



2024 Report

NODO·**XXI**

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Introduction

For Nodo XXI, 2024 has been a year of growth and consolidation. New members joined our Foundation and we were able to significantly expand our areas of work. Besides our established teams working on education, social rights, care, and the economy and development model we launched a team focusing on human rights and security policies and also a team working on science and technology. Our long-awaited Social Observatory project also took shape, with an initial study on new voters from popular sectors.

This year, we also strengthened our presence in the media (television, radio, streaming, and newspapers) and our advocacy work on the most significant social rights reforms currently being discussed and processed: pensions, health, and a new public financing system for higher education.

In this 2024 Report, we present a summary of our work during the year and take this opportunity to thank everyone who has been close to our Foundation during this period: the members of Nodo XXI, who make it possible for our organization to exist and remain active; the foundations and think tanks of the progressive and leftist movements, with whom we have collaborated closely; the mass media that have opened their doors to us; the social organizations that have participated in our activities and made us part of theirs; our colleagues who donate resources to our Foundation and enable us to continue our work; and the international organizations that support us with institutional support or projects: Medico International, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Heinrich Böll Stiftung - Santiago Office, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation - Southern Cone Office, and Public Services International.



This year, with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, we conducted research on the political engagement of new voters from popular sectors. The study was coordinated by Sebastián Madrid, PhD in sociology, who led a team composed of political scientist Juan Pablo Orrego, sociologist Matías Gómez, and sociologist Pierina Ferretti. It was based on eight focus groups with members of socioeconomic groups D, E, C3, and C2, and on a reprocessing of the ELSOC survey conducted by COES.

One of the main conclusions of the study, entitled **Winning without losing (*Ganar sin perder*)**. **The political pragmatism of new voters from popular sectors in Chile**, was that new voters from popular sectors have a pragmatic relationship with politics, characterized by an enormous distance from institutional politics and all political parties, but at the same time, by the expectation that institutional politics will manage and solve their daily problems and improve their living conditions.



Read the full report of our research at the link:

<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/portada/2024/nodo-xxi-realiza-estudio-que-indaga-en-la-relacion-de-las-y-los-nuevos-votantes-de-sectores-populares-con-la-politica/>

Security and Human Rights

The issue of public security in Chile has become a central theme in recent years, posing a major challenge for the left and progressive sectors, especially in the face of punitive and authoritarian positions that are gaining ground among the population and in politics. Nodo XXI has developed a set of initiatives in this area.

Since 2022, we have been part of the Advisory Unit for Police Reform, a body convened by the Ministry of the Interior with the aim of integrating civil society perspectives on this issue. In addition, this year, our executive director, Pierina Ferretti, was appointed to the Advisory Council of the National Institute of Human Rights, a significant recognition for our foundation.

One of the main initiatives in this area in 2024 was the organization of the meeting **“A security agenda with a human rights approach from the left,”** which we held with the support of the **Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Southern Cone Office**. At this event, which took place on Saturday, August 31, experts, political leaders, and social activists addressed various aspects of the issue, such as the keys to a leftist perspective on public security, the main institutional challenges, and the centrality of human rights.

In addition, members of our Foundation have participated in the public debate to raise these issues.



Encuentro

Una agenda de seguridad con enfoque de derechos humanos desde la izquierda

Encuentro presencial *previa inscripción en formulario*

Desde las 10:00am

JORNADA AM Seguridad con enfoque de DDHH, ¿qué planteamos desde la izquierda?

JORNADA PM Experiencias y proyecciones para construir programas territoriales en materia de seguridad

31 ago

Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Condell 343, Providencia.

NODO XXI FUNDACIÓN ROSA LUXEMBURGO

Encuentro

Una agenda de seguridad con enfoque de derechos humanos desde la izquierda **31 ago** NODO XXI FUNDACIÓN ROSA LUXEMBURGO

JORNADA AM

Seguridad con enfoque de DDHH, ¿qué planteamos desde la izquierda?

09.45 Acreditación

10.00-11.45 PRIMER PANEL: Claves para una propuesta de izquierda en materia de seguridad. Aprendizajes y desafíos pendientes

Antonia Rivas
Unidad de Investigación y Coordinación Institucional

Lorena Fries
Diputada PA

Matías Vallejos
Nodo XXI

Javier Cabello
Ministerio de la Mujer y Equidad de Género

12.05-13.20 SEGUNDO PANEL: Desafíos institucionales y propuestas para una alternativa anti punitivista

Alejandrina Tobar
Directora Ejecutiva Legal

Alejandra Pisciencia
Policarista AC

Alejandra Mohor
Investigadora CSIC

Rafael Collado
Asesor en Políticas Identitarias

JORNADA PM

Experiencias y proyecciones para construir programas territoriales en materia de seguridad

15.30-16.45 TERCER PANEL: Gestión de la seguridad en los territorios: experiencias institucionales y desafíos pendientes.

Leonardo Jofré
CODESA

Erika Martínez
Alcalde de San Miguel

Gonzalo Durán
Delegado Municipal de la

Alejandra Quevedo
Ministerio del Interior

17.00-18.15 CUARTO PANEL: Propuestas programáticas de seguridad a nivel territorial: ¿dónde poner el acento?

Alond Castro
Coordinadora Regional de Desarrollo Territorial

Nacirena Fernandez
Coordinadora y asesora de políticas de Prevención

Nicolás del Piarro
Bombero Comunal

Stefano Bozza
Alcalde de la Comuna de Maipo

L LATERCERA | 4 DE MAYO 2024

NODO XXI

Condiciones laborales de Carabineros: otra dimensión de la seguridad pública

Señor Director:

La reciente conmemoración del día de las y los trabajadores ocurrió en un contexto de duelo por el macabro asesinato de tres carabineros. Dicha efeméride ofrece una oportunidad para reflexionar en torno a una dimensión que, en medio de burdas declaraciones y aprovechamientos políticos, ha quedado casi completamente soslayada: las condiciones laborales de los policías de nuestro país.

En los últimos años diversas fuentes (Human Rights Watch, INDH, CIPER, y relatos de funcionarios en retiro) nos han informado sobre problemas en las condiciones laborales de los carabineros: largas y extenuantes jornadas, escasos días libres, sobrecarga de trabajo, falta de implementos de protección adecuados, aumento de licencias por enfermedades de salud mental o lesiones en actos de servicios, privilegios y desigualdades entre oficiales y suboficiales, entre otras situaciones que afectan directamente su capacidad laboral y su vida familiar. Por estas razones, nos parece correcta la estrategia del gobierno: fortalecer la institucionalidad de Carabineros,

L LATERCERA | 4 DE MAYO 2024

NODO XXI

Condiciones laborales de Carabineros: otra dimensión de la seguridad pública

impulsando una reforma que también pone énfasis en la mejora al sistema de salud, bienestar y las condiciones desiguales para quienes cumplen una función esencial como velar por nuestra seguridad. Asimismo, reconocemos los esfuerzos presupuestarios que han permitido sustantivas mejoras en equipamiento y asignaciones. Si bien lo realizado es aún insuficiente y dista de configurar una reforma integral como la que se requiere, da cuenta de que la autoridad civil ha tomado cartas en el asunto. En medio de un ambiente político en el que la discusión racional en materia de seguridad se ha vuelto casi imposible, no hay que confundirse: fortalecer a Carabineros no pasa por institucionalizar condiciones de impunidad, sino, entre otras cosas, por garantizarles condiciones de trabajo que se condigan con la labor fundamental que dicha institución está llamada a cumplir.

Así, mientras la derecha inventa la oposición entre el respeto irrestricto a los derechos humanos y el respaldo a la institución, desde la izquierda y el progresismo tenemos la oportunidad para empujar una agenda que, entre otras materias, así como ha mencionado la ministra Jara estos días, reconozca y valide a las y los Carabineros como trabajadores y servidores públicos.

Karla Escobar Parada
Matías Vallejos Gesell

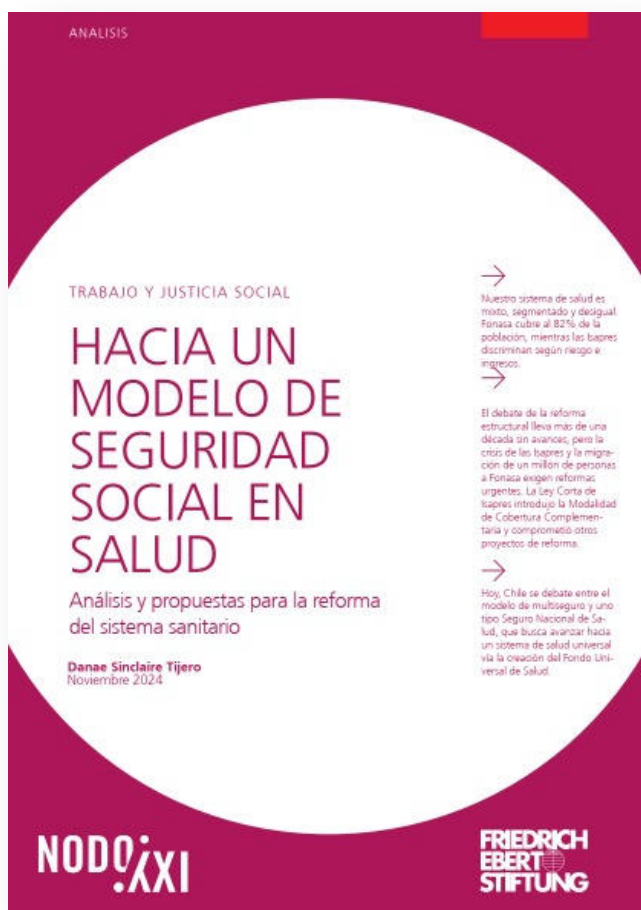
Column by Karla Escobar and Matías Vallejos, members of Nodo XXI's human rights and security policy team.

Social rights

The struggle to build a system of social rights that places well-being and solidarity at its core has been at the heart of Nodo XXI's work since its origins. This year, we focused our efforts on pensions, health, and education, with projects aimed at contributing to the debate on the reforms being discussed in these areas.

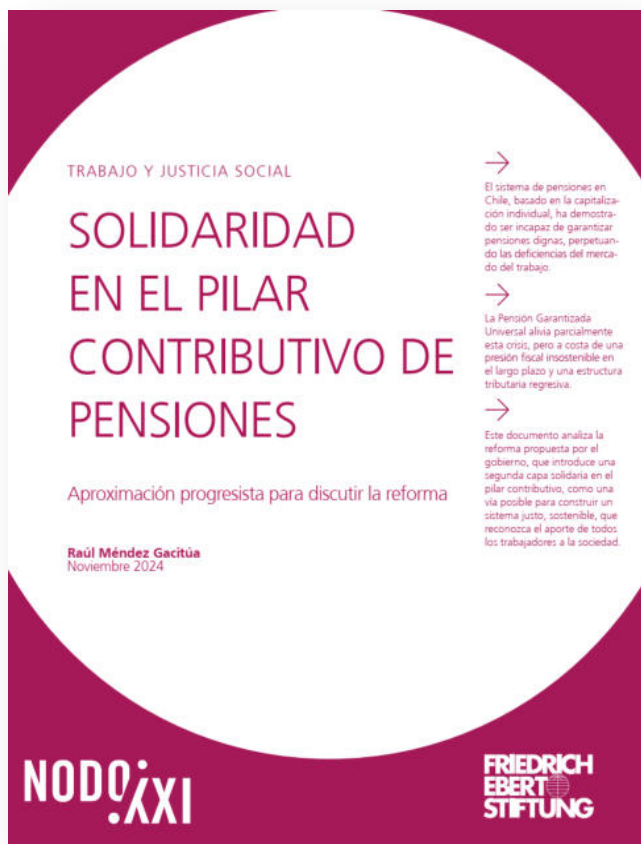
With the support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), we developed the project Towards a Social and Democratic State of Rights: Structural Reforms in Health and Pensions. This initiative sought to offer concrete and progressive proposals to contribute to the public discussion on

health and pension reforms in Chile at a key moment for advancing towards the construction of a welfare state. The results of this work are contained in two documents: Towards a social security model in health: Analysis and proposals for the reform of the health system, by Danae Sinclair Tijero, and Solidarity in the contributory pillar of pensions: A progressive approach to discussing reform, developed by Raúl Méndez Gacitúa. These documents analyze the main structural deficiencies and explore possible paths toward models that guarantee universal and public social rights.



Towards a social security model for health: Analysis and proposals for reform of the healthcare system

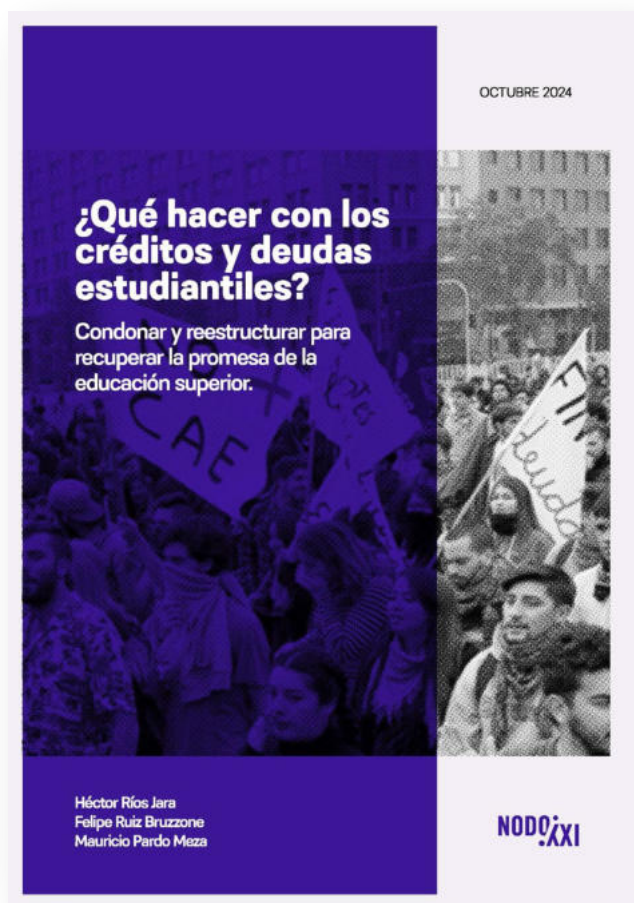
<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/otros/2024/nodo-xxi-y-fes-presentan-documentos-que-abordan-los-desafios-y-propuestas-en-salud-y-pensiones-en-chile/>



Solidarity in the contributory pension pillar: A progressive approach to discussing the actual reform

<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/otros/2024/nodo-xxi-y-fes-presentan-documentos-que-abordan-los-desafios-y-propuestas-en-salud-y-pensiones-en-chile/>

Likewise, within the framework of the presentation of the bill that puts an end to the State-guaranteed loan and introduces a plan for the forgiveness and reorganization of student debt, we present the study What to do with student loans and debt? Forgive and restructure to recover the promise of higher education, prepared by our researchers Héctor Ríos, Felipe Ruiz, and Mauricio Pardo. This document analyzes the origin of the



What to do with student loans and debt? Forgive and restructure to restore the promise of higher education

<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/portada/2024/nodo-xxi-realiza-un-estudio-sobre-la-eficiencia-del-sistema-de-creditos-en-chile-y-el-impacto-del-proyecto-sobre-fin-al-cae-y-condonacion-de-deudas-estudiantiles/>

credit system in Chile and its performance until 2022, explores the efficiency of the credit system in terms of its fiscal costs, recoverability, and impact on the cost of higher education, and details the main characteristics of the new Public Financing for Higher Education (FES) instrument and the different components of the student debt forgiveness plan.

In 2024, we are continuing our research work on care for Public Services International through the study “Direct social care services in Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador.” The study sought to characterize the social organization of care, considering the providers and existing care demands in each country. Specifically, it focused on services for dependent older adults and people with disabilities.

The preliminary results were presented at the Inter-American Meeting of Public Services International, which took place in Bogotá, Colombia.



Camila Miranda (right), President of Nodo XXI, presents preliminary results of the study “Direct social care services in Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador” at the Inter-American Meeting of Public Services International in Bogotá.

Economy and development model

This line of work aims to develop a left-wing perspective on the Chilean development and production model. Given the challenges our country faces in terms of economic growth and productivity, it is urgent to have elements of interpretation and proposals so that the forces of change can offer robust alternatives—both technically and politically—to address these dilemmas. During 2024, we have held regular meetings focused on two objectives. On the one hand, to characterize the public discussion surrounding the crisis of the Chil-

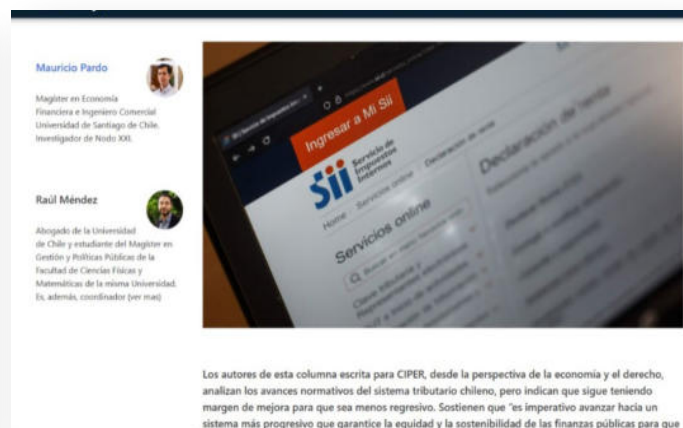
ean growth model. On the other hand, to follow up on the national situation articulated around the discussion on the productive model and economic policies.

We are currently preparing a working document that summarizes the different political views on growth and productivity in Chile. We have also participated in the public debate through articles in the press.



Pablo Inzunza and Juan Pablo Berger. Letter to the editor: long-term vision. La Tercera.

<https://www.latercera.com/opinion/noticia/vision-de-largo-plazo/S27UQPVS35GAHFPYMSN-JU7RVAA/>



Mauricio Pardo and Raúl Méndez. Debts in tax policy. Ciper Chile.

<https://www.ciperchile.cl/2024/12/21/la-deuda-de-chile-en-politica-tributaria-un-sistema-que-no-dependa-de-los-mas-vulnerables/>

Political analysis

In the context of the third public account, our Foundation conducted a detailed assessment of the level of compliance with the presidential commitments announced in the 2023 account and an assessment of the level of fulfillment of presidential commitments contained in the 2024 account. This exercise gave rise to two reports: Compliance with presi-

dential commitments. **Challenges for advancing toward a society of well-being, security, and freedom**, prepared by researcher Felipe Ruiz, and **Analysis of the 2024 Public Address. A roadmap for advancing toward a society of well-being, security, and freedom**, prepared by researchers Raúl Méndez and Natalie Rojas.



Compliance with Presidential Commitments. Challenges for Advancing Toward a Society of Well-being, Security, and Freedom

<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/estudios/2024/nodo-xxi-realiza-un-analisis-de-cumplimiento-de-compromisos-presidenciales/>



Analysis of the 2024 Public Account. A roadmap for advancing a society of well-being, security, and freedom

<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/noticias/2024/analisis-de-la-cuenta-publica-2024-una-hoja-de-ruta-para-avanzar-una-sociedad-de-bienestar-seguridad-y-libertad/>

As an exercise in taking stock on the fifth anniversary of the social uprising of October 2019, we published the document **Five Years After October. Balance, lessons learned, and projections**, which includes contributions from Álvaro Ramis, Camila Miranda, Eugenio Tironi, Manuel Antonio Garretón, and Sofía Fuentes in a discussion organized by Nodo XXI with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in October 2024.



Five Years After October: Assessment, Lessons Learned, and Projections.

<https://www.nodoxxi.cl/otros/2025/a-cinco-anos-de-octubre/>

Training, forums, and events

2024 was a very busy year in terms of events, training activities, discussions, and forums organized by Nodo XXI, in which members of our Foundation participated as guests. In this section, we highlight some of the year's activities.

Nodo XXI events

Meeting: **“A security agenda with a human rights approach from the left,”** held on Saturday, August 31, at the Academy of Christian Humanism. Event held with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation - Southern Cone Office.



“A security agenda with a human rights approach from the left.” In the photo, from left to right: Macarena Fernández (candidate for mayor of Las Condes), Stefano Baeza (Municipality of Maipú), Marian Barreaux (Nodo XXI), Aland Castro (UKAMAU), Nicolás del Fierro (Rumbo Colectivo).



“A security agenda with a human rights approach from the left.” In the photo, from left to right: Alejandra Placencia (Diputada PC), Alejandra Mohor (U Chile), Nicole Jullien (Nodo XXI), Alejandrina Tobar (Leasur), Rafael Collado (Min. Interior).

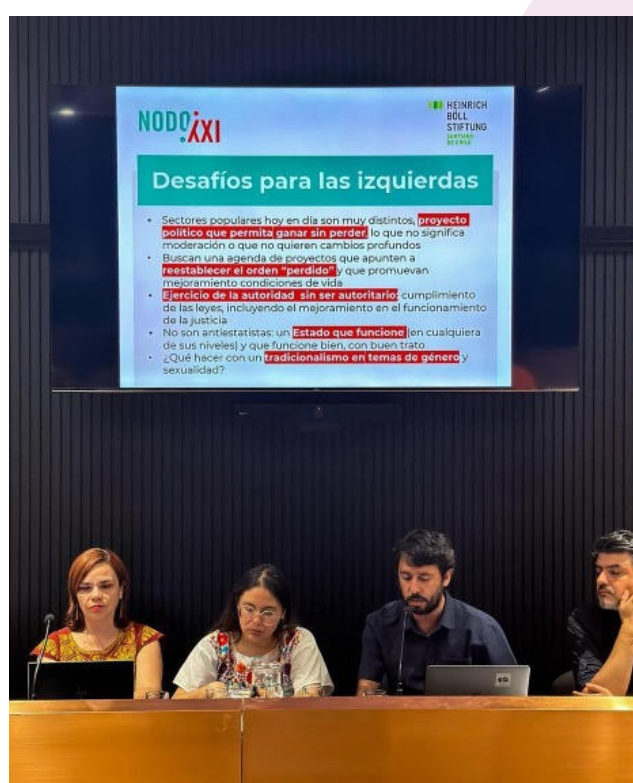
Training, forums, and events



Launch of the study “Winning without losing. On the political pragmatism of new voters from popular sectors in Chile,” held on Tuesday, December 3, at the Academy of Christian Humanism. Event held with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



Launch of the study “Winning without losing.” In the photo: Sebastián Madrid, researcher at Nodo XXI and director of the study.



Launch of the study “Winning without losing.” In the photo, members of the study’s panel of commentators. From left to right: Ximena Jara (political communication expert), Natalia Cuevas (Councilwoman for Recoleta), Nicolás Angelcos (University of Chile), and Felipe Muñoz (Mayor of Estación Central).

Training, forums, and events



Presentation of the document **“Towards a social security model in health: Analysis and proposals for the reform of the health system,”** held on December 5 at the Santiago Regional headquarters of the Medical Association. This event was supported by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.



Presentation of the document “Towards a social security model in health.” In the photo, from left to right: Dr. Danae Sinclair (Nodo XXI), Dr. Paula González, President of the Gender and Human Rights Department of the Santiago Regional Medical Association, and Frente Amplio deputy Gael Yeomans.



Presentation of the document “Towards a social security model in health.” In the photo: Dr. Danae Sinclair (Nodo XXI).

Training, forums, and events



Presentation of the document **Solidarity in the contributory pillar of pensions: A progressive approach to discussing reform**, held on December 12 at the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores CUT (United Workers' Union) in Chile. This event was supported by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.



Record of the presentation of the document: "Solidarity in the contributory pension pillar. A progressive approach to discussing reform." In the photo, Raúl Méndez (Nodo XXI).



Presentation of the document: "Solidarity in the contributory pension pillar. A progressive approach to discussing reform." In the photo, from left to right: Camila Miranda (president of Nodo XXI), Juan Riquelme (Secretary for Older Persons of the CUT), Alejandra Krauss (former Minister of Labor and Social Security) and Andrés Giordano (Deputy of Frente Amplio).

Events with other think tanks and foundations

In collaboration with nine left-wing and progressive think tanks, a series of “Municipal Programmatic Laboratories for Good Practices” were held and a guide for municipal action was developed. Our researchers Natalie Rojas and Ignacio Rengifo were part of this process. This guide

was presented at an event attended by former President Michelle Bachelet.



Launch of the manual “Municipal Programmatic Laboratories for Good Practices.” In the photo: Progressive think tanks with former President Michelle Bachelet.



Camila Miranda and Ignacio Rengifo from Nodo XXI at the launch of the manual on “Municipal Programmatic Laboratories for Good Practices.”

Events with other think tanks and foundations

With this same network of think tanks, we co-organized the seminar **“Progressive Alternatives to Violence and Organized Crime,”** where prominent figures from the political, academic, and local governments gathered to discuss public safety and the challenge of addressing violence and organized crime with evi-

dence, in order to nurture political reflection and contribute to the debate on security. The event took place on April 22 at the Gabriela Mistral Cultural Center.



In the photo, from left to right: Pierina Ferretti, Karla Escobar, Camila Miranda, Nicole Julien, Matías Vallejos, members of Nodo XXI.



The “Progressive Alternatives to Violence and Organized Crime.” seminar

Events with other think tanks and foundations

Another important event we co-organized in 2024 was the Radicalizing Democracy Meeting, promoted by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation - Southern Cone Office and its partners in Chile, which brought together feminist activists from across the country to share diagnoses and strategies for confronting the advance of the new right. The event, held on November 8 and 9, was well attended, with the participation of feminists from different parts of the country.

Similarly, in an effort to contribute to understanding the issues affecting the continent, we organized the discussion **“Social and political crisis in Peru: assessments and perspectives,”** in conjunction with Fundación Nuestro Sur, based in Peru. At the event, we analyzed the political and social situation in Peru from the fall of the Fujimori regime to the present.



Closing session of the “Radicalizing Democracy” meeting.



Training activities

As a foundation, we participated in the **School of Training in Socialist Feminism**, a joint effort with the Feminist Front of the Frente Amplio political party that sought to strengthen critical thinking and political action from a feminist and socialist perspective. The event was structured in four modules: an inaugural meeting and a closing meeting held in person, along with two modules developed online. These sessions were attended by Natalie

Rojas and Pierina Ferretti from Nodo XXI. During the training, historiographical and theoretical elements were explored, delving into the lives and work of the main exponents of socialist feminism, as well as their legacy for current political and social challenges.

ESCUELA DE FORMACIÓN
**FEMINISTA
SOCIALISTA**

NODO XXI

JORNADA INAUGURAL

**“INTRODUCCIÓN A LOS CONCEPTOS BÁSICOS
DEL FEMINISMO SOCIALISTA”**

PIERINA FERRETTI
DIRECTORA EJECUTIVA
NODO XXI

ANTONIA ORELLANA
MINISTRA DE LA MUJER
Y EQUIDAD DE GÉNERO

SABADO 27
ABRIL | 09:30 HRS

Transmisión
vía YOUTUBE

ESCUELA DE FORMACIÓN
**FEMINISTA
SOCIALISTA**

NODO XXI

MODULO III

**“FEMINISMO SOCIALISTA Y SU IMPACTO
EN EL MOVIMIENTO FEMINISTA”**

VÍA
ZOOM

Jueves 09
MAYO | 19:00 HRS

NATALIA ROJAS
NODO XXI

Training activities



We were also invited by the **Movement for the Defense of Land, Water, and the Environment (MODATIMA)** to speak at their open lecture **“Politics and the Environment,”** held in conjunction with the Open University of Recoleta. We also participated in the **inauguration of the academic year of the Center for Latin American Cultural Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Chile** and in the discussion **“Cross-border perspectives: the far right, why today?”**, organized by the editorial collection **“Cuadernos Memoria y Utopía”** together with the Diploma in Latin American Critical Thinking of the University of Chile.

Training activities

In terms of discussions within the left, we participated in the forum organized by La Casa Común, **“The Party the Left Needs,”** in the presentation of the book **“Imagining the Future. The Left in a New Era”**

by the same foundation, in the discussion organized by Rumbo Colectivo **“What socialism are we talking about?”** and in the conference on the **“Second Socialist Renewal,”** organized by Chile 21.



Presentation of the book “Imagining the Future. The Left in a New Era.” In the photo, from left to right: Manuel Antonio Garretón (La Casa Común), Minister Jeanette Jara, Valeska Naranjo (La Casa Común), Eolo Díaz-Tendero (Horizonte Ciudadano), Camila Miranda (President of Nodo XXI), and Eugenio Rivera (La Casa Común).



Public opinion

Members of our Foundation regularly appear in the press and media to offer their perspective on national events, politics, and specific issues from a progressive and leftist viewpoint, focusing on the promotion of human rights, democracy, and feminism.

We are regular panelists on Estado Nacional (TVN), Mesa de Análisis (Channel 13), Voces del Poder (CNN), País ADN (ADN Radio), Radioanálisis y Política en Vivo (Radio Universidad de Chile), Pauta PM (Radio Pauta), Turno AM and Tercer Turno (Turno Studio).

In addition, we have participated in episodes of 32 Minutos, Provócame, Descabelladas, Última Mirada, Lo que importa, Sonar Global, and Hablemos a las 12.

In the print media, our executive director, Pierina Ferretti, is a regular columnist for El País, and various members of our Foundation have published columns and letters on topics such as pension reform, CAE debt forgiveness, research findings, political reform, and relevant issues in the current political and social context. We are grateful to El Desconcierto, El Ciudadano, and Ciper for their willingness to publish our content.



Camila Miranda, President of Nodo XXI, on the front page of La Segunda newspaper (April 17, 2024).



Pierina Ferretti, Executive Director of Nodo XXI, analyzes the Public Presidential Account on CNN Chile's Última Mirada program.



Pierina Ferretti, Executive Director of Nodo XXI, analyzes the rejection of the first constitutional process on the streaming program Tercer Turno



Pierina Ferretti, Executive Director of Nodo XXI, analyzes the rejection of the first constitutional process on the streaming program Tercer Turno



Dr. Danae Sinclair from Nodo XXI interviewed on the streaming program 32 Minutos about health system reform.

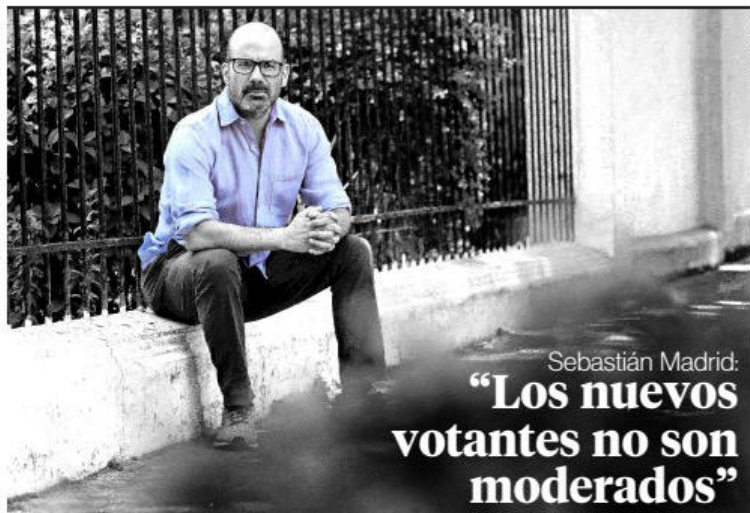


Raúl Mendez from Nodo XXI on the program “Voces del poder” on CNN Chile.



Natalie Rojas from Nodo XXI participates as a panelist on Radioanálisis on Radio Universidad de Chile.

18 Conversación La Segunda martes 10 diciembre 2024



Sebastián Madrid: "Los nuevos votantes no son moderados"

Daniel Rozas

Sebastián Madrid, doctor en Sociología por la Universidad de Sidney, coordinó el estudio "Ganar sin perder" de la Fundación Nodo XXI, que explora cómo el voto obligatorio ha influido en los sectores populares tras el estallido social. Se trató de un trabajo, realizado en agosto en Santiago, con ocho grupos conformados por hombres y mujeres (64 personas) de entre 18 y 45 años. Este conjunto, que representa el 75% de la población, no se identifica como extremista ni moderado, sino que anhela mejoras concretas en su calidad de vida, como buenos sueldos, mayor seguridad y acceso a vivienda. Madrid dice que estos nuevos votantes tienen una visión pragmática de la política y están descontentos con las instituciones tradicionales. Para ellos, la diferencia entre vivir en democracia o dictadura resulta poco significativa. Además, perciben a Chile como un país en declive desde 2010, afectado por el desorden económico, la crisis de seguridad y una inmigración descontrolada, lo que ha generado pesimismo y una sensación de pérdida del orden previo.

A pesar de este panorama, el investigador senior de la Fundación Crea Equidad y profesor de las universidades Alber-

El sociólogo coordinó un estudio de la Fundación Nodo XXI, que exploró a los nuevos votantes surgidos del voto obligatorio en sectores populares. "Aunque valoran la democracia, sienten que ésta no mejora sus condiciones de vida ni los representa", dice.

to Hurtado y Diego Portales, es optimista sobre la irrupción de liderazgos populares en futuras elecciones presidenciales. Según él, los votantes de los segmentos socioeconómicos entre el E y el C2 han desarrollado una cautela política tras el estallido social y los dos procesos constituyentes, y son escépticos frente a proyectos extremos.

"La marcha ahora se ve ineficaz"

—Se ha dicho que el comportamiento electoral de los votantes tendió a la moderación después de las elec-

ciones. No obstante, según una encuesta de Pulso Ciudadano, Johannes Kaiser se posiciona como la cuarta preferencia pensando en las elecciones presidenciales. ¿La irrupción de Kaiser no desmentiría la tesis de la moderación?

—Nuestro estudio revela que los nuevos votantes de sectores populares, personas de la cuota alta del estrato E a la cuota baja del C2; que viven en la periferia de Santiago, cuyos ingresos fluctúan entre 300 mil y 1.300.000 al mes y que representan el 75% de la población, no son extremistas ni moderados, pero tampoco centristas. Este grupo es diverso y está compuesto por personas con educación media y que trabajan en empleos manuales que buscan cambios profundos: mejores salarios, trabajos dignos, acceso a vivienda y mayor seguridad frente al desorden social, la violencia y la inmigración descontrolada. Ellos quieren que se ejerza la autoridad pero sin autoritarismo, y les da lo mismo si el Gobierno es democristiano o autoritario. Tienen demandas que vienen desde antes del estallido y quieren que se resuelvan sus problemas materiales con soluciones viables. Ropa para la suma: no son moderados. Y lo que pasó en las elecciones es que los votantes se definieron por los rasgos personales de los candidatos. Por ejemplo, ni Mondaca ni Toledo son moder-

ados. Pero eso no significa que la moderación sea sinónimo de falta de deseo de cambios profundos. Eso sigue latente.

—Según el estudio, los sectores populares perciben un desorden en su vida cotidiana. Creen que el estallido implicó altos costos para el país y casi ningún beneficio. Según el informe PNUE 2024, un 68% de las personas declara estar poco o nada dispuesta a organizarse para lograr un objetivo compartido. ¿Para los sectores populares se acabó la épica de las marchas?

—Ahora ven que la cosa está desordenada. Pero no es que quieran volver a un estado anterior, sino que lo que pasa es que este desorden reconfiguró los mapas mentales de los sectores populares que durante 40 años tuvieron que generar estrategias individuales y familiares para sobrevivir. Hay promesas incumplidas. Entonces este desorden, sobre todo con el tema de los migrantes, les cambió los reglas del juego. Hay una desilusión con la épica de lo que fue el estallido social. El estallido fue el peak de más de una década de movilización en la sociedad donde hubo un rediseñamiento del otro porque se compartieron los mismos problemas. Después eso se trunca, pandemia mediante. Pasamos de la explosión social al retraimiento por el virus. En los relatos de los grupos focales hay de-

Sebastián Madrid of Nodo XXI interviewed in La Segunda about the study "Winning without losing. The political pragmatism of popular voters in Chile."

Jorge Arrate, Integrante de Nodo XXI:

Los desafíos de las izquierdas chilenas en el presente



Jorge Arrate from Nodo XXI interviewed on the program Hablemos a las 12 on T13 Radio.

NODO XXI
Análisis político



Héctor Ríos Jara from Nodo XXI participates in the program Radioanálisis on Radio Universidad de Chile.

Juan Pablo Orrego, researcher at Nodo XXI, on El Desconcierto.



Funding

Nodo XXI's funds come from institutions and individuals who provide financing for the organization's projects, research, and advocacy.

- These include contributions from international organizations and foundations through collaborative projects.

- From the completion of labour union studies.
- From smaller donations from individuals.
- And, above all, from the donation of time and work by those who are members of and collaborate with Nodo XXI.

The budget for the 2022 period is detailed below.

Item	Detalle	Monto
Income	Contracts for project implementation	55,076,544
	Medico International	25,501,750
	Public Services International	5,611,594
	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation	5,983,200
	Heinrich Boll Foundation	12,410,000
	Friedrich Ebert Foundation	5,570,000
	Other income	6,012,141
	Donations from individuals	33,250,490
Total Income		94,339,175
Expenditure	Administration (office leasing and maintenance, basic services, etc.)	24,018,102
	Project implementation (expenses for activities, fees and wages, goods and services ¹)	47,112,589
	Wages for the Foundation's Board of Directors and staff	24,387,566
	Other expenses	2,873,603
	Communications and institutional promotion	8,458,358
Total Expenditure		106,850,218

¹With regard to this amount, it should be noted that in the case of the Medico International 2024 project, funding is expected to be received during that year, but activities will be carried out during 2024 and 2025.

Funding

Item	Individuals	Total income 2024 (CLP)
Monthly contributions under 150,000	10	8,875,000
Monthly contributions between 150,000 y 450,000	5	13,655,490
Monthly contributions between 450,000 y 800,000	2	10,720,000
Total donations	17	33,250,490

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