

# **The Economics of the Pinochet Dictatorship**

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# Lecture 3: Life under dictatorship

- Pop culture censorship
- Slum clearance
- Women centers

# Pop culture censorship

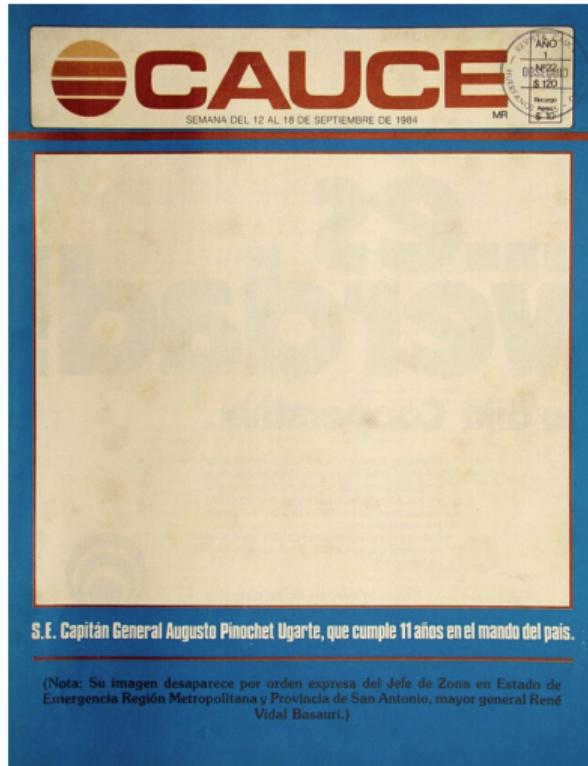
Jane Esberg (2020)

- ▶ Similar to repression, censorship reduces and silences opponents through press and internet controls
- ▶ But dictators also seek to ensure the support of their backing coalition
- ▶ Censorship of popular culture can serve as a policy reward to authoritarian supporters



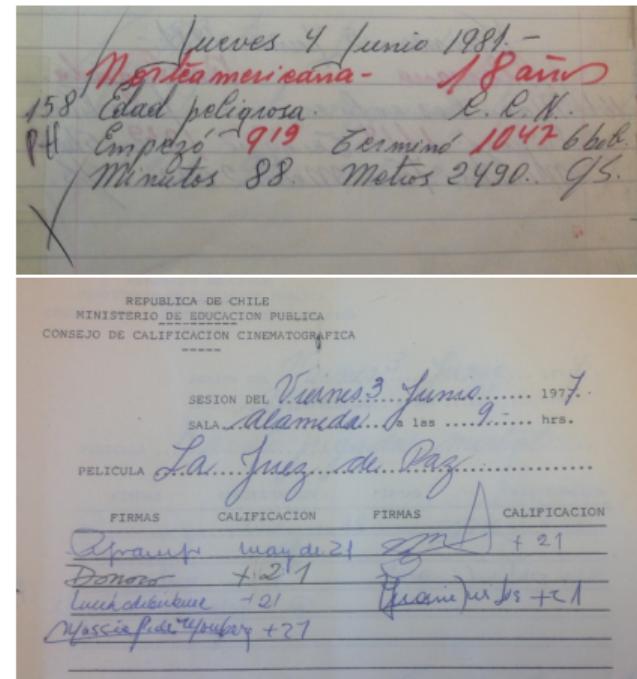
# Censorship under Pinochet

- ▶ Media censorship was widespread but there were still opposition radios, magazines, and newspapers
- ▶ Many individuals support prohibitions as a form of social good. Dictators can use pop culture bans to highlight the benefit of autocracy to supporters
- ▶ Pinochet should target not only political material but also content judged immoral by the standards of the conservative



# Film censorship

- ▶ Pinochet's upper-class and conservative supporters viewed pop culture censorship as part of their broader social agenda
- ▶ Data from 8,000 films reviewed for distribution under Pinochet, from Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica (CCC)
- ▶ Censorship targeted sexual content, material considered morally taboo, and some especially violent materials



# Supporters and film censorship

- ▶ The regime drew support from conservative Catholic organizations, most significantly the sect Opus Dei and lay group Tradition, Family, and Property (TFP)
- ▶ Support offered 3 central benefits:
  - support from base (e.g., elite schools)
  - moral legitimization
  - influential within government
- ▶ Opus Dei and TFP actively pursued pop culture censorship, clearly revealed after democratization



# Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica (CCC)

- ▶ Council rated every movie submitted for domestic distribution. Pinochet reform in 1974 and enshrined functions in 1980
- ▶ Ratings: All, 14, 18,  $\geq 21$ , or banned. Five (then 19) councilors watched every film. Decisions enforced through inspections
- ▶ 4 types of movies to censor:
  - ideas contrary to nation values (marxism)
  - offends state with int'l relations
  - contrary to morality/order
  - induce antisocial behavior



# Data sources

- ▶ CCC: 10,698 movies reviewed in 1938-1994: title, date reviewed, and rating
- ▶ Notebooks recording reviews, a practice that began in 1977
- ▶ Expedientes: documents filled out by the censors themselves directly after watching a film or advertisement (1970-1989)
- ▶ IMDb: 91% of movies were matched to IMDb pages

The image shows two documents related to film reviews.

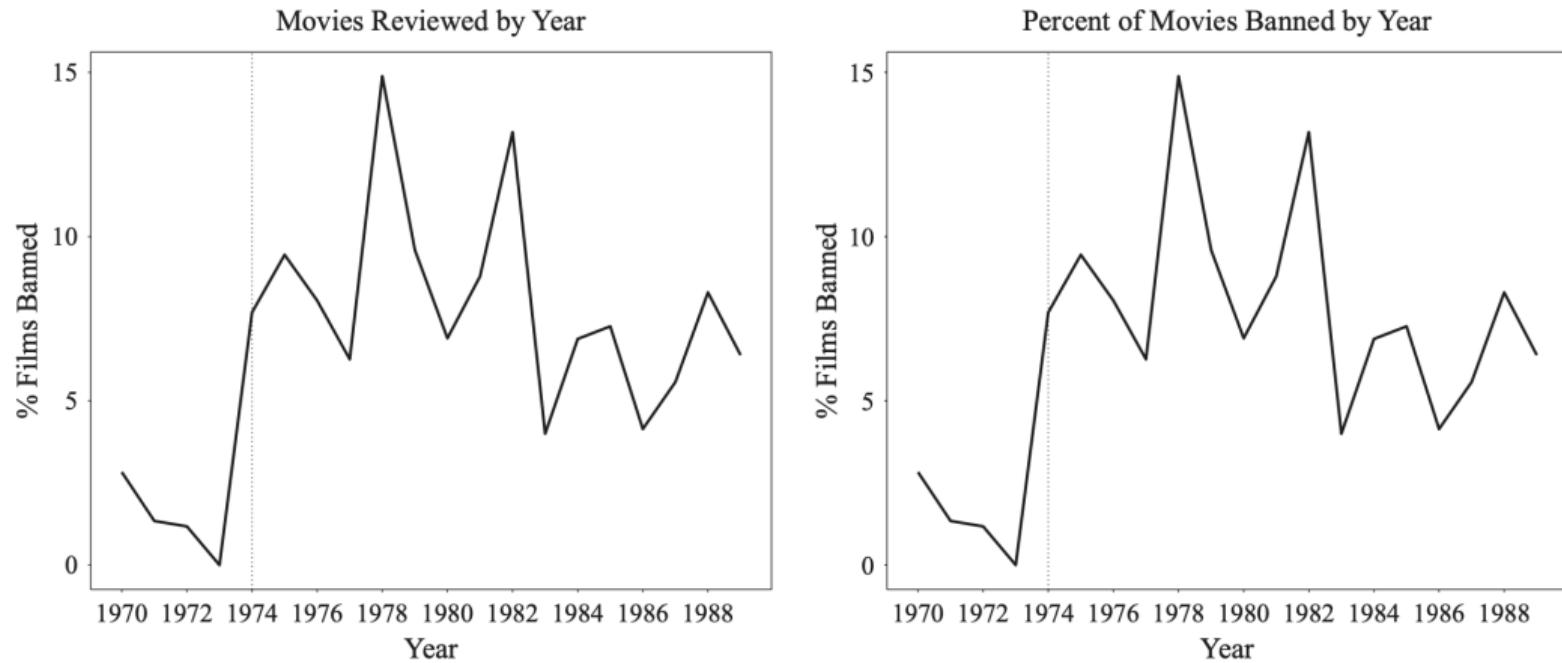
The top document is a handwritten note in Spanish. It includes the date "jueves 4 junio 1981", the title "Montañamericana", the rating "18 años", and other details like "158", "ciudad peligrosa", "P.H.", "Empezó 9:19", "Terminó 10:47", "6 bob.", "Minutos 88.", "Metros 2490.", and "G5". There is also a large checkmark on the left.

The bottom document is a printed stamp from the "CONSEJO DE CALIFICACION CINEMATOGRAFICA" of Chile. It specifies a session on "Viernes 3 Junio 1977" at "SALA Alameda" at "9 hrs.". The movie listed is "La Juez de Paz". The stamp includes columns for "FIRMAS" and "CALIFICACION" for both the director ("Apapunt" with "mayor 21") and the censor ("Domingo" with "12+1", "Luis Alberto" with "12+", and "Mascia fide y prob" with "12+").

**TABLE 1. Selection of Banned Movies**

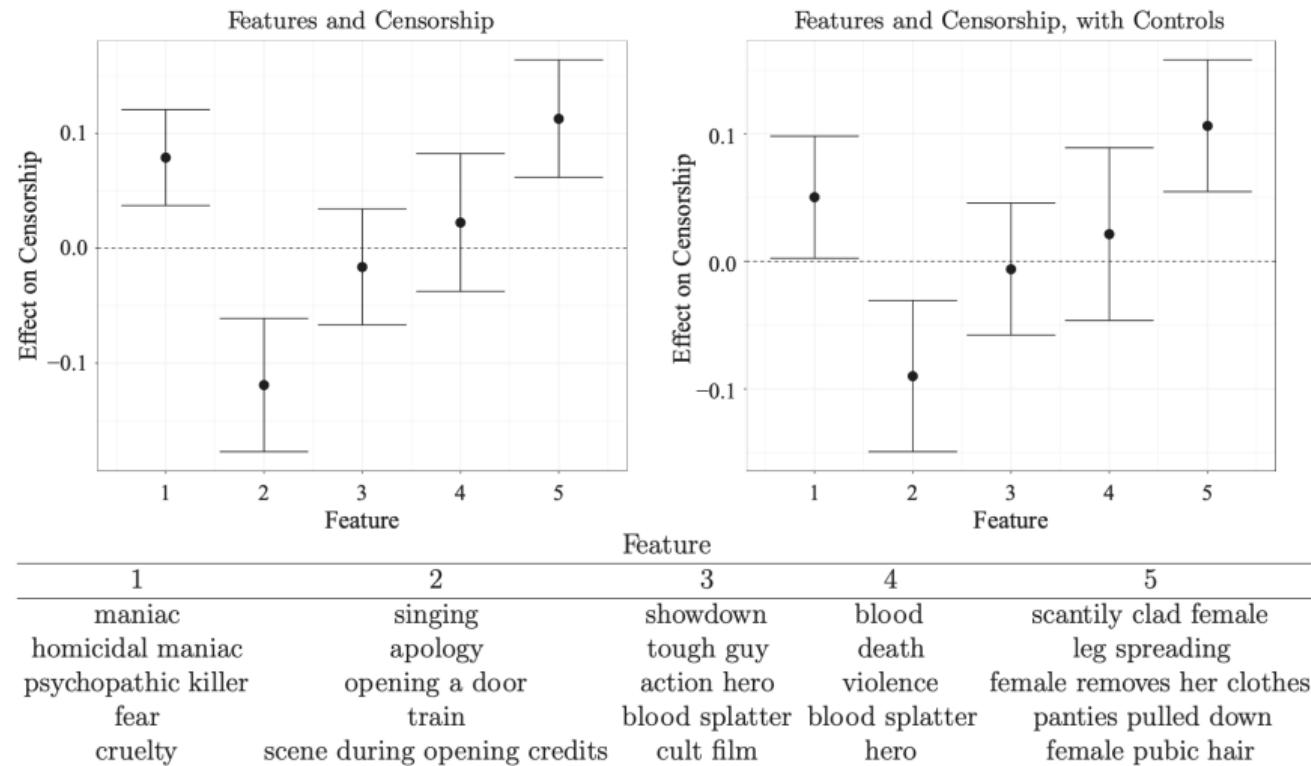
Title	IMDb Short Description
<i>I Spit on Your Grave</i>	"An aspiring writer is repeatedly gang-raped, humiliated, and left for dead by four men whom she systematically hunts down to seek revenge."
<i>Women in Cell Block 7</i>	"A woman goes behind bars in order to save her father's life."
<i>Kill Squad</i>	"A woman is killed. A man is paralyzed. His buddies come for revenge."
<i>Konketsuji Rika</i>	"First film of a trilogy following the dramatic life of Rika, a half-Japanese/half-American woman who becomes the tough-as-nails leader of an all-girl crime gang."
<i>Eyes of a Stranger</i>	"A reporter suspects a creepy neighbor, who lives in the high-rise building across from hers, is a serial killer terrorizing the Miami area."

**FIGURE 3. Movies Reviewed and Banned by Year**



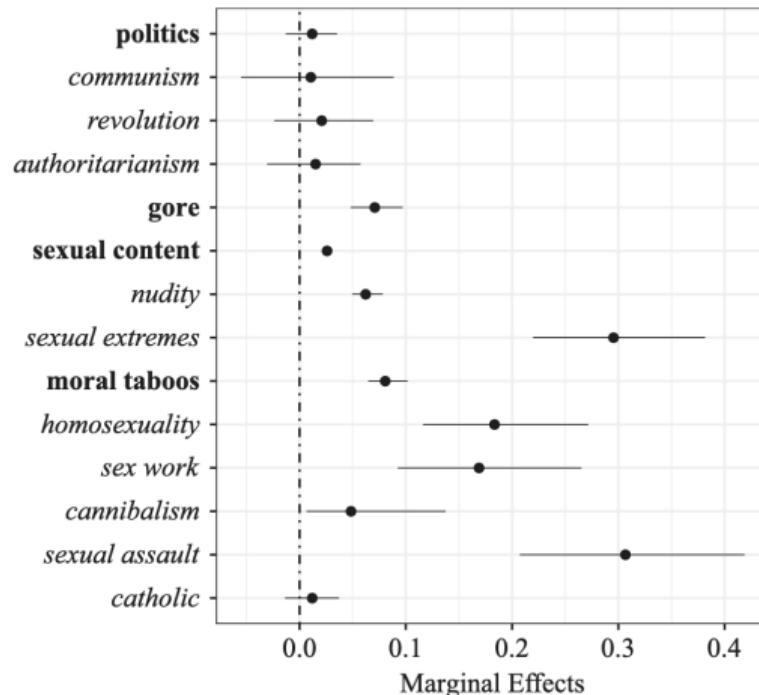
*Note:* Censorship increased dramatically in 1974, when the CCC was reformed.

**FIGURE 4. sIBP Features and Censorship**



*Note: N = 6,361. The bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Genre, year, number of keywords, and video were controls. Films with gore and sexual content (Features 1 and 5) are most likely to be banned.*

**FIGURE 5. Censorship and Film Content**



**TABLE 2. Percentage of Censorship Before and After Democratization**

	1985– 1989	1990– 1993	Difference
All movies	8.21	4.23	3.98***
Nonpolitical movies	8.45	4.41	3.8***
Immoral movies	11.34	6.48	4.86***
<b>Pinochet Censors</b>			
	1989	1990	Difference
All movies	7.12	3.62	3.49***
Nonpolitical movies	7.53	3.82	3.72***
Immoral movies	10.5	5.75	4.75***

Note: Difference in means by using *t*-tests. Although no formal rules changed outside political content, censorship falls by nearly half after democratization. This holds when comparing 1989 and 1990, when all censors were Pinochet-appointed. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

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# Slum clearance

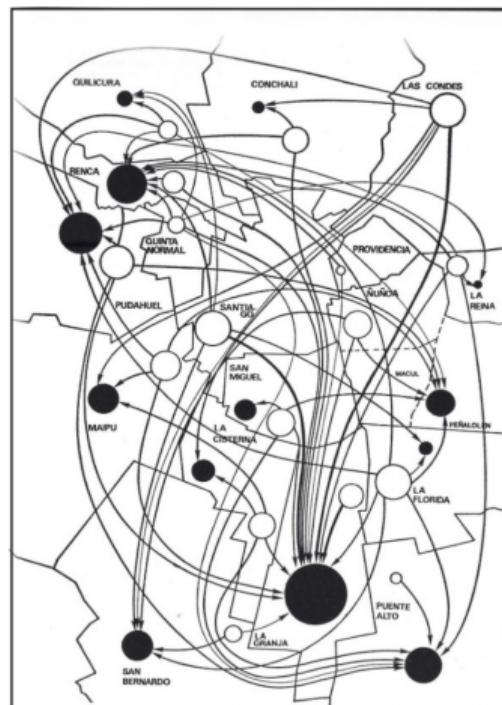
Rojas-Ampuero and Carrera (2023)

- ▶ Many countries provide low-income housing in city peripheries and suburban areas.  
What is the impact on recipients?
- ▶ Trade-off: Housing quality vs job proximity, social networks, public goods, schools, health provision
- ▶ Alternative policy: Upgrade housing on-site



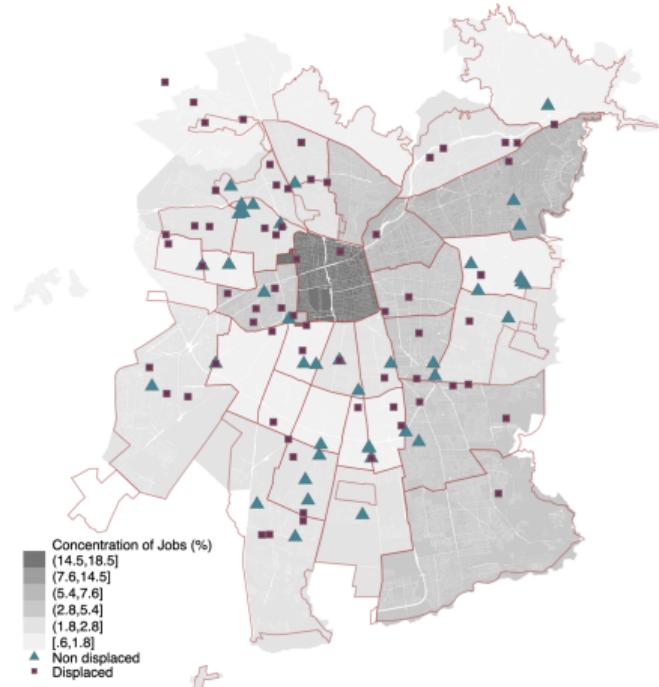
# Programa para la Marginalidad Urbana

- ▶ Slum clearance policy implemented under Pinochet between 1979 and 1985.  
Affected 5% of population in Santiago
- ▶ Some slums were upgraded into neighborhoods (non-displaced), others were relocated to suburban areas (displaced)
- ▶ Displaced families were disproportionately moved to low-income municipalities on the periphery of the city

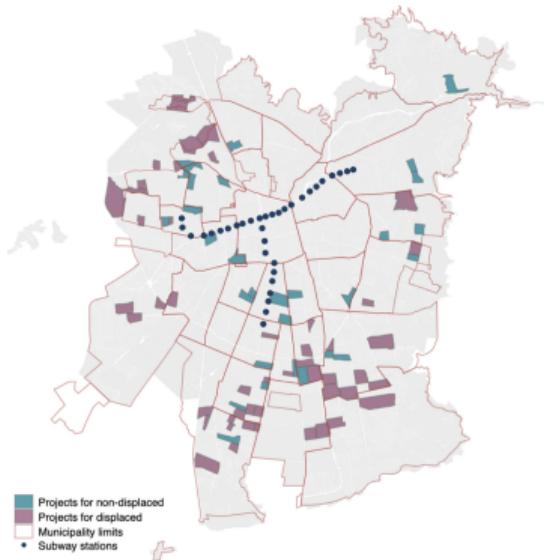


# Data

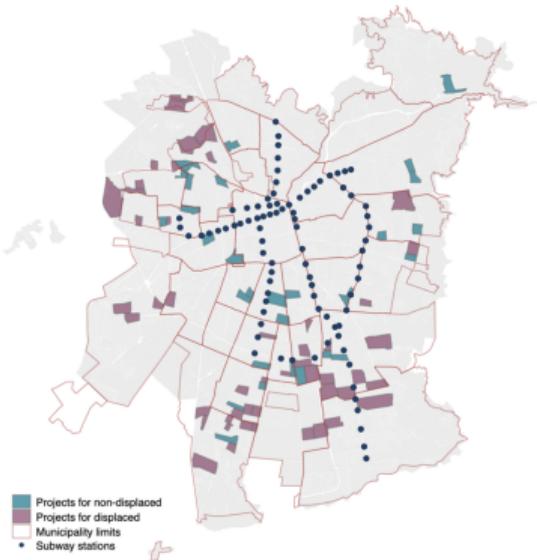
- ▶ Slum censuses in 1979 and 1984, classify slums as displaced or non-displaced.  
Archival data for families in the program
- ▶ Data with information on children and parents from displaced and non-displaced slums 20-40 years after the policy
  - birth certificates +18yr old in 2016
- ▶ +16,000 treated families: Employment, labor earnings, years of schooling. +33,000 were 0-18 yrs old in 1979-1985



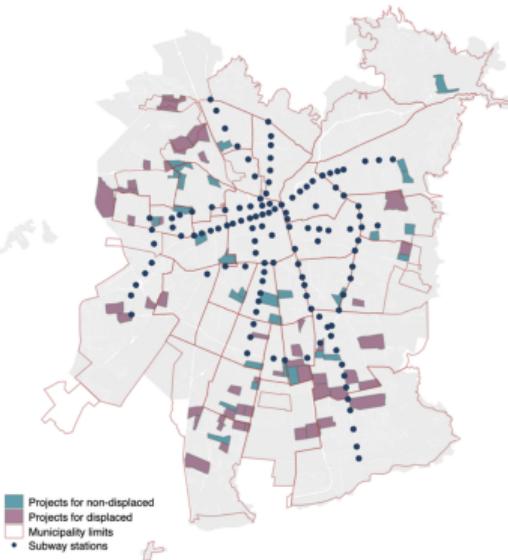
# Public housing projects and subway stations



(a) Subway in 1980



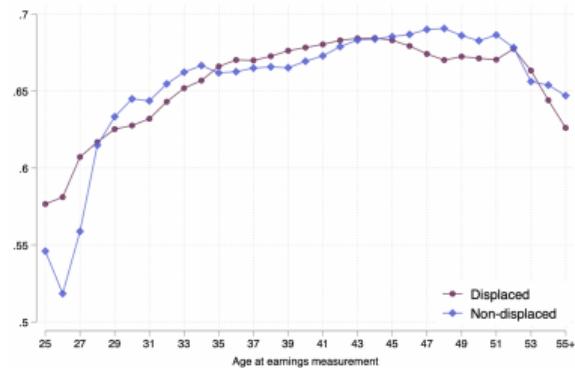
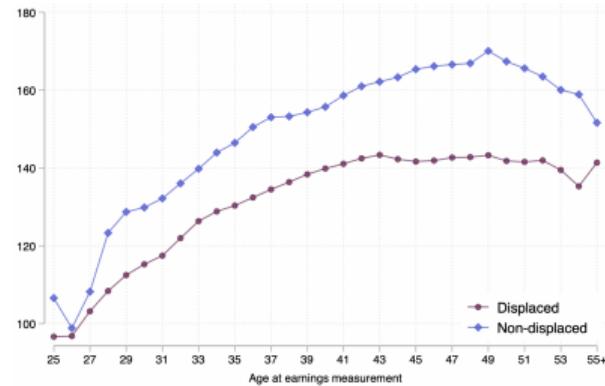
(b) Subway in 2006



(c) Subway in 2019

# Results

- ▶ Displaced children earn 9% less across their life cycle. Explained by employment quality (informal temporary jobs)
- ▶ Displaced children lose 0.7 yrs of education, 17% less likely to graduate from high school
- ▶ 80% of effect explained by poverty, distance to original location (subway), lower social capital. Not access to school



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# Dictators and social organizations

González, Prem, von Dessauer (2023)

- ▶ Dictatorships aim to control the population: censorship, repression, and building coalition of supporters
- ▶ Despite the importance of social organizations for unrest and support, their role has been relatively overlooked
- ▶ Dictators dismantle or control social organizations to their advantage. Let's examine women organizations in Chile



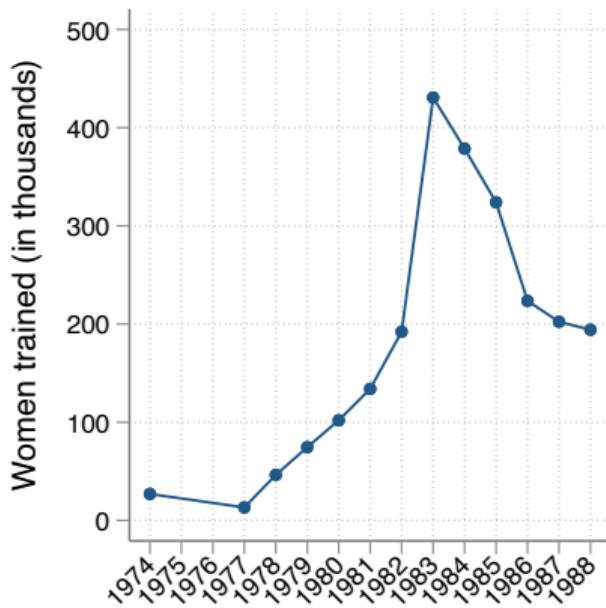
# Women centers under dictatorship

- ▶ CEMA was a non-profit founded in the 1950s to “support the spiritual and material development of chilean women”
- ▶ Lucia Hiriart expanded its reach across the country. Financed by national lottery
- ▶ Local organizations supervised by military wives. Training programs and alleged indoctrination (political and religious)



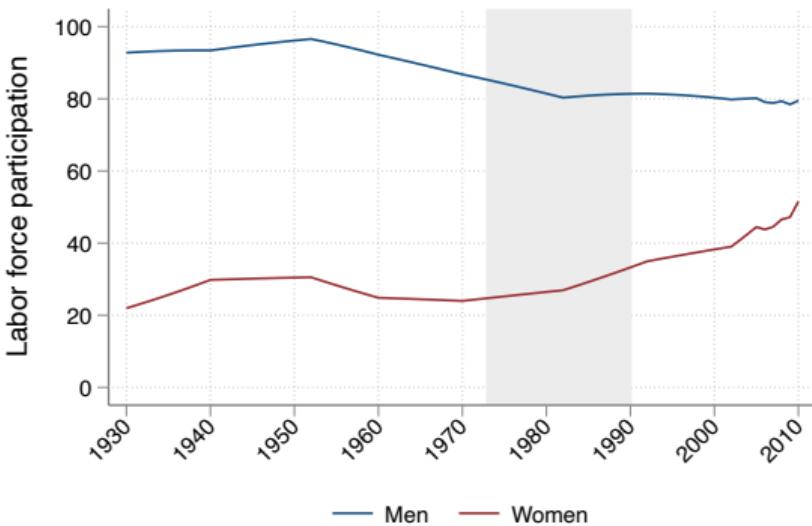
# Training programs

- ▶ The training programs were the most important activity at the centers
  - weaving, sewing, cooking, etc
- ▶ Programs delivered by renowned higher education institutions at centers
- ▶ These programs trained 10% of working-age women who were out of the labor force in 1982



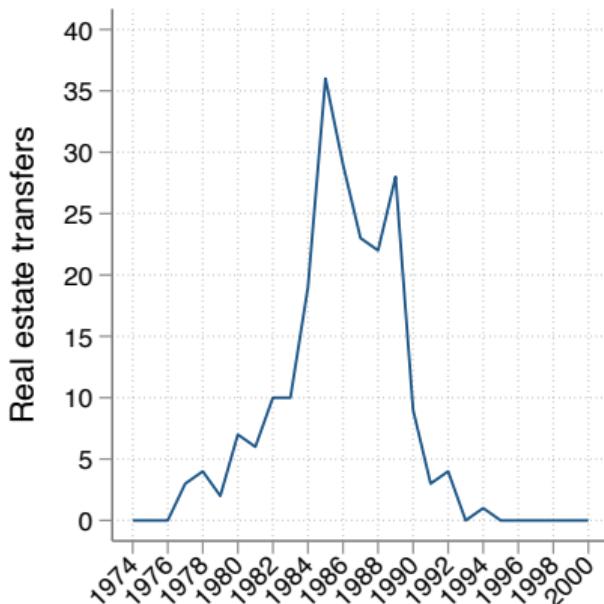
# Labor force participation of women

- ▶ Labor force of women has increased markedly in the last 60 years in Chile
- ▶ The increase began and continued during and after the Pinochet dictatorship
- ▶ We evaluate the role of women centers, managed and enhanced by Lucia Hiriart



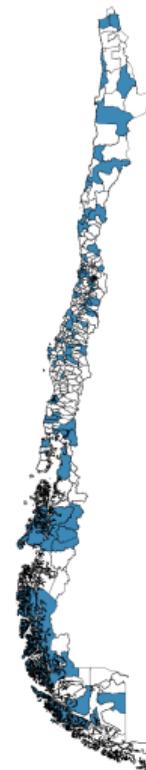
# Women centers

- ▶ A series of investigations in the 2010s revealed real estate transfers to CEMA-Chile
- ▶ More than 200 real estate *free* transfers from the State to CEMA in 1974-2000
- ▶ Transfers until 1990 to create (i) an indicator for women center by municipality, and (ii) distance to the closest women center



# Descriptive statistics

	Mean	St. dev	Min	Max
Indicator women center	0.30	0.46	0	1
Distance to closest center (in km.)	24.6	30.9	0	194.7
Female LFP 1982	28.9	9.3	8.8	57.5
Female LFP 1992	33.9	10.6	9.5	75.0
Female LFP 2002	43.2	9.5	15.4	83.3
Female LFP 2017	60.7	7.4	35.6	95.4
Male LFP 1982	85.4	4.9	75.0	100
Male LFP 1992	82.7	4.3	55.3	100
Male LFP 2002	81.6	4.6	50.8	99.2
Male LFP 2017	85.5	3.5	71.1	100
Municipalities	334			



# Female labor force participation

- ▶ Municipalities closer to the training programs exhibit 2pp higher female labor force participation in 1992
- ▶ The lack of a difference in 1982 suggests training programs in the late 1980s were important
- ▶ Little differences in the labor force participation of men who rarely interacted with the centers



# Intermediate outcomes and indoctrination

- ▶ Intermediate outcomes between training and labor force participation
  - no changes in marriage and fertility
  - no changes in college enrollment
  
- ▶ Indoctrination at the centers?
  - no change in support for the dictator
  - no change in religiosity



# Intergenerational effects

- We exploit household structure in the 2017 census to identify mother-child pairs with child 25-40 yrs old
- Compare daughters of the same age with mothers differentially exposed to women centers
- Daughters intergenerationally exposed to women centers are 1pp more likely to be in the labor force



# Thank You!

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