

Participation of Croatian Descendants in the Political Life¹

Municipal Elections en Magallanes Region, Chile, Period 1992 – 2012

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ABSTRACT The paper studies the participation of descendants of Croatian immigrants in the Region of Magallanes and Chilean Antarctica, after more than a century from the arrival of these to the region.

The study focuses on the descendants as candidates for mayor and councillor positions in the ten municipalities of the Region, in the period between 1992 and 2012, within six elections.

The participation is analyzed in relation to other candidates, by municipality, their election results, the belonging of the candidates to different parties and electoral pacts, and the participation of women descendants.

Key words: Croatian descendants, Magallanes Region, Patagonia, municipal elections.

1. Participation

Throughout history, man has united with others in order to overcome obstacles and problems in everyday life. This unison has been transformed in direct proportion to how humans have developed potential, first responding to their instinct and spontaneity, later their own intellect. In social groups, leaders are always highlighted by their nature, physical strength or intelligence and leaders who have spearheaded actions together. They have been natural promoters and managers of social all

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participation. They have not always had academic studies as show the cases of the midwife, the priest, the oldest or the healer. However, it is obvious that they all have common characteristics: The ability to establish dialogue and communication, decision making skills during difficult times, building and promoting trust among their team and partners, the ability to establish certain scenarios, the "ability to command" or the quality of group ethics.³

The participation of individuals is as diverse as are the scenarios and circumstances being faced, that is, today we can speak of participation in the social, civic, communal and individual, but these categories are not exclusive nor are they limiting. In practice they can be found in sports participation or recreational, artistic, union, professional or business, consumer organizations, environmental, animal welfare, charity, seniors, religious, political, community and/or neighbourhood.

In 2005, the Inter-American Democracy Network developed a Citizen Participation Rate in Latin America on which there were three dimensions for measuring participation: direct participation (which has to do with participation in associations and collective actions as well as the degree of involvement from people in these associations), opinion participation (which affects the public agenda through an opinion or claim) and electoral participation.⁴

Particularly in the latter group, the electoral participation, this is the sole focus of this article. From the point of view of the exercise of political rights, not only to vote, but to be voted as well, i.e. to participate as a candidate in elections.

Since studies of participation in the various social, cultural, political and professional activities mentioned in the previous paragraph are not easy to measure and compare. This article is therefore limited to determining the participation of Croatian descendants as candidates in municipal elections in the "Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena" (Region of Magallanes and Chilean Antarctica), originating from the ten municipalities in the region between 1992 (the first year after the country's return to democracy) and 2012, i.e. a total of six elections. Previously, the author conducted two studies on the percentage of Croatian surnames and present subscribers in telephone directories from the cities of Punta Arenas, Puerto Natales and Porvenir.

The first study compared the percentage in 1975 and 1989. In 1975, there were a total of 3.115 subscribers in the three cities, 523 of which had a Croatian surname, accounting for 16.79%. In 1989, from the 7.743 subscribers, 910 were from a Croatian lineage, which summed up to 11.75%.⁵ The second study was performed taking into account the year 2000, when 23.525 people were already subscribers. Of this number, 1.141 subscribers had at least one Croatian surname (paternal, maternal or

³ See Pérez (2002).

⁴ See Vergara-Lope (2012), page 39.

⁵ See Barticevic (1991).

both), that means 4.85% of the study pool were Croatian descendants. Broken down by cities, the percentage in Punta Arenas was at 5.13%, in Puerto Natales it was 2.16% and in Porvenir a total of 7.64%.⁶

In today's day and age, with the introduction of mobile phones and social networking, plus the lack of telephone directories for such transmission channels and the fact that many individuals have/use multiple phone numbers prevent a similar study to be conducted.

2. The Croatian Diaspora

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, a massive migration of people in the Croatian Region of Dalmatia began, especially from their surrounding islands. This migration dispersed around the world, but a large majority headed straight to the Americas.⁷

The reasons for migration were numerous, but amongst them: the large crisis in winemaking and in shipbuilding at the time. The first one, by the disease phylloxera (*Dactylospbaera vitifoliae*), caused by a grapevine insect that decimated countless European plantations since 1863, and on the other hand, because of the Dalmatian wine competitiveness which was at an all-time low in European markets. The second cause is that global navigation propulsion was switched from wind propulsion, i.e. sailing, to steam navigation. The Dalmatian shipbuilding industry, with its low capital, was unable to embrace this technology as yet. This led to many shipyards being closed and therefore, to the dismissal of many of its employees.⁸

One of the regions where a large and important group of these migrants sit is in the current administrative division of Chile known as Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena. This began around the eighth decade of the nineteenth century and continued in a more or less constant flow until the second decade of the next century.⁹

The Strait of Magellan was located in what was then the only acceptable route from Europe taken by steam ships. This meant docking at Buenos Aires, and then proceeding to the eastern shores of the Pacific Ocean, where the major attraction of

⁶ See Barticevic (2004).

⁷ Professors Čizmić and Derado (Derado, 1982) published a lengthy article about the migration from the island of Brač, which is where the vast majority of Croats who took up residence within Magallanes came from. An abridgement of this work, 25 since its publication, can be seen in Barticevic (2007).

⁸ For details on the causes of European and Croatian migration, see Barticevic (2010), chapter "Brač, 1886", pages 16-25, and chapter "Dračevica, June 23, 1908", pages 34-37.

⁹ For more details on Croatian migration in Magallanes, see Martinic (1978, 1985, 1992 and 1999). On descendants of Croats in Chile see Mataić (2001) and for the Croatian migration to Chile and South America check Lausic (2012).

guano and the exploitation of saltpetre in northern Chile and southern Peru. The final destination was the great California Gold Rush. The primary reason for the strong attraction this region had for immigrants, while being so different in climate and topography than Dalmatia, was the discovery of gold on the island of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands and islets. Then came the development within the livestock industry (sheep). Linked to these two above-mentioned branches was the development of the maritime industry: shipbuilding and navigation.

According to the information in the census conducted by Dr. Lautaro Navarro Avaria in September 1906 (Navarro, 1908), the Austro-Hungarians¹⁰ mingling in the urban population within the city, bay and urban surroundings around Punta Arenas, were numbering 1.091 (747 men and 344 women), which was 31.31% of all the foreign residents and 10.80% of the total population¹¹. As for the same population type in Porvenir, the Census indicated 167 Austro-Hungarians, of which 137 were men and 30 women, comprising 56.41% of foreigners and 32.17% of all residents¹².

3. Geographic Location

The Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena is located in the extreme south of the country and is also the southernmost part of the South American Patagonia.

Map 1.

Location of Magallanes in Chile



¹⁰ Croatia was under the rule of Austria-Hungary and its citizens travelled with passports of that Empire.

¹¹ See Navarro (1908), volume II, page 137, table 73 “Nacionalidad i sexo de los extranjeros”.

¹² See Navarro (1908), volume II, page 219, table 128 “Porvenir, nacionalidad i sexo de los extranjeros”.

This region has an area of 132.291.1 square kilometres¹³ equivalent to 17.5% of the country (not including the Chilean Antarctic Territory) and a population of 159.102 inhabitants¹⁴, which corresponds to 0.96% of the national total.

The regional capital is the city of Punta Arenas, situated on the west bank of a wide channel on the Strait of Magellan, with a population (in the district –“comuna”) of 131.067 inhabitants.

The region is administratively divided into four provinces: Antártica Chilena (Chilean Antarctica), Magallanes, Tierra del Fuego and Última Esperanza.

Table 1.
Administrative division of the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena

| Province | Population | Capital | District | Population |
|-------------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|
| Magallanes | 131.908 | Punta Arenas | Punta Arenas | 131.067 |
| Antártica Chilena | 1.798 | Puerto Williams | Cabo de Hornos | 1.683 |
| Tierra del Fuego | 6.71 | Porvenir | Porvenir | 5.927 |
| Última Esperanza | 18.686 | Puerto Natales | Natales | 18.507 |

Source: http://www.censo.cl/2012/08/resultados_preliminares_censo_2012.pdf

4. The Surnames in Chile

In Chile, two important factors contribute in making a study such as this: the first is the legal duty of having both surnames, and the second being that a woman keeps her last name upon marriage.

A name is the stable sign of individualization which serves to distinguish each person from another. This function is predicated both on the individual name as well as the surname or multiple surnames. The type of Affiliation determines a person's surname(s). Assigning names is merely an effect of the constitution of the legal relationship between parents and their offspring. The Chilean legal system for the attribution of surnames is a dual system (double-barrelled), characterized in that a child can hold a name from each of their parents, and that it allows a mother to pass on their first name/s to their children.¹⁵

These two names are written without a dash and it is neither hyphenated. Any second or further surnames of parents are omitted.

¹³ http://www.censo.cl/2012/08/resultados_preliminares_censo_2012.pdf, page 16.

¹⁴ http://www.censo.cl/2012/08/resultados_preliminares_censo_2012.pdf, page 50.

¹⁵ See Novales (2003), page 321.

As for the name of a woman, in most foreign law, the woman would lose her surname, being replaced by that of her husband, while in others; the addition of the partner's surname is standard. At this point, Chilean law for many years was almost the only exception, because, even though married, the woman continues to use her paternal and maternal surnames. This means that there is no common family name.¹⁶ Occasionally some women add the surname of the spouse with the preposition "of"; however, this is not official.

5. Municipal Elections

As indicated above, the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena (headed by an "Intendente" or regional administrator, who was appointed by the President of the Republic) is divided into four provinces (led by a Governor, also appointed by the President of the Republic). These provinces, in turn, are made up of "comunas" (districts) or municipalities¹⁷. The municipality (called "Ilustre Municipalidad de Nombre de la Comuna" – "Illustrious Municipality of name of the district") is chaired by the Mayor (during the periods between 1992 and 2004, i.e. in the municipal elections of 1992, 1996 and 2000, the Mayor was elected from the chosen councillors. At the start of the 2004 elections, the election of the Mayor was made by a direct vote)¹⁸ in conjunction with the election of the councillors.

¹⁶ See Law No. 4808, Title II on the registration of births and Title III on the registration of marriages, and Decree-Law No 2128, Title V on the registration of births and Title VI on the registration of marriages.

¹⁷ A municipality is an autonomous corporation under public law with legal personality and its own assets, to whom corresponds the administration of a district or group of districts (Article 118 of the Constitution of Chile) and whose purpose is to satisfy the needs of the local community and ensure their participation in the economic, social and cultural, as well as being in charge of basic education and health of the district or group of districts.

¹⁸ In the election of 1992, when the most voted candidate achieved more than 35% of the total votes, he was automatically elected. In the districts where political coalitions had a majority of councillors, the elected mayor presumably belonged to the coalition. But in a number of districts, where no coalition had a majority in the council or where some agreements disrespected their coalitions, mayors were elected from negotiations between councillors who belonged to different parties and coalitions. The election of 1996 was amended by Law 19452 which supports the direct election of mayors. The reform allowed a council candidate to be automatically elected as Mayor if his votes were substantially high. Thus, the new regulation would allow candidates who had the majority of votes within a municipality to become Mayor. This also became part of a pact which stated that at least 30% of the valid votes cast should be gained within a certain district, but need not necessarily be present on the most voted list. If this condition was not fulfilled, the candidate chosen as Mayor would actually be the councillor with the top majority within the municipality, but also being the most voted in the district (without necessarily having to exceed the threshold of 30%). In the absence of either of the above two conditions, the person elected as Mayor would be the candidate that had the most votes on the list or pact which includes the most votes within that district. Finally, in the case of a tie, the Regional Electoral Court would conduct a raffle for the position in open court. Finally, Law 19704 of May 3, 2002 allowed the separate election of councillors and mayors.

For further information on the municipal electoral system in Chile, see Bunker (2008).

Map 2.

Administrative Division of the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena

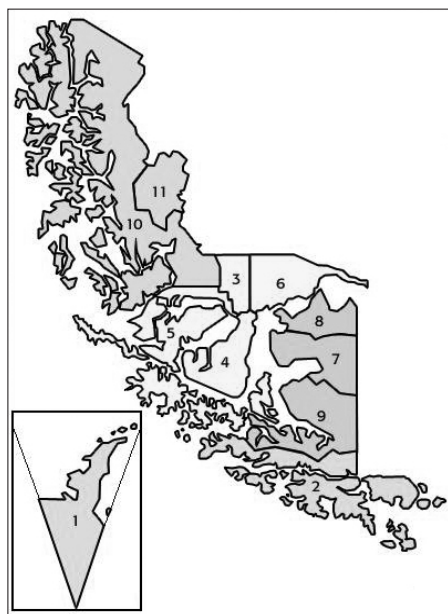


Table 2.

Municipalities of the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena

| District ¹⁹ | Province | Registered voters ²⁰ | Majors to be elected | Councillors to be elected |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Laguna Blanca (3) | Magallanes | 838 | 1 | 6 |
| Punta Arenas(4) | Magallanes | 118.025 | 1 | 8 |
| Río Verde (5) | Magallanes | 759 | 1 | 6 |
| San Gregorio (6) | Magallanes | 828 | 1 | 6 |
| Porvenir (7) | Tierra del Fuego | 6.529 | 1 | 6 |
| Cabo de Hornos (2) y Antártica (1) | Antártica Chilena | 2.058 | 1 | 6 |
| Primavera (8) | Tierra del Fuego | 1.581 | 1 | 6 |
| Timaukel (9) | Tierra del Fuego | 698 | 1 | 6 |
| Natales (10) | Última Esperanza | 20.900 | 1 | 6 |
| Torres del Paine (11) | Última Esperanza | 1.329 | 1 | 6 |
| | | 153.545 | 10 | 62 |

Source: Served

¹⁹ There are 11 districts in the region, including Antarctica, but for administrative purposes this falls part of the municipality of Cabo de Hornos.

²⁰ Source: Amounts of electoral registration by sex and municipality - to 31 January 2012. Pages 9 and 10. Electoral Service. http://www.served.cl/controls/neochannels/neo_ch199/ap-pinstances/media426/Informe_Inscripciones_Comuna_SE-20120131.pdf.

The Constitutional Law of Municipalities (Law 18695 of March 31, 1988, as amended in 2007) regulates the details of the management of these district units of administration and democracy. While the Mayor is elected by majority, councillors are elected by proportional representation. The municipal elections are held every four years. Any municipalities with fewer than 75.000 people registered on the electoral register elect six councillors. The districts ranging between 75.000 and 150.000 elect eight councillors. Finally, districts with more than 150.000 enrolled elect 10 councillors. Thus, the municipalities of the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena elected the following municipal representatives (the number following the name of the district is the number on the map).

5.1. The Participation of Croatian Descendants in Municipal Elections

In the six municipal elections held since 1992 in the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena, 63 Croatian descendants ended up being candidates, 14 of which (22.2%) were women. If it is considered that in order to prepare this candidate list both the surnames of the candidate are used, although some may have “escaped”. Even if a candidate had 50% of Croatian descendant, it may not be reflected in their names (for example, if his/her parents have the father’s surname being “non-Croatian” and the mother’s surname being “Croatian”, it will not be visible nor expressed in her/his two surnames).

Needless to say, many of these descendants presented themselves to more than one election, as was the case with other candidates.

a. Participation during the period

For the development of this section of the paper, digital pages were used from the Electoral Service (SERVEL) and the Ministry of Interior.

In the six elections, 698 candidates presented themselves, of which, as already mentioned, 63 were Croatian descendants. This is equivalent to 9.0%.

Taking into account the obtained votes, and due to the different methods of being elected a mayor or councillor during this period, the results could be classified into three groups:

The first considers the elections of 1992, 1996 and 2000, where the councillors were first elected and then from them the mayor. The total number of votes reached during that period in the ten districts amounted to 363,201, of which 40,736 were candidates of Croatian descent, equivalent to 11.2%.

The second group includes councillors’ elections in 2004, 2008 and 2012, when the total reached 166.601 votes, of which 36.813 were of Croatian descendant, i.e. 22.1%.

Finally, considering the election of mayors, in the same period, 172.268 votes were cast, of which 32.334 were of Croatian descendant, i.e. 18.8%.

b. Participation by election

Table 3 shows the participation of Croatian descendants in each of the elections.

Table 3.
Participation of Croatian descendant candidates by election

| Year | All the candidates | Croatian descendant candidates | % |
|--------|--------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1992 | 151 | 19 | 12.6% |
| 1996 | 126 | 12 | 9.5% |
| 2000 | 110 | 10 | 9.1% |
| 2004 | 188 | 16 | 8.5% |
| 2008 | 270 | 24 | 8.9% |
| 2012 | 261 | 22 | 8.4% |
| Total* | 698 | 63 | 9.0% |

* Due to some candidates participating several times, the total number is not the sum of all years.
Source: Author's calculations based on SERVEL data.

In the last three elections, the participation rate was slightly below average (9.0%). However, increasing the total number of candidates (increased from 110 in 2000 to 270 in 2008 and 261 in 2012) has been accompanied by the increased number of Croatian descendants (from 10 in 2000 to 24 in 2009 and 22 in 2012), which has kept the percentage close to average.

c. Participation by Municipality

Table 4 shows the participation of Croatian descendants by district or municipality.

Table 4.
Participation of Croatian descendants by district

| District | | Cabo de Hornos | Laguna Blanca | Natales | Porvenir | Primavera | Punta Arenas | Rfo Verde | San Gregorio | Timaukel | Torres del Paine | Total |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------------|-------|
| 1992 | All | 11 | 14 | 21 | 15 | 13 | 32 | 13 | 13 | 6 | 13 | 151 |
| | Croatian | 1 | | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 19 |
| | % | 9.1% | 0.0% | 19.0% | 20.0% | 7.7% | 15.6% | 15.4% | 15.4% | 16.7% | 0.0% | 12.6% |
| 1996 | All | 13 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 17 | 10 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 126 |
| | Croatian | | | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | 1 | 12 |
| | % | 0.0% | 0.0% | 25.0% | 23.1% | 9.1% | 11.8% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 16.7% | 8.3% | 9.5% |

| District | | Cabo de Hornos | Laguna Blanca | Natales | Porvenir | Primavera | Punta Arenas | Rio Verde | San Gregorio | Timaukel | Torres del Paine | Total |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------------|-------|
| 2000 | All | 10 | 9 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 15 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 110 |
| | Croatian | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| | % | 10.0% | 0.0% | 5.9% | 18.2% | 0.0% | 20.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 10.0% | 20.0% | 9.1% |
| 2004 | All | 21 | 12 | 20 | 24 | 18 | 29 | 15 | 21 | 12 | 16 | 188 |
| | Croatian | | | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 16 |
| | % | 0.0% | 0.0% | 10.0% | 12.5% | 11.1% | 13.8% | 6.7% | 4.8% | 8.3% | 12.5% | 8.5% |
| 2008 | All | 28 | 21 | 31 | 32 | 24 | 43 | 21 | 29 | 20 | 21 | 270 |
| | Croatian | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 3 | | 4 | 3 | 24 |
| | % | 3.6% | 0.0% | 3.2% | 3.1% | 12.5% | 18.6% | 14.3% | 0.0% | 20.0% | 14.3% | 8.9% |
| 2012 | All | 28 | 22 | 26 | 32 | 22 | 43 | 17 | 32 | 23 | 16 | 261 |
| | Croatian | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 22 |
| | % | 3.6% | 4.5% | 3.8% | 0.0% | 9.1% | 20.9% | 11.8% | 0.0% | 13.0% | 18.8% | 8.4% |

Note: Croatian = Croatian descendant candidates.

Source: Author's calculations based on SERVEL data.

If municipalities are grouped in order of importance, distributing candidates between Punta Arenas, Natales, Porvenir and the rest (7 other districts), then Table 5 can be constructed.

From this table it is possible to draw some conclusions:

- The percentage in Punta Arenas is always greater than the average for the entire period, 9.0% (indicated in 6.a.).
- Although not in every election, something similar happens in the districts of Natales and Porvenir.
- The highest percentages of participation are obtained in:

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Natales, 1996, 25.0% | Porvenir, 1996, 23.1% | Punta Arenas, 2012, 20.9% |
| Porvenir, 1992, 20.0% | Natales, 1992, 19.0% | Punta Arenas, 2008, 18.6% |
| Porvenir, 2000, 18.2% | | |
- This shows that the participation in urban population areas is greater, as seen in Punta Arenas, Natales and Porvenir.
- Interestingly enough, Porvenir, a district that recorded 32.17% of its native inhabitants being from Austria-Hungary in the Census of 1906 had only one of its 32 participants being a Croatian descendant in 2008 and none in 2012.

Table 5.
Participation of Croatian descendants by selected districts

| District | | Punta Arenas | Natales | Porvenir | Other (7 districts) | Total |
|----------|----------|--------------|---------|----------|---------------------|-------|
| 1992 | All | 32 | 21 | 15 | 83 | 151 |
| | Croatian | 5 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 19 |
| | % | 15.6% | 19.0% | 20.0% | 8.4% | 12.6% |
| 1996 | All | 17 | 12 | 13 | 84 | 126 |
| | Croatian | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 12 |
| | % | 11.8% | 25.0% | 23.1% | 4.8% | 9.5% |
| 2000 | All | 15 | 17 | 11 | 67 | 110 |
| | Croatian | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 10 |
| | % | 20.0% | 5.9% | 18.2% | 6.0% | 9.1% |
| 2004 | All | 29 | 20 | 24 | 115 | 188 |
| | Croatian | 4 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 16 |
| | % | 13.8% | 10.0% | 12.5% | 6.1% | 8.5% |
| 2008 | All | 43 | 31 | 32 | 164 | 270 |
| | Croatian | 8 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 24 |
| | % | 18.6% | 3.2% | 3.1% | 8.5% | 8.9% |
| 2012 | All | 43 | 26 | 32 | 160 | 261 |
| | Croatian | 9 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 22 |
| | % | 20.9% | 3.8% | 0.0% | 7.5% | 8.4% |

Note: Croatian = Croatian descendant candidates.
Source: Author's calculations based on SERVEL data.

d. Elected Croatian descendant candidates

It is one thing to be a candidate and another to actually be elected. Table 6 helps to understand what happened to the nominations of Croatian descendants in the six elections. Of the 63 Croatian descendants who participated in the elections, 25 were at least once elected to the position they postulated, which means that 40% of the candidates were successful in their nominations.

The best year for elections was in 1992, with nine candidates being elected, while in 2000 there were only six candidates elected.

Table 6.
Elected Croatian descendant candidates by year, district and function

| Candidates | 1992 | 1996 | 2000 | 2004 | 2008 | 2012 |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| Arcos Srdanović , Juan José | | | | | | C - P. Arenas |
| Bonachich Martinich , Eduardo | | | | C - Primavera | | |
| Brzilo Avendaño, Blagomir Fernando | | | | | C - Primavera | A - Primavera |
| Cárdenas Tadić , Spiro Luis | | C - Natales | | C - Natales | C - Natales | |
| Coro Matic , Smiljan Dinko | | C - Timaukel | | | | |
| Drakšler Vukasović , Martín | | | | | | C - C. de Hornos |
| Foretić Bosnich , Manlio | C - Porvenir | C - Porvenir | | | | |
| Goic Utrovichich , Tomislav Jorge | | C - T. del Paine | C - T. del Paine | | | |
| González Dubracic , Antonio | C - Natales | C - Natales | C - Natales | | | |
| González Mimica , Ivana | | C - P. Arenas | | | | |
| González Yaksic , Carlos | C - P. Arenas - Mayor 4 years | | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas | |
| Jiménez Yutronicich , Emilio José | C - P. Arenas | | | | | |
| Karelovic Vrandečić , Vicente | | | | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas |
| Luksic Riquelme, Raúl Francisco | C - Primavera | | | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas | |
| Martic Haros, Carlos Patricio | | | | | | C - Timaukel |
| Mimica Cárcamo, Vladimiro Sergio | | | | | A - P. Arenas | |
| Mimica Guerrero, Andro | | | | | | C - P. Arenas |
| Nicetić Vera, Rosa | | | | | C - Primavera | |
| Ozujjević Eugenio, Carlos | C - Porvenir | | | | | |
| Sabr Domian , Roberto | | | | | C - P. Arenas | |
| Scarich Gallardo, Héctor | C - San Gregorio | | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas | C - P. Arenas | |
| Simunović Ojeda, Alfonso | C - Timaukel - Mayor 4 years | C - Timaukel - Mayor 4 years | C - C. de Hornos | A - Timaukel | | A - Timaukel |
| Vilicic Peña, Gloria Gerónima | | | | C - Río Verde | C - Río Verde | |
| Yakasovic Balic , Marcos Dalibor | C - Porvenir | | | | | |
| Zorrilla Yutronic , Verónica Alicia | | | | | | C - T. del Paine |

Note: C - election for councillor, A - election for mayor. C. de Hornos = Cabo de Hornos, P. Arenas = Punta Arenas, T. del Paine = Torres del Paine. Source: SERVEL.

Table 7 provides a relationship between the total number of functions in election (72 - one mayor in each of the ten districts, six councillors in nine districts and eight councillors in the Punta Arenas district) and Croatian descendant candidates.

The average for the illustrated period is 10.4%, the highest was in 1992 with 12.5% and the lowest in 2000 with 8.3%.

This table also indicates the number of times that Croatian descendant candidates obtained a spot in the municipalities, from a minimum of once to a maximum of five times (in the six elections).

Table 7.
Number of elected Croatian descendant candidates by year and number of times they were elected

| Year | 1992 | 1996 | 2000 | 2004 | 2008 | 2012 | Total |
|--|-------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Elected Croatian descendant candidates | 9 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 45 |
| % of total positions (72) | 12.5% | 9.7% | 8.3% | 9.7% | 11.1% | 11.1% | 10.4% |
| Elected times | One | Two | Three | Four | Five | Six | |
| Elected Croatian descendant candidates | 14 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | |

Source: Author's calculations based on SERVEL data.

e. Croatian descendant candidates by political party, pact and sub-pact

Before seeing what political parties or electoral pacts the Croatian descendant candidates represented it is necessary to perceive what the Constitutional Law of Municipalities reads, in order to understand how the municipal election process is regulated:

“In the elections of councillors, a political party may join in an electoral pact with one or more other political parties, independent or not”.

“Political parties participating in an electoral pact could do a sub-pact between them or with independent candidates, according to the rules on the accumulation of votes of the candidates established in section 124 of this Act, and they can expressly exclude a district or districts where the sub-pact will not be governed. The sub-pacts are always composed of the same parties”.

“Independent candidates to participate in an electoral pact may create a sub-pact between themselves with a party member of the sub-pact or with a party member not part of any sub-pact from other parties. They may create a sub-pact with a party member in a sub-pact from the district or districts expressly excluded from this sub-pact. For the purposes indicated, as with

registering candidates, independent candidates will act by themselves or through an agent specifically designated for that purpose by public deed.”²¹

Table 8 indicates that from the 103 Croatian descendant candidates (63 persons, but some with several nominations, according to Table 8 some 44.7% were integrated into the following pacts: Coalición, Alianza, Alianza por Chile and Participación y Progreso (Coalition, Alliance, Alliance for Chile and Participation and Progress), i.e. in the pacts that had different names and formed up the Renovación Nacional (National Renovation) (RN + independents, 21.3%), Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic Union) (UDI + independents, 13.6%) and independents (9.7%).

Table 8.
Croatian descendant candidates by political party, pact or sub-pact

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|--------------|------|--------|--------|
| Coalición / Alianza / Alianza por Chile / Participación y Progreso (Coalition / Alliance / Alliance for Chile / Participation and Progress) | RN + Independents | | RN | 16 | 15.5% | 44.7% |
| | | | Independents | 6 | 5.8% | |
| | UDI + Independents | | UDI | 11 | 10.7% | |
| | | | Independents | 3 | 2.9% | |
| | | | Independents | 10 | 9.7% | |
| Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Coalition of Parties for the Democracy) | | | Independents | 1 | 1.0% | 36.9% |
| | | | PS | 14 | 13.6% | |
| | PDC + Independents | PDC | | 6 | 5.8% | |
| | | Independents | | 3 | 2.9% | |
| | Por un Chile Justo (For a Fair Chile) | Concertación Democrática (Democratic Coalition) | Independents | 2 | 1.9% | |
| | | | PR/PRSD | 7 | 6.8% | |
| | | | PPD | 5 | 4.9% | |
| | PC + Independents | PC | 2 | 1.9% | 2.9% | |
| | | Independents | 1 | 1.0% | | |
| | | | UCC | 1 | 1.0% | 1.0% |
| Por un Chile Limpio (For a Clean Chile) / Regionalists and Independents | | | PRI | 4 | 3.9% | 9.7% |
| | | | Independents | 6 | 5.8% | |
| Independents without pacts nor sub-pacts | | | | 5 | 4.9% | 4.9% |
| Total | | | | 103 | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Source: Author's calculations based on SERVEL data.

The other big block is constituted by the parties grouped in the pact known as Concertación (de Partidos) por la Democracia (Coalition -of Parties- for Democracy) with 36.9%, consisting of the Socialist Party (PS, 13.6%), Christian Democratic Party

²¹ See Law N° 18,695, article 109.

(PDC + Independents, 8.7%), Social Democratic Radical Party (PR/PRSD + Independents, 8.7%), Party for Democracy (PPD, 4.9%).²²

Croatian descendant candidates who grouped themselves under the pact led by the Partido Regionalista de Independientes (Regionalist Party of Independents) (PRI + independents) corresponded to 9.7%; independents without pacts 4.9%; which participated under the wing of the Communist Party (PC + independents) were 2.9%, and finally as a member of the Unión de Centro Centro (sic) (Union of Centre Centre) (UCC), 1%.

f. Participation of the Croatian descendant woman

The participation of women of Croatian descendant can be measured by its participation among the total amount of candidates of Croatian descendant and among that of female candidates in general.

In relation to the total number of Croatian descendants, it was already indicated that in the six elections there were 63 candidates of Croatian descendant. Of these, 14 were women, and thus, 22.2%. On average, there are 205 women out of 698 candidates, 29.4%. The percentage of participation from Croatian descendant women is therefore smaller.

When the comparison is done with the total number of female candidates, one finds that in a certain period 205 women stood as candidates for councillors and/or Mayors, 14 of whom are Croatian descendants, 6.83%. This means that the level of participation of Croatian descendant women is below the average of 9.0% for all male and female candidates. If considering the participation of men only, it would be 9.9%.

By municipalities, the participation of the 14 women with Croatian descendant is distributed through the six elections as follows: Porvenir, Punta Arenas and Rio Verde with three candidates for each district, the Primavera District with two candidates; Natales, Torres del Paine and Timaukel with one each, while the districts of Cabo de Hornos, Laguna Blanca and San Gregorio never had any Croatian descendant candidates.

6. Conclusions

In the six elections between 1992 and 2012 there were 698 candidates, of whom 63 were Croatian descendants, equivalent to 9.0%.

In the last three elections the turnout was slightly below average (9.0%). Most of Croatian descendant candidates appeared in 2008, being 24 of them, and in 2012, there were 22.

²² In the municipal elections of 2012 this group of parties appears to have divided, namely into the PS and PDC in one and the PDC and PR/PRSD as well as PC in the other.

Within the elections mentioned in this article, there are two groups: one group which considers the first three elections, where the process involves the elected councillors selecting between themselves to fill the position of Mayor (In that period the vote in favour of Croatian descendant candidates was up to 11.2%).

In the second group, from 2004 to 2012, councillors and mayors were elected in separate ballots; Croatian descendant candidates for councillors obtained a 22.1%, while the candidates for Mayor achieved an 18.8% of the votes. 25 out of 63 Croatian descendants who participated in the elections were elected at least once, which means that 40% achieved some sort of municipal representation. Year 1992 had the highest ratio, with 9 candidates elected while in 2000 only 6 were elected.

The percentage of participation of Croatian descendant candidates in the district of Punta Arenas is always greater than the average for that entire period in all other districts. Although not every year, something similar happens in the districts of Natales and Porvenir.

The highest percentages of participation were obtained in: Natales, 1996, 25%; Porvenir, 1996, 23.1%, and Punta Arenas, 2012, 20.9%, i.e. a greater participation in the urban population centres such as in a province's capital.

Of all the positions to be filled, both for Mayor and council members, the highest participation was in 1992 when 12.5% of the posts were given to Croatian descendants and the lowest in 2000 with 8.3%.

From 103 Croatian descendant candidates (counting repetitions), 44.7% participated in the following pacts: *Coalición, Alianza, Alianza por Chile o Participación y Progreso* (Coalition, Alliance, Alliance for Chile or Participation and Progress), i.e. which grouped into *Renovación Nacional* (National Renewal) (21.3%), *Unión Demócrata Independiente* (Independent Democratic Union) (13.6%) and independents (9.7%).

36.9% participated in the *Pact Concertación (de Partidos) por la Democracia* (Coalition – of Parties- for Democracy), formed by the Socialist Party (13.6%), Christian Democratic Party (8.7%), Radical Social Democratic Party (8.7%), Party for Democracy (4.9%).

Croatian descendant candidates grouped under the pact led by the *Partido Regionalista de Independientes* (Regionalist Party of Independents) corresponded to 9.7%; independents without a pact had 4.9%; the Communist Party was on 2.9% and finally the *Unión de Centro Centro* (sic) (Union of Centre Centre) had a mere 1.0%.

The participation of Croatian descendant women in relation to the total number of Croatian descendant candidates indicates that they represented 22.2% (14 out of 63), while to a more general level, women represented 29.4% of all the candidates. If analyzed in relation to the entire amount of female candidates in general, then they represented 6.83% (14 out of 205).

By municipalities, the 14 Croatian descendant women participated as follows: Porvenir, Punta Arenas and Rio Verde with three candidates in each district, the Primavera District with two candidates; Natales, Torres del Paine and Timaukel with one each, while the districts of Cabo de Hornos, Laguna Blanca and San Gregorio never had any candidates of Croatian origin.

This paper does not attempt to close the study; instead it is an input to the study of the contribution of Croatian descendants in the Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena and, thus, would open the doors to further study and examination of the participation of this ethnic group within the country. Similar comparisons can be done in other areas of social, political, economic, and sports participation, and also in other regions of the country.

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***Sudjelovanje potomaka hrvatskih iseljenika u političkom životu
Općinski izbori u čileanskoj regiji Magallanes u periodu od 1992. do 2012.
godine***

Sažetak

Članak analizira sudjelovanje potomaka hrvatskih iseljenika u političkom životu čileanske regije Magallanes i čileanske Antarktike više od stoljeća nakon njihovog dolaska u Regiju. U fokusu su istraživanja potomci iseljenika kao kandidati za položaje načelnika i članova općinskih vijeća u deset općina Regije na izborima u periodu od 1992. do 2012. godine. Analiza obuhvaća učešće Hrvata u odnosu na ostale kandidate po općinama, njihove izborne rezultate, pripadnost različitim političkim strankama i izbornim paktovima kao i participaciju žena.

Ključne riječi: potomci hrvatskih iseljenika, regija Magallanes, Patagonija, općinski izbori.