



Analytical Country Report 2009–2011:

Deepening democracy: Civil society in Chile

CIVICUS Civil Society Index in Chile



Fundación Soles
CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizenship Participation
Christian Blanco (Author)

Sponsored by:



FOREWORD

It is deeply satisfying to have reached the conclusion of the Civil Society Index (CSI) action-research project on Chilean civil society, and to be able to share its results.

As the President of Fundación Soles, a Chilean civil society organisation with almost 20 years of active commitment towards the cultural changes that aid in the achievement of a more fair and supportive society, I am delighted to be an active participant in an international project which seeks to strengthen the efforts of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).

Furthermore, as a former member of the International Board of CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizenship Participation (CIVICUS), one of the most active international organisations engaged in the functioning of civil society, citizen defence and participation, I am pleased to see that Chile too can make a meaningful contribution to the global CIVICUS CSI project, which is concerned with assessing comparatively the state of civil society in different countries around the world.

To increase the coherence, legitimacy, and influence of CSOs remains a challenge. For this reason, it is crucial for these organisations to position themselves as relevant actors with the state and private sector by developing not only creative new standpoints, but also new relationships of cooperation.

Civil society carries significant burdens. On the one hand, financing its organisations is a persistent problem. On the other hand, it still faces conflicts related to its ability to assemble, given its enormous complexity and

heterogeneity. Despite the progress of the sector's knowledge, and the improvement of its organisations' management abilities and transparency, there are still real challenges ahead for the sector in solving the tensions between autonomy and cohesion. New technologies have allowed the establishment of new networks, but it is still not enough.

Perhaps this internal coherence might never exist – and it might possibly be detrimental to have it; the diversity of the sector, after all, is an important asset. However, the tension between cohesion and diversity, when facing hierarchical and organised actors such as the state and the corporate sector, reduces the bargaining power of our sector as a whole.

All in all, a healthy and progressive society requires an active and strengthened civil society, with a more powerful connection to a citizenry which is increasingly demanding greater participation in the face of the failures of simple consumption and voting to achieve a rich democracy by themselves.

I trust that if we persist towards achieving a better equilibrium between cohesion and diversity, we will be building the civil society that we need, for the democracy that we want.



CECILIA DOCKENDORFF B.
President
Fundación Soles

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The CIVICUS Civil Society Index is a project that depends on the active cooperation of many people and institutions throughout the length of its development. In Chile, the contribution of Fundación Soles for the implementation of CSI was not without its setbacks or difficulties. The contributions made by the staff of CIVICUS were fundamental to the success of the project. For this reason, we offer our most sincere acknowledgement of the support provided by Natalie Akstein, Tracy Anderson, Amy Bartlett, Mariano De Donatis, Andrew Firmin, Mark Nowotny and many others who worked for CIVICUS in the completion of the Chilean CSI project, including this country report.

Likewise, we want to thank the authorities of CIVICUS and most specially Anabel Cruz who, in her role as Chair of the CIVICUS Board, gave the essential momentum to the project around the world. We would also like to thank CIVICUS for the seed funding it was able to provide, and to the staff member who oversaw this, Sinqobile Dube. Without the financial support delivered by CIVICUS, the project would not have been possible in Chile.

Also, we would like to thank Cristián Cao from Argentina, Analia Bettoni from Uruguay, Vanessa Cartaya from Venezuela, and every member of the National Implementation Teams in the Latin American region. Without their enthusiasm to collaborate and their willingness to share their work, the effort would not have been fruitful. Likewise, we thank Marcia Rivera from UNESCO who invited us to share our experience from Chilean civil society in the *International Seminar for the Strengthening of Civil Society in Uruguay*.

We would particularly like to thank Guillermo Scallan and the AVINA Foundation, who had a very active participation in the CSI-Chile, not only for kindly providing the infrastructure needed to carry out meetings, but also for their very valuable contributions to the discussions on Chilean civil society.

We also wish to thank the Bicentennial Commission for granting recognition and sponsorship to the CSI-Chile project.

Likewise, the support of the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano and, through its director Luis Pacheco, the School of Political Science and International Relations, proved critical. Through implementing the CSI project, we achieved an important collaborative relationship, which promises to continue strongly for the foreseeable future.

The University provided the necessary infrastructure for carrying out activities for the CSI, and also provided the project with the outstanding participation of faculty members Rodrigo Gangas and Pablo Zuniga as qualitative researchers and facilitators of several of the activities concerning the project. Likewise, we thank Martina Valenzuela, Priscila Cabrera, Mariela Ramírez, and Sebastián Campos, whose participation as researchers and research assistants proved crucial to the project.

We would also want to draw special attention to the enthusiasm and valuable contributions of the members of the National Advisory Committee, who made substantial contributions to the conceptual and empirical development of the project.

We are particularly grateful for the contribution of all civil society representatives who participated in the study by answering the survey and who took part in other project activities, and who constituted the voice of civil society so vital to the report. Likewise, we are grateful for the valuable contribution of all who joined the regional workshops and the national workshop, and who spearheaded the vocal debates that this report aims to capture.

We would also like to thank everyone who, with their considerable efforts, made this action-research possible, but who have not been mentioned previously. For this reason, we sincerely thank everyone who has worked with the project in one way or the other; by sharing opinions, providing work or by having a constructive attitude or attention, interest or desire in strengthening civil society and democracy in Chile and the world. Their contribution was not only necessary to accomplish the project, it was also the only way in which the CSI could acquire the constructive and transforming spirit which underlies it.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	6
GRAPHS, FIGURES AND TABLES.....	7
I. THE CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX AND APPROACH	13
1. PROJECT BACKGROUND	13
2. PROJECT APPROACH	15
3. CSI IMPLEMENTATION	17
4. LIMITATIONS OF THE CSI STUDY	20
II. CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE	22
1. THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY	22
2. HISTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE	24
3. MAPPING CIVIL SOCIETY	25
III. ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE.....	28
1. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT	30
2. LEVEL OF ORGANISATION.....	35
3. PRACTICE OF VALUES	41
4. PERCEPTION OF IMPACT	46
5. EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT	51
IV. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF CS IN CHILE.....	58
V. RECOMMENDATIONS	62
VI. CONCLUSIONS.....	64
APPENDICES	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	71

GRAPHS, FIGURES AND TABLES

Graphs

Graph 1 - Civil Society Diamond for Chile	10
Graph 2 - Example of Civil Society Diamond.....	16
Graph 3 - General results: Civil Society Diamond for Chile	28
Graph 4 - Dimension results: Civic Engagement.....	30
Graph 5 - Dimension results: Level of Organisation	35
Graph 6 - Dimension results: Practice of Values	41
Graph 7 - Dimension results: Perception of Impact	46
Graph 8 - Dimension results: External Environment.....	51

Figures

Figure 1 - Civil Society Index Dimensions and Sub-Dimensions	17
Figure 2 - CSI's working structure	18
Figure 3 - Analysis of Chile's social forces by type of relationship.....	26
Figure 4 - Analysis of social forces in Chile according to their level of influence.....	27

Tables

Table 1 - List of CSI implementing countries 2008-2011	14
Table 2 - Sub-dimension results: Extent of socially-based engagement.....	31
Table 3 - Sub-dimension results: Depth of socially-based engagement	31
Table 4 - Sub-dimension results: Diversity of socially-based engagement	32
Table 5 - Sub-dimension results: Extent of political engagement	32
Table 6 - Sub-dimension results: Depth of political engagement.....	33
Table 7 - Sub-dimension results: Diversity of political engagement.....	33
Table 8 - Sub-dimension results: Internal governance.....	36
Table 9 - Sub-dimension results: Infrastructure	37
Table 10 - Sub-dimension results: Sectoral communication	37
Table 11 - Sub-dimension results: Human resources.....	38
Table 12 - Sub-dimension results: Financial and technological resources.....	39
Table 13 - Sub-dimension results: International linkages	39
Table 14 - Sub-dimension results: Democratic decision-making governance	42
Table 15 - Sub-dimension results: Labour regulations.....	42
Table 16 - Sub-dimension results: Code of conduct and transparency.....	43
Table 17 - Sub-dimension results: Environmental standards.....	43
Table 18 - Sub-dimension results: Perception of values in civil society as a whole	44
Table 19 - Sub-dimension results: Responsiveness	47
Table 20 - Sub-dimension results: Social impact.....	48
Table 21 - Sub-dimension results: Policy impact.....	49
Table 22 - Sub-dimension results: Civil society impact on attitudes.....	49
Table 23 - Sub-dimension results: Socio-economic context	52
Table 24 - Sub-dimension results: Socio-political context.....	53
Table 25 - Sub-dimension results: Socio-cultural context.....	54

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CS	Civil Society
CSI	Civil Society Index
CSI-Chile	Chile's Civil Society Index
CSO	Civil society organisation
CPS	Centre for Public Studies
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HEIS	Higher Education Information System
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
NAC	National Advisers Committee
NGO	Non governmental organisation
PUC	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
PUCV	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso
UAHC	Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano
UDP	Universidad Diego Portales
WVS	World Values Survey

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI) is an action-research project, based on an international participatory tool used to evaluate the state of civil society, help identify its needs and plan actions to strengthen it. The CSI has two main objectives: to increase knowledge and awareness of the condition of civil society around the world, taking as a starting point the experience of civil society organisations themselves and also to strengthen the stakeholders and key players of civil society through promoting an inter-sectoral dialogue, collective learning, and the development of a common strategic agenda.

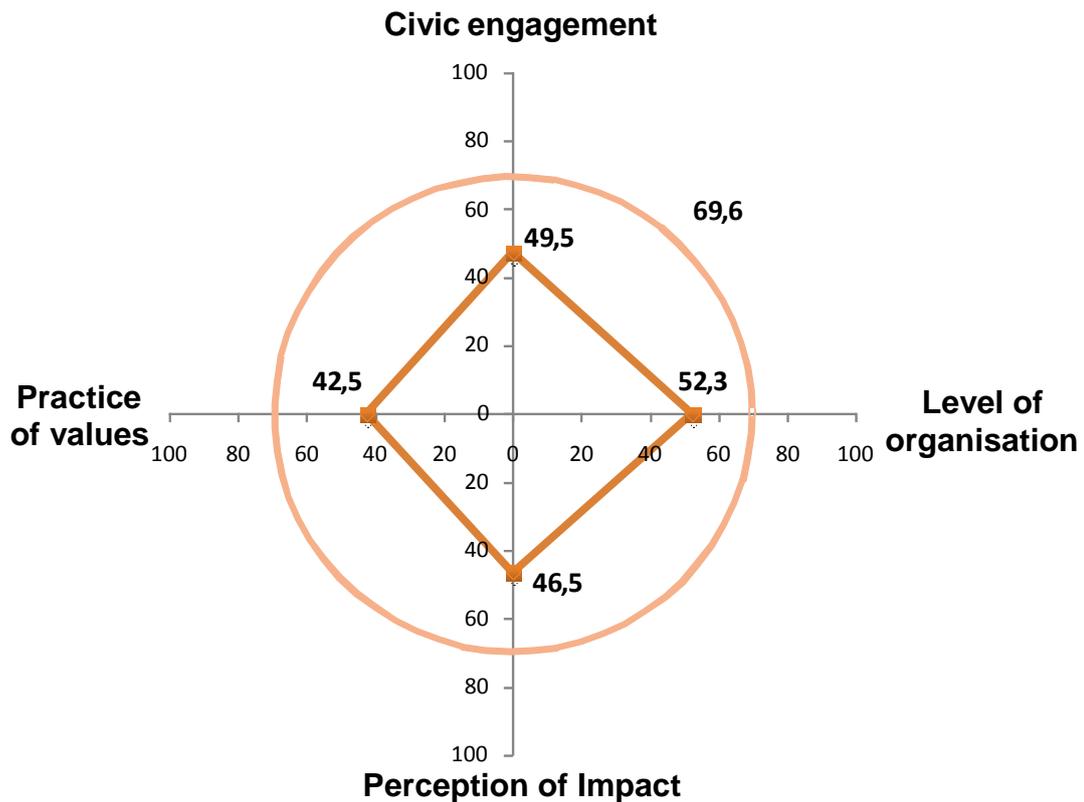
The CSI has been developed and coordinated since the mid-1990s by CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation¹ along with the London School of Economics and the University of Heidelberg. More than 60 countries around the world have participated in the CSI, and its 2008-2011 action-research project was implemented in six Latin American countries. At the country level, the CSI is implemented by partner organisations of CIVICUS that, with the support of local alliances, carry out the research and dialogue activities that the project comprises. In Chile, the 2008-2011 version of the CSI was carried out for the second time by Fundación Soles².

The most well known output of the project is the CSI Diamond. In this visual graphic, the quantitative results of the CSI research are presented for each of the five CSI dimensions of civil society: Civic Engagement, Level of Organisation, Practice of Values, Perception of Impact and External Environment. The dimensions are each presented on a 0 to 100 scale. On each of the axes, the score of 100 represents a theoretical optimal value for each dimension - the highest level of development. In the case of the External Environment, for example, the closer the score comes to 100, the more favourable the context for the development of civil society is judged to be.

In general terms, the CSI Diamond for Chile's civil society showed moderate values for most of the "internal" dimensions (Civic Engagement, Level of Organisation, Practice of Values and Perception of Impact), corresponding to a medium level of development. The score for the External Environment, on the other hand, suggests a more favourable arena for the advancement of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).

¹ See www.civicus.org

² See www.fundacionsoles.cl



Graph 1 - Civil Society Diamond for Chile

The internal dimension which presents the highest level of development is the Level of Organisation of Chilean civil society, being the only one to score more than half of the optimal score (52.3%). Correspondingly, the sub-dimensions with the highest scores are those of civil society’s internal governance, based on councils or committees, sectoral communication and access to adequate financial and technological resources. On the other hand, the weakest scores in this dimension were attributed to the quality of human resources and international linkages.

The Level of Organisation dimension is followed by Civic Engagement (49.5%) in its degree of development. Here, the sub-dimensions of diversity of social and political engagement show strong results. These refer to the participation by potentially marginalised social groups in civil society organisations. However, the sub-dimensions of extent and depth of social and political participation showed weaker results.

The Practice of Values dimension (42.5%) achieved the lowest scores in Chile. Even when democratic decision-making governance processes appear to be a common practice and therefore a solid strength in the surveyed organisations, civil society

policies on environmental standards, labour regulations or formal and public codes of conduct are not widely used. Slightly higher scores are shown in measures such as the promotion of non-violence and peace and role of civil society in democratisation, along with medium levels of corruption and intolerance.

The second least developed dimension in the Chile CSI was the Perception of Impact (46.5%). In this dimension, the social impact of civil society was rated highest, both from the standpoint of CSO representatives and from that of external observers. The policy impact was rated as moderate, as was civil society's responsiveness. The least developed sub-dimension was the impact of civil society on attitudes such as trust, tolerance, and public spiritedness among its members.

The dimension that resulted with the highest score (69.6%) was the External Environment, which indicates the existence of highly favourable conditions for the development of civil society in Chile. The socio-political context, which includes civil and political liberties, respect for the rule of law, and the state's effectiveness are highly developed. The socio-economic context follows in its level of development, assessed on measures such as economic inequality, Chile's basic capabilities and the levels of corruption. The socio-cultural context – comprising trust, tolerance, and public spiritedness - is the weaker aspect of this dimension.

In the regional and national workshops which formed part of the CSI project, participants discussed key strengths of Chilean civil society, which included the diversity among CSOs, the high commitment of most civil society representatives, the creation of networks with the support of ICT and, especially, the local impact of CSOs. The main weaknesses discussed by participants included civil society's capacity to promote training, challenges associated with civic education for society at large, and limited capacity to implement competitive and sustainable projects or to improve external cohesion. From discussions, participants also formed a number of recommendations which are included in this report. For example, in order to improve external cohesion, one suggestion was to create a training space to help civil society leaders and representatives define themselves and the sector as a third party, deserving of conditions equal to those of the state and the private sphere.

INTRODUCTION

The CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI) is an action-research project, based on an international participatory tool used to evaluate the state of civil society, help identify its needs and plan actions to strengthen it. The CSI has two main objectives: to increase knowledge and awareness of the condition of civil society around the world, taking as a starting point the experience of civil society organisations themselves and also to strengthen the stakeholders and key players of civil society through promoting an inter-sectoral dialogue, collective learning, and the development of a common strategic agenda.

The CSI has been developed and coordinated from the mid-1990s by CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation (CIVICUS) along with the London School of Economics and the University of Heidelberg. More than 60 countries around the world have participated in the CSI, and its 2008-2011 action research project was implemented in six Latin American countries.

At the country level, the CSI is implemented by partner organisations of CIVICUS who, with the support of local alliances, carry out the research and dialogue activities that the project comprises. In Chile, the 2008-2011 version of the CSI was carried out for the second time by Fundación Soles. Previously, in 2005, Fundación Soles implemented a shortened project based on an earlier version of the project methodology (CSI – Short Assessment Tool). The 2009-2011 version of the CSI-Chile, including case studies and the National Workshop, was carried out by Fundación Soles, in collaboration with the School of Political Sciences and International Relations of the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (www.academia.cl).

The President of Fundación Soles was the leader of the project, which was coordinated by Christian Blanco as the principal researcher. Sebastián Campos, Martina Valenzuela, and Mariela Ramírez participated as research assistants. The development of the qualitative part of the research was assisted by Priscila Cabrera, Rodrigo Gangas, and Pablo Zuñiga, as well as the research assistants Martina Valenzuela and Sebastian Campos.

I. THE CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX AND APPROACH

Civil society is playing an increasingly important role in governance and development around the world. In most countries, however, knowledge about the state and shape of civil society is limited. Moreover, opportunities for civil society stakeholders to come together to collectively discuss, reflect and act on the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and opportunities within the sector also remain limited.

The Civil Society Index, is a participatory action-research project assessing the state of civil society in countries around the world, which contributes to redressing these limitations. It aims at creating a knowledge base and momentum for civil society strengthening. The CSI is initiated and implemented by, and for, civil society organisations (CSOs) at the country level, in partnership with CIVICUS. The CSI implementation actively involves the creation of a network of a broad range of stakeholders including civil society, government, the media, donors, academics, and the public at large. The results of the CSI research are disseminated widely through this same network.

The following key steps in CSI implementation take place at the country level:

- 1. Assessment:** CSI uses an innovative mix of participatory research methods, data sources, and case studies to assess comprehensively the state of civil society using five dimensions: Civic Engagement, Level of Organisation, Practice of Values, Perception of Impact and the External Environment.
- 2. Collective reflection:** implementation involves structured dialogue among diverse civil society stakeholders that enables the identification of civil society's specific strengths and weaknesses
- 3. Joint action:** the actors involved use a participatory and consultative process to develop and implement a concrete action agenda to strengthen civil society in a country.

The following four sections provide a background of the CSI, its key principles and approaches, as well as a snapshot of the methodology used – and its limitations - in the generation of this report on Chilean civil society.

1. PROJECT BACKGROUND

The CSI first emerged as a concept over a decade ago as a follow-up to the 1997 New Civic Atlas publication by CIVICUS, which contained profiles of civil society in 60 countries around the world (Heinrich and Naidoo (2001)). The first version of the CSI

methodology, developed by CIVICUS with the help of Helmut Anheier, was unveiled in 1999. An initial pilot of the tool was carried out in 2000 in 13 countries³. The pilot implementation process and results were evaluated. This evaluation informed a revision of the methodology. Subsequently, CIVICUS successfully implemented the first complete phase of the CSI between 2003 and 2006 in 53 countries worldwide. This implementation directly involved more than 7,000 civil society stakeholders (Heinrich 2008).

Intent on continuing to improve the research-action orientation of the tool, CIVICUS worked with the Centre for Social Investment at the University of Heidelberg, as well as with partners and other stakeholders, to rigorously evaluate and revise the CSI methodology for a second time before the start of this current phase of the CSI. With this new and streamlined methodology in place, CIVICUS launched its current phase of the CSI in 2008 and selected its country partners, including both previous and new implementers, to participate in the global project. Table 1 below includes a list of implementing countries in the current phase of the CSI.

The box below includes a list of implementing countries⁴ in the 2008-2011 phase of the CSI.

List of CSI implementing countries 2008-2011		
Albania	Italy	Niger
Argentina	Japan	Philippines
Armenia	Jordan	Russia
Bahrain	Kazakhstan	Serbia
Belarus	Kosovo	Slovenia
Bulgaria	Lebanon	South Korea
Burkina Faso	Liberia	Sudan
Chile	Macedonia	Togo
Croatia	Madagascar	Turkey
Cyprus	Mali	Uganda
Djibouti	Malta	Ukraine
Democratic Republic of Congo	Mexico	Uruguay
Georgia	Morocco	Venezuela
Ghana	Nicaragua	Zambia

Table 1 - List of CSI implementing countries 2008-2011

³ The pilot countries were Belarus, Canada, Croatia, Estonia, Indonesia, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, Romania, South Africa, Ukraine, Uruguay, and Wales.

⁴ Note that this list was accurate as of the publication of this Analytical Country Report, but may have changed slightly since the publication, due to countries being added or dropped during the implementation cycle.

2. PROJECT APPROACH

The current CSI project approach (2008-2011) continues to marry assessment and evidence with reflections and action. This approach provides an important reference point for all work carried out within the framework of the CSI. As such, CSI does not produce knowledge for its own sake but instead seeks to directly apply the knowledge generated to stimulate strategies that enhance the effectiveness and role of civil society. With this in mind, the CSI's fundamental methodological bedrocks which have greatly influenced the creation of this report include the following:⁵

Inclusiveness: The CSI framework strives to incorporate a variety of theoretical viewpoints, as well as being inclusive in terms of civil society indicators, actors and processes included in the project.

Universality: Since the CSI is a global project, its methodology seeks to accommodate national variations in context and concepts within its framework.

Comparability: The CSI aims not to rank, but instead to comparatively measure different aspects of civil society worldwide. The possibility for comparisons exists both between different countries or regions within one phase of CSI implementation and between phases.

Versatility: The CSI is specifically designed to achieve an appropriate balance between international comparability and national flexibility in the implementation of the project.

Dialogue: One of the key elements of the CSI is its participatory approach, involving a wide range of stakeholders who collectively own and run the project in their respective countries.

Capacity development: Country partners are first trained on the CSI methodology during a three day regional workshop. Following this training, partners are supported through the implementation cycle by the CSI team at CIVICUS. Partners participating in the project also gain substantial skills in research, training and facilitation in implementing the CSI in-country.

Networking: The participatory and inclusive nature of the different CSI tools (e.g. focus groups, the Advisory Committee, the National Workshops) should create new spaces where very diverse actors can discover synergies and forge new alliances, including at a cross-sectoral level. Some countries in the last phase (2003-2005) have also participated in regional conferences to discuss the CSI findings and regional civil society issues.

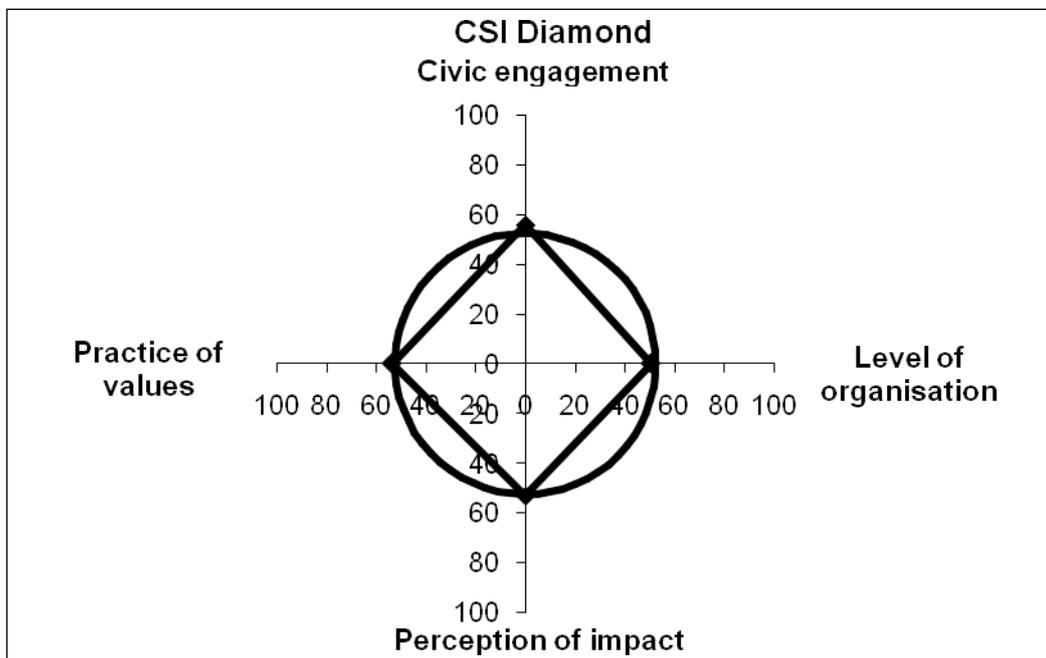
Change: The principal aim of the CSI is to generate information that is of practical use to civil society practitioners and other primary stakeholders. Therefore, the CSI framework seeks to identify aspects of civil society that can be changed and to generate information and knowledge relevant to action-oriented goals.

With the above mentioned foundations, the CSI methodology uses a combination of participatory and scientific research methods to generate an assessment of the state of civil society at the national level. The CSI measures the following core dimensions:

⁵ For in-depth explanations of these principles, please see Mati, Silva and Anderson (2010), *Assessing and Strengthening Civil Society Worldwide: An updated programme description of the CIVICUS Civil Society Index Phase 2008-2010*. CIVICUS, Johannesburg.

- (1) Civic Engagement
- (2) Level of Organisation
- (3) Practice of Values
- (4) Perceived Impact
- (5) External Environment

These dimensions are illustrated visually through the Civil Society Diamond (see Graph 2 below), which is one of the most essential and well-known components of the CSI project. To form the Civil Society Diamond, 67 quantitative indicators are aggregated into 28 sub-dimensions which are then assembled into the five final dimensions along a 0-100 percentage scale. The Diamond's size seeks to portray an empirical picture of the state of civil society, the conditions that support or inhibit civil society's development, as well as the consequences of civil society's activities for society at large. The context or environment is represented visually by a circle around the axes of the Civil Society Diamond, and is not regarded as part of the state of civil society but rather as something external that still remains a crucial element for its wellbeing.



Graph 2 - Example of Civil Society Diamond

CSI sub-dimensions, according to their corresponding dimensions:

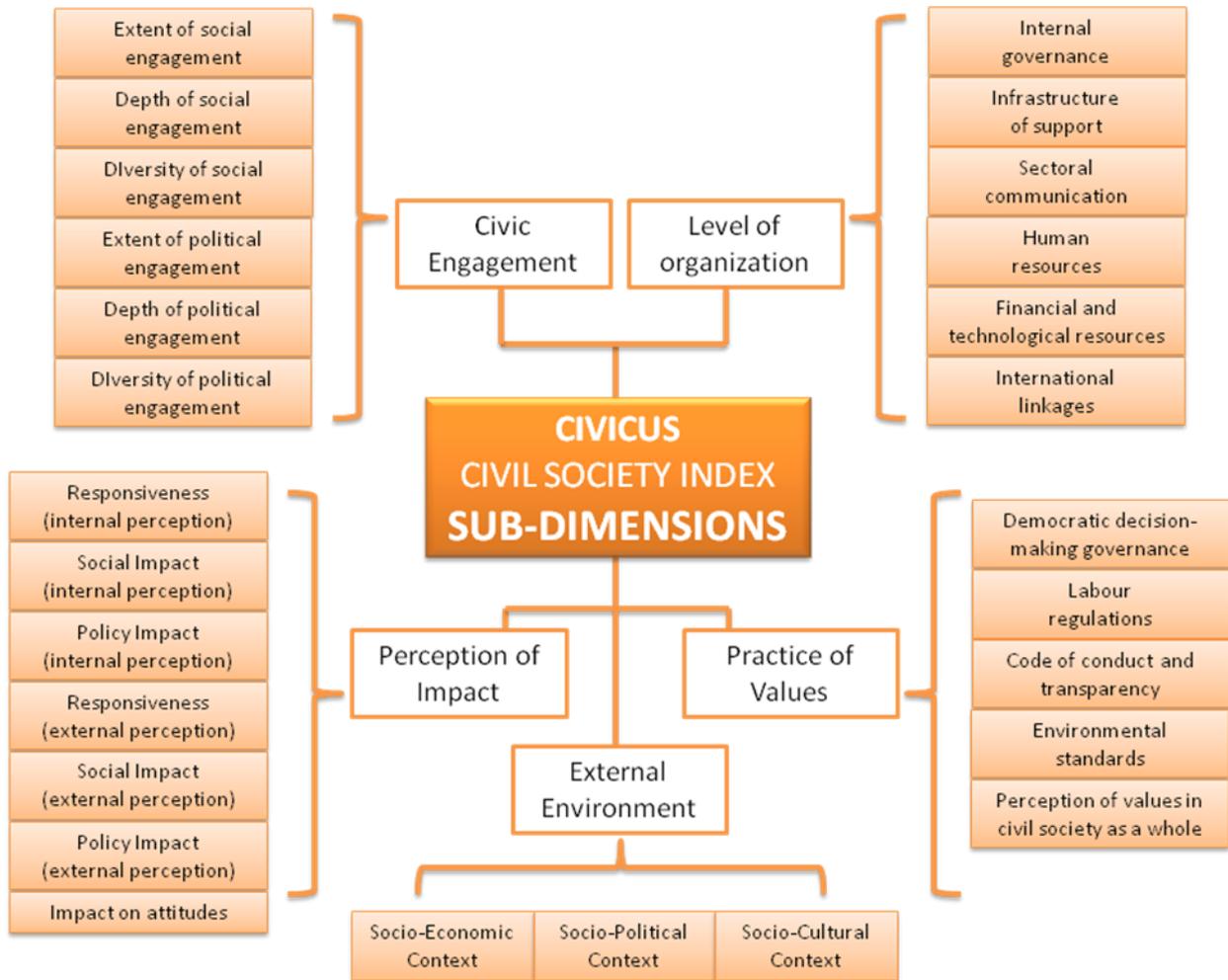


Figure 1 - Civil Society Index Dimensions and Sub-Dimensions

3. CSI IMPLEMENTATION

The CSI is a multi-methodology action-research initiative, which incorporates quantitative, qualitative, and participative techniques and works with primary and secondary data. This combination of diverse methods is crucial to take into account the heterogeneity of civil society. Like any piece of research, CSI has its limitations, but it seeks in the data-collection stage to constitute a learning and dialogue experience for the participating organisations.

CSI working structure and key activities are summarised in the figure below:

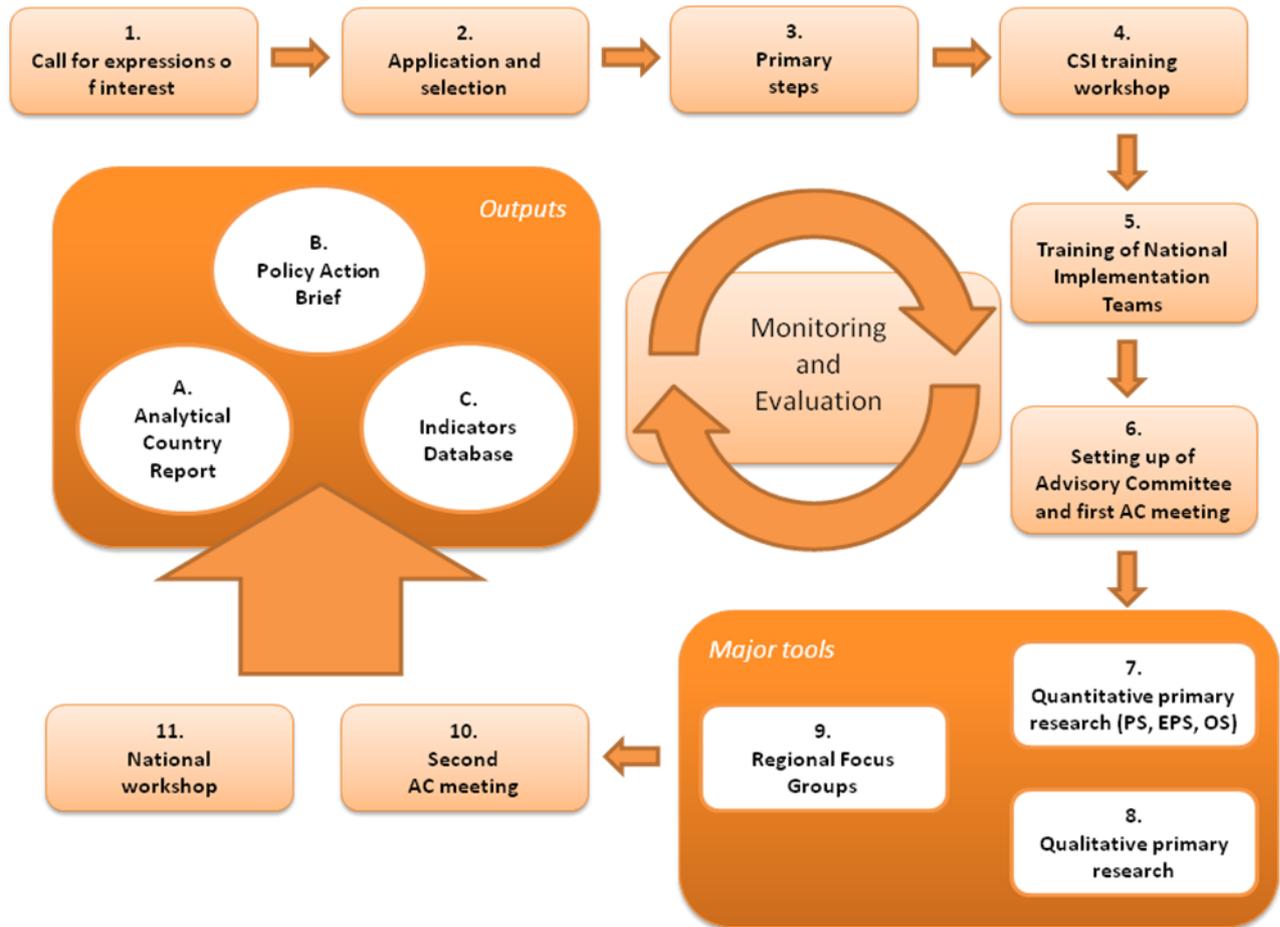


Figure 2 - CSI working structure

The main product of the CSI is the construction of the Civil Society Diamond, a graphic tool that presents results for the five dimensions of civil society in the country, allowing the identification of the stronger and weaker elements of the civil society sector.

The Civil Society Diamond is constructed using the results of the quantitative methodologies, specifically the three surveys:

- A **Population Survey** – based on indicators from the World Values Survey (WVS) in countries where this is available, such as Chile.
- An **Organisational Survey** of 90 Chilean civil society organisations (CSOs), which as far as possible took into account geographical and sectoral diversity..
- An **External Perception Survey** to 40 actors, who do not belong to CSOs but can be considered knowledgeable about them, to include viewpoints from private life, government institutions, and the academic world.

The quantitative results are complemented with qualitative methodologies, to enable a systematic and in-depth analysis of topics that would not have been adequately captured with quantitative data alone and which require a more comprehensive handling.

For this reason, five qualitative case studies were carried out:

Case Study 1, Researcher: **Priscila Cabrera**

- *“Alliances between CSOs and other organisations based on social responsibility and sustainable development. Case: Centro Vincular, of social responsibility and development, PUCV”*

Case Study 2, Researcher: **Sebastián Campos**

- *“Transparency in Chilean CSOs facing the Bicentennial celebrations”*

Case Study 3, Researcher: **Rodrigo Gangas**

- *“Civil society organisation with regards to young people as a mechanism of social and political participation”*

Case Study 4, Researcher: **Martina Valenzuela**

- *“The response capacity of civil society to natural disasters. Case Study of the earthquake that struck Chile, 27 February 2010.”*

Case Study 5, Researcher: **Pablo Zúñiga**

- *“Civil society and media: an experience from the earthquake.”*

Relying on participatory methodologies, the quantitative and qualitative information is subject to debate, which allows for validation and new insights to be generated. Opportunities for participation included:

- Civil society **Regional Workshops**.
- **National Advisory Committee** meetings.
- **CSI National Workshop**.

As part of the CSI-Chile’s qualitative strategies aimed at gathering information, six result-oriented discussion sessions were carried out in which more than 30 CSO representatives participated. The Regional Workshops were carried out in Santiago. Two meetings also took place in Valparaíso with representatives of local organisations.

The Regional Workshops sought to discuss diverse topics, many of which are included in the dimensions of the CSI-Chile, which are relevant for the evaluation of civil society’s current situation. From these meetings, various strengths and weaknesses of civil society emerged, which in turn generated action-oriented recommendations.

The CSI-Chile methodology included a national Advisory Committee, composed of 14 members linked to civil society in different ways, whether as organisation representatives, or as relevant actors in the political, academic and corporate spheres. This committee observed, advised on and validated the project’s implementation. During the development of CSI-Chile, the Advisory

Committee met on two occasions. The first meeting took place at the end of 2009, before the launch of the project. The second meeting was held just before the National Workshop, at the end of 2010, with the purpose of achieving a final evaluation of activities and results.

Following the in-depth research and extensive information collection, the findings were presented and subjected to debate in a National Workshop, which brought together a considerable number of interest groups from inside and outside civil society, allowing stakeholders to discuss and develop strategies on topics identified as priorities. The National Workshop was CSI-Chile's main opportunity to bring together representatives from CSOs, the state, private enterprise, academia, students and the general public in order to discuss the results of CSI-Chile, and to create action proposals.

The National Workshop took place on 15 December 2010 at the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. It was a key opportunity to debate the quantitative findings, the case studies, and the content of the regional workshops.

This Analytical Country Report is one of the main results of CSI-Chile. It illustrates the key findings of the research, including summaries of the strengths and weaknesses of civil society, and suggestions for the strengthening of Chile's CSOs.

4. LIMITATIONS OF THE CSI STUDY

Like any other research project, the Chilean version of the CSI has intrinsic limitations that should be acknowledged. CSI methodology guidelines were essential for the success of the project. Nevertheless, in implementing these guidelines, the CSI-Chile team encountered problematic situations, both of a methodological and an organisational nature. However, the triangulation of information they were able to gather allowed for adequate analyses. In any event, these instances, as well as the implementation of the project as a whole, allowed multiple learning opportunities for the research team and created strong new competencies in Fundación Soles.

A general difficulty, which was foreseen at the beginning of the project, was the challenge of getting local-level funding. Organisations to which funding requests were made rejected them, primarily because Chile does not qualify for international financial aid. At a national level, within the available time span, it was not possible to access funds allocated for research carried out by CSOs. These funds are normally allocated to universities or specialised research centres through bidding processes.

The funding problem was tackled thanks to the support of seed funding from CIVICUS, which was used in the implementation of diverse stages of CSI-Chile. All the activities financed by the fund were satisfactorily carried out, and Fundación Soles profoundly thanks CIVICUS for this support, without which the CSI-Chile project would not have been completed.

Methodologically speaking, there were some pitfalls when adapting indicators to the national context, since it was difficult to understand with precision what each indicator represented in the Chilean context, and this generated a need to engage in deeper debates concerning some of the indicators, as well as a need to supplement the results with qualitative information.

Internet-based surveys were used to gather some data, but during the course of the project, the team realised that sampled organisations did not universally have access to the internet. This situation resulted in the removal of some organisations from the sample.

The final organisation sample, even though it managed to attain geographical diversity, fell short of the CSI benchmark: it was expected to include nearly 120 participating organisations and 60 external actors, but only 90 and 40 were achieved, respectively. More than 800 emails were sent, along with a number of phone calls.

The project was also not always able to achieve the expected turnout at meetings. Even though ultimately the Regional Workshops, National Workshop and the National Advisory Committee meetings were successful, on some occasions a higher attendance could have lent additional richness and texture to the discussions.

Regardless, the identification of the study's limitations constituted important instances of learning for the organisation, and the experience of organising and carrying out such a complex project – involving primary and secondary and qualitative and quantitative research, along with participatory activities – helped to strengthen the capacity of the CSI team.

II. CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE

It is not easy to define civil society. Its scope is not defined in formal terms, and it is a heterogeneous body that can perhaps be defined more easily in terms of what it is not. For this reason, this first section will provide some background and detail about the debates generated from the CSI's civil society working definition.

Civil society cannot be separated from the historical conditions that determined what it currently is; the history of Chilean civil society will therefore also be addressed below. Finally, in an attempt to describe in detail the current character of Chilean civil society, this section looks at the results of the mapping exercise of the different social forces at work in the country.

1. THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The role of civil society began to regain the attention of the academic, political and social spheres during the last decades of the twentieth century, with many analysts talking about a re-emergence of the concept. This reappearance stems from a convergence of historical moments that reactivated public and intellectual discussion of civil society. These processes have been conceptualised by Schmitter and O'Donnell (1994) as "transitions from authoritarian governments." Starting in the 1960s and late 1970s, but mainly in the decades of the 1980s and start of the 1990s, civil society and democratisation movements in Europe and Latin America emerged from the grassroots, generating through struggle and political pressure a legitimacy crisis within prevailing authoritarian regimes. This caused the concept of civil society to re-emerge as a central element for political analysis in the global arena. The re-emergence of the concept, however, does not imply theoretical legitimacy or a precise definition.

The term has been imprinted in the vocabulary of philosophers, journalists, politicians, sociologists, political scientists, social movement leaders and many others, with the concept of civil society constituting a theoretical common ground and a mobilising tool of great effectiveness. The concept, of course, has also frequently been abused (Serrano, 1994). Several analysts maintain that the use of the concept has surpassed its ability to be understood and use terms such as ambivalence, paradox or ambiguity in discussing its theoretical evolution. Olvera (1999) points out that the term civil society is widely used to talk without distinction of any organised group of people, or indeed of all the citizenry. Foley and Edwards (1996) argue that what has been created is a complex group of incongruent arguments, making clear that a definition based on consensus is very difficult to achieve.

The double dimension of civil society as a theoretical category and as a space for social interaction makes the construction of a unified concept and the process of its operationalisation rather difficult. Nevertheless, further research into this dynamic sector is important, and CIVICUS' Civil Society Index has become the greatest empirical and theoretical contribution to research into global civil society.

In Chile, as it is to be expected, the concept of civil society also yields different interpretations. Civil society is originally conceived as a form of bond between different organisations, such as parental centres, sports clubs and cultural centres, among others. It speaks to the capacity of certain groups of people to organise themselves as protagonists in relation to the context they interpret

themselves to be in. In other words, CSOs can be seen as arising from a group of people who detect and seek to satisfy real needs in a specific context, creating participatory moments to achieve change.

Civil society can also be seen as appearing in opposition to military society, in which explicit hierarchies exist and orders have to be strictly followed, regardless of their moral legitimacy. In contrast, civil society is composed of diverse organisations, with different objectives. According to this conception, the people involved in civil society rotate in leadership, creating participation which involves the whole community. Through the pursuit of their own individual objectives, they can be seen as helping to create a more participatory and democratic society.

Before the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, it can be argued that civil society was beginning to bloom. However, with the military coup, the momentum of civil society's emergence was weakened, with civil society and citizens afraid to organise. To date, this is still one of the principal costs and legacies of the dictatorship, and something to be overcome.

One important distinction is between organised and non-organised civil society. It is estimated that a large part of the population constitutes non-organised civil society. However, according to participants in regional workshops, it is also possible to understand isolated citizens as constituting civil society. It seems that the CSI concept equates the level of organisation with institutionalization, leaving to local qualitative evaluation the challenge of assessing the non-organised part of society.

Reaching a clear and unanimous agreement with respect to the inclusion of the non-organised part of society in a working definition of civil society may prove to be impossible. Indeed, for the purposes of the CSI research study, the question of whether citizens are required to be active in order to be effectively included in a definition of civil society remained open. There was, however, consensus that in the case of Chile political parties should be excluded from the definition of civil society, as they are directly linked to the political system.

With respect to the relationship with other spheres of society, the status of civil society remains ambivalent in the sense that its members at the same time belong to and are outside of the family, the market and the state. In other words, civil society's construction is a cooperative effort alongside the family and the state organisations which financially support projects, and through which civil society engages with other sectors. It is also recognised that civil society is a 'third sector' with respect to the state and the market, but it has to be treated as an intermediary, and not as a completely isolated entity, since it participates with and tries to influence these spheres.

Heterogeneity is a central characteristic of Chilean civil society and examples of this arose throughout the research process. Huge differences exist; for example, neighbourhood associations generally have poor resources and infrastructure in comparison with more institutionalised organisations. There was also debate concerning the maturity of Chilean civil society, since there are cases where CSOs are substantially underdeveloped, limited, poor, and in need of more stability and strength.

Following these debates, the working definition advanced by CIVICUS as part of the CSI methodology was applied in this process. The working definition therefore describes civil society as: *"the arena – outside of the family, the state, and the market – which is created by individual and collective actions, organisations and institutions to advance shared interests."* Although interesting

caveats were raised in the discussions, there were no suggestions to modify the definition, and only ancillary distinctions were suggested.

2. HISTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE

It is not possible to understand a country's civil society without considering its historic developments. A detailed history was presented in the first version of the CSI-Chile in 2006-2007, by Adolfo Castillo. Chile offers a diverse and abundant civil society with significant levels of fragmentation but also with a certain degree of cohesion. Organisations with a territorial and functional base make up the majority. Organisations with a local scope are predominant but there are others with higher levels of professionalism, and a national remit.

The evolution of social organisations in Chile goes back to the second half of the nineteenth Century, which saw the founding of middle class organisations, from the Equality Society (1850) and the Union of Typesetters (1853) to an ample set of organisations with mining or urban-popular origins. Societies of mutual aid also started appearing to provide healthcare and schools, and also in the arena of culture; they even had their own written media. Some more political movements also began to emerge, some of them illegal, such as unions and other aid-oriented organisations. In the 1920s middle class organisations linked to public jobs were first seen and those of blue collar workers evolved at the same time. A little prior to this, labour unions had been created by the beginning of the twentieth century. It is also worth noting that the women's, university and indigenous movements began to emerge at the same time.

Since colonial times, the Catholic Church had sponsored many welfare initiatives in the fields of health, education, day-care, and support for the destitute, older people, and other vulnerable groups - activities which involved many women and which also gave rise to a wide range of institutions. Many volunteer organisations have their background in forms of welfare supported by both Catholic and evangelical churches and also some secular associations since the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the 1950s, initiatives of neighbourhood organisations and the cooperative movement spread nationwide, gathering momentum mainly through the occupation of land, where diverse populations started settling. Rural organisation was sparked in 1966 by the Law for Peasant Unions and Land Reform. In 1968 the Law of Neighbourhood Associations and Community Organisations was launched, which saw the beginning of the formal legal basis of civil society.

The development of civil society was intimately linked to political dynamics, while economic and social processes played a key role in making explicit the profound social differences that prevailed in Chile. The 1973 military coup, followed by seventeen years of military government, had a dramatic impact on civil society, bringing profound changes in the social, political, and economic arenas and truncating the further possibility of civil society development that there had been in the previous forty years. Restrictions on individual freedoms, such as freedom of association, and the prohibition of political activity, as well as legal and economic shifts, drastically undermined the public sphere and severely worsened the conditions for civil society. CSOs lost most of their autonomy. During the dictatorship, significant sectors of civil society attempted to continue to operate at a smaller scale with the support of the Catholic Church and other Christian churches,

NGOs, human rights organisations, and humanitarian assistance. Indeed, while the leadership of the traditional civil society organisations was largely dismissed by the military regime, others in religious institutions such as the Vicariate of Solidarity continued to carry the torch of opposition. The conditions for the re-emergence of Chilean civil society were characterised by open spaces for social expression at the end of the dictatorship, especially in the form of protests.

With the return of democracy in 1990, which brought important political and economic changes, institutional re-democratisation was pushed forward. However, the links between state and society continued to face fundamental challenges. Even if one considers an increase in purchasing ability as an indicator of greater inclusion, inequality has been sustained and even increased, deepening social fragmentation further.

The previous version of the CSI-Chile placed emphasis on rebuilding associative life in Chile. The current context offers a new series of questions and challenges. Significantly, the recent change of government following 20 years of presidents of the “Concertación” (centre-left wing coalition of parties), came about partly due to social pressure to deepen and consolidate democracy. At the same time, another pressure – that of the market – remains supremely important in Chile, even for civil society, and especially for funding of civil society activities. A third force is also coming into play in Chilean civil society: the sector has started to see a great expansion in volunteering, environmental development, indigenous and regional initiatives.

The 27 February 2010 earthquake in the south-central part of Chile was a catastrophic event, but provided an important test case of how the market, the state, and civil society could work together, with civil society spearheading assistance activities.

3. MAPPING CIVIL SOCIETY

It is necessary to understand the functional dynamics and power relations of different social forces that shape the arena for Chilean CSOs.

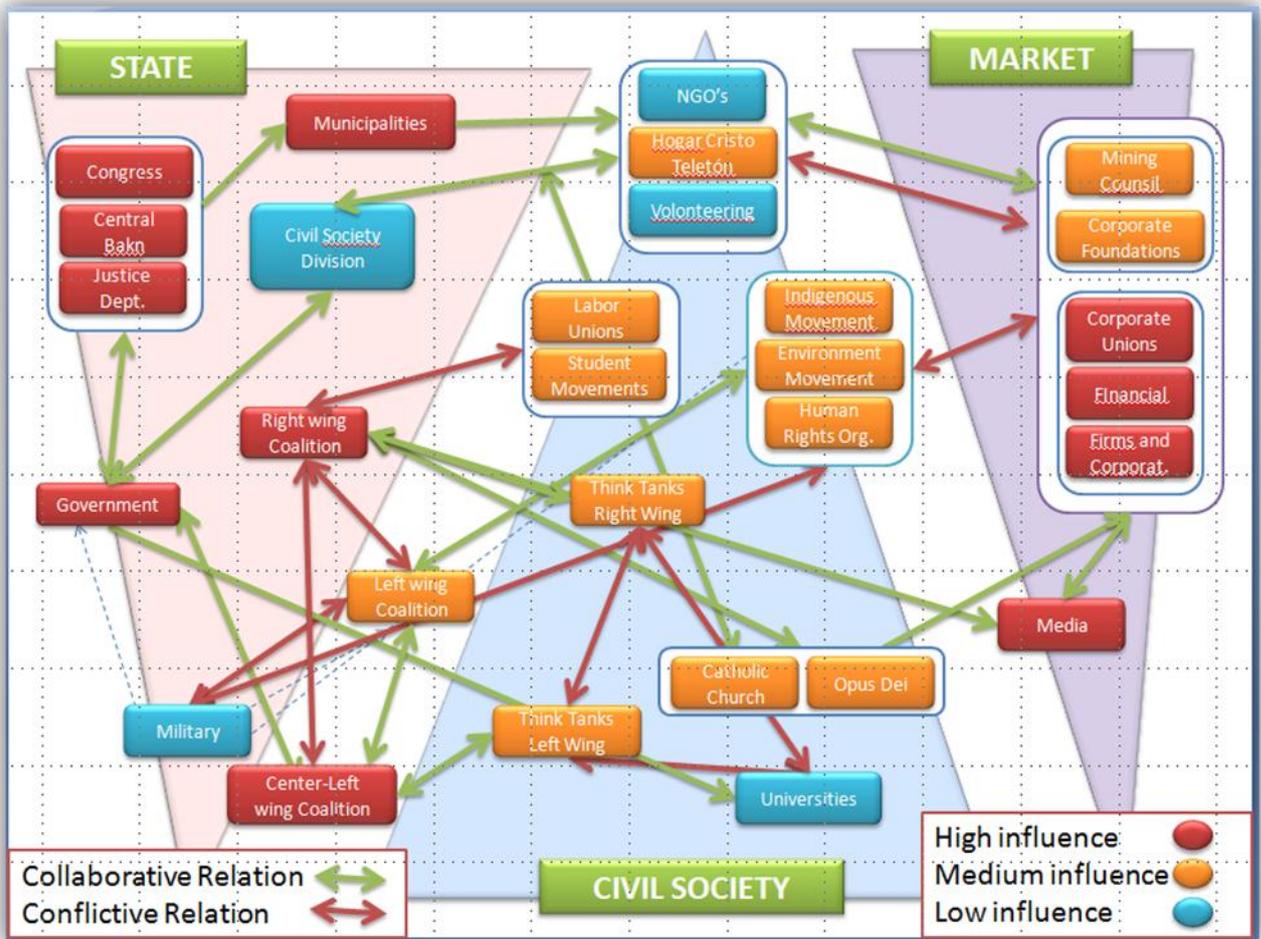


Figure 3 - Analysis of Chile's social forces by type of relationship

As outlined in Figure 3, which was elaborated during a discussion session of the CSI National Implementation Team, there is a complex set of conflicting and collaborative relations between the most influential actors of the state, market, and civil society spheres in Chile. It is important to note that this evaluation was performed before the change of government in 2010, which would require the analysis to be refreshed as the experience of life under the new government progresses. Figure 3 shows the wide diversity of civil society, where one set of organisations has a high level of collaboration with the markets and state (as suggested by the interactions and positioning shown at the top of Figure 3), while the majority continue to have a conflicting relationship. This includes those community-based organisations not included in the previous analysis.

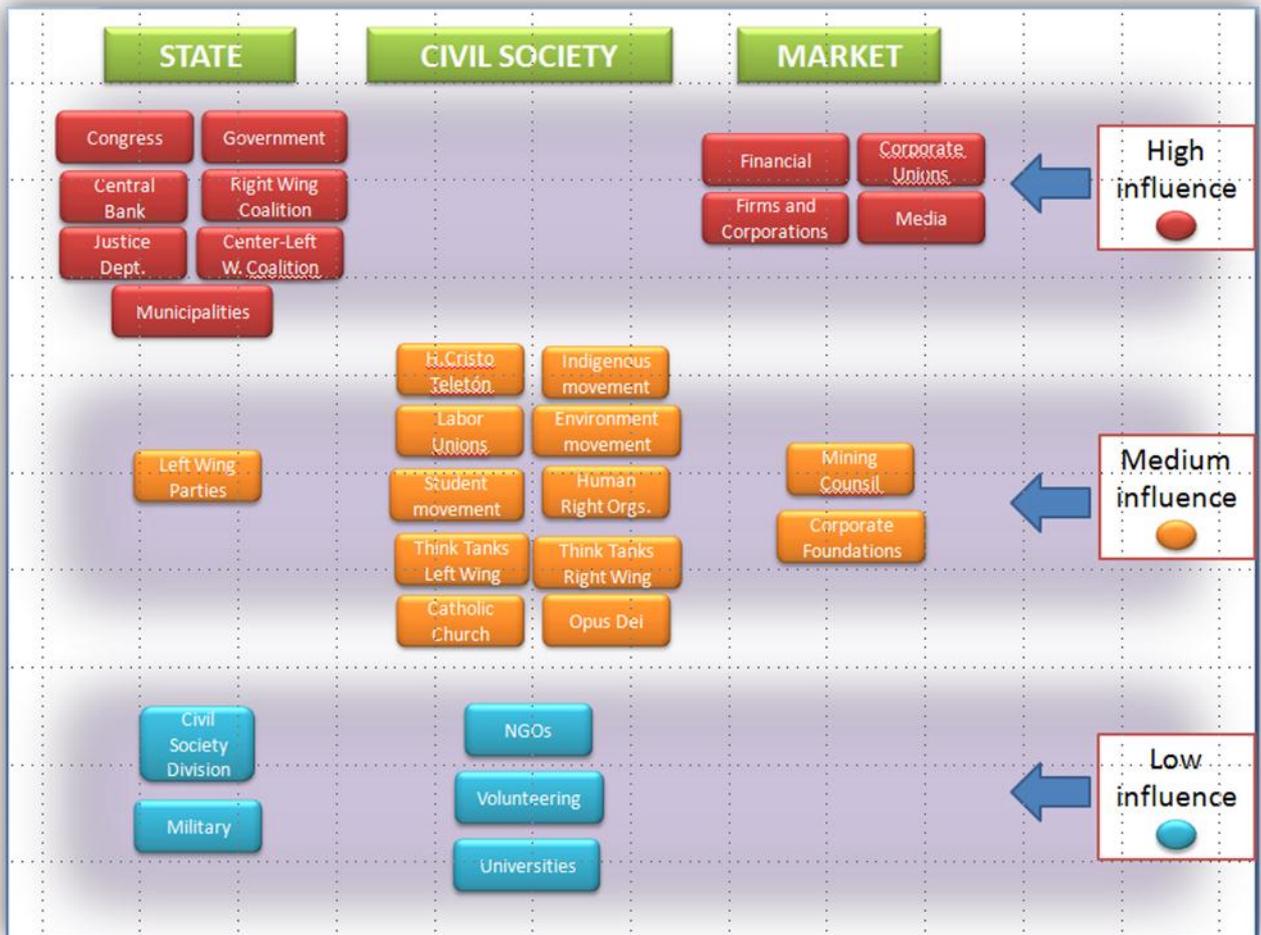
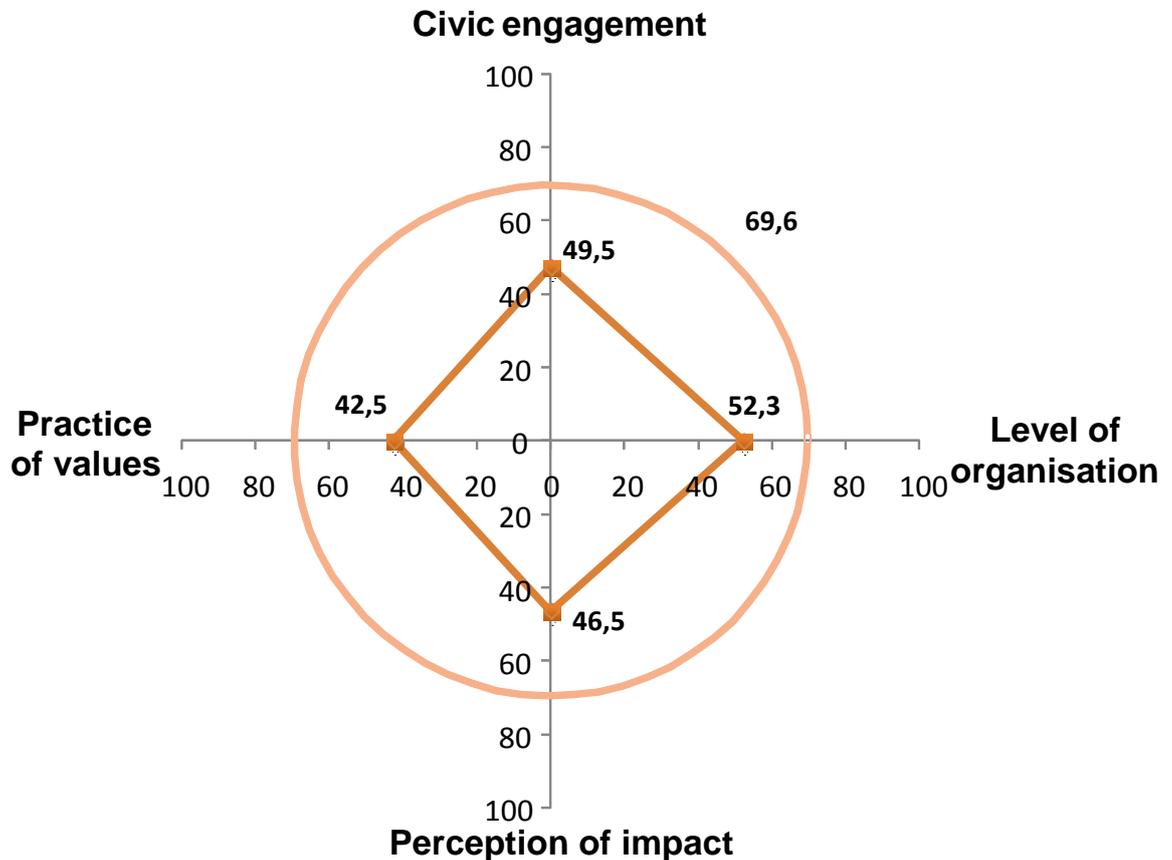


Figure 4 - Analysis of social forces in Chile according to their level of influence

Figure 4 suggests that the majority of CSOs have low to medium influence, while those organisations with higher influence are concentrated in the state and the private sector. Private foundations tend to have more influence. Many CSOs have earned a position of influence, with increased access to media and enhanced material and human resources which allow them a higher standing. However, these organisations are not in the majority and, as was pointed out in a regional workshop, their position of influence often corresponds with having a difficult relationship and poor reputation with grassroots organisations.

III. ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CHILE

The CSI-Chile Diamond is the main output of the project, in which all of the quantitative results are shown for each of the dimensions examined.



Graph 3 - General Results: Civil Society Diamond for Chile

In general terms, the Civil Society Diamond shows moderate values for most of the internal dimensions – implying a roughly medium level of development – except for the External Environment, which shows much higher values.

The internal dimension that shows the highest level of development is the Level of Organisation, the only one of the four to exceed half of the optimal score. However, this result disguises an important internal diversity of civil society which excludes many organisations from an adequate access to human and material resources as well as networks and other advantages, translating into large inequalities that hinder the overall development of Chilean civil society. The Level of Organisation (52.3%) is followed in score by the Civic Engagement measure at 49.5%.

Practice of Values (42.5%) is the dimension with the lowest score. This is not because civil society is corrupt or lacking transparency, but because the standardisation of best practices remains in its early stages. The second weakest dimension is the Perception of Impact (46.5%), which probably reflects jointly the state of engagement, organisation, and practice of values, which are needed to deliver critical mass, resources and social credibility.

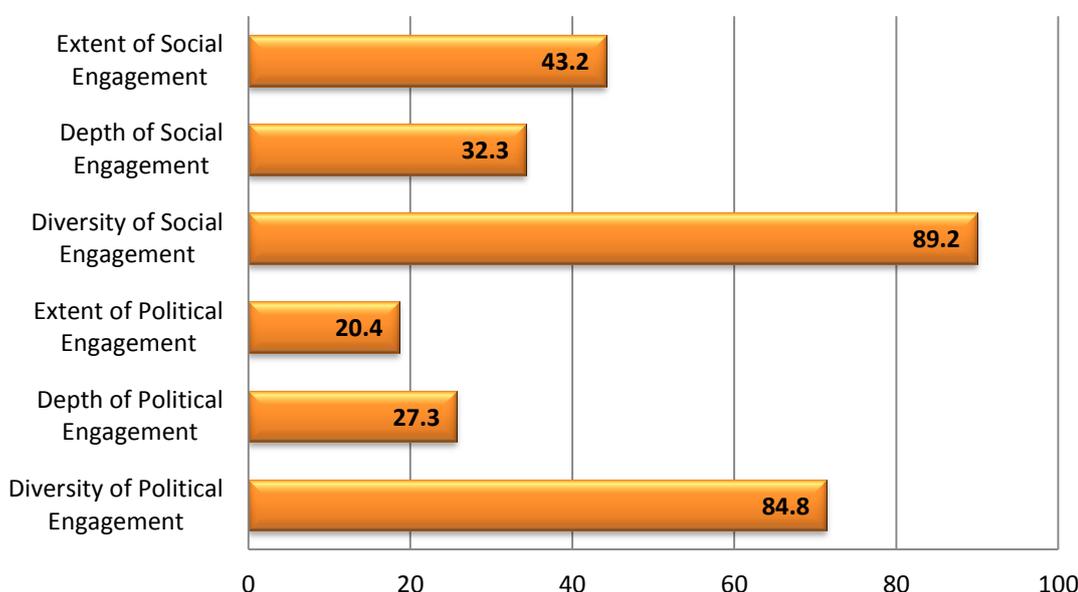
The higher score for the External Environment dimension (69.6%) suggests that there are favourable conditions for the development of Chilean civil society, notwithstanding some legislative restrictions. The most negative aspect here is within the socio-cultural context: low levels of social confidence and trust threaten to undermine public spiritedness and civic commitment, essential prerequisites for every civil initiative.

1. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Civic Engagement represents the second highest of the four internal CSI dimensions scoring 49.5%. It draws on data from the World Values Survey. However, when scoring the perceptions of this same measure through the national Advisory Committee, civic engagement was given a score of only 24.9 points, which suggests a consistent gap between perceptions and reality of civic engagement in Chile.

These results are consistent with those observed in the 2005-2007 version of the CSI-Chile, in which the 'Structure' dimension of the previous methodology - using similar indicators to those employed in the current methodology for Civic Engagement - was also the second highest measure. This dimension, however, presents significant internal differences that favour diversity of engagement in social and political matters above extension or depth of engagement.

Civic Engagement



Graph 4 - Dimension results: Civic Engagement

Social participation shows slightly higher scores in all dimensions than political participation. These scores are supported by the case study on young people's social and political participation, which finds that young people have better spaces for organisation in the social than in the political sphere.

However, the quantitative results are challenged when contrasted with the experience of the regional workshops and difficulties in convening and inspiring commitment to, and consciousness of, the importance of social participation. From the standpoint of organisations consulted, it appears that in the current conditions of Chilean democracy, commitment is sometimes confused with pursuing positions of power, rather than sacrificing personal interests to support the social objectives of organisations. Alongside this, the civic commitment of many leaders and representatives is highly valued, because of its motivational value.

Another important dimension discussed was the role of volunteers: although volunteers seem to be the force behind many initiatives, their unstructured and unaccountable way of working makes it harder for organisations to achieve consistently high standards. This is where training and civic education become crucial so CSOs can continue the professionalism and excellent service they provide. Participants also underlined the need to find new ways of promoting a democratic and participative spirit within the community. At the local level a reinforcement of the basic notion of the civil contract – the bond between active citizen and the community within which he or she lives - is needed so it can be transferred to the regional and national levels. In order for this to be successful, the population must believe it has the power to increase its development so that the perception that things can't change doesn't become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

1.1. Extent of socially-based engagement – 43.2%

	Extent of socially-based engagement
Social membership	39.0
Social volunteering	37.7
Community engagement	53.0

Table 2 - Sub-dimension results: Extent of socially-based engagement

A central element of civic engagement is the proportion of the population involved in civil society organisations, for which the CSI considers two indicators: the proportion of the population – 39.0% according to the World Values Survey 2005 (WVS) – who are members of a CSO and the percentage - 37.7% - who perform a volunteer role for a CSO. It also measures participation in less formal community activities, achieving a value of 53.0%.

This figures show a civil society with low levels of participation and is supported by the relevant case study and regional workshop discussions. The CSI case study on the response to the 2010 earthquake showed that the event served as a motivation for a wide range of social participation. Initiatives included victim services and aid actions. However, after the most critical part of the catastrophe had passed, the level of social participation decreased considerably.

There has, however, been significant growth in and media exposure of volunteering in recent years. Volunteers in Chile contribute an average of 11.6 hours per month and donate twice as much in money to social causes compared to those people who are not volunteers (Trascender, 2009).

1.2. Depth of socially-based engagement – 32.3%

	Depth of socially-based engagement
Social membership	24.9
Social volunteering	24.3
Community engagement	47.6

Table 3 - Sub-dimension results: Depth of socially-based engagement

Even less encouragingly, only 33% of people who are active in a CSO are members of more than one organisation, while 25% of people volunteer for more than one organisation. Less formally, nearly 50% of Chileans engage in social initiatives at least once a month.

1.3. Diversity of socially-based engagement – 89.2%

	Diversity of socially-based engagement
Diversity of socially-based Engagement	89.2

Table 4 - Sub-dimension results: Diversity of socially-based engagement

Even though the levels of participation are relatively low, the diversity of representation was important and encouraging. Not only did a diverse range of organisations participate in the survey, but also the proportion of members of CSOs belonging to vulnerable social groups such as women, indigenous people, rural populations and sexual minorities was almost 90%. However, not all of the social groups have the same presence, and there are substantial differences, especially in size and capacity to lobby. This indicator is especially important in a country where ethnic frictions are a pressing issue. The proportion of people identified as belonging to an ethnic group was 15% of the surveyed population, especially comprising older persons in the north and south of the country, who mostly identified with left-wing political view.

1.4. Extent of political engagement – 20.4%

	Extent of political engagement
Political membership	16.0
Political volunteering	15.9
Individual activism	29.2

Table 5 - Sub-dimension results: Extent of political engagement

Membership in political organisations is rarer than in social ones. Only 16.0% of Chileans are members of a politically-oriented organisation, such as political parties, unions, and other associations of a political nature, according to the WVS 2005.

Volunteers in political organisations are also scarce (15.9%). Even when the definition of ‘the political’ can be ambiguous, the concept of individual political activism is understood to encompass the signing of petitions or attendance of demonstrations, and there are very few examples of the population participating in these in a widespread manner. It is likely that this is related to the history of political repression during the period of dictatorship.

The most formal method of political participation – through voting in elections - is also insufficiently high, especially among younger citizens. This is explained in the case study on youth participation, where it is argued that the unusual Chilean system of voting registration does not encourage participation in elections.

1.5. Depth of political engagement – 27.3%

	Depth of political engagement
Political membership	22.5
Political volunteering	20.4
Individual activism	39.0

Table 6 - Sub-dimension results: Depth of political engagement

The low levels of participation are emphasised by the finding that, amongst those who do participate in political activity, only 22.5% of these are members of more than one organisation or undertake multiple volunteer work (20.4%). 39% of people surveyed for WVS 2005 have actively participated in activities of political nature during the last five years.

1.6. Diversity of political engagement – 84.8%

	Diversity of political engagement
Diversity of political engagement	84.8

Table 7 - Sub-dimension results: Diversity of political engagement

The sub-dimension of diversity in political engagement, in this case referring to political participation, once again performed better: according to the WVS, the percentage of members of politically-oriented organisations that are women, belong to minorities, ethnic groups and other marginalised groups is 84.8%. This does not imply that all groups feel included: despite the high level of participation of diverse segments of the population, the level of influence among these groups is not felt to be correspondingly high.

Conclusion

The dimensions that are especially strong are participation in organisations of social groups with distinctive characteristics, both in social and in political arenas. In general, social participation is higher than political participation.

Civic engagement replicates the pattern of heterogeneity presented by Chilean civil society, but the evidence is mixed: for example, young people are not voting in elections, but are active in alternative spaces. CSO leaders are highly motivated and committed, but social apathy remains, along with a lack of participation in activities. These seemingly contradictory facts are probably related to the stage of regaining democracy in Chile and the rebuilding of association, as referred to in the previous CSI report. Currently a stage of democratic consolidation is taking place, but it still requires deep adjustments in the mechanisms of citizen participation.

Participants in the regional workshops, taking a historical perspective, raised the idea that the military coup and the ensuing dictatorship blocked the development of civil society. Fear of self-organising became prevalent, and people refrained from engaging in active participation.

A pressing challenge for civil society is therefore to open up spaces of real participation, direct and non-traditional, that can turn Chilean civil society into a participating actor in the arena of political and economic power, on the same, equal terms as others.

2. LEVEL OF ORGANISATION

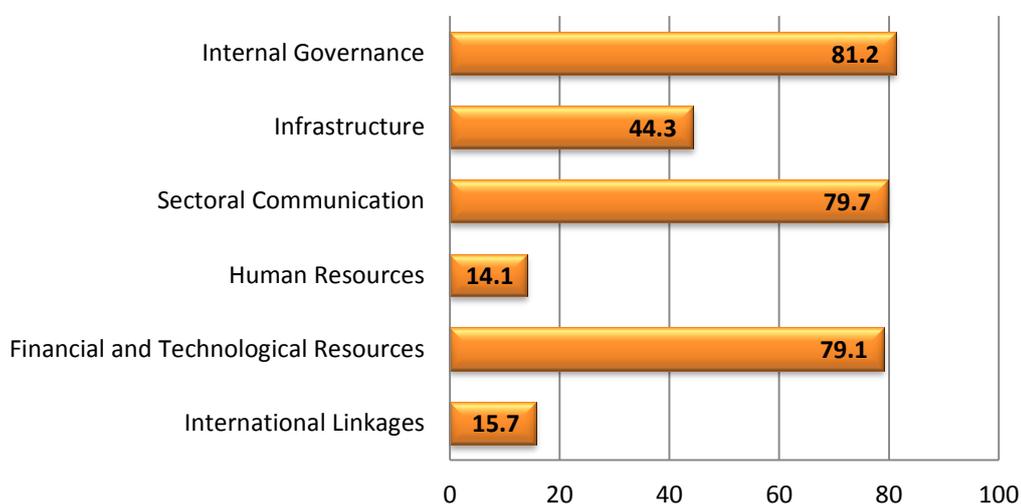
The level of organisation dimension is the internal dimension with the largest score, and the only one that achieves more than half of the optimal score, with 52.3%. The sub-dimensions with the highest scores are internal governance, communication with other organisations in the same sector, and access to adequate financial and technological resources. Scores are derived from the Organisational Survey.

On the other hand, weaker aspects are the quality of human resources and links with international organisations. Human resource challenges can be understood to arise from organisations' heavy reliance on volunteer work, and the fact that many of the organisations in the survey were relatively local and limited in the impact they achieved.

It is interesting that when the national Advisory Committee constructed its "perception diamond"⁶ for comparison, despite it being weaker, the level of organisation turned out to be the strongest measure on perceptions, at 36.1%.

In the previous CSI version applied in 2005-2007, this area of the Index incorporated the dimension of structure, elements of civic engagement and level of organisation, meaning it is hard to make direct comparisons. However, this dimension was then the second strongest with a total score of 1.9 out of 3, even though the components referring to resource quality and association difficulties were rather weak, just as in the 2009-2011 study.

Level of Organization



Graph 5 - Dimension Results: Level of Organisation

⁶ The perception diamond is formed by subjectively scoring each indicator and composing an entire CSI diamond. It is used later for reference in comparing the differences between the subjective picture of civil society and the objective picture, and often throws up interesting comparisons.

The level of organisation can be understood from an internal or external perspective to an individual CSO. From an internal perspective, the Level of Organisation dimension assesses governance and access to resources. From an external perspective, it assesses infrastructure, sectoral communication and international linkages, which relate to the institutionalism and networks in which individual CSOs participate. For this reason it is a dimension that exhibits great contrasts.

Even though the qualitative information tends to follow the results of the surveys in most aspects, it also exhibits some interesting discrepancies. In the second phase of the regional workshops, for example, discussions touched on the lack of communication both within and among CSOs and highlighted both the communications challenges between organisation leaders and other members of CSOs, as well as pitfalls in achieving successful alliances in those contexts where joint work is demanded.

This situation turns critical when CSOs are obliged to compete with each other to gain funding from the state in public tenders. This not only diminishes technical cooperation, but also the sharing of good practice. The case study that addresses the response of civil society to the 2010 earthquake, when the importance of decentralisation was recognised, exposes the lack of coordination between CSOs, the state and private sector. This is one of the great problems experienced by civil society.

The public tender system creates differences among organisations and favours fragmentation. Additionally, larger NGOs and foundations are better-equipped to pursue public funding, while community-based organisations are impeded in accessing funding due to lower capacity to meet onerous requirements. In the discussions, the connected question of transparency emerged, with the argument that in several cases decisions on public funds followed political interests and not technical considerations, serving to increase inequality in the access to resources.

The results of the indicator on the sustainability of resources were challenged by workshop participants. It was argued that many organisations do not have access to the internet, which also inhibits access to the internet-based public tender platform.

Among the most recurrent suggestions that emerged from the workshops was the need for training, the creation of alliances among civil society, and strategies both to reduce inequality between CSOs and to address shortfalls in existing institutions.

2.1. Internal governance – 81.2%

	Internal governance
Management	81.2

Table 8 - Sub-dimension results: Internal governance

According to the quantitative data, this is the strongest sub-dimension for the level of organisation. Responses to the Organisational Survey suggest that four out of five CSOs are managed by a board of directors, members of a management council, or a direction committee. This is a clear strength.

However, in the regional workshop discussions, the role of the CSO leaders was challenged because, according to some participants, they often do not run organisations in a democratic or horizontal fashion, and personal goals are privileged over common ones. This was described as

displacing the objectives of organisations from commitment to power. Additionally, even when organisations with a direction committee are the most common, debate arose concerning the powerful individual role of some CSO leaders, and the low levels of clarity on leadership rotation or renewal of internal power structures.

2.2. Infrastructure – 44.3%

	Infrastructure
Support organisations	44.3

Table 9 - Sub-dimension results: Infrastructure

Networks of CSOs can promote joint working and allow for the transfer of best practices. However, it is also possible that federations or “second level” organisations block the development or capture the interests of the grassroots organisations. In the case of CSI-Chile, the percentage of CSOs who declared themselves to be part of a network or federation was just 44.3%, according to the Organisational Survey.

Consensus was reached in the CSI process with regard to the effectiveness of this type of alliance. There were no reports of second level organisations being used by the state to control civil society, although individual reports about the pervasive ill effects of second level organisations capturing or dominating the public tender system and resources did emerge.

The question of alliances with other organisations was one specific topic in one of the regional workshops. Here, it was concluded that smaller organisations were practically forced to engage in alliances, due to their inability to flourish by their own means. In this sense, the case study on alliances in relation to social responsibility revealed the importance of such alliances with institutions. In particular, partnerships with universities can grant an emerging organisation the necessary legitimacy to reach stability and access better projects.

In short, the low score reflects considerable unease about civil society alliances in Chile and challenges the positive value that the CSI methodology places on such networks.

2.3. Sectoral communication – 79.7%

	Sectoral communication
Peer to peer communication (meetings)	80.7
Peer to peer communication (sharing information)	78.7

Table 10 - Sub-dimension results: Sectoral communication

An important strength of the Chilean civil society identified in the Organisational Survey is the degree to which diverse civil society actors communicate and cooperate with each other. However, this data remains challenged by those same arguments advanced in the regional workshops concerning the difficulties of organising and creating alliances and achieving cooperative work.

In this dimension, both indicators acquired nearly 80%, which means that four out of five organisations had held meetings with similar organisations within the last three months. In the same way, the majority of the organisations (78.7%) carried out some sort of exchange of information or documents with similar organisations in the same period. This suggests a great potential to construct cooperative alliances and to expand the bonds among civil society actors. CSI-Chile also incorporated a case study which specifically explores the importance of alliances – both national and international.

However, in the regional workshops the issue of fragmentation of the work performed by civil society constantly emerged. Also, it was stated that a lack of mutual acknowledgement leads to the separation of the collective interests from the specific interests of each organisation, and that this was mainly due to competition for public funding.

2.4. Human resources – 14.1%

	Human resources
Sustainability of human resources	14.1

Table 11 - Sub-dimension results: Human Resources

The human resource dimension was the weakest element for the Level of Organisation; more than 85% of the CSOs that took part in the Organisational Survey lack a sustainable human resource base according to the CSI methodology (which defines sustainability as having no more than 25% of the staff as voluntary), and can be seen to be dependent on volunteers to achieve their objectives. Qualitative sources share the appraisal that suggests the CSOs' human resources are neither adequate nor sufficient. Due to the expansion in the demand for education there could exist a great supply of professionals willing to offer services to CSOs, specially in the fields of social sciences, commerce, and law (30%), education (18%), and health and social services (17%), according to data from the Ministry of Education (HEIS, 2008).

With respect to volunteer work in the CSOs, the discussion sessions revealed positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, it is recognised and appreciated that volunteers are willing to work for free and that this significantly reduces operation costs. They bring fresh ideas and enthusiasm, and so the effort to seek volunteers should still be encouraged.

On the other hand, however, volunteer work is unstable, since young professionals leave organisations rapidly. In the same way, volunteer work reduces the capacity for building professional capabilities within the sector, and it discourages the hiring of specialists to carry out work. Volunteer work also hinders the ability of CSO constituents to demand better quality. The dichotomy between the value of service in CSOs to developing the capacities of volunteers, and the need to effectively solve social needs was also discussed.

Volunteers need to be properly trained, because CSOs not only need accessible but also high quality human resources in order to carry out their work and consolidate themselves. This would break a negative cycle, highlighted in the regional workshops, in which CSOs have to hire external consulting firms to develop competitive projects which will attract public funding. If material and human capital is not developed within CSOs, it is very difficult to compete for funding. In this sense

the heterogeneity of CSOs reveals quite different levels of access to high quality and sufficient quantity human resources.

2.5. Financial and technological resources – 79.1%

	Financial and technological resources
Financial sustainability	74.7
Technological resources	83.5

Table 12 - Sub-dimension results: Financial and Technological Resources

Given the high degree of internet accessibility in Chile, compared to some other countries in the region, added to economic stability at a macroeconomic level, this dimension would seem to offer a clear strength; three out of four organisations has adequate financing according to the CSI methodology and more than 80% has access to sufficient technological resources to participate in the 'information society'. In Chile, 58% of the population has used email or has been connected to internet, the highest percentage in Latin America. Likewise, Chile is the country that most intensively uses social networking tools such as Facebook (Latinobarómetro, 2010).

The above does not mean that CSOs have total access to information and communication technologies, but those that, do acknowledge that they are necessary for their development. In the regional workshops, the lack of use of electronic resources was questioned.

Likewise, the financial sustainability measure, which reports the percentage of organisations with an income surplus, was questioned in all of the regional workshops; it is perceived that the support of the state is limited and the public tender system favours those with existing better resources, which allows them to develop better projects. Moreover, by the end of 1990, the tides of international cooperation had placed Chile in a paradoxically weak position: CSO are seen to be doing well enough that no international funding is needed, but are still not doing well enough to function in an autonomous way.

The level of heterogeneity of civil society is again evident in the sense that some large and wealthy organisations can pay the best wages, offer the best working places, the best marketing strategies, and the latest technology, which gives them a clear advantage over the rest and enables them to consolidate their position.

2.6. International linkages – 15.7%

	International linkages
International linkages	15.7

Table 13 - Sub-dimension results: International linkages

Since the reinstatement of democracy and sustained economic stability in Chile, international cooperation has reduced, but at the same time public funding has increased. International linkages, therefore became the second worst ranked sub-dimension. Only 15.7% of known international

NGOs operate in Chile.⁷ Besides this, many Chilean organisations are regional or grassroots CSOs, making international links less of a preoccupation to them.

A recent survey reports that 55% of Chileans think the country would benefit from developing stronger bonds with developed countries and reducing its connections with Latin America (Adimark-PUC, 2009), indicating that the bonds with other countries in the region are not highly valued, which may become an obstacle in the generation of links between Chilean CSOs and the CSOs of neighbouring countries.

Conclusions

The high score for the level of organisation dimension contrasts with the picture painted by participants during the regional and national workshop discussions. In these instances, large, consolidated organisations were recognised to be ahead of the great majority of smaller, local organisations that did not have access to the financial, technological and human resources necessary to develop.

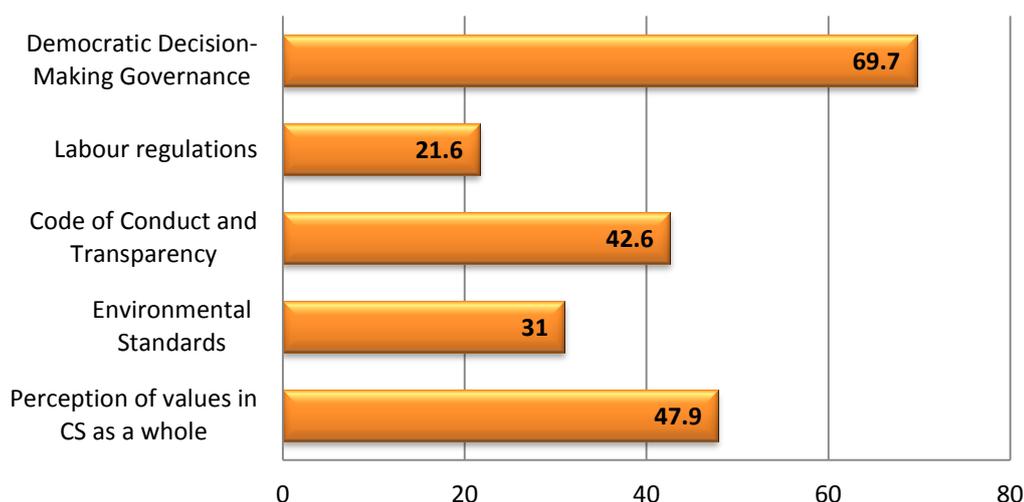
This dimension — the strongest according to the CSI in Chile — suggests that civil society's internal heterogeneity does not foster the sense of diversity required for a healthy coexistence within a pluralist democracy. Instead, the effects of inequity and unequal access to material, technological, human and other networks are greatly felt.

⁷ Fundación Soles and CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation are grateful for the collaboration of the Union of International Associations for providing this information for the Civil Society Index project.

3. PRACTICE OF VALUES

The practice of values dimension scores only 42.5%, the lowest of all dimensions. Nevertheless, when analysing the sub-dimensions which compose the overall dimension, significant internal differences are found. The CSO representatives surveyed considered that the existence of democratic processes in CSO decision-making is the greatest strength here. However, sub-dimensions with low scores are predominant. The disposition to set environmental standards, work regulations or formal ethical codes accessible to the public is not universalised within civil society. Other somewhat more developed civil society values are the promotion of non-violence and peace and the modelling of democratisation. Additionally, there are moderate levels of corruption and intolerance. The case study on transparency further reveals that, although there have been some corruption scandals in civil society; these have served to place this issue on the agenda and to raise concern, which has prompted CSOs to improve their accountability.

Practice of Values



Graph 6 - Dimension results: Practice of Values

The quantitative data for this dimension is drawn from the Organisational Survey. The qualitative information from both the case studies and the workshop discussions tends to support the idea that the low performance of civil society in this dimension is more related to the lack of formalisation of practice of values than with the existence of bad practices, corruption and other forms of negative organisational behaviour.

This means that with focussed training in these formal aspects, the dimension's results could significantly improve in the short to medium term.

3.1. Democratic decision-making governance – 69.7%

	Democratic decision-making governance
Decision-making	69.7

Table 14 - Sub-dimension results: Democratic decision-making governance

According to the Organisational Survey, almost 70% of CSOs make decisions in a democratic manner, rather than through autocratic decisions made by leaders.

Although this would seem to support previous data on the ratio of organisations managed through a committee or an executive council, it contrasts with some reports obtained in the participatory discussions: there are reports of leaders who make organisational decisions without consulting members, pursuing their own personal interests and being motivated by a desire to stay in power. Nevertheless, it was also pointed out that many of these leaders have made great sacrifices for organisations, including using personal funds for CSO activity.

3.2. Labour regulations – 21.6%

	Labour regulations
Equal opportunities	34.1
Members of labour unions	4.1
Labour rights trainings	23.0
Publicly available policy for labour standards	25.0

Table 15 - Sub-dimension results: Labour regulations

The labour regulations sub-dimension is the weakest within the practice of values dimension. This is probably related to the earlier discussion of the importance of volunteers in the work of CSOs; work relationships are informal, verbal contracts are predominant, and there are few workers with health and retirement provisions. This reality does not differ greatly from that of other economic sectors in Chile, given that precarious labour conditions and lack of protection are frequent in other sectors.

The high personnel rotation - especially of voluntary personnel - makes affiliation to unions unlikely. Among paid employees, union membership includes only 4.1%. Meanwhile, although the equal opportunities and salaries policy is the indicator with the highest score, there are still only a few (34.1%) CSOs that have formal regulations for wage equality between women and men who do the same job.

The issue of gender equality had been strongly established during Michelle Bachelet's government and has, in large, continued to be on the public agenda during Sebastián Piñera's government, which began in March 2010. However, gaps in salaries between women and men continue to be significant on a national level: there are differences that range from 81% to 73% depending on the level of education [PNUD, 2010]. In fact, these differences are recorded in the Gender Equity Index (GEI): although there is high equity in education (99 points), the GEI only reaches 56 and 62 points in empowerment and economic activity respectively (Social Watch, 2009).

3.3. Code of conduct and transparency – 42.6%

	Code of conduct and transparency
Publicly accessible code of conduct	41.2
Transparency	43.9

Table 16 - Sub-dimension results: Code of conduct and transparency

Transparency in civil society is an emerging topic that is being raised extensively in Chile, and this tends to follow the lines of discussions in the public and business world. A series of cases about corruption, lack of transparency and bad organisational practices involving CSOs have put the topic on the public agenda, as emphasised by the case study on transparency in Chilean society. Transparency could well continue to grow as one of the central problems in civil society during the next few years, especially due to the large amount of public and private resources that some CSOs are managing. The qualitative information revealed social actors' willingness to internalise and engage with the topic, but effective transparency practices are rarely formal.

Although the concern for transparency is on the agenda, and although there are organisations concerned with raising awareness and distributing action guides on the subject, knowledge on the topic is still new and rarely instilled in many organisations. Therefore, the levels of code formalisation are limited: only 41.2% of the CSO surveyed have public organisational behaviour guidelines, and a similar proportion (43.9%) publishes its financial information.

The topic of transparency also came up in regional workshops: corruption practices, which were more obviously seen within the state and private sectors, have been transferred to civil society under the imitation criteria of 'if they steal, I can too'. The need to permanently revisit the original ethical motivations to avoid bad practices was discussed. With this aim, it was suggested that the CSOs constantly ask themselves what kind of society they want to build. Transparency in civil society is a central concern; nevertheless, the lack of formalised approaches here is a concern.

3.4. Environmental standards – 31.0%

	Environmental standards
Environmental standards	31.0

Table 17 - Sub-dimension results: Environmental standards

Although several environmental CSOs took part in the Organisational Survey, the formalisation and publication of operational environmental standards was not very well developed. Although this does not mean that the organisations do not make efforts to protect the environment, the use of established criteria to regulate behaviour in this sphere is not generalised. Only 31% of CSOs surveyed declared that they have their own environmental regulations, which are formal, published and accessible to the public.

However, Chilean civil society has proven itself to be active on this front in the past few years. During this time, environmental movements have acquired national relevance in an attempt to regulate or simply prevent the installation of thermoelectric, mining and high impact hydroelectric projects. The great capacity to summon civil society to hold the state and the private sector to

account have been notable characteristics of these movements. Compared to this success, however, civil society’s attempts to evaluate their own environmental impact have been scarce.

During the regional workshops, participants also shared their suspicions of the interference of corporate interests in some environmental campaigns, specifically those related to the energy sector, probably due to this sector’s economic importance.

3.5. Perception of values in civil society as a whole – 47.9%

	Perception of values in civil society as a whole
Perceived non-violence	21.0
Perceived internal democracy	40.2
Perceived levels of corruption	12.5
Perceived intolerance	64.8
Perceived weight of intolerant groups	85.5
Perceived promotion of non-violence and peace	63.2

Table 18 - Sub-dimension results: Perception of values in civil society as a whole

The results regarding the perception of values in society are not very encouraging. Four of every five CSO representatives included in the survey consider that violent groups exist within Chilean civil society. However, the predominant opinion is that these groups are mainly isolated with respect to the rest of civil society, resulting in these groups having very limited influence (85.5%).

Violent groups do not prevail in Chilean civil society; nevertheless, at some moments certain groups such as groups of students have acted violently in order to achieve success. Diverse groups, such as those who led the Penguin’s Revolution to protest against the quality of Chilean education, participated in these movements. Despite the movement’s overall non-violent intrinsic character, violent action on the part of some factions caught the attention of the political world.

Internal democracy, which is understood as the role civil society plays in the promotion of democracy, resulted in moderate values. According to the Organisational Survey, only 40.2% believe civil society plays a strong role in modelling internal democracy.

Although levels of corruption within civil society are seen to be low and not to occur frequently (scoring 12.5%), the results of a case study about transparency help to contextualise this: even though there are few cases of corruption, recent scandals have forced the issue into civil discussion, and there are organisations who have started to incorporate formal guidelines and ethical codes.

CSOs surveyed considered that on the whole, civil society generally promotes practices such as non-violence, tolerance, democracy and transparency. However, the case study about transparency and participants’ opinions during the workshops did not confirm that those values are always applied in practice. Nevertheless, the overall sentiments expressed in the discussions concur with the Organisational Survey’s results, which score 63.2%, on the important role of civil society in the promotion of non-violence and peace.

Finally, although the research about tolerance and non-discrimination shows that Chilean society is not very developed in these aspects, there are a series of organisations which promote non-violence, the defence of minority rights and other forms of democratic practices. However, violence still remains as a form of action for subversive groups in civil society on such issues. One of the most representative examples relates to ethnic conflict in the southern region of Chile, where the indigenous Mapuche groups — mainly the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco — commit acts of violence, burnings and other attacks, and in turn are permanently confronted with police repression. In this regard, the CPE survey found that the conflict between the Mapuche and non-Mapuche is one of the most important in Chilean society: 75% of Chileans believe that the level of these conflicts is strong or very strong (CPE Nov-Dec, 2010).

Conclusion

Chilean society is mainly Christian, and the predominant values tend to coincide with this worldview. However, it seems as though many would prefer a more profound establishment of these values: 68% of Chileans believe that Christian values should play a more important role in society (Adimark- PUC, 2009).

A low score for the practice of values may seem to challenge this, but in fact the low score may rather be explained by the non-existence of formalised documents. Indeed, the qualitative information uncovered as part of the CSI study recognised the existence of non-written, but respected criteria in organisations. Higher scores are reported for the development of values which are not formalised: the results indicate that the promotion of non-violence, peace, tolerance and democratisation of civil society are practiced considerably.

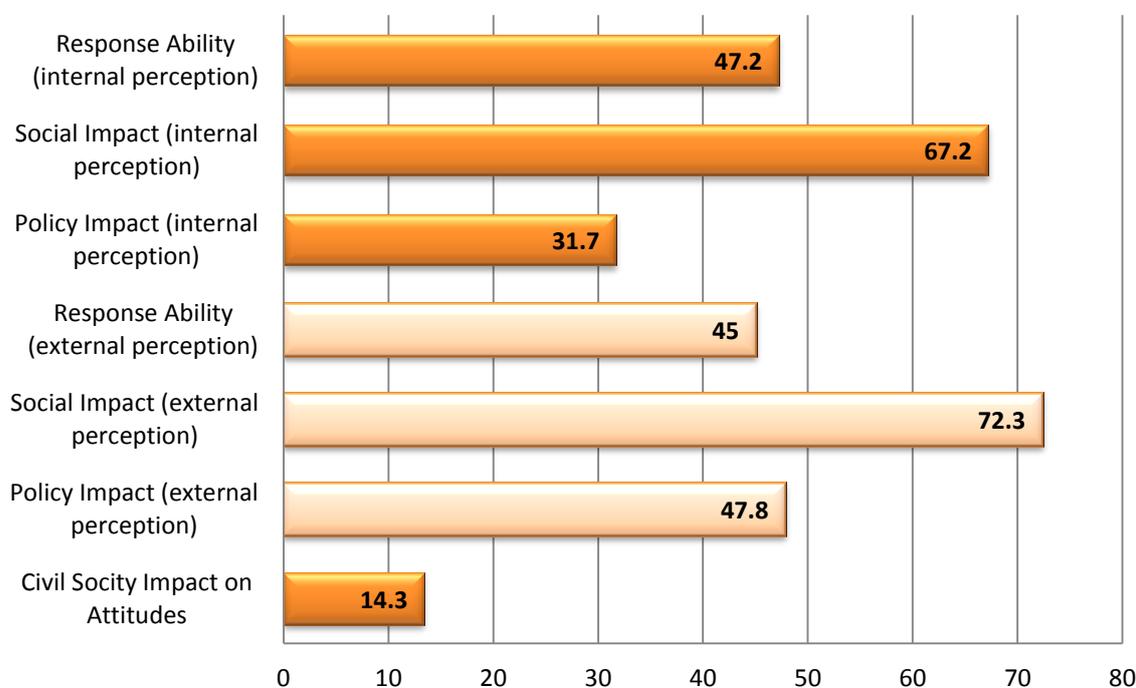
4. PERCEPTION OF IMPACT

Perceptions of civil society’s impact are very relevant as they illustrate how active and successful civil society is in the development of its initiatives, as well as the extent to which others believe it realises its mission. This dimension scored the second lowest of all dimensions, at 46.5%. Due to the fact that it is very difficult to precisely estimate the effective impact of civil society, the CSI chooses to assess instead the perception of impact. This relates to the way in which civil society is able to generate changes in the immediate and socio political reality. Here, challenges are suggested: Chilean civil society showed a very limited impact perception.

This pessimistic view regarding impact emerged from Advisory Committee meetings and the regional and national workshops. The two case studies exploring issues related to the 2010 earthquake suggest that civil society’s impact was considered as substantial, in large part due to local relief action and the preservation of the communication networks via radio.

In this regard, the most important distinction to be made is local impact versus national impact; the former seems to be the space where civil society is most effective, while its influence is scarce in the areas of global and national politics. This can be explained by the predominant perception that the interests of the majority are ignored by those segments of the population with the most power and influence: according to Latinobarómetro (2010), Chile ranks fourth in Latin America with 68% of people who have a high agreement with this statement. It can be inferred that a rigid and highly controlled socio-political structure would reduce trust in the capacity to generate social changes among citizens.

Perception of Impact



Graph 7 - Dimension results: Perception of Impact

This dimension allows us to consider the differences between the perceptions of CSOs (gathered in the Organisational Survey) and those of external actors (expressed in the external perceptions survey). Both on the social impact as well as the policy impact, external observers were somewhat more optimistic and considered the impact to be greater than that perceived by CSO representatives themselves. The only dimension where CSOs considered their impact to be the higher than the views of external actors was in their capacity to respond to topics of social importance. In this sub-dimension, the organisations’ opinions exceeded those of the external observers by only 2.15 percentage points. Civil society’s impact on attitudes - that is, the difference generated by being part of civil society on individuals’ values - was the sub-dimension that was the weakest.

The participatory workshops introduced a counterpoint in the discussion about impact: the view that was expressed was that as the bidding system turns CSOs into ‘implementers’ of public policy, the possibility of influencing policy definition and design moves farther away.

4.1 Responsiveness

	Responsiveness (internal perception) – 47.2%
Impact on social concern 1: poverty	43.7
Impact on social concern 2: education	50.6
	Responsiveness (external perception) – 45.0%
Impact on social topic 1: poverty	45.0
Impact in social topic 2: education	45.0

Table 19 - Sub-dimension results: Responsiveness

In the World Values Survey 2005, the majority of Chileans considered that the most important topic was the large number of people living in poverty and in need (69.7%); when asked about the second most important topic, inadequate education was the one with the most points (37.6%).

In the perception of impact, what first stands out is the small difference between the perception of the CSO representatives and those of the external observers: in general, they agreed on their assessment of the ability of civil society to respond to the social topics chosen as the most important.

In the opinions of both groups of stakeholders, the ability of civil society to respond to the most relevant social issues seems to be limited, and only in the CSOs’ assessment of the topic of education does the score exceed 50%.

The case study about the ability to respond to the catastrophe of the 2010 earthquake in Chile offers a particular vision about civil society’s impact. Many CSOs and other organisations that formed spontaneously were able to respond to the communities affected by the earthquake in a timely and decentralised manner. Although a bigger impact would have been possible through greater internal coordination, including with the state and private sector, civil society’s actions were correctly assessed; this information was confirmed in the national workshops through the testimony

of a representative of a spontaneous organisation in charge of helping a community affected by the earthquake. Likewise, the case study regarding mass media in civil society revealed the important role amateur radio operators' associations had in preserving communication channels in affected communities when mobile phones and traditional telephone systems were not able to respond.

Nevertheless, the discussions that took place among participants in the workshops confirm that the perception of impact is moderate: in the first meeting of the Advisory Committee, it was assessed as the weakest dimension, scoring only 20.3%. In the same way, in the regional and national workshops, there was a consensus that civil society's level of global impact was very limited, even though its response to local needs is one of its major strengths.

4.2. Social impact

	Social Impact (internal perception) – 67.2%
General social impact	63.6
Social impact of own organisation	70.8
	Social impact (external perception) – 72.3%
Social impact: poverty and humanitarian aid	84.5
General social impact	60.0

Table 20 - Sub-dimension results: Social impact

The effectiveness of civil society on a social level obtained the highest score, from the perspective of both the CSOs as well as external actors, which highlighted civil society's impact on the local context. It is intriguing that perceptions from the outside are more optimistic than those expressed by the organisations themselves. There are differences, however, between the evaluation of the general social impact and the impact on certain issues where the CSOs are considered to be active, as well as in national issues.

The topic of CSO impact was one of the most discussed at the national workshop. Discussions were informed by the case study on youth participation, which raised questions of the expansion of spaces for participation that entail genuine decision-making for citizens beyond mere consultation.

The external observers were asked to choose some topics on which they felt civil society was very active, and they selected poverty and humanitarian aid. Subsequently, they were asked to evaluate the level of civil society impact on activity in those sectors. The result was very encouraging: the indicator reached 84.5%, the highest impact score observed and higher than the views of CSO representatives on the impact of their own organisation (70.8%). This latter score seemed to once again confirm what repeatedly came up during regional workshops: organisations believe that their impact is high in the local social context, but they have little influence in decisions outside their immediate scope.

4.3 Policy impact

	Policy impact (internal perception) – 31.7%
General policy impact	35.3
Political activity of own organisation	45.3

Policy impact of own organisation	14.4
	Policy impact (external perception) – 47.8%
Policy impact on specific fields	58.8
General policy impact	36.8

Table 21 - Sub-dimension results: Policy impact

The policy impact dimension was, perhaps, the most debated of all measures in the participative workshops. In the Advisory Committee, regional workshops and national workshop, there was a consensus that the inability to generate changes in policies was one of the main weaknesses of civil society. The challenges for Chilean civil society are to go beyond the local impact of immediate actions of CSO and start to have greater influence in issues of general interest.

The policy impact dimension was also the weakest dimension in the two surveys, with the views of external observers slightly more optimistic than civil society's own assessment. However, in terms of civil society's impact on general policies, the difference between internal and external perceptions was not very significant, at 35.3% and 36.8% respectively. The biggest difference was in civil society's influence on specific policies: in terms of those policies advocated by CSOs, in those sectors in which they declared to be most active, CSOs only obtained 14.4% impact. On the contrary, external observers considered that for the sectors with the highest relevance for civil society, the level of impact reached 58.8%.

However, the low level of impact of civil society reported by the surveys is put into perspective with an assessment of the political activities of the respondent's own organisation to influence policies, which scored 45.3%.

For CSOs issues of influencing, as opposed to implementing public policies are very much related to the system of public bidding: CSOs can participate in contests to promote their services to the state, but they cannot participate in policy formulation and design. During the regional workshops, it was suggested that CSOs can very rarely shape projects they are funded to implement, due to the detailed terms of reference that they are required to follow.

4.4. Civil society impact on attitudes – 14.3%

	CS impact on attitudes
Difference in trust between civil society members and non-members	3.9
Difference in tolerance between civil society members and non-members	0.0
Difference in public spiritedness between CS members and non-members	7.0
Trust in civil society	46.3

Table 22 - Sub-dimension results: Civil society impact on attitudes

Civil society is expected to have an influence in shaping the values of those people who participate in it more than on society members in general. Therefore, this sub-dimension reflects a group of social and political universally accepted norms, taken from, for example, sources such as The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The aim is to assess the degree to which the members of

civil society practice trust, tolerance and public spiritedness to a greater extent than the rest of the Chilean population. It is in this difference where the value added by civil society would be found. However, these measures suggest civil society's contribution on attitudes is minimal, as reflected by low scores on difference in trust (3.9%), tolerance (0.0%) and public vocation (7.0%).

However, a more positive picture emerges of public trust in civil society's institutions: in the world values survey, people were asked how much trust they had in churches, unions, political parties, environmental organisations, women's groups and humanitarian organisations. Trust in members of civil society was greater than that of the rest of the population; the indicator was 46.3%. This is coherent with the results from the case study about youth participation, which concluded that young people had a higher sense of trust in spaces of horizontal association than in traditional vertical structures of state participation. Additionally, other studies based on surveys have revealed that the levels of trust doubled amongst people who actively participate in civil society – in this case, local advisors - compared to those of the general population (UDP, 2009).

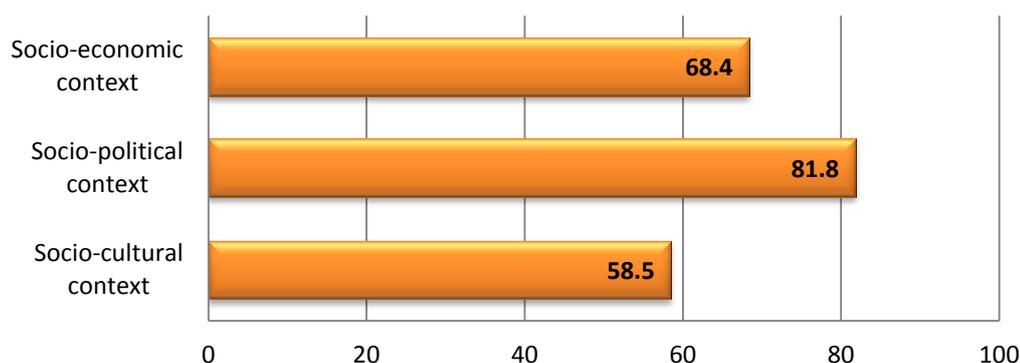
Conclusion

Although significant levels of local impact were, to a certain extent, identified in organisations' immediate action surroundings (services, assistance, humanitarian aid and local education programmes, among others), the CSI study suggests that impact at a higher level and on policy is perceived to be limited. In this respect, although the public bidding system allows for fundraising, it may be establishing an instrumental relationship between state and civil society: organisations can have little say over the direction of projects, programmes or policies.

5. EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

Chile is a relatively small country with a population of approximately 17 million. A little less than half of the total population lives in the centre of the country, in the metropolitan region of its capital, Santiago. The elongated and narrow geography contributes to significant levels of differentiation as the climate and life conditions vary greatly, from the desert of the Patagonia and the mountainous zones to the coast. Civil society is just as heterogeneous as Chile’s geography. However, there is a favourable socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political context enabling the creation and development of a strong civil society, and the external environment dimension scored 69.6% overall. That this is a strong dimension can also be seen in measures of citizens’ general satisfaction with their country - 74% of the population believe that Chile is the best country to live in in Latin America (Adimark- PUC, 2009).

External Environment



Graph 8 - Dimension results: External Environment

The indicators for this dimension are drawn largely from a range of external sources, as outlined below. In analysing each of the sub-dimensions, the socio-political context, which includes civil and political liberties, respect for the rule of law, and the efficiency of the state are highly developed, making this the leading sub-dimension. It is followed by the socio-economic dimension, which refers to economic inequality, the national basic capabilities and levels of corruption. Economic inequality is the indicator that substantially reduces the average of this sub-dimension. The socio-cultural context — social trust, tolerance and public service — is the weakest aspect of the dimension, with social trust having the lowest score.

These positive results for the external environment appear to be corroborated by similar conclusions from other studies. For example, the UN Human Development Index has increased consistently from 0.746 to 0.874 from 1980 to 2006 (UNDP, 2009), and it has occupied one of the first places of the region. Chile also holds second place in the region, after Uruguay, on the level of

economic satisfaction: the categories 'very satisfied' and 'somewhat satisfied' account for 49% of the population (Latinobarómetro, 2010).

In political terms, some ambivalence is revealed about the state of democracy in Chile. This may be evidence of the passage from the transition stage and democratic consolidation to the new challenges of internalisation. Chile occupied first place among Latin American countries in the Democratic Development Index in 2009 and 2010 (IDD-Lat, 2010), but from a subjective perspective, Chile presents a moderate level of satisfaction with democracy: while the support of democracy reaches 63%, satisfaction with democracy only has 56%, which implies that 7% of democrats are unsatisfied (Latinobarómetro, 2010).

The opinions discussed in the regional workshops and national workshop contrast greatly with the optimistic scenario suggested by the quantitative results of the CSI, especially regarding the economic environment: favourable economic conditions do not automatically translate to improved financing of civil society operations, and the inequality between the few large and the many small CSOs in Chile was perceived as continuing to reproduce itself.

5.1. Socio-economic context – 68.4%

	Socio-economic context
Basic Capabilities Index	99.6
Corruption	69.0
Inequality	45.1
Economic context	59.7

Table 23 - Sub-dimension results: Socio-economic context

Social Watch's Basic Capabilities Index for Chile, which provides the first indicator, is very encouraging: it almost reaches the maximum score for each criteria. Regarding education, illiteracy is very low and school coverage is nearly total. According to Social Watch, 97% of children attended school for five years. Regarding health, Chile has one of the highest levels of health provision in region. Child and maternal health are considered as relevant indicators for the Basic Capabilities Index because they closely related to changes in patient care. According to Social Watch, 100% of births are taken care of by health professionals and 98% of children survive beyond five years.

If a series of economic indicators in Chile were studied separately, it could be easily concluded that there are no socio-economic barriers that impede civil society's functioning or development. Chile has significant medium income levels (World Bank, 2010), and one of the region's highest GDP per capita reaching USD\$14,982 (only surpassed by Argentina, according to PCC in IMF's calculations). Unemployment fluctuates between 7% and 8%, and despite the fact that economic growth has not been the highest, Chile has shown stability and has been only moderately affected by the international financial crisis.

On Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, used for the corruption indicator, Chile holds first place in Latin America for the lowest perception of corruption, third in the Americas,

after only after Canada and Barbados, and is placed 21st in the world (Transparency International, 2010). However, although the levels of corruption are controlled, delinquency and public security remain important concerns. In Chile, these issues are mentioned frequently in the media, especially television. The hard facts, however, reveal a somewhat more favourable situation: according to the Latinobarómetro (2010), 25% of Chileans consider themselves to be victims of crime, and a fifth of the population considers delinquency to be Chile's main problem.

The high growth and macroeconomic stability in Chile frequently masks the unequal distribution of income: the country has one of the highest Gini coefficients in the world, which yields a CSI indicator score of only 45.1%, indicating a worse than average level of inequality. Inequality has mainly been tackled with public policies focused on the most vulnerable groups, but not with structural measures for redistribution of resources. This has meant that Chile has reduced its extreme poverty, but the middle class has shrunk and become more impoverished in the last few years. Many of these palliative measures to correct inequality - including various local development programmes - are not executed directly by government agencies, but by CSOs that compete for the resources to implement projects.

The poor distribution of wealth in Chile originates in part from a regressive tax system. It is not possible to reach sustainable development without a system of fair taxes (Fazio, 2010). In this sense, part of the inequality can be explained through the political-economic development model that Chile has followed during the last decades.

Chile has been systematically reducing its external debt in relation to GDP. After a 141.5% peak in 1985, while still under the military dictatorship, the debt reached its lowest levels in 1995 and it has shown a tendency to stabilise until reaching 46.7% in 2009 according to the World Bank's statistics, from which the CSI indicator for economic context is derived. Additionally, Chile has received great flows of foreign investment, and it has strengthened its economic ties to the United States, Europe and Asia through Free Trade Agreements.

In general, Chile's socio-economic conditions are favourable for the development of civil society, but inequality persists as a challenge. It is interesting to note that the qualitative diagnosis given in the regional workshops confirmed that this national pattern of economic inequality is reproduced in civil society: a few organisations hold most available resources while most CSOs are in a permanent state of economic crisis, surviving thanks to the commitment of their leaders and volunteers who even use their own personal resources for the fulfilment of an organisation's objectives.

5.2. Socio-political context – 81.8%

	Socio-political
Political rights and freedoms	97.5
Rule of law and personal freedoms	95.8
Associational and organisational rights	100.0
Experience of legal framework	41.4
State effectiveness	74.4

Table 24 - Sub-dimension results: Socio-political context

In the Freedom House analysis, used to derive the first three indicators of this sub-dimension, Chile consistently obtains the optimum score in civil liberties and in political rights since 2004, and is classified as a ‘free’ country. The first three indicators of the CSI demonstrate those results: with 97.5% for political rights and freedoms, which translate into minimal restrictions on participation in legitimate elections; 95.8% for the rule of law and personal freedoms, suggesting individual citizenship would not have obstacles to overcome in developing; and an optimum score of 100% for the rights of association, re-established in 1990 with the return to democracy.

However, some secondary sources put these numbers into perspective: most Chileans - 56% - consider that democracy functions in a regular manner while 13% believe that it functions poorly or very poorly, but only one in every four Chileans believes that democracy in Chile functions well or very well (CIEPLAN et al, 2010). Nevertheless, between 2008 and 2010, Chileans showed an increase in their preference for democracy - reaching 58% in its last measurement - and indifference between a democratic regime and an authoritarian one was reduced considerably, with a 14-point difference. (CIEPLAN et al, 2010).

Further, most Chileans (69%) believe justice always favours the powerful (CIEPLAN et al, 2010). On one hand, in the Latinobarómetro (2010), Chile shows intermediate levels of agreement with the statement ‘the government’s decisions seek to privilege a few’ (61% agree and strongly agree). However, the fact that the levels of perception of corruption have decreased is noteworthy: according to the Democracy Audit Survey (CIEPLAN et al, 2010), between 2002 and 2006 around 57% of people believed that corruption was widespread among officials. In the 2010 measurement, this figure decreased dramatically, to only 32%.

With a score of 41.4%, most CSOs ascribe a moderate value to the level of political and legal restrictions in Chile, while according to the results of the Organisational Survey, one out of five CSOs reports attacks or illegitimate restrictions on the part of the state, a troubling score given the leading rankings Chile otherwise enjoys.

Finally, in terms of the government’s efficiency at meeting social expectations, maintaining order and carrying out its duties and functions, Chile holds a strong position according to the series of data from the World Bank’s Global Survey on Governance, which forms the basis for the relevant CSI indicator. 74.4 % of people believe that the state is efficient in its assigned functions.

5.3. Socio-cultural context – 58.5%

	Socio-cultural context
Trust	12.4
Tolerance	84.6
Public spiritedness	78.6

Table 25 - Sub-dimension results: Socio-cultural context

As previously mentioned, Chile’s cultural environment is marked by a high estimation of its quality of life (Adimark-PUC, 2010). This positive outlook, however, does not prevent lack of trust and the practice of individualism from dominating internal coexistence. In the regional workshops, participants discussed the difficulties caused by the dominance of individual interests among leaders of CSOs, as well as the role individual interests play in the organisational structures of

CSOs, in the underlying meaning of volunteering and in the lack of interest in participating in initiatives of a political or collective nature. It was revealed that this has effects among social organisations, which, despite being in the same neighbourhood, sometimes cannot cooperate because they do not know each other. This may also be related to the supremacy of family and friendship bonds compared to other bonds beyond the immediate social circle. This is supported by the statistic that 93% of people consider that people should keep in contact with their closest family members, even when they have little in common (Adimark- PUC, 2009).

Of the external environment indicators, taken from the information of the World Values Survey, the lowest scoring indicator was that of interpersonal trust, which obtained only 12.4%. However, some studies have shown that social trust in Chile is rather high generally. When deconstructed, it is low in respect to large institutions such as companies, political parties, unions and mass media, but improves towards smaller organisations (Valdivieso, 2008).

In the study Democracy Audit (CIEPLAN et al, 2010), taken through three measurements from 2008 to 2010, low levels of interpersonal trust were consistently obtained. 73% of the people considered that other people are generally not to be trusted. In this study, which surveyed neighbourhood advisors, 82.8% of people had a medium to low level of trust, while 54.7% declared to have little or no trust in government or political institutions (including police, government and courts) (UDP, 2010). Chile also has the fifth worse level of interpersonal trust in Latin America (Latinobarómetro, 2010).

On the other hand, tolerance appears as a strengthened indicator: at 84.6%, it is the most developed sub-dimension of the socio-cultural environment. In the Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Study - which had three measurements in 1996, 2000 and 2003 - the distributions for Chile have been generally stable on topics such as authoritarianism, dogmatism, religion, sexism, homophobia, abortion, class discrimination, nationalism, racism, xenophobia and other forms of discrimination towards minorities. In the general results, the three measurements of intolerance tend to be of low intensity, and nearly 30% report being deliberately tolerant towards others. Regarding discrimination, the tendency towards the non-discriminatory pole is marked and when discrimination exists, it tends to be of low intensity. The general population is generally tolerant towards minorities, particularly towards native populations, who have had complex conflictive episodes with the state during recent years, and feel favourably towards the preservation of their traditions and customs (67% agree). Nevertheless, more recently there have been conflicts between the state and the indigenous Mapuche communities in the IX region, and Rapa Nui in the island of Pascua.

Public spiritedness ranks between trust and tolerance, with a high score (78.6%). Respect for the law is one of the most important elements of public service, which means that citizens reject tax evasion, bribes and other forms of free riding. With regard to how rigorously people respect the law, when asked: 'When there is a difficult situation is it acceptable to break the law', 38% of Chileans agreed or strongly agreed (Latinobarómetro Survey). Although it is an intermediate value, it contrasts with the outstanding results that Chile obtained in other indicators of corruption on a Latin American level, in which Chile consistently occupies the best positions.

Although there is a clear trend towards the respect of social norms and laws, the days following the 27 February 2010 earthquake gave the survey's results a new dimension. People watched in astonishment the lootings in Concepción in the South and other forms of exploitation in Santiago,

and elsewhere, including the plundering of shops where crowds took objects not considered to be essential survival goods such as televisions and refrigerators. Additionally, since the implementation of the public transport system 'Transantiago' in the capital, attempts to reduce evasion have not been as successful as expected for a country with high public spirit.

Despite the significance of a general respect for norms, the socio-cultural environment in Chile does not provide the best conditions for the construction of active and participative citizenry, due to certain attitudes that have spread and become popular. In the Democracy Audit study, the least relevant factor to be a good citizen is considered to be being active in political and/ or social associations: only 1% considered it to be important. There is no concept of participative citizenship: in the Chilean identity, the most important quality required to be a good citizen is to obey the laws and norms (CIEPLAN et al, 2010).

Conclusion

How favourable is the external environment in Chile for the development and successful functioning of civil society? Different sources show different results. Many of the macro and objective indicators often show a very optimistic reality: high level of development, productivity and economic stability, with little corruption, in a state of law with secured civil and political guarantees, in which citizens respect laws. In general terms, the formal external environment in Chile is highly developed and seems favourable for the development of civil society.

However, each one of the sub-dimensions entails an important weakness that can hinder development and that, probably, relates to the expectations of passage from a formal democracy to a social more complete democracy.

A worrisome inequality in the distribution of wealth persists: although extreme poverty has been reduced, the middle sectors have been left unprotected. Basic needs such as health, education and pensions are increasingly in the hands of the market, entailing some negative consequences for citizens. Additionally, an important financial possibility has opened up for organisations through the public bidding system for social projects; unfortunately, this possibility reproduces the conditions of inequality among organisations, with the competitiveness criteria for the distribution of resources discriminating against the smallest organisations. On the other hand, although the formal indicators of political liberties are outstanding compared to those of the region, a significant number of CSOs consider the state restrictive and have even reported illegal pressures (including the theft of legal documents to hinder the operation of neighbourhood organisations, as was reported in one regional workshop). Social trust is the weakest indicator of the dimension and it substantially lowered the score of the socio-cultural sub-dimension: the conditions for collaboration and coordination between CSOs and the population in general are not ideal.

The external environment, which was CSI-Chile's highest-scoring dimension, was also the most discussed and the one that generated the least consensus. There was a consensus around the fact that this dimension highlighted the most formal aspects of the economic, political and socio-cultural environment, and it was concluded that its assessment should be complemented with specific and qualitative observations of the functional conditions of civil society.

Nevertheless, in the context of the region, Chile seems to be on the right path. It must be prepared to face the difficulties – mostly socio-cultural - that will allow it to reach greater levels of trust and social cohesion. To do this, a powerful civic education seems to be the key to success.

IV. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF CS IN CHILE

The CSI in Chile revealed a series of positive and negative elements about the diverse dimensions of this sector in the country. The main quantitative findings, complemented by qualitative and participative results, are summarised below. Although this list neither covers all of the discussions that took place during the workshops nor includes all the discoveries of the case studies, it aims to give an overall vision of the common elements that repeatedly came up in the various discussions.

The **strengths of civil society in Chile** include:

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: **Diversity** is the main strength of both social and political participation. Other important factors include:

- **There are leaders who are highly committed to organisations.** The study suggested that these leaders can be seen as generators of positive initiatives, based on their emotional input. This can help CSOs re-direct objectives when there has been an inadequate impact in existing initiatives, and allow flexibility in their work.
- **CSOs possess positive social values and high levels of commitment.** As reported in the case study about Vincular, CSOs are created and supported by their need to face problematic social situations, which allow them to associate and succeed.
- **There is a topic-focused, local and sector-based interest, which has a high mobilising power.** Some examples are youth and political organisations such as the RS (Juventud Radical Socialdemócrata de Chile) and local environmental protection organisations.

LEVEL OF ORGANISATION: Strengths included **governance through committees or boards or directors and sector-based communication.** Additionally:

- **The existence of different groups of networks and interests** allows for results that benefit everyone involved. For example, the links between organisations that served to deal with the earthquake disaster were valued. Association allows a variety of organisations to unite, create their own initiatives and potentially pursue a joint course of action.
- **The ability to acquire power through collective participation** of a number of important CSOs and the development of joint strategies is an important strength.
- **Organisations keep themselves functional, despite their scarce financial and human resources.** This subsistence based on scarce material resources is accomplished thanks to the leaders' commitment; this was reported in the case study on Vincular, which demonstrated success despite initial financial difficulties, among other testimonies of success.

PRACTICE OF VALUES: The main strength tends to be the **internal democratisation of CSOs.** Additionally:

- **Horizontality and democratisation** were the strongest aspects of this dimension. Many of the CSOs are seen as promoters of horizontal relationships, which allow for their members' and their target intervention groups' social and personal strengthening.

PERCEPTION OF IMPACT: The **ability to influence was demonstrated in initiatives of a social and localised character**. Additionally:

- **Local, immediate and community-based impact** is this dimension's main strength. A high level of impact was verified in two case studies related to the earthquake, which recognised the important role of the population and local institutions in the work of CSOs.
- **CSOs demonstrate a strong ability to respond to the social needs** that they were created for, and respond well on the whole to social injustices.
- **High levels of willingness to learn and improve the culture of CSOs** in terms of the design of projects, transparency standards and introducing other important mechanisms to improve efficiency. This constitutes a potential strength that can generate many knock-on benefits, depending on the extent to which its potential is realised.
- **Flexibility, rapid response ability and an ability to self-manage in times of need**. For example, during the earthquake, these attributes were assessed as very beneficial, both in the preservation of communication through local radio channels, as well as in the relief response to victims. Additionally, the accurate interpretations of the future possibilities in the
- Case study on Vincular are evidence of these same attributes.

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT: Its main strength is related to a **highly favourable socio-political context** for civil society.

- Although it is a conditional strength, **the access to resources via public bidding** can open the possibility for smaller CSOs to compete under the same conditions with larger CSOs, and be able to accomplish the goals they seek.
- The **growing importance of ICT in Chilean society** opens spaces for communication, participation, social validation and spreading of initiatives of social organisations, especially emerging ones. Many organisations use the internet as their central functioning platform.

However, some **weaknesses of civil society in Chile** were also identified. They include:

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: the main weaknesses are found in **the extent and the depth of political participation**. Additionally:

- There are difficulties and problems in **participation and convening of groups**, especially youth groups. The commitment to participate depends on personal qualities such as motivation and interests and, many times, the individualistic cultural environment can prevent people from cooperating and participating.

- **Lack of a proactive response by civil society to challenges of civic engagement**, even when confronted with a series of situations that affect its credibility. For example, there is little clarity or evidence of response in terms of institutionalising best practices, searching for cooperation beyond immediate instrumental goals, or practising transparency well.
- The **fascination with power and personal interest to remain in positions of power** in organisations can surpass the original commitment to participate. This can demotivate others and prevent them from joining social initiatives, as well as damaging coexistence and cooperation among organisations.

LEVEL OF ORGANISATION: Despite obtaining a positive score in general, there are some weaknesses related to the **quality of human resources and few linkages with international CSOs** that persist. In addition:

- The **lack of articulation and generation of networks between actors and CSOs, the lack of interest in collective goals, and trends towards individualism** are all important weaknesses. This generates segregation, fragmentation of initiatives, and duplication of efforts; this was exemplified particularly with what happened after the 2010 earthquake. These conflicts occur not only between CSOs, but also between CSOs and public and private agencies;
- **Lack of training, education and provision of tools for leaders of CSOs.** This prevents leaders from organising themselves to create relatively common objectives, propose improvements in the collective financial conditions or establish transparent and adequate management;
- Despite the successes of some CSOs, there are **difficulties in accessing material, human and technological resources**, which exacerbates inequality between CSOs. If projects are not assigned, CSOs run the risk of disappearing, and working with volunteers is not always the most appropriate way to deliver work. Volunteer work is an area of concern because, although it lowers costs, it can also affect the way in which the work is done, making it less professional. Financial structures are based on fixed costs and variable earnings. Additionally, the challenge of dependence on resources, such as electricity, for operations was revealed during the 2010 earthquake;
- **Dependence on CSO leaders** was also considered a significant weakness. There is a lack of a new generation, which could allow for greater organisational flexibility and the emergence of new leadership.

PRACTICE OF VALUES: The greatest weakness is related to the **scarce formalisation of labour, ethical and environmental standards.** Other weaknesses included:

- **Gaps in civic education on democratisation, horizontal participation and practice of transparency.** These gaps create management and social credibility problems for CSOs, and in particular there are few institutional practices and formal processes of standardisation and labour regulations.

PERCEPTION OF IMPACT: The main weakness is **civil society's inability to positively influence its members**, specifically in terms of introducing values. Additionally:

- **The lack of communication, information, and social validation about those initiatives and activities which are implemented.** Chilean civil society is only partially aware of the social initiatives that take place. There is a lack of knowledge amongst CSOs regarding what they each do, and this creates difficulties in coordination;
- **The impact on political decisions is generally very low**, although it is considered high on a local level. Even in those instances in which participation exists, mechanisms for the generation of impact do not always exist. This was a concern that was discussed both in the study about youth participation as well as in the workshops;
- **Insufficient baseline information and diagnosis of beneficiaries' needs of certain projects.** This often results in the impact not being the desired one or in the activities adequately addressing the correct issues.

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT: The greatest weakness is found in the **socio-cultural context**, specifically with regards to the **lack of interpersonal trust**. Additionally:

- **A lack of policies aimed at increasing civic commitment and culture.** There is currently no law encouraging the development of organisations or citizen participation. There is an absence of adequate regulation of transparency, as well as limited institutional mechanisms for strengthening the horizontal participation in and impact of organisations, which in turn generates lack of trust and a negative outlook.
- **The system of access to public funds for CSOs generates inequalities of access to resources.** Small organisations do not have the ability to design successful projects, which generates a vicious cycle, leaving some organisations out of the circuit and guaranteeing resources to better-prepared organisations.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

During all of the CSI-Chile dialogues, participants generated proposals for improvements. Although these proposals cannot be exhaustively developed and put into one single list, outlined below is an action plan, which can be translated into concrete recommendations for the future. A more detailed explanation of these points can be found in the accompanying CSI Policy Action Brief.

The proposals formulated by CSI-Chile participants have been categorised into specific action plans according to the CSI dimensions:

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: It is vital to **advance the expansion of political participation** while at the same time coordinating it with already developed social participation:

- Renew civic commitment starting from the social bases. This includes strengthening local unions, in order to centre CSO objectives on ethical values rooted in grassroots social concerns;
- Promote social changes at an organisational, cultural and legal level, implying greater democratisation of organisations with the aim of motivating and mobilising people around their needs.

LEVEL OF ORGANISATION: It is necessary to **deal with civil society's internal heterogeneity of abilities and resources**. Professional training and more stable financial instances and spaces should exist. Recommendations include:

- Generate a serious dialogue and constant debate amongst different agencies, unite with those which have similar interests and common conventions, maintain contacts and generate networks;
- Make training and education sessions available to CSOs, especially to the leaders of CSOs. These sessions should be spaces for the collective construction of knowledge where ideas, concepts and objectives are shared. Work supporting personal development and management abilities will benefit the professionalisation of CSO activities in the long-term;
- It is necessary to create spaces for the creation of alliances which allow for the joint training of leaders and social activists. It is also important to promote the work of young professionals through alliances with universities.
- It is important to generate mechanisms for public and private financing, to allow for the sustainability of organisations which do not have the abilities to propose projects and obtain funds through institutional financial channels.

PRACTICE OF VALUES: It is essential to strengthen the formalisation of the management processes of CSOs, in order to improve their professional, ethical and environmental credibility. Recommendations include:

- Promote spaces of social and civic education for the general community to discuss issues related to civil society, its forms of participation, and its contribution to both the deepening of Chilean democracy and also promote awareness about the importance of strengthening the citizenry;
- Promote good practice and transparency initiatives in CSOs, promoting actions that can improve and foster their public image by increasing their credibility and improving their opportunities to establish alliances with the state and the business sectors;
- Avoid discriminatory interactions between organisations and their members, on the basis of mutual knowledge and inter-sectoral dialogue. It is especially important, wherever possible, to avoid inequality within civil society.

PERCEPTION OF IMPACT: Social participation should have real impact on public policy decisions and in the design of intervention programmes, and not only in their implementation. Recommendations include:

- Find strategies through which civil society's power can be exercised, including through alliances and better research on needs and potential activities, taking into account the size of the organisation. In order to do so, it is vital to expand alliances and strengthen spaces for mutual training. It is through these that experiences and knowledge for collective learning are often transmitted;
- Open up spaces for the real impact of social organisations in the definition and design of public policies. This will require a process of consulting on and modifying particular state frameworks for policy influence.

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT: It is indispensable to promote a **culture of harmonious coexistence, collaboration and interpersonal trust between citizens during this stage of democratic deepening**. Recommendations include:

- Modify the public bidding system in order to not encourage unfairness in the financing of CSOs;
- Encourage public projects to only specify the minimum requirements for bidding, so that each organisation can suggest and propose their own maximums;
- Take steps to transform progressively the state's institutional structures in order to incorporate mechanisms that allow for more horizontal forms of social participation.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The CSI-Chile is the most important effort that has been done to date to map and assess civil society's conditions for development. After an extensive analysis, there are a number of specific important conclusions regarding the state of Chilean civil society. In addition, the process of implementing and participating in a project such as CSI-Chile resulted in some positive developments for participating organisations. Indeed, CSI-Chile was recognised as an important space for learning for the Fundación Soles and the national team.

Chile seems now to have passed the stage of democratic transition, and has strengthened mechanisms for formal elections and internal auditing. In general terms, it is an organised state with levels of corruption under control. Despite the weaknesses that remain from an institutional coup d'état and a dictatorship, civil society has had relative success in the process of associative reconstruction. New organisations, many of them based on information and communication technologies, have opened new spaces of citizen participation. However, the internal inequality of Chile's civil society is one of the greatest challenges to the consolidation of a sustainable civil society and, in turn, a more profound and deeper democracy. To the degree to which it is possible, Chile's civil society is looking for a space in general society, and it is creating alliance mechanisms with the state and the market, and endeavouring to do so without ceasing to use an authentic, autonomous and credible voice. A healthy democracy must guard against a domesticated, tame and uncritical civil society, but it is nevertheless vital for there to be collaborative linkages with other social actors.

Further efforts to seek more equal conditions for civil society in relation to other sectors, and to promote more equitable financing mechanisms, are required in order to address external inequalities and internal heterogeneity. Civil society now faces the challenge of progressively demanding and participating in the modification of the structures that continue to generate these differences. As suggested at the beginning of this report, internal differences of civil society should be understood as diversity, which is necessary for pluralism and strengthening of democracy, instead of being understood as inequality or unequal access to resources.

Chile has advanced at moderate pace towards greater democratisation. This requires going beyond the formal democratisation of traditional institutions to extending the concept of citizenship and creating spaces for civil society's horizontal participation in political decisions. A cultural change in the concept of democracy and citizenship is needed for the necessary qualitative leap: social and economic rights must be incorporated in the idea of democratic citizenship. Without these conceptual elements of civic culture, it might be difficult to advance towards the active, participative and influential civil society that Chile aims to construct.

Chile's CSI offers us a general vision of the state of civil society in the country, and it offers specific insights into certain topics through diverse methodologies. However, CSI-Chile does not put an end to the discussion of civil society in any way, but instead opens up discussion and processes of self-reflection for CSOs. Additionally, it promotes the importance of this sector to the state and market.

CSI-Chile not only provides information with regards to certain indicators, but it also places them into perspective so they can be discussed and contrasted with other views. In this way, diversity in

Chilean civil society is reflected by the CSI-Chile study, which aims to explore the different perspectives.

In general terms, a high level of organisation characterises Chilean civil society, primarily due to internal governance. This strength is moderated by different access to resources. Civic commitment proved to be important for social participation, but political participation was considerably weakened. The practice of values in Chilean civil society proved to be a more challenging area, especially due to the scarce formalisation of standards. Civil society's perception of impact, meanwhile, also seemed to be weak, particularly in terms of its impact on policies and people's attitudes. Nevertheless, Chile seems to have very favourable conditions for the development of civil society, especially regarding the socio-political context (although the situation in terms of interpersonal trust is less encouraging).

Regarding the actions to be followed, there is great consensus about the difficulties in training for project design and civic education. Also, the difference in access to funds is a structural limitation that needs to be corrected. With regard to civic engagement, it is essential to continue to promote efforts to motivate new members. By recognising limitations, it is possible to better advance in the creation of successful initiatives.

It is not possible to foresee the impact and the effects CSI-Chile will have, because at the time of completion of the report, there are still several spaces where the results will be discussed and published. For now, the majority of direct participants have expressed their interest to continue participating in the discussion. New networks of contacts with organisations that were previously unknown to each other have been set up. The CSOs involved in the Advisory Committee and regional and national workshops have served as ambassadors of CSI-Chile, and have helped make these results known. Also, the Fundación Soles and the young implementation team considered the CSI-Chile to be a very relevant and unique space of learning and capacity building, as well as for networking and connecting to other CSOs. It is hoped that the CSI-Chile experience will be repeated in the future and that, with the knowledge that is gained, we will be able to develop a project with a broader scope and overcome any limitations that affected this version.

In the immediate future, the Fundación Soles plans to continue to present the CSI-Chile results in other social, political and academic circles. Also, the CSI-Chile results will be discussed in the Chilean Congress of Sociology, while the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (Christian Humanism Academic University) is collaborating in a project to introduce a periodic publication about civil society, which will celebrate its inauguration with a special edition about CSI-Chile. In the long run, Fundación Soles hopes to conduct the CSI-Chile again, and in doing so to continue to contribute towards strengthening civil society in Chile and around the world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: CSI-CHILE INDICATOR MATRIX

1) Dimension: Civic Engagement			49.5
1.1		Extent of socially-based engagement	43.2
	1.1.1	Social membership 1	39.0
	1.1.2	Social volunteering 1	37.7
	1.1.3	Community engagement 1	53.0
1.2		Depth of socially-based engagement	32.3
	1.2.1	Social membership 2	24.9
	1.2.2	Social volunteering 2	24.3
	1.2.3	Community engagement 2	47.6
1.3		Diversity of socially-based engagement	89.2
	1.3.1	Diversity of socially-based engagement	89.2
1.4		Extent of political engagement	20.4
	1.4.1	Political membership 1	16.0
	1.4.2	Political volunteering 1	15.9
	1.4.3	Individual activism 1	29.2
1.5		Depth of political engagement	27.3
	1.5.1	Political membership 2	22.5
	1.5.2	Political volunteering 2	20.4
	1.5.3	Individual activism 2	39.0
1.6		Diversity of political engagement	84.8
	1.6.1	Diversity of political engagement	84.8
2) Dimension: Level of organisation			52.3
2.1		Internal governance	81.2
	2.1.1	Management	81.2
2.2		Infrastructure	44.3
	2.2.1	Support organisations	44.3
2.3		Sectoral communication	79.7
	2.3.1	Peer-to-peer communication 1	80.7
	2.3.2	Peer-to-peer communication 2	78.7
2.4		Human resources	14.1
	2.4.1	Sustainability of HR	14.1
2.5		Financial and technological resources	79.1
	2.5.1	Financial sustainability	74.7
	2.5.2	Technological resources	83.5
2.6		International linkages	15.7
	2.6.1	International linkages	15.7
3) Dimension: Practice of Values			42.5
3.1		Democratic decision-making governance	69.7
	3.1.1	Decision-making	69.7
3.2		Labour regulations	21.6
	3.2.1	Equal opportunities	34.1
	3.2.2	Members of labour unions	4.1
	3.2.3	Labour rights trainings	23.0
	3.2.4	Publicly available policy for labour standards	25.0

3.3		Code of conduct and transparency	42.6
	3.3.1	Publicly available code of conduct	41.2
	3.3.2	Transparency	43.9
3.4		Environmental standards	31.0
	3.4.1	Environmental standards	31.0
3.5		Perception of values in civil society as a whole	47.9
	3.5.1	Perceived non-violence	21.0
	3.5.2	Perceived internal democracy	40.2
	3.5.3	Perceived levels of corruption	12.5
	3.5.4	Perceived intolerance	64.8
	3.5.5	Perceived weight of intolerant groups	85.5
	3.5.6	Perceived promotion on non-violence and peace	63.2
4) Dimension: Perception of Impact			46.5
4.1		Responsiveness (internal perception)	47.2
	4.1.1	Impact on social concern 1	43.7
	4.1.2	Impact on social concern 2	50.6
4.2		Social Impact (internal perception)	67.2
	4.2.1	General social impact	63.6
	4.2.2	Social impact of own organisation	70.8
4.3		Policy Impact (internal perception)	31.7
	4.3.1	General policy impact	35.3
	4.3.2	Policy activity of own organisation	45.3
	4.3.3	Policy impact of own organisation	14.4
4.4		Responsiveness (external perception)	45.0
	4.4.1	Impact on social concern 1	45.0
	4.4.2	Impact on social concern 2	45.0
4.5		Social Impact (external perception)	72.3
	4.5.1	Social impact selected concerns	84.5
	4.5.2	Social impact general	60.0
4.6		Policy Impact (external perception)	47.8
	4.6.1	Policy impact specific fields 1-3	58.8
	4.6.2	Policy impact general	36.8
4.7		Impact of CS on attitudes	14.3
	4.7.1	Difference in trust between civil society members and non-members	3.9
	4.7.2	Difference in tolerance levels between civil society members and non-members	0.0
	4.7.3	Difference in public spiritedness between civil society members and non-members	7.0
	4.7.4	Trust in civil society	46.3
5) Contextual Dimension: Environment			69.6
5.1		Socio-economic context	68.4
	5.1.1	Basic Capabilities Index	99.6
	5.1.2	Corruption	69.0
	5.1.3	Inequality	45.1
	5.1.4	Economic context	59.7
5.2		Socio-political context	81.8
	5.2.1	Political rights and freedoms	97.5
	5.2.2	Rule of law and personal freedoms	95.8
	5.2.3	Associational and organisational rights	100.00
	5.2.4	Experience of legal framework	41.4
	5.2.5	State effectiveness	74.4

5.3		Socio-cultural context	58.5
	5.3.1	Trust	12.4
	5.3.2	Tolerance	84.6
	5.3.3	Public spiritedness	78.6

APPENDIX II: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

MEMBERS	ORGANISATION
Pablo Zúñiga	UAHC
Cristóbal Tello	Chile-Transparent
Anahí Urquiza	FACSO-PULSO U. de Chile
Sebastián Cox	FORJA
Javier Cox	Mining Council
Álvaro Neira	Chilecip
Adolfo Castillo	Citizenship Liberties
Hugo Cabrera	DOS
Andrea Sanhueza	PARTICIPA
María Eugenia Díaz	GENERA
Marcela Jiménez	MIDEPLAN
Eugenio Vergara	CDI
Marcela Tchimino	PIIE
Guillermo Scallan	AVINA

PARTICIPANTS IN REGIONAL WORKSHOPS

WORKSHOP NUMBER AND REGION	REPRESENTATIVES	CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION
1- Valparaíso Region	Gabriel Villegas	Sport Corporation Santiago Wanders
	Alejandro Toledo	Cultural Center INDUS
	Viviana Fernández	National Group of ex – minors victims of political prison and torture
2- Valparaíso Region	Matías Huincahue	Popular and Social Library
	Humberto Arancibia	Common Union of Neighborhood Boards
	Sergio Henríquez	UNCO Valparaíso
1- Metropolitan Region	Macarena Currín	Rodelillo Foundation
2- Metropolitan Region	Sonia Venegas	AMANOZ Foundation
	Ignacia Contreras	J-PAL
	Oscar	Social Ecological Council of the Florida
	Patricia Carvajal	Association of social organisations
	Tomás Marín	Live City
	Daniel Quinteros	Amnesty International
3- Metropolitan Region	Alejandro Reyes	CEC
	Ana Castro	Elephants in the Ceiling
	Braulio Tejos	GESTA Foundation
	Fresia Tello	Hypertension Paine Club
	Jorge Abarce	ANADEUS
	Lucio Díaz	CEC
	Luna Chiang	Green Workshop

	Matías Reeves	Education 2020
	Omar Astudillo	FEFAD Foundation
4- Metropolitan Region	Alejandra Rosales	Los Juncos Cooperative
	Lake Sagaris	Live City
5- Metropolitan Region	José Luis Medina	EDUCERE Foundation
	Gonzalo Cid	MUMS
	Matías Nieto	Seed Foundation
	Laura Quevedo	The Forest Communal Council
	Cristian Aguirre	Ambient-all
	Cristian Egaña	Overcome Poverty Foundation
	Pablo Carvacho	Vote Intelligently
	Fanny Pinto	Arebo

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adimark-PUC (2009) *National Bicentennial Survey*. www.adimark.cl.
- Adimark-PUC (2010) *The Chileans of the Bicentennial*. Pontificia Catholic University of Chile.
- Arendt, Hannah (1993) *The Human Condition*. Paidos Editorial, Barcelona.
- Aristotle. (1962) *Politics*. Iberia Editorial, Barcelona.
- Arrau, Alfonso and Avendaño, Octavio (2001) *Notes about the development of citizenship in Chile*, Document 1, *Debates and reflections, Contributions for social research*. Development and Society Studies Program (PREDES). Santiago.
- Avritzer, Leonardo (2006) *Civil Society in Latin America in the Twenty-First Century: Between Democratic Deepening, Social Fragmentation, and State Crisis*. In Feinberg, R., Waisman C. and Zamosc, L. eds. *Civil Society and Democracy in Latin America*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blanco, Christian (2005) *The Concept of Civil Society*. Thesis for Philosophy Degree. Department of Philosophy and Humanities, University of Chile. http://www.cybertesis.cl/tesis/uchile/2005/blanco_c/html/index-frames.html
- Bobbio, Norberto (1976) *Political Theory Today*. Grijalbo Editorial, Barcelona.
- Bobbio, Norberto (2002) *State, Government and Society. A general theory of politics*. Breviarios Series, Economic Cultural Fund, México D.F.
- Cancino, César and Ortiz, Sergio (1997) *New perspectives on civil society*, in *Metapolítica Magazine*, Vol. 1, N 2, pp. 211-226.
- Cardozo, Fernando and Faletto, Enzo (1970) *Dependence and Development in Latin America*. XXI Century Editorial, Santiago.
- CEP (2010) *National Public Opinion Survey Nov-Dec*. CEP Studies, www.cepchile.cl.
- CIEPLAN et al (2010) *Audit to democracy. National Public Opinion Study September-October de 2010*. Various participating organisations. Available at www.pnud.cl and www.cepchile.cl.
- CIVICUS (2008) *Global Survey of the State of Civil Society*. Vol. I *Country profiles*, Edited by V. Finn Heinrich, 2007. Vol. II *Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by V. Finn Heinrich and Lorenzo Fioramonti. Kumarian Press Inc.
- Cohen, Jean and Arato, Andrew (2002) *Civil Society and Political Theory* (1992, MIT Press, Cambridge). Economic Cultural Fund, Mexico, D. F.
- Cortina, Adela (2006) *Civic ethics: the ethical capital of people*. Conference given in the Salón de Honor de la Casa Central of the University of Chile.
- Dahl, Robert (2001) *About Democracy*. Universidade of Brasília Editorial. Brasilia.

- Diamond, Larry (1997) *Re-thinking Civil Society*, in *Metapolítica Magazine*, Vol. 1, N 2, pp. 183-198.
- Domínguez, Jorge and Shifter, Michael (2003) *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Second Edition. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Ellner, Steve Review (2001): Latin American Democracy in “Post-Consolidation” Literature: Optimism and Pessimism. *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 43, NO. 1, pp. 127-142.
- Faletto, Enzo (1989) *The specialty of the Latin American State*. Cepal Magazine, N.38, Santiago, 1989.
- Fazio, Hugo (2010) *Social Watch Report 2010 Chile: No sustainable development without fair taxation*. National Center of Studies for Alternative Development (CENDA), www.socialwatch.org.
- Feinberg, Richard, Waisman Carlos and Zamosc, León (2006), *Civil Society and Democracy in Latin America*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fernández, Oscar (1997) *The vicissitudes of the notion of Civil Society, in the “Latin American Electoral Bulletin”*, N°XVII, pp. 79-96.
- Finn Heinrich, Volkhart. (2004) *Assessing and Strengthening Civil Society Worldwide*. A Project Description of the CIVICUS Civil Society Index: A Participatory Needs Assessment & Action-Planning Tool for Civil Society. CIVICUS Civil Society Index Paper Series Vol. 2, Issue 1. CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation www.civicus.org.
- Foley, Michael and Edwards, Bob (1996) *The paradox of civil society*. In *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7, N°3, pp. 38-52.
- Fundación Soles (2007) *Civil Society Index. Chile: The associative reconstruction of a country*. Adolfo Castillo (Coordinator). www.fundacionsoles.cl.
- Garretón, Manuel (2004) *Problems of Quality in the Chilean Democratic Transition*. *Political Magazine*, N 42, pp. 179-206. Santiago: INAP, University of Chile.
- Gellner, Ernest (1997) *Adam Ferguson and the surprising solidity of civil society, in Metapolítica Magazine*, Vol. 1, N 2, pp.199-210.
- González, Inés and Roitter, Mario (2003) *Ideas about Civil Society: Past and Present*, IV Regional Conference ISTR-LAC, San José, Costa Rica.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1967) *The formation of intellectuals* (Selection of texts). Original title in Italian: *Antologia degli scritti*. Translated by Ángel González Vega, Ruiniti Edition, Rome. Collection 70, Grijalbo Editorial S.A, Mexico, D.F.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1972), *Notes about Maquiaveli, about politics and about the Modern State*. Translation by José Aricó. New Vision Editions, Buenos Aires.
- Habermas, Jurgen (1989) *Theory of communicative action*, Vol. I Rationality of action and social rationality. Taurus Editions, Buenos Aires.

- Hegel, George (1988) *Fundamentals of Philosophy of Law or Natural and Political Science*. Edhasa Editorial, Barcelona.
- Hegel, George (1970) *History of Philosophy*. Zeus Publishers, Barcelona.
- Hobbes, Thomas (1940) *The Leviathan or the matter of form and power of an ecclesiastical and civil republic*. Economic Culture Fund, Mexico D.F.
- IDD-Lat (2010) *Latin American Democratic Development Index*. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Polilat.com. Foundation www.idd-lat.org.
- Latinobarómetro (2010) *2010 Report*, December, Santiago de Chile, www.latinobarometro.org.
- Locke, John (1996) *Second Treaty about Civil Government. An essay about the true origin, reach and aim of Civil Government*. Alianza Editorial, Madrid.
- Marx, Karl (1968) *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of the State. 70 Collection*, Grijalbo S.A Editorial, Mexico, D.F.
- Marx, Karl (1970) *The Capital, Critique of Political Economy*. Studio Editions, Buenos Aires.
- Montesquieu, Charles (1944), *The Spirit of the Laws*. Liberty Editions, Buenos Aires.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Schmitter, Phillippe (1994) *Transitions from an Authoritarian Government*. Vol.1 Southern Europe, Vol.2 Latin America, Vol.3 Compared Perspectives, Vol.4 Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies. Paidós Editions, Barcelona.
- Olvera, Alberto (1999) *From theory to reality*. Center of Sociological Research. The School of Mexico, Mexico, D. F.
- Olvera, Alberto and Avritzer, Leonardo (1992) *The Concept of Civil Society in the Study of Democratic Transition*. Mexican Sociology Magazine, Vol. 54, No. 4.
- Oxhorn, Phillip. (2006) *Conceptualizing Civil Society from the Bottom Up: A Political Economy Perspective*. In Feinberg, R., Waisman C. and Zamosc, L. eds. *Civil Society and Democracy in Latin America*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- PNUD (2010) *Gender: the challenges of equality. Human Development Report in Chile*. Chile, Santiago, www.desarrollohumano.cl.
- Polumbaum, Judy (2006) *Free Society, Repressed Media: The Chilean Paradox*. In "Readings in Latin American Politics", 372-380. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rousseau, Jean Jaques (1961) *The Social Contract or principles of political law*. Mirasol Books. General Fabril Editorial Company S.A., Buenos Aires.
- Schmitter, Phillippe (1997) *Intermediaries in the Consolidation of Neodemocracies; the role of parties, associations and movements*. Working Papers WP N130, Political and Social Science Institute, Universidad Autónoma of Barcelona, Spain. Barcelona.

- SIES (2008) *Higher Education Enrollment Report*. Department of Education, Chile, www.sies.cl.
- Smith, Adam (1992) *Investigation about the nature and cause of the Wealth of Nations*. Edwin Cannan Edition. Economic Culture Fund Editorial, Mexico.
- Social Watch (2009) *Gender Equity Index*. www.socialwatch.org.
- Social Watch (2010) *Basic Capability Index*. www.socialwatch.org.
- Sottoli, Susana (2000) *Social policy in Latin America under the sign of market economy and democracy*. Mexican Magazine of Sociology, Vol. 62, No. 4.
- Tocqueville, Alexis (1998) *El Former Regime and Revolution*, Fund for Economic Culture Editorial, Mexico D.F.
- Tocqueville, Alexis (2000) *Democracy in America*. Fund for Economic Culture Editorial, Mexico D.F.
- Tönnies, Ferdinand (1947) *Society and Community*. Losada S.A. Editorial, Buenos Aires.
- Touraine, Alain (2000) *Critique of Modernity*. Fund for Economic Culture Editorial, Mexico D.F.
- Transparency International (2010) *Corruption Perception Index 2010*. www.transparencyinternational.org.
- Trascender (2009) *National Study of Volunteers*. In collaboration with Collect GFK.
- UDP (2009) *Survey on Social Cohesion. A look at Local Development Councils of the Metropolitan Region*. Neighborhood Notebooks. N°2. Social Cohesion Academic Nucleus, Diego Portales University. Neighborhood Recovery Program, Department of Housing of Chile.
- Valdivieso, Patricio (2008). *Social Capital in Chile. Measurements and Specifications*. Political Magazine, N 48. FONDECYT Social Capital, Participation and Public Security Project (N 1071073).
- Vanden, Harry and Prevost, Gary (2006) *The Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vega, Francisco (2005), *Civil Society for Adam Ferguson*, La República University. <http://members.tripod.cl/derechoulare/Ferguson.html>.
- Waisman, Carlos. (2006) *Autonomy, Self-Regulation, and Democracy: Toquevillian-Gellnerian Perspectives on Civil Society in Latin America*. In Feinberg, R., Waisman C. and Zamosc, L. eds. *Civil Society and Democracy in Latin America*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.