chilean children are more likely to be better-off since 1990s and early 2000s.* The Chilean government has been increasing social expenditures since 1990s, and it has been positive effects on children's well-being, which helped to reduce percentage of children's poverty rate.

In addition, remaining high percentage of children's poverty rate in the United States is strongly associated with the change of family structure.³⁴ In the United States, about 57 percent of poor children in 1990s lived in female-headed families which are single mothers. Thus, current increase of single mothers slows down the reduction of children's poverty rate. On the other hand, Chilean family structure is still based on traditional family style which extended family is most common, that makes children's poverty reduce.

There is also a fundamental difference on social expenditures that each government is spending between Chile and the United States. Chile has been spending

³³ Lichter, Daniel T. et al, "Poverty and Economic Polarization among America's Minority and Immigrant Children" Department of Sociology, Ohio State University. [National Poverty Center](#). May 2005.

* Refer to [Changes in Well-beings of Chilean Children](#) Page 19-24.

³⁴ Lichter Daniel T. et al, "Poverty and Economic Polarization among America's Minority and Immigrant Children" Department of Sociology, Ohio State University. [National Poverty Center](#). May 2005.

high percentage of social expenditure since early 1990s during Aylwin government.* In addition, new president Michelle Bachelet stated that the 2007 national budget should be used for encouraging more growth and more social welfare.³⁵ This increase of social spending will help increase funding by 13 percent in improvement of healthcare program. Chile's 2007 national budget will see a rise of 11.2 percent of social spending and this is the biggest for past 15 years.³⁶ However, the level of social spending in the United States remains low. A study shows that the United States' nonelderly social expenditure is extremely low compared with any other rich nations in Europe and is below average.³⁷

Thus, an international comparison on trends in poverty and inequality between Chile and the United States reveals interesting observations. Regardless of the fact that both Chile and the United States have a high rate of inequality with economic growth, both nations are having different outcomes in terms of the poverty rate. This illustrates again that inequality and poverty are different. Chile's poverty rate has been successfully declined with rapid economic growth, a trend not seen in the United States. In addition, Chile has high a percentage of social spending by the government as the developing nation and its economy grows. But, the United States, as developed nation, still having a low percentage of social spending as developed nation.

* Refer to Chapter 1: Page 6.

³⁵ "2007 Budget to Encourage Growth and Offer More Social Spending" Chilean Government Official Homepage. November, 2006.

< http://www.chileangovernment.cl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1303&Itemid=2>

³⁶ "Chile's 2007 budget sees big boost for social spending" People's Daily Online October, 2006.

< http://english.people.com.cn/200610/05/eng20061005_309238.html>

³⁷ Smeeding, Timothy M. "Public Policy, Economic Inequality, and Poverty: The United States in Comparative Perspective" Social Science Quarterly by the Southernwestern Science Association, 2005.

Chapter 3: Politics; Remembering Pinochet Regime and Now

As I stated in chapter 1, Augusto Pinochet governed Chile for 17 years in 20th century. He has well known as a political dictator who led a military coup and saved Chile from communist movements, while suppressing about 3,000 people who ended up being either killed or tortured. For all Chileans, he is certainly one of the most important persons in Chilean history. Now, through Pinochet's death last December, one important era of Chilean history is ending. But, how do current Chileans remember the Pinochet regime, and how does Chilean politics function right now?

Current Political System and Inequality of Political Distribution

Since Augusto Pinochet's regime formed in 1973, the Chilean congress has been based on the same constitution introduced by Pinochet in 1980. Although most of the old systems have been changed over time, the Chilean constitution left a legacy of Pinochet until only few years ago. Particularly, all senators have not been elected since 1980 because of old constitution made by Augusto Pinochet. This had been a problematic issue in Chilean politics for a long time because all senators have great control over decision-making in the Congress. Finally, former president Lagos succeeded in abolishing appointed senators in 2005.³⁸ However, some people complain about why this decision was not finally made until such a late date, 15 years after the Pinochet regime was over.

Thus, even though the old constitution has been abolished, implementing political reform is still difficult because of the existence of the conservative right-wing party. They

³⁸ "Chile scraps Pinochet-era system" BBC News August 2005.
<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4157908.stm>>

retain strong control in the Congress since the Pinochet constitution makes left-wings parties difficult to form.

The voting system has also been controversial because there is an unequal distribution for vote to do decision-making. Teacher A at a Chilean language school, living outside of Santiago, explained how the Chilean voting system is unfair, failing to reflect public opinion. For example, assume that there are 2 different states in Chile (*they are supposed to have more than 2 states). We will call these states as state “A” and state “B”. In state A, there are 20,000 people. In state B, there are only 8,000 people. When each state votes for making a decision, each state can report their vote as 50 percent and 50 percent, but not reflecting the large differences. And each senator can have one vote for making decision. Therefore, even though state B has a smaller population, they have as much power decision-making as the more populous state. This resembles what happens in many countries. Under this system, it is difficult for the constitution to be changed.

Also, in Chile, Catholic Church business owners are more likely to have the political power to influence decisions at Congress. They are usually considered as conservatives, resistant to making changes in the laws. Their thoughts are more conservative in terms of introduction of sexual education for kids, popularization of condom use, divorce, and abortion.* I will examine these issues in next chapter. This fact makes Chilean society less able to adopt and advance new approaches to health issues.

* Refer to chapter. 4: Family and Social Issues.

The International Image of Augusto Pinochet

When Augusto Pinochet died last December, 2006, there was on the news much talk about how people in the other countries think about Pinochet's death. Kathy, who was interviewed on the news, expressed her opinion about how she thought about Augusto Pinochet's death. Kathy who is from U.S. said how happy she is right now for Chilean people that dictator Pinochet died. However, for some Chilean people who are supporting Pinochet's idea, this comment was controversial.³⁹ Antonio, who I had a conversation with, indicated that people who do not know so much about Chilean history should not comment in this way because some Chilean people will be upset about how people in the other countries present only one-sided idea.

Thus, in addition to the situation that people have different opinions about Augusto Pinochet in Chile, the international image about Augusto Pinochet is also controversial. For people living outside of Chile, Augusto Pinochet is a well-known political dictator who killed Chilean citizens. Particularly, among North American countries such as Canada and the United States, this image seems especially prevalent. For example, during the Pinochet regime, Canada temporarily received exiles from Chile who did not support Pinochet's regime. It has been said in Chile that those people who escaped Chile during Pinochet regime created other parties against Augusto Pinochet during the time. Therefore, it is clear that those people communicated their ideas about Augusto Pinochet that provided Canadians some negative images about him.

³⁹ Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. December, 2006.

Augusto Pinochet and Polarization

In Chile, popular opinion is divided between nationalists of the political right and socialists or communists of the left. Although it is somewhat imprecise to state that socialists and communists are in the same left-wings because their political views are quite different, both of them seem to have the same political views in terms of favor of Augusto Pinochet or not. It has been said that about 50 percent of Chilean is in favor of Augusto Pinochet, and another 50 percent is against him. People who supported the Pinochet regime think that Pinochet established the fundamental economic structure for citizens and gave them a better life with economic growth. On the other hand, people who disagree with Pinochet think that he was a violent dictator and caused many people to disappear, die, or spend years in concentration camps.

For instance, at my internship, SEDEJ, my co-workers expressed different thoughts about what they thought about the political way of Augusto Pinochet. My co-worker who stated earlier^{*}, Maria supports Augusto Pinochet and how he governed during the dictatorship. She said how their lives of her/his parents were better-off when Pinochet regime began.

“During the Salvador Allende regime^{*}, people were always poor, and many of the private properties became government owned, and the government distributed them to poor people for agricultural use for free. However, some of the people

^{*} Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. November, 2006.

^{*} Refer to Chapter 1: Background of Chile

were not using those lands for agriculture, and left those lands there without using them. During his regime, people's qualities of living were all equal, and they did not have any rich and poor people. And mostly, people were poor because they could not create their own business. As a result of this tendency, there was a shortage of foods for people. So, when my parents went to the grocery store to purchase something, there were always long lines of people who were waiting for food there because they did not have enough food in the grocery store. My parents explained to me that their lives changed with the Pinochet regime and they were having normal lives as they are living nowadays. They believed that the economy of the nation improved a lot during Pinochet regime, and it was significant change for Chilean citizens."⁴⁰

Therefore, Maria believes that people should not be dependent on governmental supports because if the idea of socialism or communism grows stronger in the nation, people begin to insist on the idea that all people have to be equal. So, they start to depend on governmental support to ask for equality, and end up totally dependent, and it causes unemployment and decreases economic growth. People have to try hard for work, and have to be competitive for their business. That is why; co-worker B supports how Augusto Pinochet introduced the basic form of the current economy during that time and co-worker B believes that Pinochet founded the basis for the wealth of the nation for today.

⁴⁰ Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. November, 2006.

José in El Monte, Chile explained that Pinochet's political action was right and also inevitable for preventing the communism movement from spreading in Chile at the time.

“The important fact during the Salvador Allende and Augusto Pinochet era was the international political situation between the U.S.A. and Soviet Union in 1970s, which is Cold War. At the time, the communist movement was big in South America, and there was the potential for any of the South American countries to become communist nations. The Chilean military were afraid of the fact that Chile was giving over to communist power. On the other hand, Salvador Allende strongly supported communist countries such as Soviet Union and Cuba because he was a socialist. During Allende regime, there were a lot of imports from Cuba or any other communism nations. They had been saying that when Chile was importing sugar cane from Cuba, they also sent weapons inside of sugar cane boxes illegally, so that they will be used for fights against democratic countries. During this time, the political tension between communism and democracy was really high, and it was not doubted that communism could start war against the military to take over the countries.”⁴¹

Thus, people who support Augusto Pinochet think that his political action was right and necessary for the Chilean people to have a better life with the economic growth even though about 3,000 people were either killed, tortured, and missing during his regime. José believes that it was a necessary action to take because without strict military control against communists, there would have been more innocent people killed by a

⁴¹ Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. November, 2006.

communist revolution and citizens might have remained poor. People who were tortured at the time mostly were planning to take over the military government to replace it with communist power, so it was necessary to stop their movement.

However, other people think about the political action of Augusto Pinochet differently. As people in other countries understand Augusto Pinochet as a dictator, another fifty percent of Chilean citizens are against Pinochet's idea and what he did. My co-worker Angela does not agree with what Augusto Pinochet did during his regime.

“Augusto Pinochet killed a lot of innocent people. He sent a lot of people to the National Stadium in order to be tortured in that concentration camp. Those people were either killed or were subjected to physical violence, and they still have a scar from the time. Some of them were really innocent and some of them were just sent over there by their family name---perhaps a common family name of communists or historically communist's ancestors. I understand that this political action does not differ at all from the Nazi's regime in Germany.”⁴²

Thus, people who do not support Augusto Pinochet believe that there should have been a different way of political action, so that innocent people would not have been killed by governmental controls. Moreover, those people may be family members of the victims during Pinochet regime too. Usually, those family members insist on how Augusto Pinochet hurt their other family members and their children, and in this way, high percentage of people in Chile are still communists or socialists who disagreed with Augusto Pinochet. This reality makes Chilean society more divided and more difficult to

⁴² Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. December, 2006.

unify people's thought and to make new governmental policy which can apply for all people.

Augusto Pinochet's Death: Happy or Sad?

A political leader during much of the late 20th century, Augusto Pinochet passed away in December 10th in 2006. While political demonstration always happens in the street every September 11^{th*} in Chile, there were a thousand of people who were on the street when General Augusto Pinochet was on critical condition. Some left-wing people were causing riots and other right-wing people were upset about Pinochet's coming death. Some extreme left-wing people were either celebrating about his death and the true end of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship at the street, or were upset that he did not finish his trial on human rights abuse.⁴³ On the other hand, other right-wing people were crying about his death, saying the words "thank you, General Pinochet" for saving Chile from Marxist-Lenin movement. About 50, 000 people lined up on the day of his funeral to say good-bye to Augusto Pinochet.⁴⁴

Overall, from both a national and international viewpoint, it is very difficult to summarize how Augusto Pinochet has benefited the Chilean people. It is true that the Chilean economy was established during the Pinochet era, and the economic growth made people's lives better in general. However, from a different view point, it is the inevitable truth that about 3,000 people in total were either killed or tortured by Augusto Pinochet's order, and his unfinished trial also is problematic nowadays. Because of

* September 11th was the day which military coup happened by General Augusto Pinochet in 1970.

⁴³ "Pinochet supporters pay respects" BBC News. December 11, 2006.

⁴⁴ J.M Wilson. La Tarcera December 12th, 2006.

Pinochet's political leadership, political polarization among Chileans is getting bigger and more severe, making it difficult to unify people. Moreover, the international image of Augusto Pinochet is more negative because only the negative part about what he had done for Chilean citizens had been told, and the good part appears to have been covered, not appearing to the rest of the world. Now, with the recent death of Augusto Pinochet, one important era in Chilean history has ended, leaving certain people dissatisfied with his unfinished trial. The people's political division may continue at least until his trial will be able to finish in some ways. However, it is not impossible that people can have a chance for reconciliation by his death.

Chapter 4: Family and Health Issues and The Roman Catholic Church in Chile

Chilean society still contains many traditions compared to other developed, western countries. The common family structure still includes extended family. Men still hold a higher status while women are more likely to be at home. A recent UNICEF study reported that Chile has one of the highest rates of child abuse in Latin America. The right of divorce finally became legal only a few years ago although it is still uncommon. The introduction of sex education for younger adults has become an important issue for debate in recent times. As a nation which is one of the most socially conservative countries in South America, how is Chile facing these issues?

Family Violence

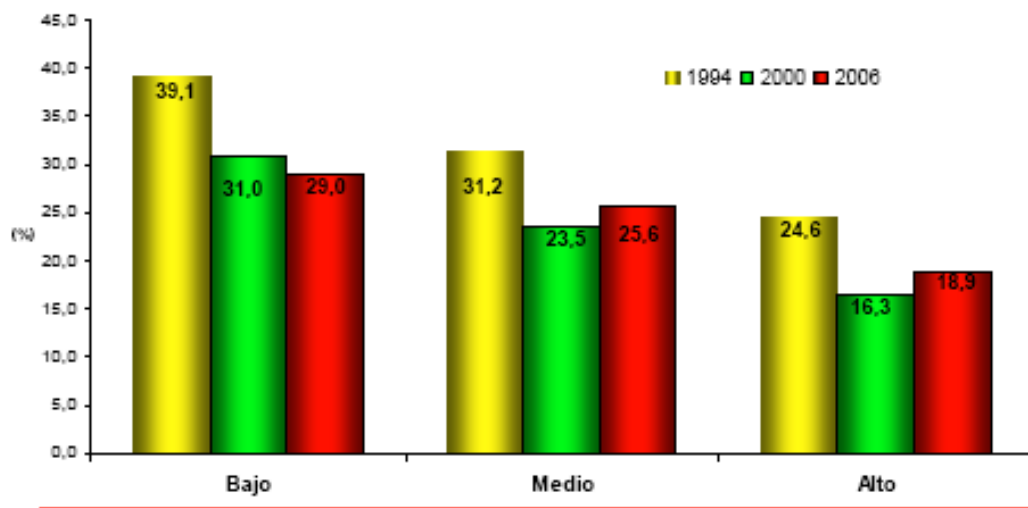
Chilean family-life is rooted in tradition. The average number of children per family is between 3 and 4. The most common family form is an extended structure in which members are able to support each other financially. In general, this has resulted in the development of strong ties between family members. According to UNICEF's research, about 75 percent of Chilean children are exposed to some type of violence (physical or psychological) from their parents.⁴⁵ This percentage is quite high compared with other countries. Why does abuse occur at such a high rate in Chilean families?

⁴⁵ "75.3 % de niños chilenos recibe algún tipo de violencia de parte de sus padres" Centro de Noticias, UNICEF CHILE. September, 2006. <<http://www.unicef.cl/noticia/ficha.php?id=221>>

a) Socio-Economic Background of Parents

Family violence is strongly related to socio-economic status in Chile. Figure 1 shows the percentage of violence towards children by socio-economic level in Chile. According to the graph, children who live at a lower socio-economic level suffer a higher rate of serious violence in the home, which is 29 percent in 2006. On the other hand, children who have a higher socio-economic level have a lower percentage of serious family violence, which is 19 percent in 2006. Overall percentages are lower in all three years (1994, 2000, and 2006) in this study. Thus, a family's socio-economic level seems to be a very important factor when it comes to family violence. One reason for this may be that parents living at this lower socio-economic level feel that pressure of not being able to provide a good living for their family or may also be frustrated by unemployment, which can also be a contributor to serious family violence.

Figure 1: The percentage of serious violence towards children by socio-economic level

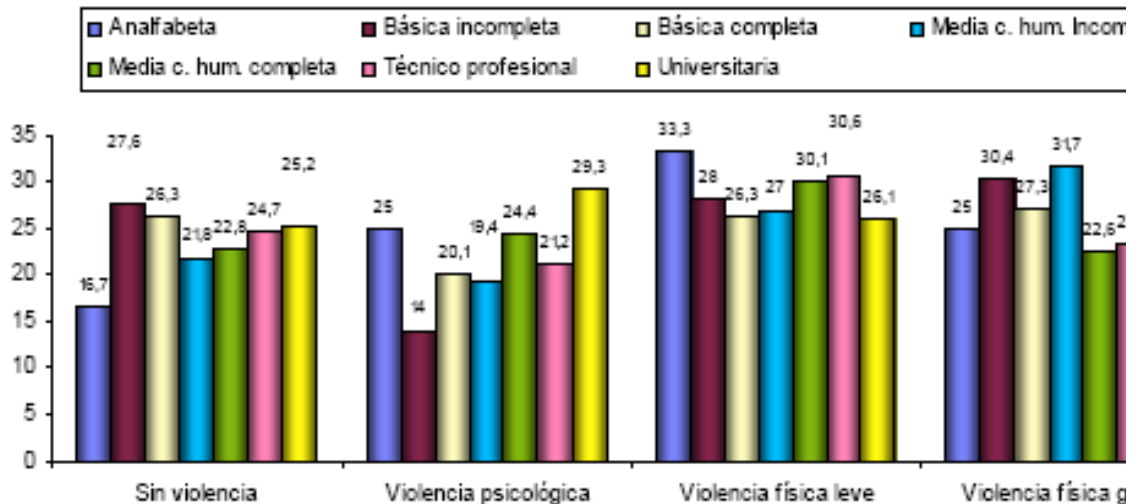


Source: Third Study of Children's Mistreating 2006 by UNICEF CHILE

* "Bajo" = Low, "Medio" = Middle, "Alto" = High

The education levels of the parents can also have an influence on the incidence of family violence. Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between the occurrence of violence in the family and the level of the mother's education. Of the families where violence is not present, the percentages of illiterate mothers is very low while, on the other hand, the percentages are quite high in the families which have slight and serious family violence. Likewise, the percentages of mothers who have higher education such as professional school and university level are lowest in the families which have serious family violence. Thus, the education level of the parents has a lot to do with family violence.

Figure 2: Violence and Characteristics of Parents; Mother's Education



Source: Third Study of Children's Mistreating 2006 by UNICEF CHILE

* "Analfabeta"= illiterate, "Basica incompleta"= incomplete primary education, "Basica completa"= complete primary education, "Media c. hum. Incompleta"= incomplete secondary education, "Media c. hum. Completa" = completed secondary education, "Tecnico Profesional"= professional or technical school, "Universitaria"= university

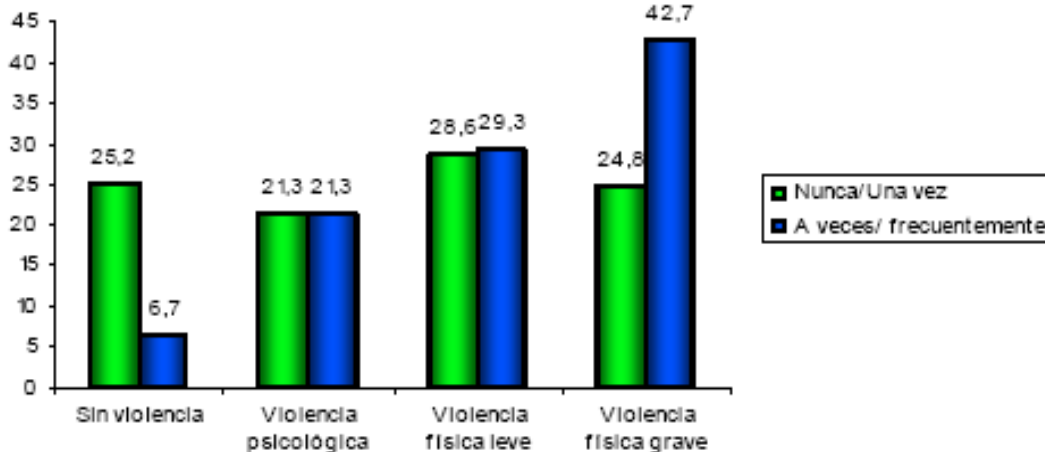
However, other interesting insights can also be drawn from this study. There is a tendency present that mothers who have higher education are more likely to expose their children to psychological violence (such as telling bad words to their children). In the

families which have psychological violence, the percentage of mothers who have a university education level education are higher than the families whose mothers have less education such as illiterate mothers and mothers with incomplete primary education (29.3 percent). Thus, mothers who have higher education are more likely to expose their children to psychological violence. This is possibly explained by the possibility that these educated mothers are trying to pressure their children to be more educated and therefore might use psychological violence when their children are not doing well in school.

b) Alcohol Use of Parents

Alcohol use of parents is also an important cause for family violence. Figure 3 on next page states the percentage of alcohol use and frequency of alcohol use by mothers. From these statistics, it can be determined that there is a clear difference between an alcohol user and non-alcohol user when it comes to family violence. In the families which do not have any violence towards their children, 25.2 percent of mothers answered that they never use alcohol or that they had only used it once. Only 6.7 percent of mothers answered that they use alcohol sometimes or frequently. On the other hand, in the families which have serious violence towards their children, 42.7 percent of mothers answered that they use alcohol either sometimes or frequently. Therefore, alcohol use is strongly related with a high rate of family violence.

Figure 3: violence and characteristics of parents; alcohol use of mother



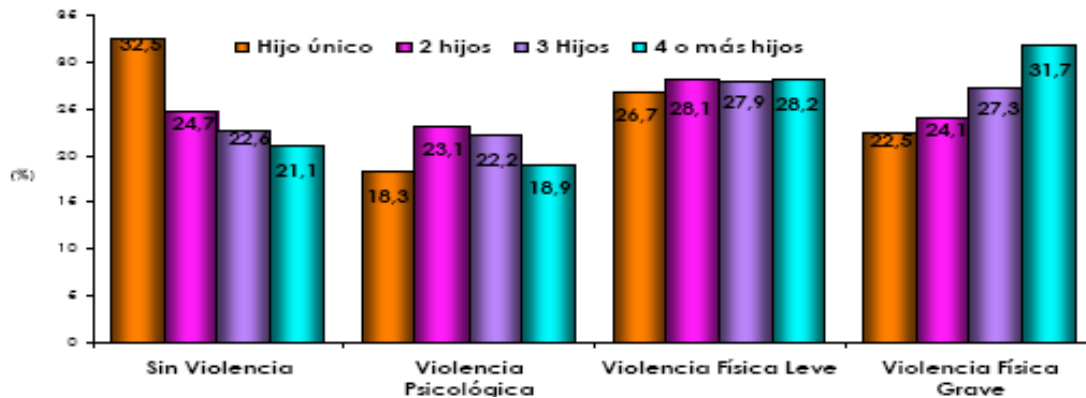
Source: Third Study of Children’s Mistreating 2006 by UNICEF CHILE

*“Sin violencia”= No violence, “Violencia psicológica”= psychological violence, “Violencia física leve”= slight physical violence, “Violencia física grave”= serious physical violence
 “Nunca/Una vez”= never/once, “A veces/frecuentemente”= sometimes/frequently

c) Family Structure

The prevailing structure of most of the families in Chile may relate to the occurrence of family violence. This study demonstrates that a family which has more children is more likely to have family violence. Figure 4 indicates the correlation between the percentage of violence towards children and the number of children in a family. A higher percentage of family violence occurs when a family has 4 or more children, which is 31.7 percent. This percentage is the highest when compared with any other family with fewer children.

Figure 4: Violence towards children and numbers of children in 2006



Source: Third Study of Children's Mistreating 2006 by UNICEF CHILE

* "Hijo unico"= one child, "Sin violencia"= No violence, "Violencia psicologica"= psychological violence, "Violencia fisica leve"= slight physical violence, "Violencia fisica grave"= serious physical violence

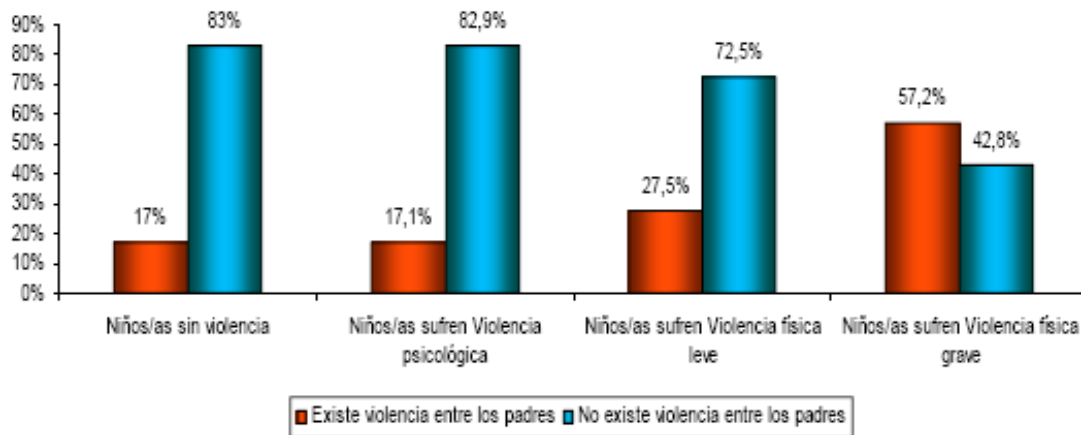
d) Violence between Parents

The families which have child violence tend to be the same families in which there is violence happening between the parents. Figure 5 shows correlation of violence towards children and violence between parents. This graph clearly demonstrates this tendency. When children do not receive violence from their parents, the violence between those parents rarely exists; this is the case 83 percent of the time. On the other hand, when children receive serious violence from their parents, violence between parents is apparent, 57.2 percent of the time, which is higher than any of the other situations.

Therefore, violence between parents is a definite factor in the occurrence of child violence.

According to the results, it appears that family violence is strongly related to these other determining factors. As noted, this includes not only physical violence, but psychological violence as well. Overall, these findings reinforce the idea that child abuse is one of the more serious social problems that Chile is facing right now.

Figure 5: Violence towards children and violence between parents in 2006



Source: Third Study of Children's Mistreating 2006 by UNICEF CHILE

*"Niños/as sin violencia"= Children with no violence, "Niños/as sufren violencia psicología"= children suffer psychological violence, "Niños/as sufren violencia física leve"= children suffer slight physical violence, "Niños/as sufren violencia física grave" = children suffer serious physical violence.

* Red Colum= percentage of existence of violence between parents

* Blue Colum= percentage of no-existence of violence between parents

Right of Divorce

In Chile, these days it is fairly common to see young couples, with small children, who are living together but not married. It would be common for many of these couples

to live with their parents without being legally married. In recent years, this type of arrangement has become more common. Why is it that many couples choose to not get married these days?

The major religion in Chile is Roman Catholicism. The Roman Catholic Church has always traditionally been a large presence in the lives of Chileans. Person A, who have 1 child and has lived with her husband for 5 years, explained to me the authority of the Catholic Church. She says that her life is easier without an official marriage through the Catholic Church because she does not have to be worried about divorce or about following strict Catholic laws with regard to marriage. It appears that this is the case because it has been only two years since the right of divorce became legal in Chile^{*}, and it is still true that a lot of Church members are against divorce.⁴⁶ Thus, current younger couples are more likely to choose only cohabitation with their children rather than to get married. These arrangements have all of the same characteristics of a traditional marriage except that they are not official.

Divorce was illegal in Chile until 2 years ago although the majority of Chilean people support the idea that divorce should be legal. BBC news reported in 2004, before the law of divorce was introduced, a story about a Chilean woman who wanted her life to be free by gaining the right of divorce. She explained how her life was emotionally and practically not free because she could not open her own bank account and could not take her daughter overseas on holiday without the signature of her estranged husband.⁴⁷ Thus, for some people who have been estranged from their wives and husbands, their lives have been difficult because they are officially married, and cannot get divorced. However,

* The law of divorce was introduced in Chile in 2004.

⁴⁶ Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. November, 2006.

⁴⁷ Porteous, Clinton "The road to divorce in Chile" [BBC News](#). Santiago. November, 2004.

while a majority of people are in favor of the legalization of divorce in Chile, this topic is morally unacceptable in the Roman Catholic Church. One particular Catholic committee argues that it will be too easy for people to choose divorce if they have any problems and the ultimate victims will be children and this is not good for children because children need stability.

Contraception and Sex Education

The diffusion of sex education for children is still minimal in Chile. This tendency also seems to come from Chilean traditional society. Chilean society has been hesitant to be open about sex education towards children and especially teenagers. For instance, while I was in Chile, I could not see any supermarkets which were selling available condoms for people. For this inconvenience, people who need condoms usually have to go to the pharmacy. However, even in the pharmacy, condoms are not available on the store shelf where they would be easily accessible. Therefore, people who need condoms have to ask the pharmacist if they want to purchase them. Thus, there is no privacy for people in these situations even though condoms are really important for health issues. Particularly, because of this problem, teenagers are more likely to become pregnant. They cannot find a way to prevent pregnancy due to the fact that most teenagers feel uncomfortable about going into the pharmacy to ask for condoms.

Awareness of premarital sexual activity is relatively low. Also sex education for those of a younger age is controversial in Chile. As the right of divorce is difficult for some people in the Roman Catholic Church, introduction of sex education has also

brought about a negative reaction in Chile under the control the Church. For this reason, a lot of young people are lacking sex education relating to the prevention of pregnancy and serious disease.

Table 1 indicates the percentage distribution of young adults aged 15-24 and their reasons for not using contraceptives at first premarital intercourse. In both females and males, young adults who did not expect to have intercourse are highest, which have 48.1 percent for females and 58.6 percent for males. However, at the same time, the percentage for those that did not know of contraceptive method is also high, with 17.2 percent for females and 14.2 percent for males. Particularly, these percentages are higher among both females and males under 18 years old. Thus, this may be explained by the lack of sex education at school from younger age.

Table 1: Percentage of distribution of young adults aged 15-24 according to their reasons for not using contraceptives at first premarital intercourse, by gender and age at first intercourse, Santiago, Chile. 1988.

Reason	Females			Males		
	<18	18-24	Total	<18	18-24	Total
Did not expect to have intercourse	40.9	56.2	48.1	56.2	69.2	58.6
Did not know of a method	20.9	13.2	17.2	16.5	3.8	14.2
Did not think pregnancy would result	8.7	12.4	10.5	9.0	11.5	9.5
Wanted pregnancy	11.3	9.1	10.0	0.9	0.0	0.8
Believed contraceptives are bad for health	10.4	7.4	9.2	1.9	1.3	1.8
Could not obtain a method	1.7	0.0	0.8	2.5	1.3	2.2
Believed it was partner's responsibility	0.0	0.0	0.4	8.7	5.1	8.0
Had a religious objection	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3
Was too embarrassed to obtain a method	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.3	1.0
Other	6.1	1.7	3.8	3.1	6.4	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(115)	(121)	(239) ^a	(322)	(78)	(401) ^a

^a The totals include three females and one male for whom age at first intercourse was unknown.

In addition to this study, parents' education has been cited as another reason why young adults are having children outside of marriage.⁴⁸ Women whose fathers have only primary education are more likely to give birth outside of marriage than women whose fathers have higher education. On the other hand, more young women who have higher education have infants born in the first seven months of union. Thus, in addition to the fact that younger adults are lacking in sex education at school, the socio-economic situation such as the parents' educational level tends to be another important factor.

The introduction of sex education is a very important element for the future of Chile when it comes to health issues. It is true that Chilean society is still heavily influenced by traditional ideas from religious beliefs. Although it is difficult to stay away from these religious beliefs in Chilean society, people should be more concerned about how important sex education for children is for the future.

Power of the Roman Catholic Church and Policy Change

Thus, Chile is a difficult country in which to make new policies on healthcare program because of the power of the Roman Catholic Church. Not only was the right of divorce controversial, but any of the healthcare policies, which are religiously touchy topics, could be problematic in Chile. The new president Michelle Bachelet was former Health Minister and used to practice pediatric medicine for poor. Her new government recently introduced a liberalization of contraception policy that emergency contraception

⁴⁸ Herold, Joan M. et al. "Premarital Sexual Activity and Contraceptive Use in Santiago, Chile." Study in Family Planning. Santiago, Chile. 1992. Population Council. pp.128-129.

(Plan B) is available for free at state-run hospitals.⁴⁹ However, since Chile is perhaps the most socially conservative country in South America, this new policy made right-wing people furious (including some of the allies) because this policy will be permitted for young 14 years-old girl to have an access to the emergency contraception. The right of abortion is illegal in Chile; however, some opponents claimed that this new policy is the way for legalization of abortion.

Since the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet ended in 1990, the Chilean government has been composed of a center-left alliance which is current president Michelle Bachelet's socialist party and the Christian Democrats who are more conservative on social issues. Contrasted with opponents, the Supreme Court has agreed to hear a mayor's appeal to permit distribution of pills at public clinics. However, some conservative mayors insist that their religious beliefs will not allow distributing the pills at public clinics in their municipalities. Thus, if the new government pushes harder to introduce new policies on these issues, conflicts will be intense in the future.

While there are a lot of organizations which are making Chilean society better, Chile is still facing many social problems such as a high percentage of family violence, the right of divorce, and lack of sex education. It is important for the government to work on reasonable policy reforms in terms of social and health issues. However, traditional social structure makes the new government, which particularly focuses on the improvement of social and health issues, less able to have decision-making influence. The new government will be required to act intelligently on policy plans when dealing with religious leaders in the next few years.

⁴⁹ Rohter, Larry. "Policy on Morning-After Pill Upset Chile" The New York Times. December 2006. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/17/world/americas/17chile.html?ex=1324011600&en=610e5872709d76b9&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>>

Chapter 5: New Initiatives and the Future of Chile

We have been examining the current situation in Chile from economic, social, and political viewpoints. Chile is facing many difficult tasks right now. Economically, its high rate of inequality is a problematic issue. Socially, family violence is still a critical social issue. Politically, polarization between parties continues to make it difficult for progress. There are a lot of policies that need to be changed by the national governmental, but cooperation is unlikely.

In April, 2006, Chile elected a new woman president, Michelle Bachelet. She studied medical science and served as Health Minister and Defense Minister under former president, Ricardo Lagos. Given all these issues that need to be solved, her task is huge. She will have to improve a lot of issues in next few years. Since the beginning of her presidency, her governmental priorities are trying to increase of social spending, improve education, expand business and solve the legacy of the Pinochet regime.

I. Future Priorities of President Michelle Bachelet

a) Increase of Social Spending and Improvement of Education

As she talked a couple of times on the news in the past year, her principal goal is to increase social spending in the coming years, particularly for young children and low-income women. In May, 2006, she announced that she will use windfall state profits from the inflated copper markets to fund social programs. It is widely believed that her new

program would increase investment in education, healthcare, and housing services and create thousands of new jobs.⁵⁰

The new president is also working on educational improvement. In Chile, the cost of education is quite expensive, and low-income families cannot support their children's education after high school. My co-worker E explained that particularly in the suburbs of Santiago where low-income families are living, parents usually cannot afford to support children in obtaining advanced education such as high school and university because high school or university education costs 150 to 200 dollars a month in average. This amount of money is quite expensive for low-income families.⁵¹

In October 2006, president Bachelet started a new policy, called the "Chile Grows with You (Chile Crece Contigo)" program, which is one of first such policies in Latin America.⁵² This policy is focused on education, maternity care and health services for all children and their families. This program offers direct action to help the poorest 40 percent of households who make less than about 560 dollars per month, providing free day care centers for low-income families which have children under 2 years old. This policy is expected to expand across the country by 2009.

b) Improvement of the Copper Business and Increase of International Business

The price of copper, which is one of Chile's main export goods, is increasing in recent years. Particularly, last year, the price of copper increased at twice the rate of

⁵⁰ "Bachelet outlines broad new social spending, backed by state copper profits" Sentido tv. May 2006. <<http://www.casavaria.com/sentido/global/americas/2006/06-0522-bachelet.html>>

⁵¹ Participant Observation by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. December, 2006.

⁵² Dolan, Sabine. "'Chile Grows with You' policy promotes early childhood development" UNICEF newsline October, 2006. Chile. <http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/chile_36227.html>

average prices.⁵³ This current situation helps Chile's GDP to grow recent years. Taking advantage of the high price of copper, president Bachelet signed a free-trade agreement with China last year.⁵⁴ China is the world's biggest consumer of copper, and Chile has one of the biggest natural copper mines. Therefore, this treaty will definitely benefit both Chile and China in the future. President Bachelet said that this treaty keep the Chilean economy growing.

However, it is also important for Chile to know that it is vulnerable to the possibility that the price of copper may go down a few years later from now. Therefore, it is important for the Chilean economy to now use wisely its surpluses from the surging copper business.

c) Resolution of the Pinochet Regime

During Augusto Pinochet's regime from 1973 to 1990, it is estimated that about 3,000 people were either tortured or killed by the secret police of the government. Hundreds of people still remain unaccounted for. President Bachelet herself was also one of the victims who lost her father to the regime. Her father died in prison under unclear circumstances. Therefore, she has also promised that during her term in office, she will work on these issues such as uncovering their whereabouts.

At the same time, after Pinochet's death last December, his international trial addressing human rights abuses has been put on hold. Therefore, the president will have to deal with this issue too, deciding how they are going to process his trial after his death.

⁵³ "A Worrying Precedent" *Economist* Santiago, Chile. September, 2006.
< http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?story_id=7894761 >

⁵⁴ "Chile and China sign trade deal" *BBC News* August 2006.
<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/5273344.stm>>

d) Dissolution of Political Integration

In order to have a better Chilean society in the future, political integration is necessary. In Chile, political polarization still exists. There are clear divisions between right-wing and left-wing parties in Chilean politics. Conservative right-wing politicians always disagreed with new epochal policies, and it has made Chilean politics difficult to change. At the same time, public opinion also is separated by two different sides, right and left. Although it would be difficult to change this historical tendency fundamentally, it is important for Chile's future to have equilibrium in some levels, allowing for more smooth decision making in the future.

II. Chile's Future

Where Is Chile Going?

I have examined how Chilean society is changing from socio-economic and political viewpoints in the early chapters. The growing Chilean economy has contributed to the reduction of the poverty rate in Chile, and it has improved many people's quality of life, among many different social classes. Therefore, economic growth is important to make society better. In addition to that, as I indicated in the second chapter, governmental social spending is very high in Chile, which also contributes to improve people's lives.

However, when we think about the negative impact on people's health, particularly to children, that has been caused by economic growth (such as pollution of air), doubts arise that people in the economically growing nations always have a better

lives. In addition, I have made the important claim that the Chile's continuous traditional social structure may actually be helping to keep the poverty rate in Chile decreasing. Family structure in Chile is still traditional, and extended family is more common compared to the nuclear family or being a single mother and father. To examine children's well-being in Chile, children are more likely to be better-off when they have parents and ties with parents and their grandparents. It is reasonable to conclude that having traditional family structure might be preventing the poverty rate from increasing in Chilean society. This claim is more compelling when we compare the Chilean trend of poverty, with that of the United States. This is because the United States has been increasing the population of single parents, particularly single mothers, who have a continuously high poverty rate. In the third chapter, I illustrated how the Roman Catholic Church has had a strong influence on Chilean society in terms of the political arena and also on the general public. Later, in the fourth chapter, this power of the Roman Catholic Church is more revealed in terms of policy-making, especially with regard to health issues which are religiously sensitive. Thus, it seems that improvement of quality lives of people may be caused by the combined result of economic growth, governmental social spending, and also maintenance of traditional social structure in Chile.

Analyzing all aspects of the issues that Chilean society is facing today, the future of Chile is challenging. Moreover, with a new president, Michelle Bachelet, Chile has many tasks to address and they are likely to be absorbing during the next few years. But, Chile remains a leader among South American nations in terms of business, exemplary politics, and social programs.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to examine how Chilean society is facing social changes under conditions of recent economic growth, particularly focusing on well-being of Chilean children. By understanding these issues, it is expected that more people will be able to be aware of Chilean society and its social changes.

In the first chapter, we looked at the basic background about Chilean society to give us a better understanding before entering the main chapters. In the second chapter, I examined poverty and inequality trends in Chile. I found that the poverty rate in Chile has declined since the 1990s and early 2000s with rapid economic growth, while income inequality in Chile is one of the highest countries in the world. The decrease in the poverty rate was simply explained by the economic growth and the increase of government's social spending. Although income inequality rate remains high in Chile, I found that the rate is pretty stable since the 1990s. Also, I found that there is a tendency in Chile that both rich and poor people are better-off with the recent economic growth although their income inequality remains high. Since adults' well-being is strongly related to children, the well-being of Chilean children has improved for the last few decades. Housing quality in Chile has improved, and I found the fact that homeownership has made children's well-beings increase overtime. This fact was demonstrated from research literature findings and from my case study in El Monte, Chile last year.

Also, I compared these Chilean trends in poverty and inequality with the United States' case. I found that the United States also has a high percentage of income inequality as a developed nation. However, the trends of income inequality in the U.S. and Chile are different because stability has been seen in the trend in income inequality in

Chile, while that of the United States has kept increasing overtime. Moreover, the poverty rate in the United States remains high and even is increasing over the last few decades although that of Chile has declined since 1990s. This is possibly explained by the difference in the government's social spending for the last few decades. The Chilean government has increased its social spending in recent years. Meanwhile, although the United States is one of the most developed countries, its social expenditure is very low. Perhaps the United States could learn from Chilean case.

In the third chapter, I examined how the past political leader, Augusto Pinochet has influenced current Chilean politics and has shaped the political distribution of people in Chile. Pinochet's way of politics still grants political power to people on the right in terms of government decision-making. Not only are politicians separated between Pinochet's supporters and others, but also the Chilean public is divided along similar lines. I explained how Chilean citizens think about Augusto Pinochet, based on my participant observation, and identified how public opinion is polarized in Chile. In addition to this reality, Pinochet's recent death is raising new controversial issues, such as what to do about his unfinished trial regarding human rights abuses during his dictatorship. I summarized that people's political division will continue even though Pinochet is dead.

The fourth chapter demonstrated current family and health issue in Chile and how these issues are influenced by the existence of The Roman Catholic Church. According to UNICEF's research, Chile is facing one of the highest rates of family abuse in the world. About 75 percent of children are abused at home, and I found that it occurs for different reasons, ranging from the socio-economic background of parents (such as their education

level and income level), alcohol use of parents, and family structure. I also examined the right of divorce in Chile. It has been only 2 years since divorce was legally accepted. I identified how difficult it is to legalize divorce in Chile because the Roman Catholic Church has been against this issue. Moreover, I addressed the fact that popularization of contraception and sex education is still minimal in Chile, and these situations are also associated with the power of the Roman Catholic Church. As a participant observer, I found that sales of condoms at supermarkets is very small and they are very difficult to obtain, particularly for younger adults. Pastors and priests are strongly against these kinds of issues, saying they should not be so openly addressed. This reality is causing the difficulty of policy change in terms of social and health issues in Chile. However, it will be interesting to see how policies will change with the new president, Michelle Bachelet who was former Health Minister.

Following the story of the fourth chapter, the last chapter examined how the new socialist president, Michelle Bachelet is working on her tasks to make Chilean society better for the future. We may expect, in particular, great improvement in education and health programs because she was former Health Minister and she knows a lot of details on these issues. In addition to this, I expect that she will work on the increase of international copper-business, making a solution for the Pinochet regime, and dissolving of political polarization.

Overall, the findings of this essay substantiate the claim that Chile has been encountering huge social changes for the last few decades, and this is also leading to

changes in children's well-beings. It is important to understand how Chilean society is facing these issues today to wait for a better Chilean future.

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Table 2: Contreras, Dante “Poverty and Inequality in a Rapid Growth Economy: Chile 1990-96” The Journal of Development Studies. Published by Frank Cass, London. February 2003.

Picture 1: Taken by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. November, 2006.

Picture 2: Taken by Kanako Iwanaga. El Monte, Chile. November, 2006.

Chapter 4:

Figure 1: Third Study of Children’s Mistreating by UNICEF 2006.

Figure 2: Third Study of Children’s Mistreating by UNICEF 2006.

Figure 3: Third Study of Children’s Mistreating by UNICEF 2006.

Figure 4: Third Study of Children’s Mistreating by UNICEF 2006.

Figure 5: Third Study of Children’s Mistreating by UNICEF 2006.

Table 1: John M. Herold et al. “Premarital Sexual Activity and Contraceptive Use in Santiago, Chile” Studies in Family Planning. Population Council. 1992.