

LLYC  
IDEAS



BETWEEN  
CONTINUITY  
AND CHANGE



**CHILE**  
2025 NOVEMBER

# Chile at the polls

## Chileans went to vote: continuity or change?

### **What Chile already decided, and what remains to be decided?**

This Sunday, November 16, Chileans went to the polls for the first round of the presidential elections and determined that Jeannette Jara (Communist Party) and José Antonio Kast (Republican Party) will compete for the Presidency in a runoff on December 14. Although right-wing candidates collectively secured more votes in this first round—while the left failed to reach 30%—questions remain regarding the choices of voters who supported the third-place candidate, Franco Parisi (People's Party), and the more moderate Evelyn Matthei (UDI Party). Parisi has already stated that both candidates will have to “earn the people’s vote,” while Matthei was quick to congratulate Kast, promptly visiting his campaign headquarters.



Regardless of whether the winner turns out to be the candidate of change or continuity, Chileans have already determined through the legislative elections that whoever takes office will govern with a **Congress that remains fragmented, yet with a conservative majority in the lower house, and a Senate that is ideologically tied**, although, as always, more constrained by its nature as a chamber of territorial representation. If Kast is elected, it would be the first time since the 1990s that a right-wing candidate could govern with a Chamber of Deputies also holding a conservative majority. However, the final arithmetic could give the **Partido de la Gente, with its 14 deputies**, a key role in all legislative negotiations, especially those requiring four sevenths approval in Congress, even if its 14 members do not ultimately act as a cohesive bloc.

**Fragmentation will force La Moneda palace to negotiate initiative by initiative**, suggesting that the legislative agenda will remain equally divided. This may slow progress on measures related to **fiscal and labor policy, the fight against crime, organized criminal networks, and illicit trade**, as well as on projects aimed at unlocking sectors that are deeply important to the Chilean economy such as **energy, mining, and the development of transportation or technological infrastructure**. This situation is not new: outgoing President **Gabriel Boric** saw his popularity collapse after failing to secure congressional approval for much of his electoral platform, which required structural reforms through amendments to organic laws that never received the necessary votes.

According to financial analysts, these elections reflect a transition toward a more favorable cycle for the market. Despite ongoing uncertainty surrounding the presidential runoff in December, the right-wing majority, at least in the Lower House, signals a trend that could benefit **public security bills and initiatives aimed at driving economic growth in the country**. Moreover, if José Antonio Kast wins, the Government could hypothetically count on a relatively significant parliamentary base.

## ELECTORAL CLIMATE AND CAMPAIGN DEVELOPMENTS

Under a climate of government fatigue, combined with a fragmented representation in Parliament, the electorate voted for the **two presidential candidates who will compete in the December 14 election, as well as for the 155 members of the Chamber of Deputies and 23 seats in the Senate.**

Chile went through presidential and parliamentary elections in the context of a Government **facing low public approval**<sup>1</sup>, with a program that promoted social transformations but remained unfulfilled due to the rejection of key reforms. This was compounded by a failed second constitutional process, a weakened Executive administration affected by various scandals involving abuse of power and corruption, along with the resignations of prominent figures from the ministerial cabinet to pursue electoral ambitions.

Congress also played a key role in this election, shaping the **new configuration of parliamentary majorities required by the next presidential administration.** Currently, the chambers are led by the opposition, which holds **81 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 28 in the Senate.**

The fragmentation of the Chilean political system, with **24 registered parties and only 19 holding parliamentary representation**, has influenced the initiatives pushed by the Government, forcing a politics of negotiation between an opposition driving its own agenda and a minority governing coalition.

Unlike electoral processes of the past 13 years, these elections stood out due to **compulsory voting.** According to data from the Servicio Electoral (Servel), **the eligible voter roll consists of 15.779.102 people**, opening space for analysis on how traditionally disengaged voters, who tend not to participate due to disinterest in politics, would behave. This behavior, difficult for analysts to predict, contributed to the surprises seen in this election. The election results favored the current opposition and opened a cycle focused on

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<sup>1</sup> According to Public Studies Center Survey No. 95, President Gabriel Boric's approval rating between September and October reached 28%, compared with 62% disapproval.

political priorities<sup>2</sup> such as **public security and order, economic growth, fiscal stability, migration, and positioning the country** within a polarized global environment.

## WHAT WAS VOTED ON?

- Chile held a new electoral process to elect a new President of the Republic and renew the members of the Chamber of Deputies and the 50% Senate.
- In the presidential election, **eight candidates competed, representing a wide spectrum of political views**, from the far left to the conservative right, including recurring candidates in this election and an independent outside the traditional political environment. The final polls before the November 16 election correctly predicted that **Jeannette Jara (Communist Party) would be the frontrunner, followed by José Antonio Kast (Republican)**, who would move on to the December 14 runoff. The final result showed a narrower-than-expected difference between them, and no one anticipated the strong performance of **Franco Parisi (Peoples Party)**, who placed third and whose voters could sway the outcome of the runoff.
- In the legislative election, **five electoral agreements were registered**: a broad left-wing list, two right-wing pacts (center-right and radical right), another left-wing bloc rooted in social movements, and the coalition of ecological parties. These groups competed alongside candidates from other parties represented in Congress and independents, **reflecting the political fragmentation of the country**.

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<sup>2</sup>According to the survey, the main issue is public insecurity. Health also stands out due to the urgent need to reduce waiting times, and in third place is Employment, due to the rise in unemployment.

- Voters also elected the **renewal of the 155 seats in the Chamber of Deputies** across all regions of the country, who will begin their legislative term for the 2026–2030 period. Meanwhile, 23 Senate seats were defined across seven regions: three in the north, two in the central zone, and two in the south, whose senators will begin eight-year terms. Ideologically, the result shows a technical tie of 25 to 25 across the left–right axis, although territorial dynamics traditionally shape voting patterns in this chamber.

## THE GOVERNMENT TRANSITION

- Gabriel Boric’s Government (2022–2026) is entering the final stretch of its term in a challenging environment for the parties of the governing coalition, represented by an extreme-left candidate from the Communist party (Jeannette Jara), who will face a radical-right candidate from the Republican (José Antonio Kast) in the upcoming presidential runoff on December 14. The result will define the country’s trajectory for the next four years, along with the roles each sector will assume as government/continuity and opposition/change.
- The President began his leadership as a student movement leader in 2011 and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for two consecutive terms—first as an independent in 2014 and later as a member of the Frente Amplio (FA), a political coalition founded in 2017 that emerged as a new left led by young figures. He served as a deputy until 2021, when he was nominated as a presidential candidate and won the runoff against the same **José Antonio Kast, who is running for the presidency for the third consecutive election.**
- As a leader of the left, Boric promoted a program of social transformations supported by a constituent process. **The latter was rejected in a 2022 plebiscite,** which led him to reorganize his platform and strengthen his government team with leaders from the social democratic left previously heavily criticized by his coalition thereby broadening the governing alliance. Some milestones of his administration include **the pension reform, the public security agenda, labor policies, measures for economic stabilization, and social initiatives.**



## PARLIAMENTARY BALANCE OF POWER

- The four years of Gabriel Boric's administration were marked by milestones such as the **rejection of the tax reform** bill during the second year of his term, **the approval of a pension reform in his third year in office**, and **the prioritization of processing a stock of security-related initiatives**.
- From March 2022 to September 2025, **Congress processed 445 initiatives**. Of this total, **51.9% originated from parliamentary motions** and 48.1% from bills introduced through presidential messages.
- Furthermore, the Chamber of Deputies, in its oversight role regarding Government actions, initiated **eight constitutional accusations against cabinet ministers**, although all were dismissed in the plenary session. The latest accusation was lodged against the former **Minister of Energy, Diego Pardow**, following the rate-setting process that resulted in a **surcharge on electricity services**. This proceeding is set to continue after election day. Another defining feature of the current legislative term in this body has been the **involvement of eight sitting parliamentarians in investigations by the Public Prosecutor's Office**, with some congress members even being detained.
- The Senate, conversely, maintained its composition until March 2025, when Senator Álvaro Elizalde was appointed Minister of the Interior; his vacant seat was assumed by the president of the Socialist Party, Paulina Vodanovic. Also this year, the Upper House was impacted by the **removal of Senator Isabel Allende**, who had served as a parliamentarian for 31 years. Former deputy Tomás De Rementería was appointed to fill that seat.
- To date, **the primary bill under legislative discussion concerns the National Budget for 2026**. The debate began in October with the rejection of 29 budget

items; consequently, its processing will continue over the coming weeks until its final passage.

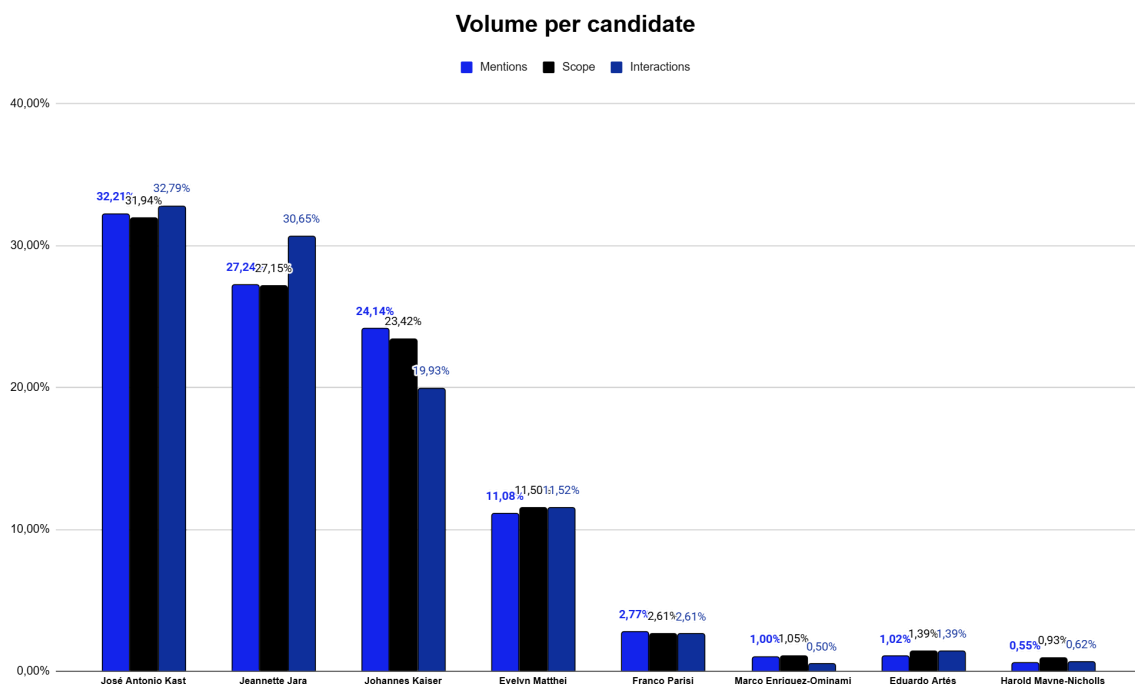




## The Digital Conversation on the Elections

LLYC analyzed 1.9 million social media posts regarding the presidential candidates from the start of the electoral campaigning on October 17 through mid-November, prior to the elections. The analysis metrics included mentions, reach, comments, and a sentiment scale.

Among the main results, it was revealed that candidate **José Antonio Kast** led across all metrics and stood out with the highest volume of interactions (32.7%). Candidate **Jara** followed, registering 30.6% of interactions, with similar figures for mentions and reach. Beyond these two frontrunners, candidate Johannes Kaiser stood out in third place, doubling the results of candidate Evelyn Matthei, who took the fourth position. Furthermore, the digital research revealed that the remaining candidates did not register above 3%.



# LLYC IDEAS

The digital conversation on social media remained stable until the days leading up to November 11, **when the National Television Association (Anatel) presidential debate was held. During this period, volume ranged between 50,000 and 60,000 posts, led by candidates José Antonio Kast and Jeannette Jara.** The candidacies of Evelyn Matthei and Johannes Kaiser were also notable, as they ranked third on different days.

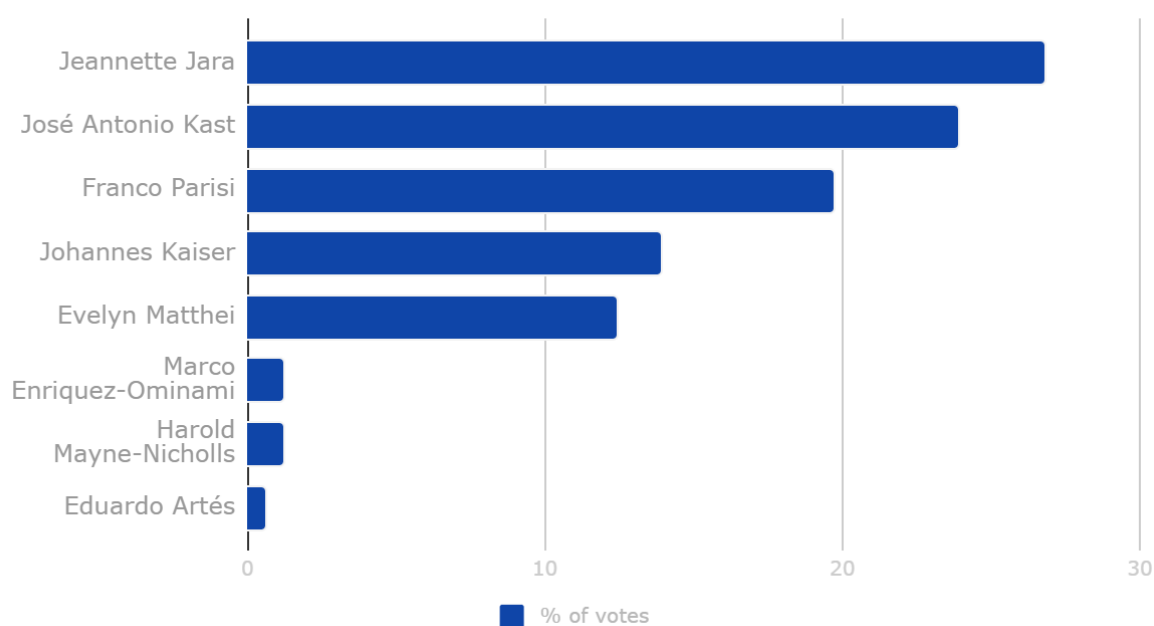
Based on this conversation, LLYC identified that **security and the economy** were the topics that generated the most mentions across the various candidates, while concepts such as the environment and feminism took a secondary place in the spontaneous conversation. In the digital sphere, the priorities were national stability and economic subsistence.



## Presidential Election Results:

According to the latest bulletin from the Electoral Service, no candidate secured a simple majority; consequently, a second round will be held between the candidates who received the most votes: **Jeannette Jara** and **José Antonio Kast**, who will compete in a runoff on December 14.

### PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS



## The Key Players



### **Jeannette Jara Román**

A lawyer and public administrator from the University of Santiago and former Minister of Labor, Jara is a leader with an extensive track record in the Communist Party (PC). Following her victory in the 2025 primary elections, she became the ruling coalition's candidate.

Jara was a trade union leader in the public sector. During the second administration of former President Michelle Bachelet, she was appointed Undersecretary of Social Security, and under President Gabriel Boric's mandate, she assumed the role of Minister of Labor. Her tenure was highlighted by her efforts to promote the 40-Hour Work Week Law and the increase in the minimum wage.

- The candidate obtained nearly 3.5 million votes, securing the highest majority with 26.9% of the vote. Her main challenge lies in expanding her electorate for the runoff in an adverse context with fewer opportunities to gain additional votes.
- Digital analysis indicates that the candidate has registered a volume of mentions exceeding 500,000 posts on social media and more than 2.5 million interactions across various content disseminated over the last few weeks.

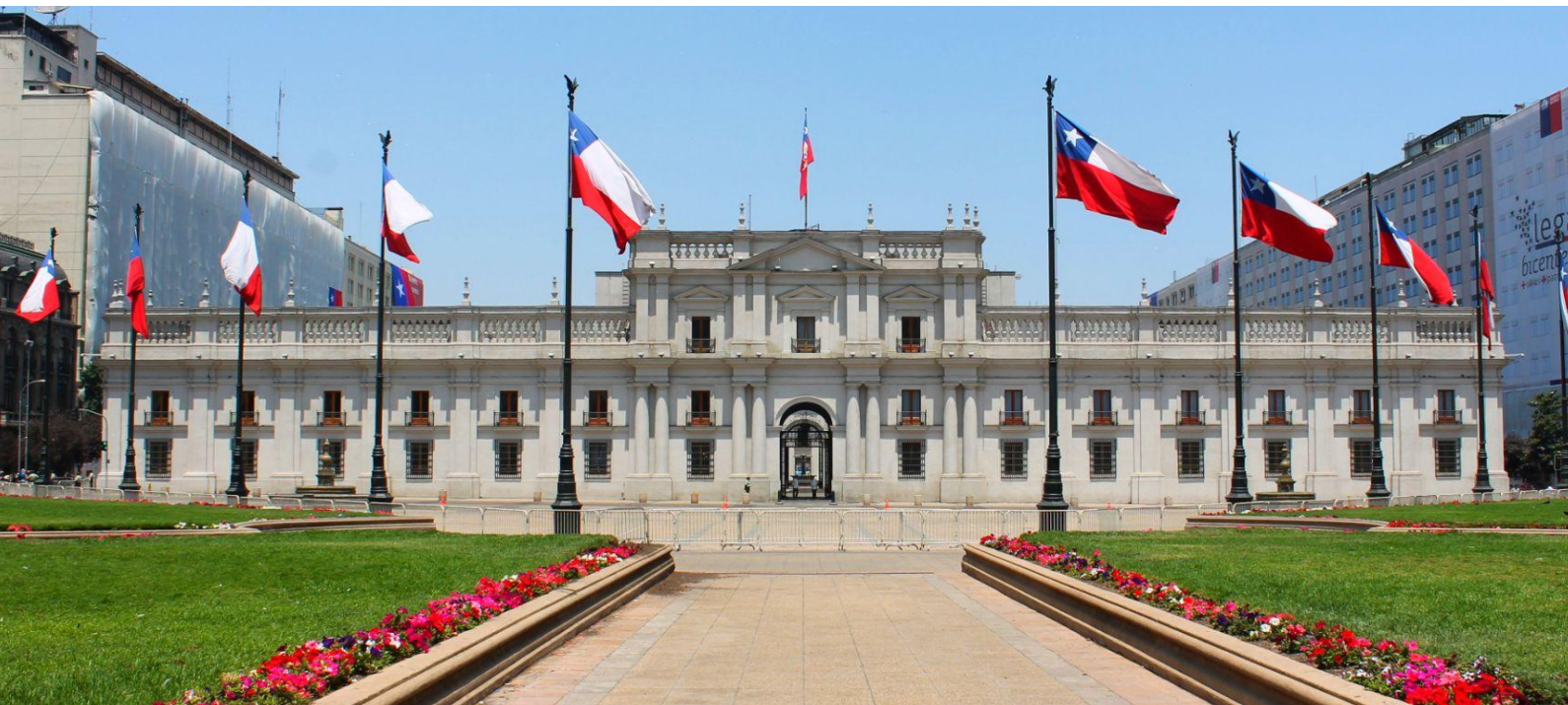




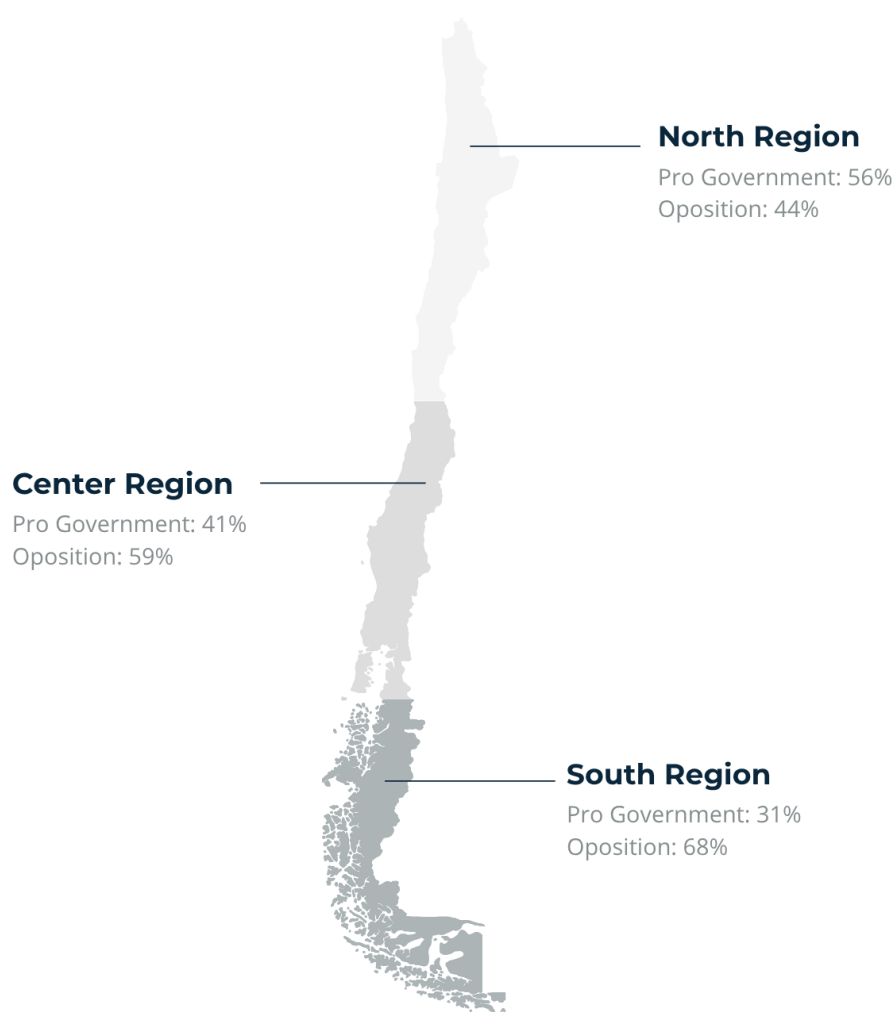
## José Antonio Kast Rist

A lawyer from the Catholic University and leader of the Republican Party, Kast is a politician with an extensive career beginning in the 1980s, including serving as a legislative representative for four consecutive terms. In the last three elections, he was his party's presidential candidate, and in the 2021 elections, he advanced to the second round. This election was also characterized by internal division within the right.

- The candidate obtained over **3 million votes**, reaching **23.9%** of the ballots. Furthermore, he received the **endorsement of other right-wing candidates**, which will increase his vote count by adding voters from **Johannes Kaiser** and **Evelyn Matthei** in the runoff.
- According to digital analysis, the candidate registers a mention volume exceeding 600,000 social media posts and over 2 million interactions across various content during the televised electoral campaign period.



## Legislative Election Results: Chamber of Deputies



## Legislative Election Results: Senate



**Tarapacá**

Renzo Trisotti (opposition)  
Danisa Astudillo (Pro government)

**Arica y Parinacota**

Enrique Lee (opposition)  
Vlado Mirosevic (Pro government)

**Atacama**

Yasna Provoste (Pro government)  
Daniella Cicardini (Pro govern.)

**Valparaíso**

Andrés Longton (opposition)  
Karol Cariola (Pro government)  
Arturo Squella (opposition)  
Diego Ibáñez (Pro government)  
Camila Flores (opposition)

**Maule**

Cristian Vial (opposition)  
Paulina Vodanovic (Pro govern.)  
Beatriz Sánchez (Pro govern.)  
Ignacio Urrutia (opposition)  
Andrea Balladares (opposition)

**La Araucanía**

Rodolfo Carter (opposition)  
Vannesa Kaiser (opposition)  
Francisco Huenchumilla (Pro govern)  
Miguel Becker (opposition)  
Ricardo Célis (Pro govern.)

**Aysén**

Miguel Ángel Calisto (opposition)  
Ximena Órdenes (Pro govern.)

## Conclusions

The latest bulletin from the Electoral Service reported a turnout of 13.5 million voters in the elections, a figure that exceeds the first round of the 2021 elections by five million and represents an 85% citizen participation rate following 13 years of voluntary voting.

### **THE FINAL STRETCH**

The upcoming runoff will be a vote-by-vote decision. The candidacies of the three right-wing leaders accumulated 50% of the votes in the first round and suggest an advantage for candidate Kast, whereas candidate Jara obtained 26%, a figure below the Government's approval rating and with fewer possibilities of receiving endorsements from the other candidates.

One unknown that will persist until the second-round results is the "Parisi factor." The candidate who took third place in the presidential election (19.7%) did not commit his support to either Jara or Kast and warned that he would not sign "a blank check" regarding a call to his voters for either candidacy, challenging them instead to "earn the votes."

The candidacies of Jara and Kast will confront their future projects for Chile in a second round marked by a choice between two poles: a transformative left that aspires to deepen social rights versus an ultraconservative right that aims to implement fiscal adjustments and boost economic growth. Furthermore, the candidates must reinforce their plans to combat crime and insecurity as a priority for the citizenry.

### **NEW PARLIAMENTARY CONFIGURATION**

The new legislative map will be led by the right in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate—an unprecedented event since the return to democracy in 1990—and in a scenario that represents advantages for candidate José Antonio Kast given the strength of his coalition in the legislative bodies.

The party that won the most legislative seats in the Lower House and the Senate was the Partido Republicano, which increased its representation with 17 new deputies and six new senators, consolidating itself as the political force with the largest representation in Congress.

One of the keys to the election also lies in the role that the Partido de la Gente will assume as a "hinge" (kingmaker) between the ruling coalition and the opposition, although leaning more favorably toward the latter. This collective without a traditional political home managed to elect six members to the Chamber of Deputies in 2021, although they gradually resigned from the party. With Sunday's results, it will now hold 14 seats, renewing a "people's caucus" in the body and transforming into a sector that will likely be courted by both coalitions.

For instance, in matters of constitutional reforms and modifications to organic laws, the Partido de la Gente (People's Party) will play a strategic role in the body to block or endorse reforms promoted by the caucuses, given the established 4/7 quorum.

In contrast, the other parties obtained meager results that risk their continuity in Parliament. The pact that lost the most seats compared to the last elections was the center-right, whose seats were taken by the radical right, while the broad center-left list preserved strategic seats for its caucus and maintained the trajectory of its leaders. Finally, the mobilized left pact failed to obtain a seat.

All in all, while Congress will have a conservative majority, the right does not reach the votes required for a simple majority in either the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate. Therefore, legislative discussion will be defined by the capacity to reach agreements with sectors that generated the 'surprise factor' of these elections, such as the Partido de la Gente and other independent figures. This aligns with the tone of fragmentation and polarization seen in the Chilean Parliament in recent years and shapes up to be a significant challenge for whoever assumes leadership of La Moneda on March 11.

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