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Jorge Calbucura

The Chilean Senate 1932-1989

Social Patterns

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of the study is to identify and characterize changes in the recruitment processes of the Chilean political elite during 50 years by using data on the different types of political apprenticeship. Although, the study is descriptive, it nonetheless uses results from previous studies on the composition of West European, Third World, and US legislatures for comparative purposes.

Three studies have been elaborated within the frame of this central purpose: The Social Profile of the Chilean Senate, Political Careers among the Chilean Senators and Political Families in the Chilean Senate.

The first study; The Social Profile of the Chilean Senate examines data on occupational and educational variables of the members of the Chilean Senate from 1932 to 1989. There is a broad consensus about the changing social origins of members of parliament and government in post war Western Europe. In particular, several studies have characterized these changes as a process of embourgeoisement, where qualified professionals increasingly replace politicians with a working-class background. Studies on the political elite in the United States and Canada, however, suggest that there has always been a clear predominance of professionals and no significant changes have occurred.

The second study examines data on the political career of the members of the Chilean Senate from the same time period. According to general assertions the career patterns of politicians in post war Western Europe and Australia, are characterized by the domination of 'professional politicians'. On the other hand, in the United States and Canada a clear domination of 'amateur politicians' among government executives in particular is detectable. The hypothesis that the disproportionate domination of professionals among European politician is due to the emergence of a new type of political careerists with middle-class background that live on and off politics, treating it as a full-time and life-long career. The American and Canadian elites appear to be a good deal more "amateur" in terms of the duration of their political apprenticeship, than British and Australian political elites do. Recruitment to top political office in the United States and Canada takes the form of temporary co-option, in contrast to much more institutionalized and gradual promotions to elite positions in Australia and Britain. In the United States the attainment of high political position is not the last stage in a well-charted career development of the politician. Rather, it is only a phase within a successful business or legal career. With these distinctions in mind, the main objective is to lay the empirical ground for a comparative analysis of the career patterns of politicians in the Chilean Senate.

The third study concerns the question of kinship as criterion for selection to the political elite, concentrate on analyzes of family relationship among Chilean senators. Regarding the concept of political family background in developed, societies a majority of researchers agree that there is, a tendency to deny that mobility to elite positions depends first on gaining upper class membership. Studies of elite recruitment, especially some American studies,

have demonstrated decreasing elite agglutination over time. This is one reason for assessing afresh the extent of agglutination among elites in Chile and other societies for which comparable data are available.

SOURCES OF DATA

The principal sources for the data in this study are the Senate records and different files compiled from Library of Congress of Chile, *Anales de la República de Chile*, *Monografía del Poder Ejecutivo y Legislativo 1810-1950* (Valencia 1951), *Guía de la Administración Pública de Chile* (Manteola, 1967); *The Struggle for the Presidency* (Suárez 1987).

I also consulted political dictionaries, which listed the most prominent political figures in the history of Chile: *Diccionario Biográfico* (Figueroa, 1888); *Diccionario Histórico, Biográfico y Bibliográfico* (Figueroa 1925, 1928, 1931); *Diccionario Biográfico de Chile* (Fuentes and Cortés, 1967 and 1984); *Historical Dictionary of Chile* (Bizzarro, 1972)

The universe considered as 'The Chilean Senate' includes all individuals who have been elected senators between 1932 and 1989. Our sample results in the identification of 313 positions and 243 position holders.

The information is based on: the name of each senator, in all the occasions he became elected as Deputy, Senator or Minister; the 'Agrupación Departamental' and the 'Circunscripción Provincial' or 'Cabinet' which he represented. Eight senators designated by the Military Junta, were excluded, because they did not fulfill the requirements to be elected in the ordinary elections performed by the Senate. For a brief description of data and the method of sampling, see the last section *The Chilean Senate, Biographic Compendium*.

The first election included in this study was held on the 30th of October 1932. So between 1932 and 1973 in 11 elections, 275 seats were disputed and

202 persons were elected. Considering the total period 1932-1989; in twelve elections 313 seats were disputed and for this a total of 243 persons were elected. In other words, on the average, the same person was elected 1.28 times to the Senate. Uniform data was available for 184 (75.72%) of the 243 senators.

THE ELECTIONS

According to the 1925 Political Constitution the country was divided into provinces and departments. The deputies would represent the 'Agrupaciones Departamentales' (groups of adjoining departments) and the senators the 'Circunscripciones Provinciales' (groups of adjoining provinces).

45 members, elected for eight years in nine different 'Circunscripciones Provinciales', formed the Senate and each of them had the task of electing five senators. The Senators were renewed every four years, partially. In 1932, 45 senators were elected. In 1937 only the senators from the uneven 'Circunscripciones Provinciales' were elected and in 1941 only those from the even ones and so on. In 1969 the Senate grew to 50 members. From October 1967 the Ninth 'Circunscripción Provincial' was subdivided thus making ten 'Circunscripción Provincial.' In the 1969 election, five extra senators were elected from the Tenth 'Circunscripción Provincial'. In 1973, the last election was carried out according to the 1925 Political Constitution.

The military dictatorship in 1973, meant the end to the Senate and the denial of the civic freedom to the citizens. Only 16 years later; in 1989, were general elections held again.

According to the 1980 Political Constitution, prepared by the Military Junta, the Senate would be formed by 46 senators elected for a period of eight years. The Political Constitution, promulgated that of the 46 senators elected, eight will be designated by the Military Junta. Thirty-eight of them can be elected by vote in 19 different 'Circunscripciones Provinciales.' Each of these 'Circunscripciones Provinciales' will have to elect two senators. These senators will be renewed partially, every four years.

The 1925 Political Constitution stated that the general elections should be held the first Sunday of March, every four years. In spite of this, only after 1937, could the elections be held regularly. In the 1989 election, 38 senators were elected for a period of eight years.

Acknowledge

I wish expresses my gratitude to the Sociology Department of the University of Uppsala without whose help this research work could not have been carried out. I must also thank Lilyan Mires, Patricia Moscoso, Mayte Calderón and Bosco Parra for their cooperation in the first stage of this work. I am especially thankful to the Professor Pablo Suarez on account of his support as well as for his directions and suggestions tending to improve this work.

I wish to thank Professor Beth Maina Ahlberg and associate professor Mekuria Bulcha for critical, careful but helpful comments. I want to thank Dr. Yeraswork Admassie for useful comments. Thanks too to Uppsala University, Department of Sociology Development Sociology Seminar for useful comments.

I wish to thank Katarina Marklund for her assistance and Susana Gondre for her generous help in translating the original text into English.

THE SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE CHILEAN SENATE

Discussions of the political elite theory have focused on the question of the degree to which the elite has been transformed through time. Within the past years, a number of researchers have examined the relation between the social origins in the political world, and the process of change.

In terms of long-period change two arguments have been examined empirically: Weber's thesis of the gradual replacement of the honorary politician by the professional politician¹ and Michels's iron law of oligarchy². These two historical theses, which suggest different descriptions of the recruitment of the political elite have been important starting points for historical research.

The social scientists who have investigated the change in the social origins of the political elite have suggested, the process of 'embourgeoisement'³ in parliament and government in postwar Western Europe (Thomas, 1958; Guttsman, 1963 and 1974; Edinger, 1961; Sartori, 1963; Zapf, 1965; Dogan, 1967; Noponen, 1968; Charlot, 1973; Holmberg, 1974; Higley, Field and Groholt, 1976; Holmberg & Esaiasson, 1988

Studies on the political elite in the United States (Mills, 1952; Matthews, 1954; Dye, 1976, 1979, 1983, 1985) and Canada (Porter, 1965) however, indicated, among legislators, the domination of qualified professionals and a low proportion of politicians recruited all levels in society. According to this

assumption the domination of highly qualified professionals explains the unchanged recruitment pattern.

The hypothesis about these disproportionately large number of qualified professionals (particularly lawyers) among US's politicians⁴ is the absence of an independent wealthy aristocracy, who monopolize top political positions thus creating a vacuum that lawyers have readily filled (Matthews 1954:31). In addition this hypothesis supports the Canadian case where Porter (1965:392) reported the same path⁵. The difference from the Western European studies on the change in the social origins of the political world is here associated with the distinction in historical cross national differences⁶.

To counter Mathew's 'absence of aristocracy' hypothesis, other theorists have presented empirically based arguments. Pakulski (1982:129) found that this hypothesis does not hold up against the Australian case where, despite the absence of aristocrats, the proportion of lawyers in top political positions has not exceeded the British proportion of 20-25%.

With these distinctions in mind, my main purpose is to lay the empirical groundwork for a comparative analysis of elite recruitment to the Chilean Senate. By using occupational and educational variables, I attempt to show, how the social composition of the Chilean Senate has changed during the last 50 years. In order to make conclusions, the changes observed in other countries will be compared with those that have occurred in the social profile of the Chilean political elite.

Among studies of parliamentary elites, the classic studies of the British parliament by Guttsman (1963), the study on US Senators by Matthews (1960), and the study on Italian Parliament made by Sartori (1963) give special attention to recruitment. More recently, Kim and Patterson (1988) have made cross-national comparative studies on recruitment of politicians.

In Chile two comparative analyses focusing on the Senate, have been carried out by Agor (1969, 1971). Agor's studies have focussed on the functional relationship between the internal structure of the Senate and mechanisms of a legislature. In both studies Agor had compared the Chilean and the US Senates.

According to Agor (1969) the bases of the Chilean Senate's influence in decision-making are: (1) the long evolutionary historical development of the Senate over 150 years; (2) the presence of an opposition majority in one of the two chambers, usually the Senate; (3) public support for a democratic system that includes a congress independent of the executive (4) member

stability, and informal norms of Chamber-Senate apprenticeship; and (5) senators' personal ties (economic and kinship) to the environment of the Senate system.

Agor (1971), analyses the internal distribution of influence in the Chilean Senate. According to Agor they are in relation to (1) the formal decision-making structure (committees and party structure), and (2) internal processes both formal and informal, that hold the decision-making structure together.

Agor also observed a system of informal norms, which regulate the distribution of influence in the Chilean Senate. There are five separate norms which function to reduce partisan conflict and encourage identification with national program goals: courtesy, reciprocity, institutional patriotism, legislative work, and specialization. These norms are reinforced by mechanisms of socialization and sanction. Comparing this with a system of informal norms in the US Senate Agor came to the conclusion that, except for some similarities in a few areas, the two senates are completely different.

Among the few similarities, Agor found a pattern of some structural resemblance between the United States Senate and that of Chile. Among these, it is important to mention the following in the scope of this study.

- 1) A high percentage of the 1968 Senators have previous Chamber experience. They also frequently represent the same district repeatedly while in the Chamber. Their Chamber district often forms a part of their 'agrupación' (group of provinces) once in the Senate, and they generally continue to present it there. This pattern is similar to the United States system (1969:22).
- 2) Chilean senators are elected repeatedly by the same district, as in the U.S. Senate (1971:39).
- 3) As in the U.S. Congress, members frequently stay on the same committees for years and acquire a specialized knowledge on the matters of the committees (1971:38).
- 4) As in the United States, senators maintain frequent contact with their 'agrupación' (group of provinces) (1969:22).

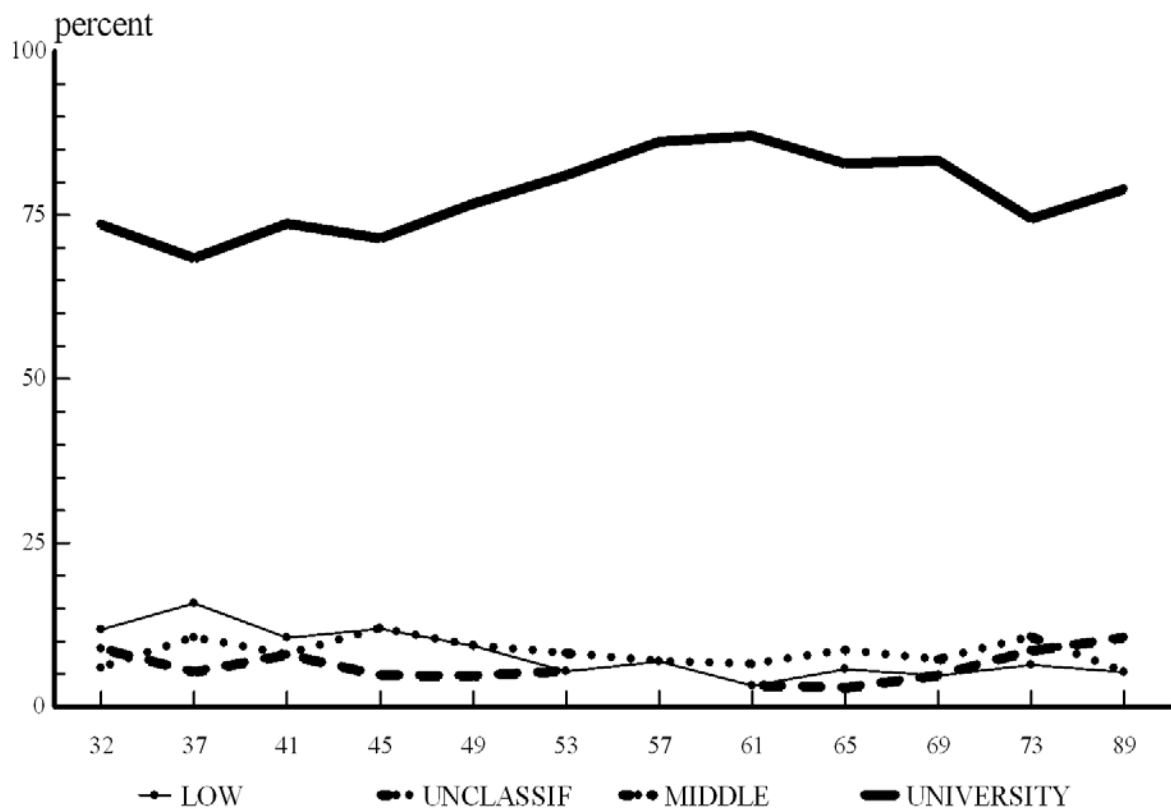
Another characteristic mentioned by Agor (1971:5) is that 'Chile is the only Latin American country where political forces are clearly and distinctly aligned, as in many European countries, into three great blocs: the Right, the Center, and the Left.'

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHILEAN SENATE

EDUCATION

As in other countries⁷ the Chilean Senate is dominated by highly educated legislators, see the figure 1.

FIGURE 1: EDUCATION LEVEL
AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS 1932-1989



Throughout the five decades covered by this study, there is no significant difference along educational lines. The percentage of senators with high educational background is remarkably high. Only a small percentage of the members of the senate are without university education⁸. Consequently, high academic qualification seems to be the most important prerequisite to have access to the Senate. The proportion of senators with middle level education

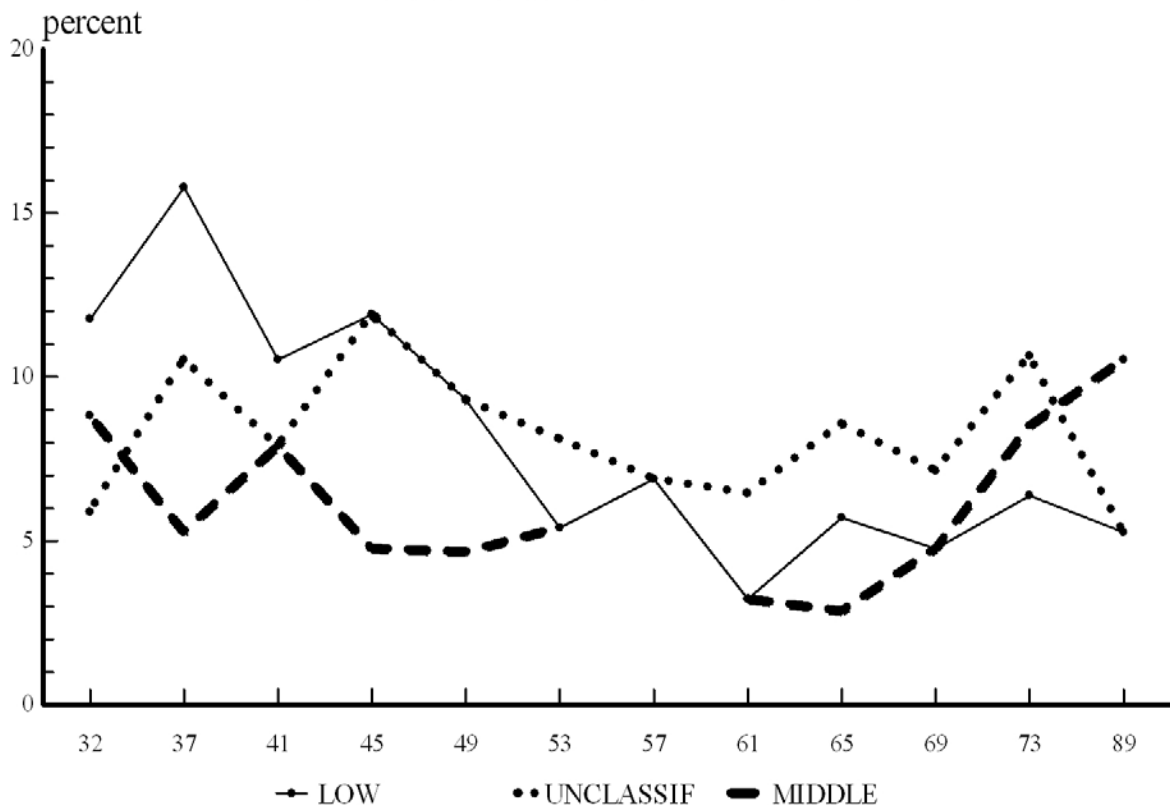
is invariably low (under 13%), within the same period.

According to figure 1., the percentage of highly educated senators has increased continuously since 1945.

From 1965 and on, the proportion of senators with a middle level education have gradually increased⁹. Middle level education here refers to those with high school education but no university degree. Figure 2. illustrates variation over time.

The growth of the middle level has taken place during the last two decades. This contrasts with the unclassified and low levels whose representation has gradually diminished over time.

**FIGURE 2: EDUCATION LEVEL
AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS 1932-1989**



Nevertheless, the historical data shows an increasing trend in the recruitment of senators from the university-educated stratum. This is similar to what Matthews (1960:27) observed about the educational background of senators in the US Senate. Matthews partly related this to the high-class origins of the legislators. This assumption refers to the differences in educational opportunities existing between social classes. Given the differential

educational opportunities available in the country, the high educational level of members of the Senate in Chile suggests also that they come from high-class origins.

OCCUPATION

One typical pattern emerging in the Chilean Senate is that there are few occupational fields represented.

**FIGURE 3: PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS
AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS 1932-1989**

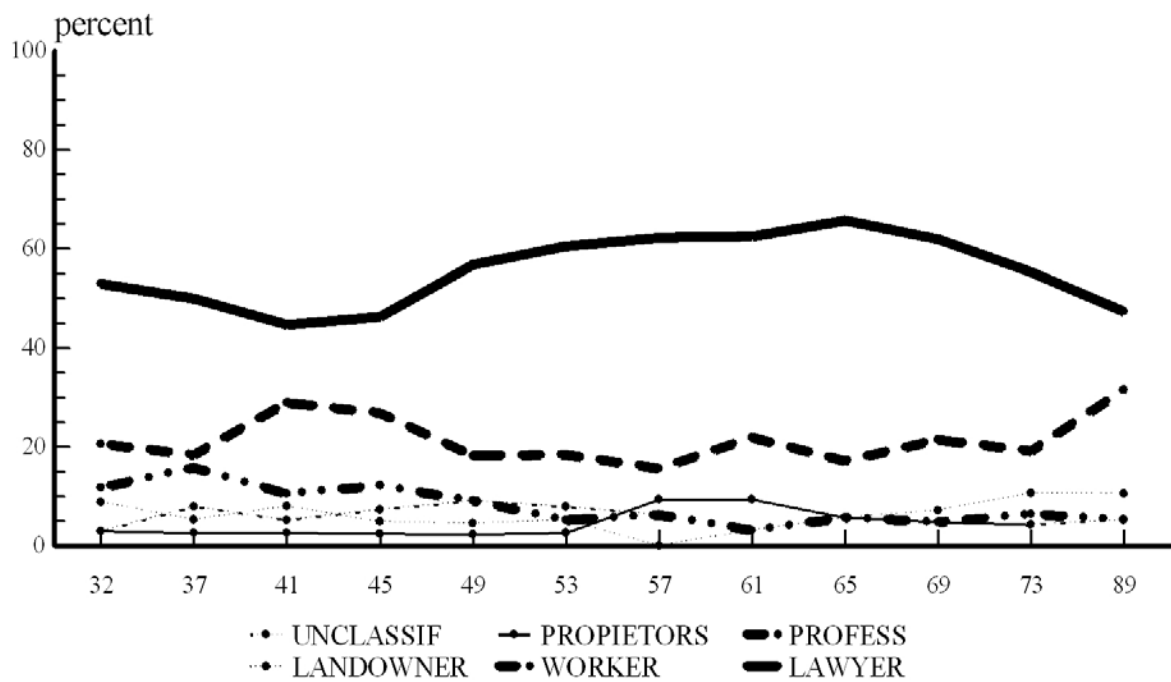
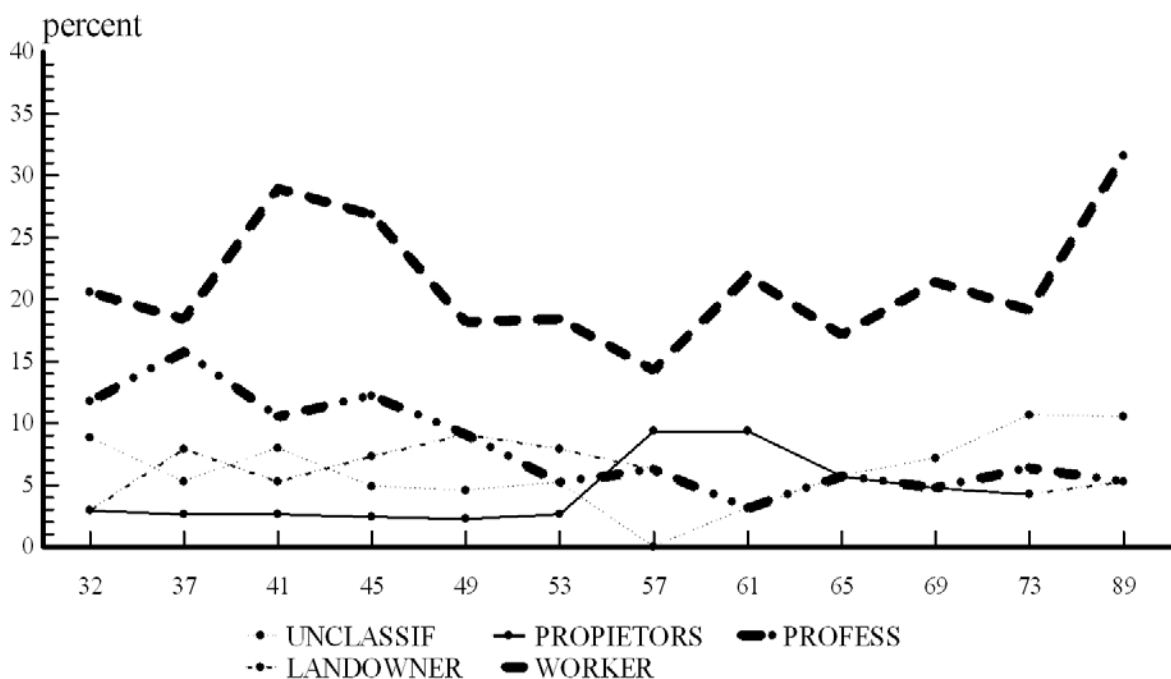


Figure 3. shows a continuous predominance of two groups of occupations¹⁰, i.e. lawyers and professionals. The landowners, proprietors and workers have over a long time kept a constant low level, (under 15%).

From the graph above, lawyers are predominant between 1945-1965. But the same graph shows that during two periods 1932-1945 and 1965-1989, lawyers have a representation less than 50%.

The changed recruitment pattern during these periods is similarly observed among professionals, workers and landowners.

FIGURE 4: PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS 1932-1989



Between 1932-1945 the lawyers suffer a significant loss. However this is complemented by the constant growth of professionals, landowners and to a lesser extent the workers. As representation by lawyers decline from 1965 onwards, the number of seats filled by the professionals and unclassified persons grow rapidly. At same time, the number of landowners, proprietors and workers who won elections declined. It is interesting to note the clear tendency for workers representation to disappear, while that of professionals is consolidated

The social profile of the Chilean Senate has three important characteristics. The first is the dominance of highly qualified professionals. Secondly with a 50 % representation lawyers are the dominating occupation.

Thirdly the pattern of recruitment has not changed considerably during the last 50 years.

From a historical perspective, the social profile and recruitment of the Chilean senators resembles trends of the US Senate¹¹. Like the US senate, the Chilean Senate is dominated by qualified professionals and has low presence of politicians recruited from lower levels in society. The disproportionate and continuous presence of the lawyers, confirms 'absence of aristocracy' hypothesis advanced by Matthews.

This over-representation of the lawyers among the legislators is not unusual¹². It is significant to note that this places Chile among the countries with the highest level of lawyer representation among legislators.

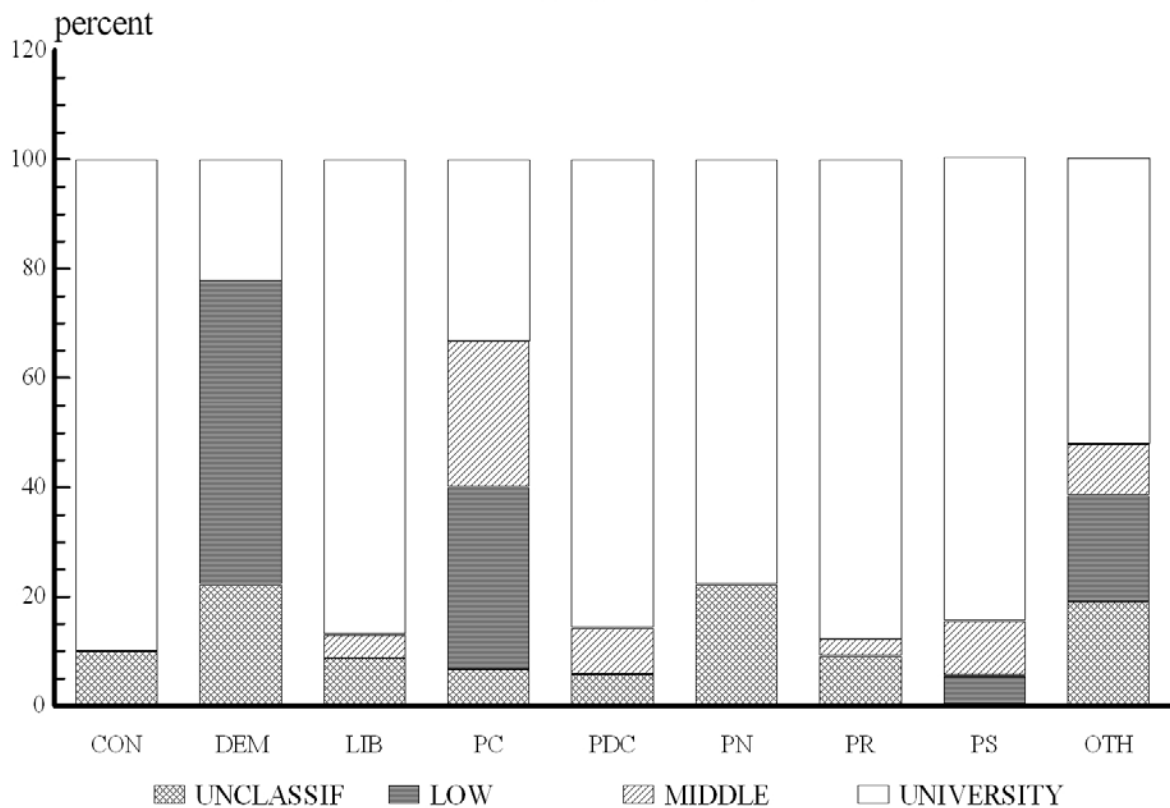
THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF SENATORS BY PARTIES

EDUCATION BY PARTIES

The correlation of data on social background and party membership suggests where high educated and qualified professionals Senate members are clustered. This helps to illustrate the relationship between class origins and political recruitment.

The differences between the parties¹³ are rather striking, especially in respect to educational level. The major Chilean parties have highly educated representatives.

**FIGURE 5: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
BY PARTIES 1932-1989**



Six parties, including Conservatives, 90.00%; Radicals, 87.87%; Liberals, 86.95%; Christian Democratic, 85.71%; Socialists, 85.00% and Nationals, 77.77% are represented by highly educated senators. The six parties have significant homogeneous representation. A more heterogeneous representation is found among Communists, minor parties (Other), and Democrats.

OCCUPATION BY PARTIES

Following the profession data, the trend across parties over the five decades is obvious: highly qualified professionals are the most important occupational group in major parties.

**FIGURE 6: PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS
BY PARTIES 1932-1989**

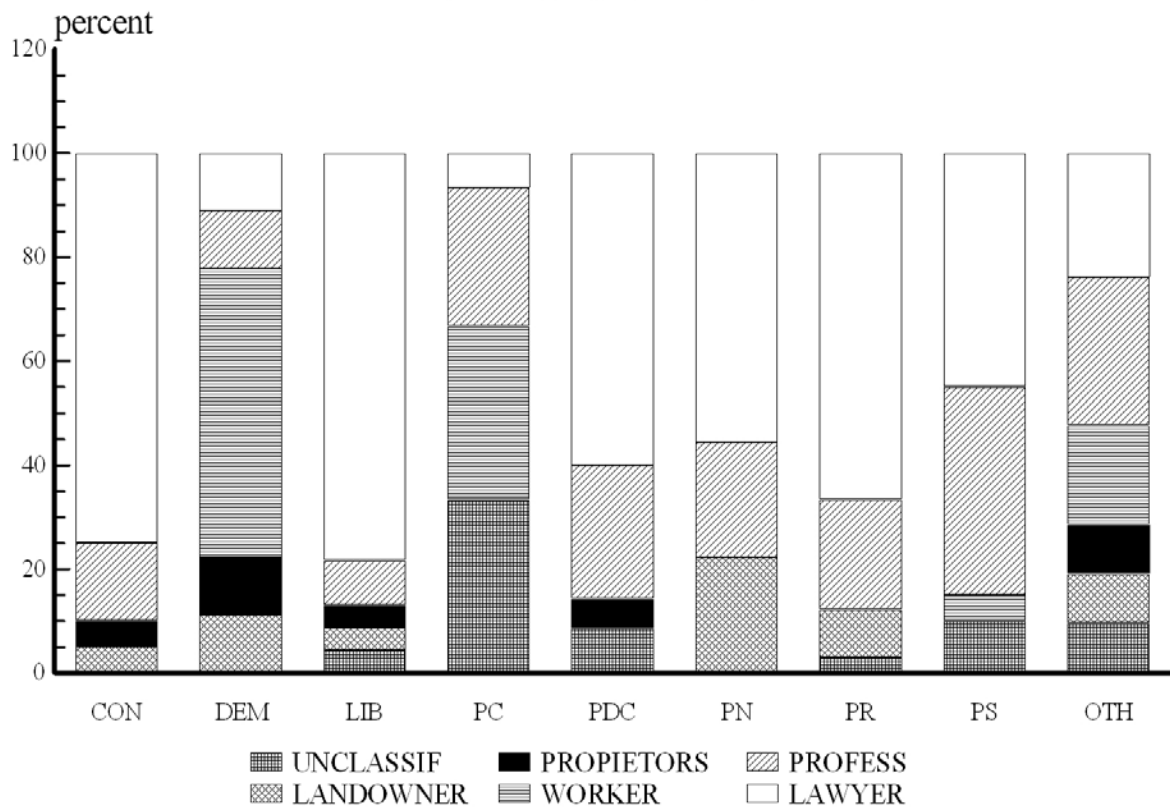


Figure 6. indicates that lawyers are the most important occupational group in major parties, followed by professionals. The number of lawyer is highly represented among Liberals, 78.26%; Conservatives, 75.00%, Radicals, 66.66%; Christian Democratic, 60.00% and Nationals, 55.55%. Socialists have a high percentage of professionals, as 40.00% like the lawyers with 45.00%.

The five parties, Liberal, Conservative, Radical, Christian Democracy and

the National party, which are highly represented by lawyers, are also traditional government parties. Four of these parties constitute 78.35%. However, if the National Party is included, the percentage rises to 83.50%¹⁴ of the total number of lawyers who have been elected as senators. This high proportion relates to the historical recruitment pattern of the Chilean Senate.

The parties with low representation by lawyers have higher representation by professionals. This is the case with the Communist party, which has more professionals (26.66%) than lawyers (6.66%) followed by minor parties (Others) with a 28.57% and 23.80% professionals and lawyers respectively.

Proprietors, landowners and workers are well distributed in certain parties. Most of the proprietors are concentrated in the Democratic Party and minor parties (Other). Landowners are concentrated in the Democratic, minor (Other) and Radical parties. Workers are concentrated in the Democratic, Communist and minor parties (Other).

Our findings reveal that lawyers are the most important occupational group in major parties, followed by professionals, and that lawyers are clustered among the traditional government parties. These facts, contradict Scott's (1967) assumption about political elites in Latin American countries. Scott argued that in Latin American countries surprisingly few businessmen, physicians, engineers, or even lawyers participate directly in party politics (Scott, 1967:135).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has assessed the characteristics of the social composition of members of the Chilean Senate during the past 50 years, and has examined the recruitment patterns and the social background of the legislators. Our sources have been contemporary data as well as studies from earlier periods. This enables us to evaluate the extent and direction of change in the social composition of the Chilean Senate.

The social profile of the Chilean Senate has not shown significant changes over time. What is significant to note is that the Senate has always recruited highly educated and qualified professional legislators. Hence, the occupational and educational level of the Chilean Senate representatives has not changed considerably during the last 50 years. Consequently, the pattern of recruitment in Chile does not follow the pattern of 'embourgeoisement' of the political world as in Western European countries.

Another important conclusion drawn from this study is that highly educated and qualified professionals are over represented in the traditional government parties in Chile. Additionally, the data reveals that the recruitment of their representatives is a long historical feature of these parties.

From a historical perspective, the social profile and recruitment of the Chilean legislators resembles trends in the US Senate and the Canadian Parliament. The observation that the Chilean Senate is dominated by qualified professionals with low recruitment of politicians from lower levels in society seem to support the 'absence of aristocracy' hypothesis advanced by Matthews (1960) in the case of the US. This hypothesis deals with the particular historical conditions, which institutionalize the legislative role of lawyers where the historical political aristocratic class is absent.

Agor's (1966 and 1971) comparative study between the two Senates, seem to indicate that these similarities could be associated with the original characteristics these two countries share and the historical development of their institutions. The characteristics in the social profile of the Chilean Senate delineated in our study complement the structural similarities observed by Agor in his comparative study between the US and the Chilean Senate.

POLITICAL CAREER IN THE CHILEAN SENATE

Theorizing on political elites has mainly focused on the question of the degree to which elites have been transformed through time. In the past few years, a number of researchers have examined the relation between the career-paths of politicians around the world and the process of change.

In terms of long-term changes three hypothesis have been examined empirically: Weber's thesis of the replacement of the honorary politician by the professional politician¹⁵, Michels's iron law of oligarchy¹⁶ and Mosca's recruitment of social types in government¹⁷. These three theses suggest different assumptions governing the recruitment and career-paths of political elites that have been important starting points for historical research.

Social scientists that have investigated changes in the career of politicians have suggested a process of 'cursus honorum'¹⁸ in parliament and government in postwar Western Europe (Thomas, 1958; Buck, 1963; Ranney, 1965; Guttsman, 1963, 1974; Edinger, 1961; Sartori, 1963; Zapf, 1965; Dogan, 1967; Nojonen, 1968; Charlot, 1973; Holmberg, 1974; Higley, Field and Groholt, 1976; Holmberg & Esaiasson, 1988) and in Australia (Pakulski, 1982).

These studies on the career of politicians have revealed the existence of a more crystallized and bureaucratized career structures among Western European and Australian politicians, in general, than those of the United States (Mills, 1952; Matthews, 1954; Dye, 1976, 1979, 1983, 1985) and Canada (Porter, 1965).

Findings of different studies on political elites allow us to distinguish between two groups of politicians on the basis of the structure of their political career: namely, between members of the executive branch and those of the legislature¹⁹. The process of 'cursus honorum' is typical of the West European and the Australian cases both among politicians of the executive and legislative branches. In the case of the US and Canada, on the other hand, the process of 'cursus honorum' is a distinctive feature of only parliamentary politicians. Findings of recent studies assert that among parliamentary politicians in Third World countries too, the process of cursus honorum is observable²⁰.

According to these assertions the career patterns of politicians in postwar Western Europe and Australia, are characterized by the domination of 'professional politicians'²¹. On the other hand, in the United States and Canada a clear domination of 'amateur politicians' among government executives in particular is detectable.

The hypothesis that the disproportionate domination of professionals among European politician is due to the emergence of a new type of political careerists with middle-class background that live on and off politics, treating it as a full-time and life-long career.

On the other hand, other theorists have come up with empirically based arguments attempting to disprove, the above theorizing concerning the rise of a new type of politician issuing from the middle-classes. In the United States, according to Mills (1952), Matthews (1954) and Dye (1976, 1979, 1983, 1985); and in Canada, according to Porter (1965), that hypothesis does not hold true. In both the United States and Canada, 'amateur politicians' in the executive branch have been dominant as compared to their counterparts in Western Europe.

According to Pakulski (1982:141), the American and Canadian elites appears to be a good deal more "amateur" in terms of the duration of their political apprenticeship, than do British and Australian political elites. Recruitment to top political office in the United States and Canada takes the form of temporary co-option, in contrast to much more institutionalized and gradual promotions to elite positions in Australia and Britain. In the United States the attainment of high political position is not the last stage in a well-charted career development of the politician. Rather, it is only a phase within a successful business or legal career.

With these distinctions in mind, the main objective of this study is to lay the empirical ground for a comparative analysis of the career patterns of

politicians in the Chilean Senate.

Among studies conducted on parliamentary elites, three well known studies -- the classic study of the British parliament by Guttsman (1963), the study of US Senators by Matthews (1960), and that of the Italian Parliament undertaken by Sartori (1963) -- pay special attention to recruitment and political career types. More recently, Kim and Patterson (1988) have carried out a cross-national comparative study of the career patterns of legislators in Western Europe and the Third World.

In Chile two comparative studies focusing on the Senate, have been carried out by Agor (1969 and 1971). Both of Agor's studies have focussed on the functional relationship between the internal organization of the Senate, on the one hand, and the legislative process, on the other. In both studies Agor compares the Chilean and the US Senates²². Among the few similarities that he points out is the resemblance between the United States Senate and that of Chile in terms of their internal organization. In this respect both are found to have a high percentage of members with previous experience in their lower chambers -- a feature that held true for both legislatures around 1968 when Agor undertook his investigation²³.

A TYPOLOGY OF CAREER PATTERN

A number of concepts and definitions have been developed to characterize the changes in political careers that have been sketches by research on the career patterns of political elites. According to the literature on political elite, the structure of political career has two aspects: length of legislative service, and position attainment. Basically these two variables are relevant in appreciating the degree to which the different career paths have been transformed over time.

In order to carry on a classification of political career, it is necessary to operationalize the above-mentioned variables. However, as many political

scientists point it out, the operationalization of such variables is not an easy task as in all cases of operationalization of variables in the social sciences. Moreover, political career, as a phenomenon, has the feature of being a complex circulatory process involving the whole of the political institution.

Another problem of a general nature that confronts an attempt at classifying political career involves measurement. This is due to the imprecise nature of the data, in general, and particularly data on the variable of positional attainment that is usually operationalized as "low-level offices", "political experience inside and outside parliament", "public office at any level" and, "legislative service".

As Matthews (1966) pointed out, a typology of careers of politicians is not easy to operationalize²⁴. The main problem is that the career lines of politicians are difficult to detect and classify.

In this paper my purpose is not to engage in a discussion of different typologies of political career, or the different ways according to which political career has been characterized. However, due to the lacunae in the present state of research on the Chilean political elite, it becomes necessary to rely on definitions provided by studies conducted in other parts of the world, with the objective of forming a premise for our task at hand.

Thus, I adopt the characterization of career path constructed by Kim and Patterson (1988), because the political career typology they have developed is well suited to for my purpose as it deals with cross-national comparisons of the career types among Third World and European legislators.

The following are the four "typical" political career²⁵ elaborated by Kim and Patterson (1988:386-387.)

Amateur: For the amateurs, politics is a wholly new venture. Before they attained their current legislative seats, they had no significant involvement in politics. Nor did they ever hold a public office at any level. ...

Arriviste: The arrivists all have extended periods of political apprenticeship in government, political parties, or interest groups. As a rule, they all began their political careers early in life, most with their initial involvement in low-level offices. As they rise step-by-step up the political ladder, their political skills and organizational acumen are tested and hardened. Membership in parliament represents, for many of the arrivistes, a culmination of their careers after long years of hard work and apprenticeship. ...

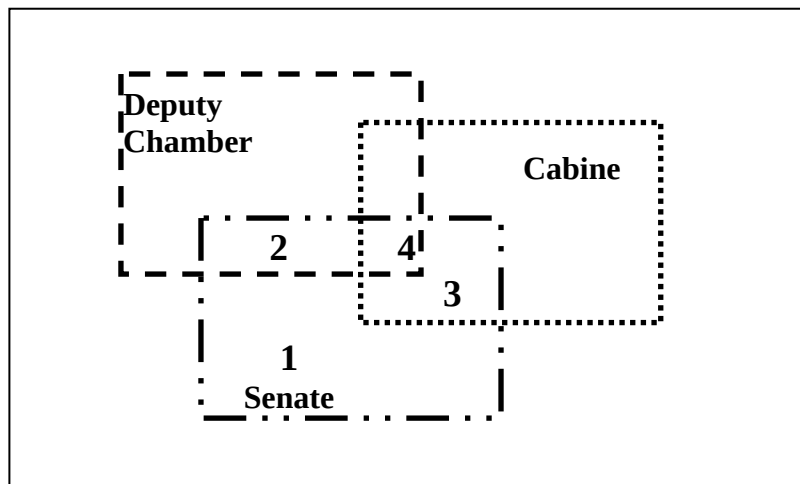
Parliamentarian: The third career type, the parliamentarians, refers to those members who began their political careers in the legislature and remained in it ever since, accumulating long years of legislative service. Although parliamentarians do not have a long period of political apprenticeship outside the legislature, they do have a long apprenticeship within it. ...

Careerist: The careerists are distinguishable from the arrivistes in that the latter are the recent arrivals to parliament, whereas the careerists have already put in several terms of legislative service. ...

THE VARIABLES

Assuming that the Senate recruits its members from all other political institutions, the task at hand is to distinguish variations in this respect over the fifty-years period. Two variables are employed to differentiate between career paths: (1) type of institutional apprenticeship, and (2) variety of institutional apprenticeship. The following figure shows the way in which the operational definition has resulted in the four different types of political career.

FIGURE 1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT



Position	Political career
1 - Senator:	Amateur
2 - Deputy - Senator:	Arriviste
3 - Senator - Minister:	Careerist
4 - Deputy - Senator - Minister:	Parliamentarian

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILEAN SENATORS BY POLITICAL CAREER

Figure 2 show the distribution of the Chilean Senators by their political career

**FIGURE 2. POLITICAL CAREERS
IN THE CHILEAN SENATE 1932-1989**

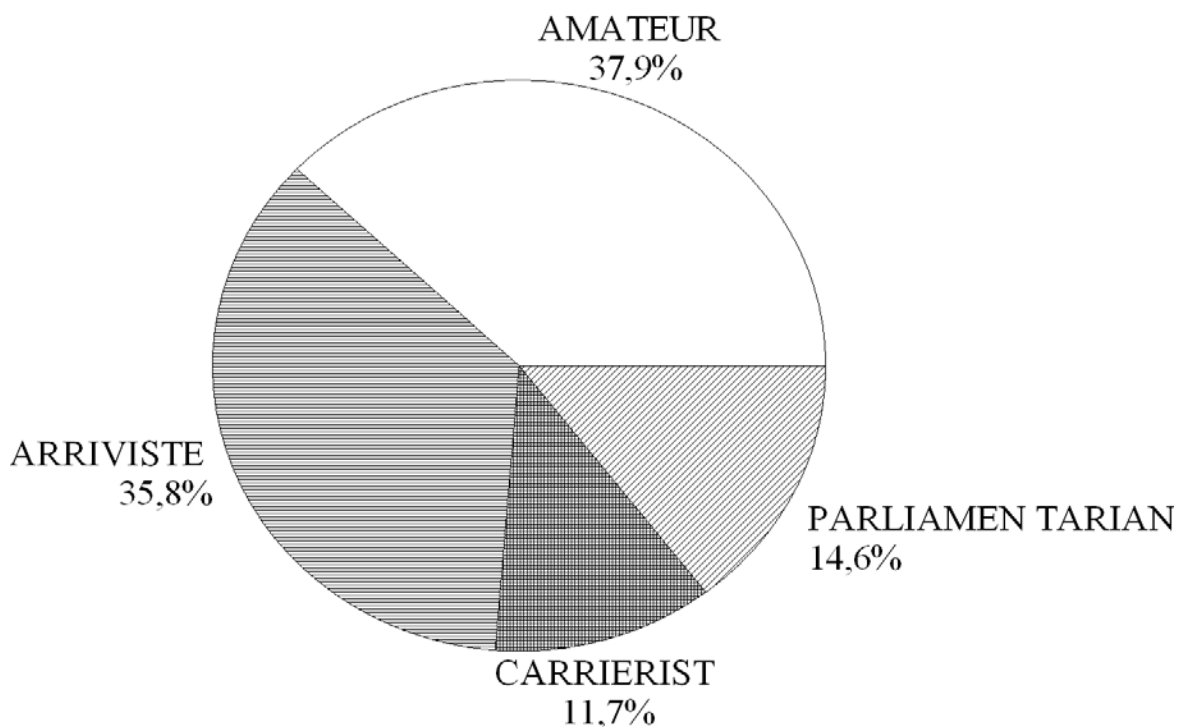


Figure 2 highlights two distinct aspects of the political careers of Chilean legislators. Firstly, one observes the rate of predominance of the different political careers. Secondly, the chart allows us to evaluate the proportion of legislators who have begun their political career in the Chamber of Deputies. These two points are important for comparative purposes.

Among the various groups, the amateurs occupy the first rank, followed by the arrivists. The distinguishing feature of the amateurs is that their record as their only past political career their terms in the Senate. While, the arrivists have had political experience as deputies.

The third group, classified as parliamentarian possess wide political experience which goes from deputy, to senator and minister. The careerists come in last as the group that has the characteristic of having entered the senate directly without passing through the Chamber of Deputies, save for having been ministers.

For comparative purposes it is possible classify the different groups according to political experience. We can begin by examining the group, which has passed through the Chamber of Deputies. Those classified as arrivist and parliamentarian, who together make up 50.4% of the senators meet this condition. On the other hand, the group that has not passed through the Chamber of Deputies, amateurs and careerists, are not as large as the first one. But, it should be pointed out that the difference observed between the two groups is not significant.

At this point, two works can be considered for comparative purposes. The first is Matthews' (1966:55) study that has reported that about 30% of the Senators of USA were elected from the House. On the other hand, our findings show that the proportion of Chilean Senators coming directly from the Chamber of Deputies (i.e., arrivists and parliamentarians) is greater than that of the US Senate.

Secondly, Kim and Patterson (1988) in their study of the political career of legislators in selected European and the Third World countries, have shown the existence of substantial differences between the two groups of countries²⁶. The proportion of the legislators with previous institutional and political experience in the European countries don't exceed the level of the 40%. On the contrary, in the Third World countries, the level of representation of such experienced legislators exceeds the 40% mark. The dominance of the Chilean Senate by legislators with previous political experience is therefore a common feature of Third World legislatures at large.

Another aspect of the distribution of legislators by type of political career that needs to be compared is the level of predominance of the various types of political career among legislators. The Kim and Patterson (1988:387) study has reported that in Third World parliaments, two career types, arrivist and careerists, are the most common. In the European democracies, on the contrary, the field is dominated by one single career type, that of careerists. Then, Matthews' study (1966:appendix e, table:3) of the US Senate has reported that his category of "professionals" is the most dominant career type, with over 50% of the total Senate membership.

Our findings show that the most common political careers among Chilean

senators are those of amateurs and arrivists. Nonetheless, it is important to note that amongst Chilean senators, the amateurs form the largest single group. This feature is not common in neither European parliaments, or in those of other Third World countries considered by Kim and Patterson. Here, contrary to the Chilean case, amateurs are generally placed as the least dominant group of all the categories of political careers²⁷.

At this stage of our analysis it is already possible to establish two general conclusions regarding the characteristics of the political careers of Chilean legislators. Firstly, the political career of the majority of Chilean legislators is built on previous institutional political experience as in the case of Third World legislators in general. This distinguishes them from both European and US legislators. Secondly, the nature of the political career of Chilean senators diverges from those of the three other comparative references in one important way: contrary to the Chilean case, the latter have amateurs as numerically the least significant group.

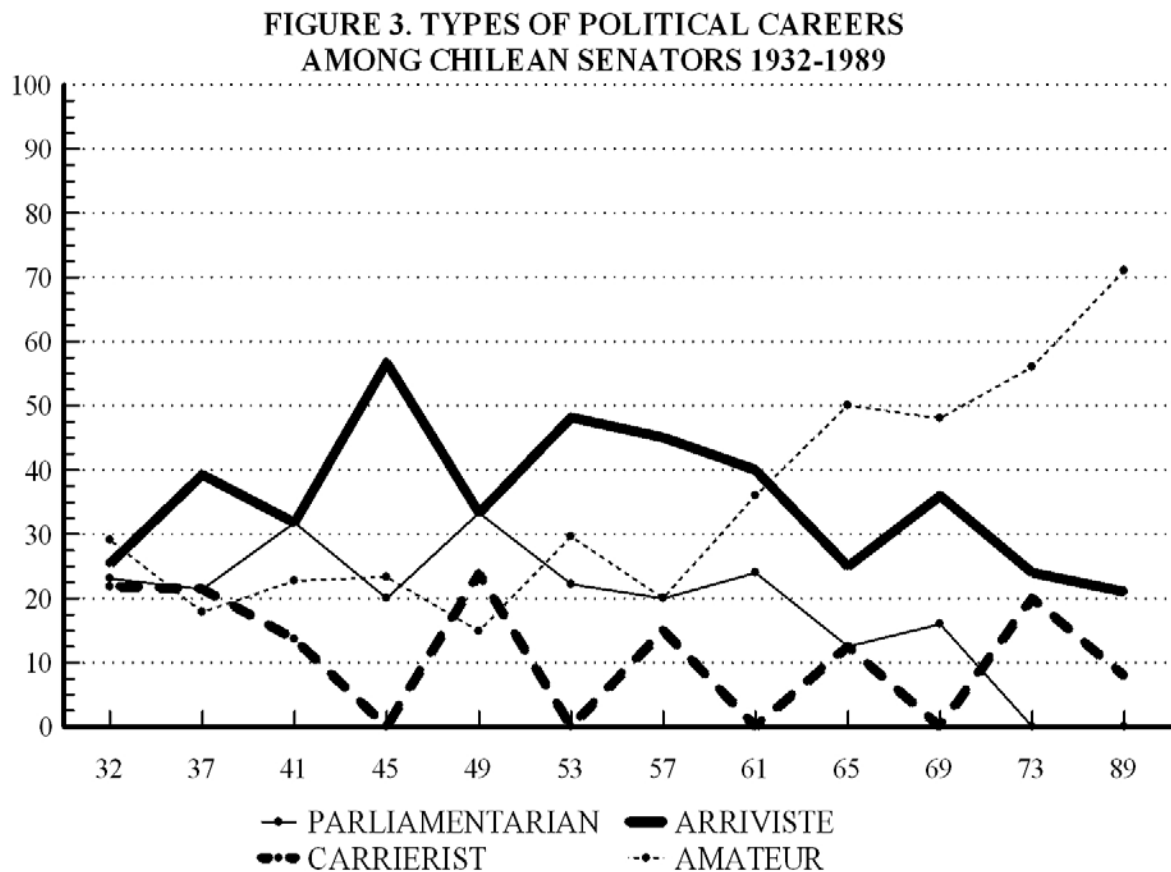
From a comparative point of view, the nature of the distribution of political careers among Chilean senators doesn't allow us to arrive at a any definitive conclusion regarding similarities between the Chilean case on the one hand, and the three comparative references on the other. However, there are certain patterns in the political careers of Chilean senators exhibiting certain particularities that make more precise analysis a must before a conclusion can be reached.

In the two sections that follow, we shall attempt to analyse the distribution of legislators' political career first through time, and then by political parties. The analysis shall pay attention to certain historic factors that have affected the structural formation of the Chilean Senate.

Three factors are considered crucial in the shaping of the structure of the Chilean Senate. The first of these is the entry of a new political party, the Christian Democracy Party, into Chilean politics. Secondly the success of the left-wing parties at the ballot-box beginning in the 1960's was important. The thirdly factor is the long political stagnation due to the military dictatorship following the coup d'état of 1973.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATORS' POLITICAL CAREER OVER TIME

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the members of the Chilean Senate over a period of 50 years -- from 1932 to 1989 -- by types of political career.



The above chart shows the existence of a marked variation in the distribution of legislators of differing political experience over time. Considering the position of prominence held by the different groups at different times, one notes that the group of the arrivists has been dominant the longest. However, it is appropriate to say that from the beginning of the sixties onward this group is dislodged from its position of prominence by the

group of the amateurs. On the other hand the amateurs are seen exhibiting a stable representation as well as a steady rise throughout the whole of our period. The group of parliamentarians and that of the careerists are conspicuous for their tendency to decrease; leading, in the case of the parliamentarian group, to its final demise.

The variations over time given by the chart are such that three distinct periods can be distinguished within the 50 years period itself.

The first period (1932-1945), is remarkable for the stability of the representation of the whole group of the political careers. Two groups of careers dominate the scene: arrivist and parliamentarian. The end of this period is characterized by an abrupt rise of the arrivists and a sharp decline of the careerists. On the other hand, the amateur group is peculiar in its stable representation. These facts point at a disproportionately high representation of veteran politicians throughout this sub-period.

The second period (1945-1961), is marked by a strong variation in the levels of representation of the various groups of political careers. Contrary to the previous period, a single group, that of the arrivists, has a strangle-hold over the political scene. Then, we also observe the parliamentarian group being gradually displaced by that of the amateurs. This rise of the amateurs can be explained by the sudden and forceful appearance of a new political party, the Christian Democracy Party, on the political stage. The careerist is a group, which exhibits a peculiar and interesting pattern in its level of representation, which is seen rising and falling at the successive elections. As the Chilean Senate members were elected for a term of eight years through bi-elections that were held every four years at which half of the seats were on stake, this indicates the existence of a particular group of individuals in this group that were repeatedly winning the bi-elections at which they stood as candidates while the group lost the other bi-election at which these individuals did not compete.

The third period (1961-1989) is distinguished from the two previous ones by the definitive decline of arrivists and the total disappearance of parliamentarians, on the one hand, and the rise of the amateurs, on the other. Figure 3 clearly shows the level and intensity of this swapping of positions by the various groups. The arrivists, after decades of dominance, were for the first time relegated to the second place.

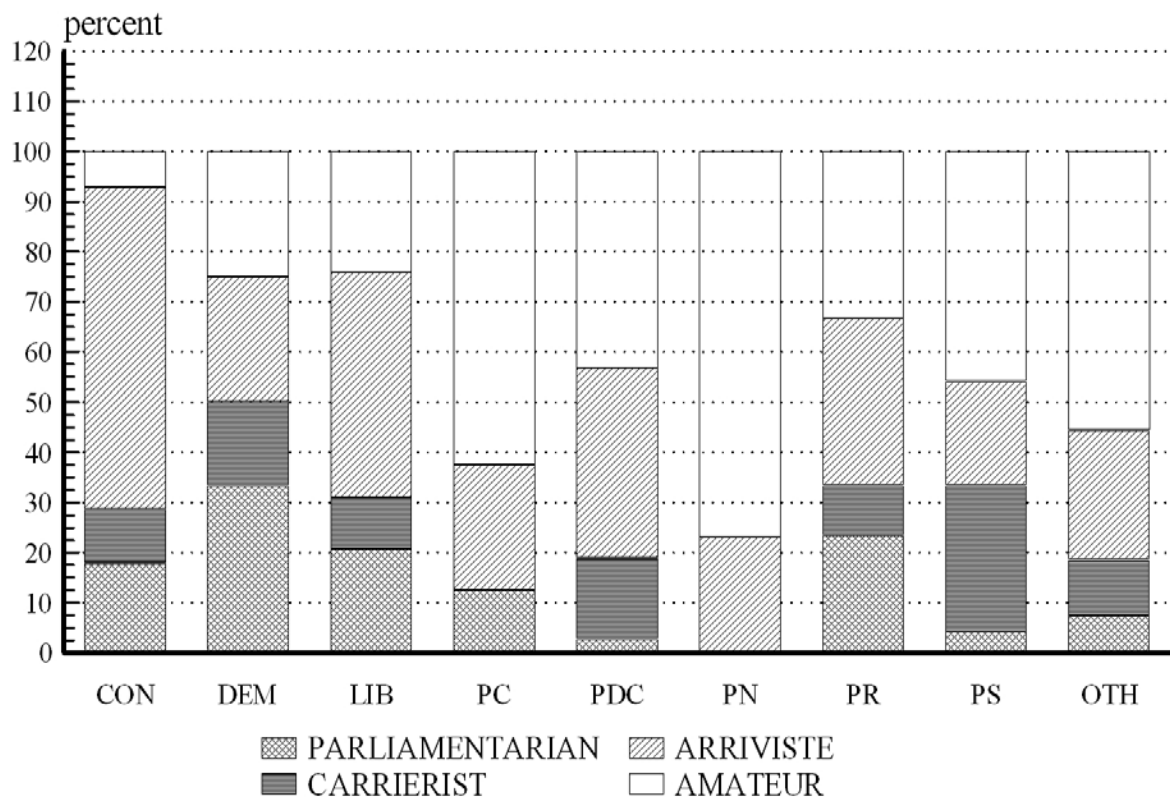
Contrary to the first and second periods, the amateurs have registered an absolute dominance during this last sub-period. Thus at the beginning of the sixties, one group of elite was replaced by another in the Chilean Senate due

to the following three reasons: The entrance of a new political party, the Christian Democracy Party; the electoral rise of the left-wing parties; and, the re-convening of the Senate after being suspended for 17 years by the military dictatorship. This implies that the Chilean politics of the 90's is likely to be dominated by a new generation of politicians, and a few new political parties.

DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL CAREER BY PARTIES

Figure 4 gives the distribution of the various political career groups by the different political parties²⁸.

**FIGURE 4. TYPES OF POLITICAL CAREERS
BY PARTIES 1932-1989**



The Figure shows that amateurs are prevalent among the majority of the political parties. Of the nine different parties represented in the Chilean Senate at any time during the 50 years period, five parties have registered a high percentage of amateurs among their respective legislators (ranging between 77 and 33%.) The parties with high proportion of amateurs among their legislators are the National Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Christian Democracy Party, and the category including all the remain small parties referred to as "others". Amateur legislators are in

majority among the representatives of the first two of these parties as well as the category made up of the small parties. Moreover, even among the representatives of the Socialist and the Christian Democracy parties, amateurs make up the largest group as compared to the rest of the groups. The preponderance of amateurs in the ranks of the 5 parties is associated with the recent entry of these parties into the Senate.

Delegates drawn from across the whole spectrum of political career represented four of the political parties --namely, the Conservative, the Democratic, the Liberal and the Radical parties --. An important fact that ought to be pointed out here, is that the first three of these parties were among the four with a small proportion of amateur legislators.

These parties are characterized by a higher proportion of arrivists and parliamentarians among their representatives in the Senate. The arriviste group is particularly significant in the ranks of the Conservative, Radical and Liberal parties. This state of affairs in the composition of the representatives of the "veteran" parties is also associated with the relatively long tenure of these parties in the Senate.

It is possible to distinguish two groups of political parties on the basis of the data: Those that have a high representation of veteran politicians -- i.e., parliamentarians, careerists and arrivists -- among their legislators and those that are instead strongly represented by amateurs. Then, by comparing the distribution of the political career groups given by Figure 3 with the distribution of the political careers by parties presented in Figure 5, it is possible to reach certain specific conclusions.

According to Figure 3, the two predominant career groups until the beginning of the 60's are those of the arrivists and parliamentarians. At same time, according to Figure 5 the highest numbers of legislators belonging to these two career groups are found among the members of the Conservative, Democratic, Radical and Liberal parties. One common feature of these "veteran" parties is that until the beginning of the sixties all of them had been in power either singly or in coalition with others.

On the other hand, Figure 3 shows amateurs becoming prominent as a group from the beginning of the 60's onward, whereas according to Figure 4 most of the amateurs are to be found the National, Communist, Socialist, Christian Democracy and the remaining small parties. Then, a feature that is shared by three of these parties -- Communist, Socialist and Christian Democracy parties -- is that they were in ruling parties either singly or jointly as of the beginning of the 60's.

To sum up, there appears to be a clear association between changes taking place at the beginning of the 60's in the composition of the Senate according to political career groupings, on the one hand, and a shift in power from one group of political parties to another on the right to left political continuum, on the other. Thus we observe two parallel political displacements taking place in the Chilean Senate. Firstly, from the point of view of apprenticeship, amateurs dislodged veterans. Secondly, from the angle of political partisanship, parties of the right and those of the center-right were replaced by parties of the centre and those of the left-centre and left. These two changes have together resulted in a major structural shift in Chilean politics.

This structural change is of such a significant dimension that it has entailed the replacement of one whole political elite by another. Another group formed around other political parties has replaced a group of individuals that is clustered around a certain number of parties.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the findings of this study, it has been possible to arrive at the following conclusions: Generally speaking, over the fifty-years period between 1932 and 1989, the majority of the members of the Chilean Senate had experience as elected politicians, namely as deputies. However, the distribution of Senators by political carrier groups shows that amateur, which is to say Senators without previous experience in the legislature as deputies, became dominant beginning in 1961. This shift is impressive, considering that 87% of the members of the 1989 Senate were persons with no previous political career as legislators. Consequently, the political career pattern of legislators in Chile does not follow the process of "cursus honorum" of the political world as in the West and in Third World countries.

The data also reveal a preponderance of "veteran" politicians in the early years of the 50 years period. But it also shows "veteran" politicians being clustered within certain parties, which until the sixties had governed the country.

The distribution of political carriers over the 50 years period shows a trend clearly suggesting that members belonging to a new elite have replaced

a large group of politicians. Other individuals that by and large happen to have entered politics only recently have replaced individuals with a longer period of political experience.

The characteristics of the political careers of Chilean legislators are somewhat comparable to that of legislators in Third World countries. But, the pattern of the political careers of the Chilean senators that has been highlighted by this study has certain particularities that are a reflection of the structural transformation that has taken place within the Chilean political elite during the last decades. This in turn is related to the dramatic political events that took place during the same period. The most important of these events include: firstly, the entry of a new political party in the Chilean political arena, namely the Christian Democracy; secondly, the electoral rise of the left parties during the sixties; and, thirdly, the suspending of the legislature by the military dictatorship for almost two decades.

Extensive and intensive research is required to deepen our knowledge about the character and the extent of the structural transformation that has occurred in the Chilean Senate and the Chilean political elite. For instance, we know only a little about the geographical and genealogical origins and interconnections as well as the age distribution of the new political elite groups. Some of the interesting research themes in this regard may be: the origin of the new politicians, if and how the members of the old right and center-right parties survived, and so on.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the over representation of the amateur career group in Chilean politics is such a novel phenomenon that it opens an interesting area for research. The exposition of the general features of the Chilean phenomenon given by this study can thus contribute towards triggering a debate focusing on processes by which political elites are displaced, transformed, and impact political life.

POLITICAL FAMILIES IN THE CHILEAN SENATE

Political family background as case of study outlines among the most basic questions the exercise of power by elites. This was a crucial question for Mosca, Pareto and Michels, who believed that elite effectiveness depended on evading or escaping popular pressures and controls²⁹. One indicator of elite control over access to their ranks is the extent of 'elite agglutination'³⁰.

According to Putnam (1976:21-44) 'In fact, evidence of elite agglutination has been found in every society in which investigations have been conducted'. The results of plenty empirical studies in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States, demonstrates that persons who belong to 'core' business, civil service, military and political elites are recruited disproportionately from privileged, upper class families, upper status occupations, and from the graduates of exclusive secondary schools and universities'.

Regarding the concept of elite agglutination in developed societies a majority of researchers agree that there is a tendency to deny that mobility to elite positions depends first on gaining upper class membership.

Studies of elite recruitment, especially some American studies³¹, have demonstrated decreasing elite agglutination over time. This is one reason for assessing afresh the extent of agglutination among elites in Chile and other societies for which comparable data are available.

On the other hand, from the historical studies perspective and the political scientists carried out in Latin America, at least two aspects revealing the importance of the study of the relationships in the institutional political

context are made evident. In this respect the historian Lowenthal (1976:79) points out that 'The connection between political and family history, as seen in terms of grievances, organizations, and ideology, can add substance to recent interpretations of Latin American independence which emphasize the new republics' absorption of colonial legacies. Some historians point to the persistent dominance of aristocratic values and of interested groups such as landowners, merchants, and military³².' According to another perspective, the economic dependence of the colonies only allowed them to turn against Spain, not to bring about autonomous futures. Others argue that traditional structures persisted not only because certain classes, interests, or powers prevailed, but because even those who wanted change responded to patrimonial images deeply rooted in Hispanic culture'.

Within the frame of this same context there stands out the opinion of the political scientists who, from an instrumentalist perspective, consider the existence of family links among politicians as an important factor, which contributes to the stability of the political system. Loveman (1979:176-177) claims that Chilean institutional stability during the XIX century is associated to three factors: a) limited suffrage, b) very low levels of political participation and c) preservation of the main governmental posts and those of the chambers in the hands of the small elite socially and familiarly interrelated.

Another political scientist, Agor (1969) postulates that the bases of the Chilean Senate's influence in decision-making are: (1) the long evolutionary historical development of the Senate over 150 years; (2) the presence of an opposition majority in one of the two chambers, usually the Senate; (3) public support for a democratic system that includes a congress independent of the executive (4) member stability, and informal norms of Chamber-Senate apprenticeship; and (5) senators' personal ties (economic and kinship) to the environment of the Senate system.

The present study is primarily concerned with two broad issues to which elite recruitment processes give rise. The first of these issues is the extent and way in which family background in the Chilean Senate appear to be mainly in access to political elite position. The second is what political families as informal social networks reveal about the range and concentration of political posts.

Concerning our focus, several historical and sociological studies reveal the level of social origins and intimate family relationships tying politicians together (Lundberg, 1937; Hamon, 1952; Matthews, 1960; Guttsman, 1963;

Bottomore, 1964; Astiz, 1964; Hess, 1966; Domhoff, 1967; De Imaz, 1970; La Palombara, 1971; Johnson, 1973; Mills, 1974; Higley, Field and Groholt, 1976; Stone, 1976; Dye, 1979; Burch, 1980; Kollman, 1987; Charle 1987; Kim and Patterson, 1988; Therborn, 1989)

The common element regarding political family background is emphasized by the use of predicatives such as "Political dynasties" (Hess, 1966); "Old families" (Mills, 1974; Matthews, 1960); "Families highly placed in terms of political influence" (Mills, 1974); "Politically oriented families" (Matthews, 1961); "Patrician" (Matthews, 1960); "Well-known families" (Hamon, 1952); "Political families" (Guttsman, 1963, Johnson, 1973); "Elite families" (Kollman, 1987); "Traditional families" (De Imaz, 1970); "Elite family ties" (Burch, 1980).

The most reliable results are those of different classical studies;

'.... over half of the American political elite have come from families not previously connected with political affairs. They come more frequently from families highly placed in terms of money and position than political influence' (Mills, 1974:201)

'The social position of the top politicians is further emphasized by the fact that at least 51% of the 495 men came from "old families," most of whom settled in the United States in the seventeenth century' (Mills, 1974:201)

'At least one-third of the senators came from politically oriented families. No less than 15 per cent of them were sons of politicians. And at least another 15 per cent had one or more members of their families active in politics during their formative years' (Matthews 1961:49)

'Of 5,034 M.Ps who sat in Parliament between 1734 and 1832, 3,045 belonged to 922 families and, of these, 247 families could claim 1,527 M. Ps. Indeed there were 31 families who had sent a total of 382 men in the House of Commons' (Guttsman 1963:160)

'Political families are still of great importance in England in the 1960's, particularly among extended families represented in the Conservative Party' (Johnson 1973; quoted from Zeitlin 1976:1019)

'Nor is the political elite a hereditary body. Just a few members of parliament under the Fourth and Fifth Republics were leaders in their profession before entering parliament; few of them belonged to well-known families who made a name for themselves in politics' (Hamon,

1952:551)

'For the Third World parliamentary elites professional distinction are of no major importance. What is important, however, to a successful political career is ascriptive qualities of a candidate such as family, clan, tribal, and regional ties' (Kim and Patterson, 1988:385)

'The four families Dickson, Ekman, Waern and Wijk were throughout the whole nineteenth century a big part of the leading national political bourgeoisie. The Ekman family finally sent two generations to the Parliament.' (Therborn 1989:92)

'Hela artonhundratalet igenom utgjorde de fyra familjerna Dickson, Ekman, Waern och Wijk en stor del av den nationella borgerlighetens politiska ledning... Familjen Ekman slutligen skickade två generationer till riksdagen' (Therborn 1989:92)

Concerning the level of social origins and close family relationship among politicians, some authors associate the significance to a more complex and elaborate theoretical definition. According to La Palombara (1971:513) the phenomenon of favoritism for political clients (*clientela*) and relatives (*parentela*) is not specifically Italian; it is universal and old. For La Palombara there are four conditions on which *parentela* is based; a) the hegemonic quality of the party, b) willingness of party to intervene, c) group capacity to condition the party, and d) the characteristics of the bureaucracy.

According to this assumption, the hegemonic quality of the party is the key variable affecting *parentela*, and it has two dimensions: spatial and temporal. In the case of the Italian Christian Democrat it is clearly a hegemonic party as far as the spatial dimension is concerned. The temporal dimension of party hegemony involves the perception of the party's dominant position as being stable and not transitory over time.

The spatial quality of *parentela* we are searching is understood by the assumption established by La Palombara, which postulates that the *parentela* relationship take on a particular importance because of the conjunction of many factors: a) the hegemony of certain political parties through time; b) the existence of very well-organized, para-political groups in these parties; and c) the fact that these parties are in reality a federation of tendencies and factions.

Unlike the rest of the researchers La Palombara situates the political family, the political parties and their presence along the years in a specific physical and spatial context. This definition allows us to establish a referential point in terms of verifying or not a similar situation in the case of

the Chilean political parties represented in the Senate along a period of fifty years.

It is possible to stress that the greatest part of the studies related to the Latin American political system makes reference, in particular, to nepotism or oligarchy as a component part of the system. The literature that reports this phenomenon³³ is very prolific on this issue. In the case of the Latin American countries the greatest part of the researchers coincide in pointing out that the phenomenon of family favoritism in the political life is as old as the existence of the republican states.

Within the frame of a general context the political history of Chile usually serves as a typical example of family favoritism or nepotism. In more specific terms this issue has been dealt with by different authors from different perspectives, in reference to the importance of family ties in the political life; (Edwards, 1945; Agor, 1969; Arriagada, 1970; Burnet, 1970; Willens, 1971; Zeitlin, 1974; Bauer, 1975; Ratcliff, 1975; Zeitlin & Ratcliff, 1975; Zeitlin, 1976; Lowenthal, 1976; Zeitlin, Neuman & Ratcliff, 1976; Alexander, 1977; Loveman, 1979; Villalobos, 1987; Zeitlin & Ratcliff, 1988; Retamal, Celis & Muñoz, 1992).

Among these studies it is possible to distinguish those who emphasize the importance of the family relationship to at least two types of contexts: 1) between the economic power and the political one and 2) among politicians within a specific institutional context. In this respect different studies have established important estimates to bear in mind.

Within the frame of the first context we have to refer to Zeitlin (1976:1019) who considers that 'In the mid-1960s; 60 percent of the corporate executives who owned large estates had immediate family members who held national political office'. A similar relationship establishes Bauer (1975:216) who considers that 'In 1854, 41 percent of the deputies and senators were personally owners of a "large rural state"; in 1874, 50 percent; in 1902, 57 percent; in 1918, 46 percent'. In more specific terms Bauer (1975:217) establishes that 'Between 1850 and 1930, the Correa, Errázuriz, Balmaceda, Echenique are only a few out of many examples of families who used their rural base to launch several sons into law and politics. Often two or three sons from the same family would be together in Congress'.

Family ties within a specific institutional context are emphasized by Loveman (1979:176-177) in accordance to the results of his study where it can be verified that; 'In the beginning of the century, among 559 deputies and

senators there were 98 cases of brothers, 61 of fathers and sons, 57 of uncles and nephews, 20 of cousins, 12 of fathers-in-law, and 32 of brothers-in-law'. According to Ramírez (1951:25-26)'between 1834 and 1876 most deputies in Chilean congresses were related to each other and to members of the administration³⁴.

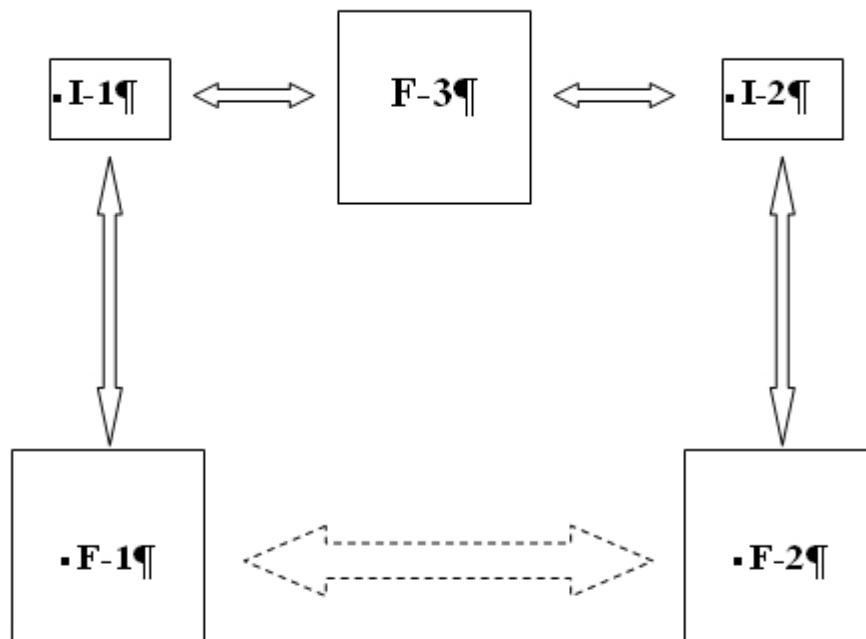
According to what has been established by the authors above-mentioned it can be asserted that the existence of family relationships in the Chilean political life is important. Similarly it can be inferred that the presence or absence of family relationships among politicians has to be necessarily considered as a component element in a schema, which explains the disturbance, or stability in the functioning of the general political system.

This observation stands out as relevant considering that if it were possible to detect the scarce participation of the political families, it would explain some aspects of the political instability to which the Chilean political life has been confronted to in the last decades.

The present study is primarily concerned with two broad issues to which elite recruitment processes give rise. The first of these issues is the extent and the way in which family background in the Chilean Senate appears to be mainly in access to political elite positions. The second is what political family, as an informal social network, reveals about the range and concentration of political posts.

STRENGTH OF POLITICAL FAMILY BACKGROUND

In order to make an accurate distinction on relationship between individual and specific types of relatives, I have drawn the next procedure. This procedure is based on the observation that in general, family is a relational unity; and an individual in society belongs simultaneously to two nuclear families. The family of orientation, in which one is born and reared consisting of one's parents and siblings; and the family of procreation established by marriage, consisting of one's spouse and children. These are defined as individual's immediate families. Thus, an individual forms a link between these two nuclear families; and a ramifying series of such links is shown in the next figure.

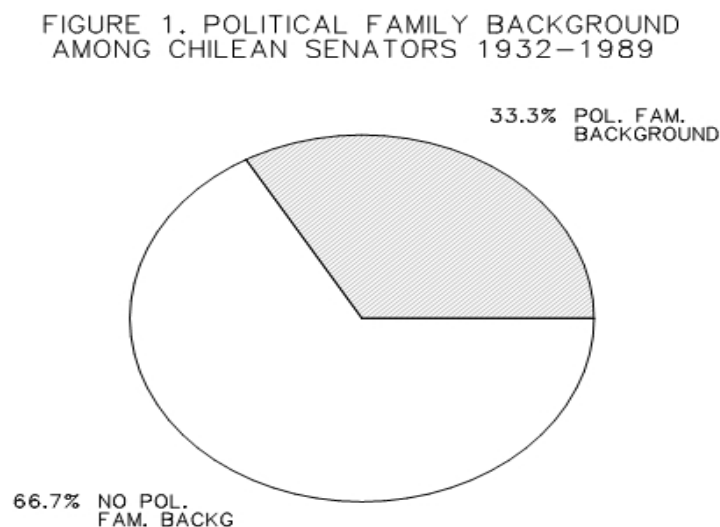


F-1 & F-2	Family of orientation
F-3	Family of procreation
I-1 & I-2	Individual

THE DATA

The universe for the data shall be 'the Chilean Senate 1932-1989', consisting of 243 members at any given time. The cases include all individuals that have occupied the post of senator during the period between 1932 and 1989. The data is provided by archival sources³⁵. The basic set of variables on family background here is a rather straightforward choice.

Figure 1: POLITICAL FAMILY BACKGROUND AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS, 1932 1989



According to the data presented in figure 2 it is possible to establish that the percentage of members of the Chilean Senate with a family background is not oversized. A 32.5% of all the senators who have been elected in the course of five decades, have, in their personal antecedents, some relative who, in the course of the Chilean parliamentary history has occupied a political post in the national government; that is to say, in the executive or

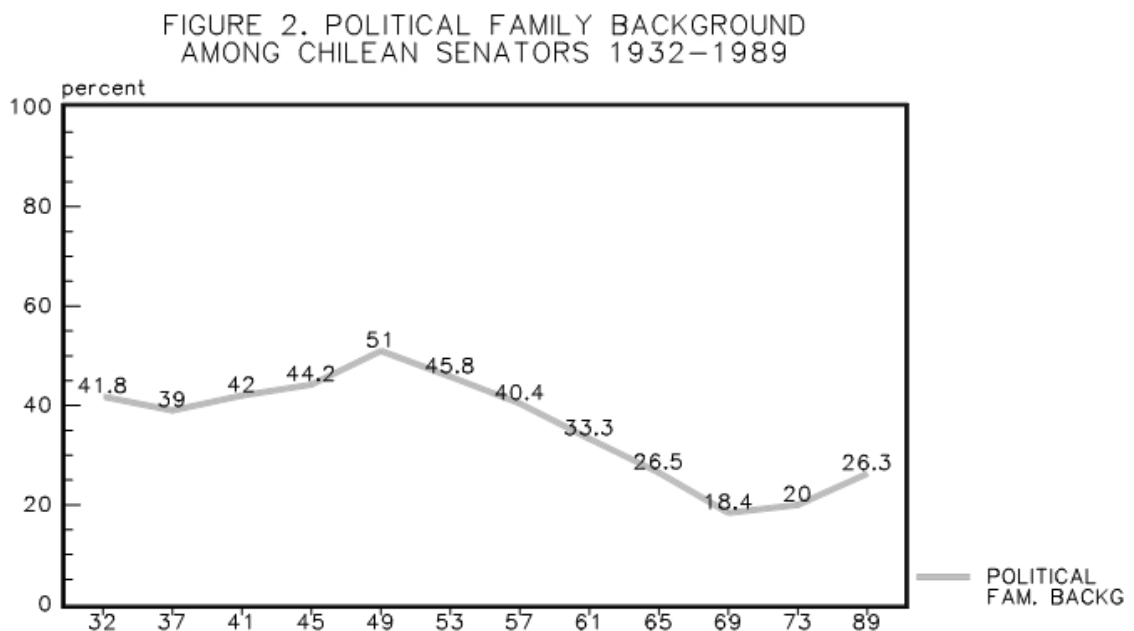
legislative powers. At first glance, the relationship that can be established from a quantitative point of view can be seen as not significant. However, it must be considered that from a comparative perspective, studies carried out in other countries render similar³⁶ proportions. Regarding this and from a comparative perspective the question that arises is what levels or proportions have been recorded in different legislative and executive institutions in the cases that have been studied.

As a whole the group of individuals who have political family antecedents is limited (79 cases), which prevents us from proceeding to prepare a more sophisticated statistical sampling. Particularly in the case in which a sampling regarding political careers is reduced because it is not statistically significant.

In general what the larger number of studies emphasize as relevant in the investigation of the legislators' political family antecedents is the quality and intensity in which these antecedents reveal themselves. The orientation of the present study is directed to emphasize this aspect and that is why it is focused on the description of the different family groups according to the different parties as well as in the description of which the family groups are that have stood out within the framework of the political institutions in the course of time.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATORS WITH POLITICAL FAMILY BACKGROUND OVER TIME

Considering distribution of recruitment into the Senate by political family background³⁷ the shape appears like this;



In figure 2 it can be seen that from 1932 to 1949 there is an increase of representation of legislators with a family background. It can also be seen that as from the end of the 1940s up to the end of the 1960s there is a gradual decrease of senators with a political family background. However, as from the beginning of the 1970s the proportion of legislators with a political family background once again begins to ascend. These three periods well differentiated clearly show that political families have at least been important in the first period (1932-1949).

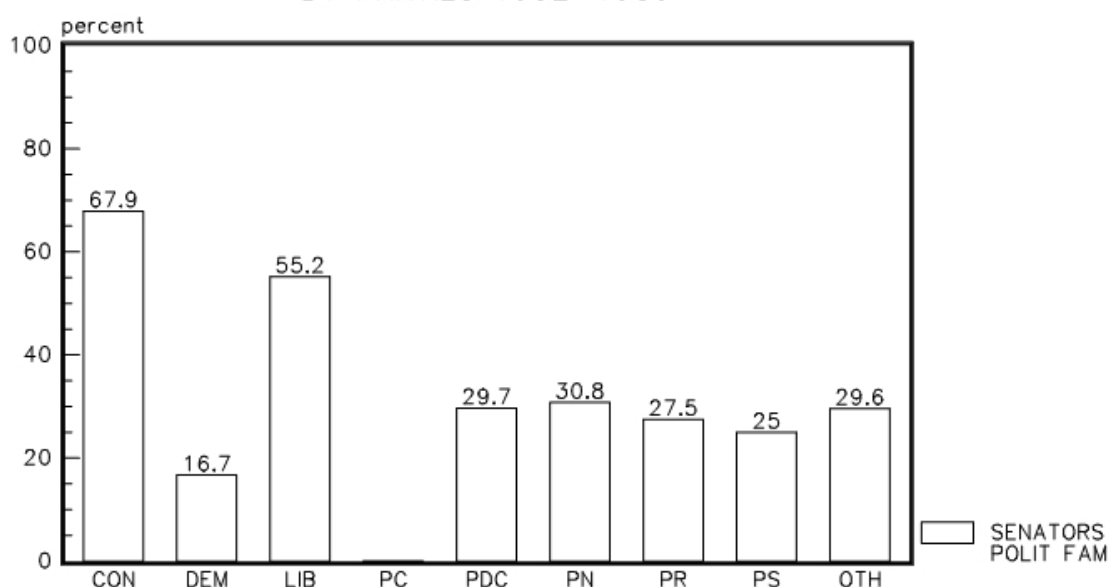
In this case, the presence of a high proportion of senators with political family relationships can be associated to the hypothesis of 'parentela' enunciated by La Palombara (1971), which relates the phenomenon of parental presence in the context of the permanence to someone in power. According to La Palombara's reasoning it can be stated that the decrease seen between 1949 and 1969 obeys to the fact that the traditional ruling parties are displaced by the irruption of a new party in the Chilean political arena, the Christian Democracy (Democracia Cristiana). Within this context it is also necessary to take into consideration the electoral boom on behalf of the leftist parties.

According to the antecedents shown in figure 2 the decrease is associated to the displacement of the parties, which have traditionally ruled the country. In the previous study on the political careers of the members of the Senate it can be seen that as from the early years of the 1950s there begins to take effect significant variations in the structure of the political careers of the members of the Senate. These antecedents as a whole corroborate the fact that it is in this period when the displacement of an elite group by another one takes place.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATORS WITH POLITICAL FAMILY BACKGROUND BY PARTIES

The data across parties over the five decades show that individuals with political family background are an important group in certain parties

FIGURE 3. POLITICAL FAMILY BACKGROUND BY PARTIES 1932-1989



On figure 3 it can be seen that there is an unequal distribution of legislators with political family antecedents among the different political parties. In order of importance two parties stand out for their high concentration - more than a half - of senators with political family antecedents; Conservative Party (67.9%); and Liberal Party (55.2%). The other group which registers a proportion of about a third of its members include almost the totality of the rest of the parties represented in the Chilean Senate; the National Party, 30.8%; Christian Democracy, 29.7%; Radical, 27.5%; minor parties (Others) 27.3% and Socialists, 26.1%. The only exception is the Communist Party, which does not register political family antecedents.

As it has been previously shown the Conservative and Liberal Parties have historically been governmental parties. From this point of view the high concentration of senators with political family antecedents according to the postulate by La Palombara can be seen. The rest of the parties are new ones or have not been in the government for a long time as have the two parties previously mentioned. From a theoretical point of view the question is if this situation only obeys to this particular circumstance or if a tendency pointing to a decrease of the political family factor as a condition for political recruitment can be seen.

THE POLITICAL FAMILIES IN THE CHILEAN SENATE

To specify and determine where a family relationship starts or ends within the context of an institutional reality is a real problem. In practice no procedure has been determined to be used as a general reference. In the specialized literature several examples are known, which describe in general what kind of family ties are represented within a specific context. Usually this partial description seeks to illustrate the presence of the family background factor. A characteristic example of such an illustration is the following one. In the beginning of the century, among 559 deputies and senators there were 98 cases of brothers, 61 of fathers and sons, 57 of uncles and nephews, 20 of cousins, 12 of fathers-in-law, and 32 of brothers-in-law (Loveman 1979:176-177).

Loveman underlines the fact that he deals with types of family relationships and not with those of the 559 deputies and senators, of whom 280 (that is to say 50%) registered political family antecedents. It is highly probable that in more than one case an individual alone registered more than one family relationship. From this perspective it is possible to infer that the percentage of individuals with political family relationships is under 50% of the sum total, on the other hand, it is highly probable to suppose that the percentage is fewer than 40% of all the deputies and senators included in the

sampling.

The figures exposed by Loveman emphasize the fact that the family relationships such as brother and father-son are predominant; as a whole they include 56% of the sum total of the cases on the family relationships described. In the following table the type and amount of family relationships, which have been detected among the Chilean senators, are illustrated. The type of family relationship was established considering those relatives that at some time or other have had some kind of representation in the legislative power (Chamber of Deputies, Senate) or in the executive power (Ministries or Presidency of the Republic).

Table 1: TYPES AND AMOUNT OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS 1932-1989 (absolute numbers)

GF	GS	FA	SO	BR	HU	NE	CO	UN	FL	SL	BL	TOT	
1	2	2	8	12	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	33	1L
0	2	2	5	7	1	4	1	0	2	0	5	29	2L
0	5	2	11	9	0	6	2	1	0	2	5	43	3L
0	4	1	7	3	0	8	5	0	0	3	6	37	4L
0	4	2	3	4	0	5	3	0	0	2	1	24	5L
1	17	9	34	35	1	29	12	1	2	8	17	166	

GF: grand father; **GS:** grand son; **FA:** father; **SO:**son; **BR:** brother; **HU:** husband; **NE:** nephew; **CO:** cousin; **UN:** uncle; **FL:** father-in-law; **SL:** son- in-law; **BL:** brother-in-law.

1L 2L 3L 4L 5L: numbers of family link.

All the family relationships that could be detected include 166 cases, these are distributed among a total of 76 individuals. The absolute numbers of family relationships that could be detected among the senators, as a whole is proportionally similar to the figure pointed out by Loveman in his study (280). In the same way it can be stated that the distribution per type of family relationships coincides with the one pointed out by Loveman; that is to say, in our data the predominance of brother and son constitutes 41.3% of the total sum of relationships. A second type of family relationships that stands out as

important as the above-mentioned is the one consisting of grandson, nephew, cousin and brother-in-law, all of which register a representation of 44.9%. Comparatively our data point out that through the years the predominance of brothers and sons, among the group of family relationships, which have been maintained relevant, are the ones emphasized in both studies.

Another important antecedent is emphasized in the table 1, only 37.3% of the different types of family relationships are concentrated among those individuals who register one or two family links.

The predominant relationship among the group of family relationships is that of son and brother, regarding this it is possible to confirm that these are distributed in an unequal way. Some 61.7% of sons are concentrated among those who register more than three links. The same tendency can be confirmed in the other predominant group, constituted by grandsons, nephews, cousins and brothers-in-law. This antecedent allows us to establish that among the legislators that register political family antecedents there stand out groups that have numerous family links and those that do not.

On the other hand the greater part of brothers, 54.2% are concentrated among those legislators who register less than 3 links. In this respect it is important to point out that despite the difference seen in the distribution of these two types of family relationships between the two main groups, it is not clearly evident that the family condition, whether son or brother, would allow us to establish if they belong to a family of numerous family links or not. In both groups the relationships such as brother and son constitute the most representative ones.

Aiming to identify which are the family groups that stand out for accumulating family links it is necessary to illustrate how many of the individuals who register political family antecedents are distributed according to the number of links. In the following table the proportion in which the individuals accumulate links can be seen.

Table 2: AMOUNT OF FAMILY LINKS AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS 1932-1989

1	2	3	4	5	Total
33	14	14	9	6	76

In table 2 it can be seen that the majority, 62% of the total sum of legislators registering different types of family relationships only register one or two family links. A minor group of legislators with family antecedents, a third of the total sum registering family antecedents, accumulate three or more family links. As it has been previously stated a clear ratio between the distribution of the different types of family relationships and legislators with more or less proportion of links cannot be established. The proportion of individuals who register three or more family links reaches the amount of twenty-nine individuals. Up to what point are the individuals who register a great amount of links related or not among themselves? Or up to what point are they organized in different family groups? Or are they part of different family groups?

Historians and political scientists have particularly pointed out the presence of different family groups within the political institutions. According to Bauer (1975:217) 'Correa, Echenique, Errazuriz and Bulnes were only a few of the landed families whose names were prominent in Chilean national politics for many generations. Frequently one son inherited the estate'. Other historians such as Lowenthal (1976) have paid special attention to document the participation of some of them such as the Larrain and Carrera families within the frame of a specific historical event, the independence of Chile from the Spanish Empire.

The selection of the cases presented below has been made taking into consideration the high ratio of family links³⁸. The family relationships have been established taking as reference the condition of having the post of senator during the period studied; 1932-1988.

According to the criteria described, the following 6 senators stand out for registering a high ratio of family links: Arturo Alessandri Palma. Arturo Matte Larrain, Francisco Bulnes Correa, Fernando Aldunate Errazuriz,

Maximo Errazuriz Valdes, and Pedro Opazo Cousiño.

FAMILY MAPS

It is necessary to call the attention to the fact that it is extraordinarily difficult to establish an accurate relationship of family links in the case of extents parental groups. It is particularly so in the case of families that has had an outstanding place in the history of the country, as is the case of the different versions of the Larrain and Errazuriz families. In this case, the main difficulty is to determine which person is used as reference in order to establish a subsequent order of family relationship.

In our case, according to the people we have used as reference it has turned out that the Aldunate Errazuriz and Errazuriz Valdes families appear as two different family groups. It is highly possible that according to another arrangement put into effect we could prove the existence of family links between these two parental groups; it is necessary to point out that in accordance with the procedure we have applied the confirmation of this family relationship has not been produced.

The main purpose of this study does not aim to elaborate a genealogical study of the Chilean senators as a whole but to bring into focus the importance of their family origin within the context of specific political entities.

The family maps exhibited above allow us to confirm that the family groups that have become outstanding for their high representation in the different national governmental institutions match those which have previously been pointed out as typical political families (Bauer, 1975:217; Zeitlin, 1976; Lowenthal, 1976). In the period included in our study, there still predominate the historical political-family groups such as the Matte Larrain, Bulnes Correa, Aldunate Errazuriz, Errazuriz Valdes and Opazo Cousiño groups.

In representing terms the Alessandri Palma family stands out as being part of the traditional political families as a whole. What makes this family really outstanding is the amount of important political posts it has achieved to

occupy.

In comparison with the rest of the family groups the Alessandri Palma family does not appear as a numerous one, however, we have to consider that between Arturo Matte Larrain and the respective family members of the Alessandri Palma family there are close family links on account of the fact that Arturo Matte Larrain was married to Arturo Alessandri Palma's daughter. Considering this degree of family interrelationship it can be proved that as a family group it is above the rest of the family groups in representation.

Another important antecedent worth pointing out is that a great number of members of the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family group register a regular path to the political careers. A high ratio of their members began their political careers in the Chamber of Deputies and then in the Senate, and some of them became ministers. In the course of the five decades which are included in our study, the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family groups stand out for having candidated for the Presidency of the Republic six times and three times having been elected.³⁹

In the last sixty years Chile's political history has had three cases of politicians who have applied as candidates for the Presidency of the Republic⁴⁰ several times. Apart from Arturo Alessandri Palma, we have to consider Salvador Allende Gossens and Carlos Ibañez del Campo (applied in 1927, 1938, 1942; elected president in 1927, 1952). The amount of three candidacies corresponds to Arturo Alessandri Palma alone.

Salvador Allende Gossens's case with three candidacies, has a relative importance from the point of view of family relationship, since through his kinship with the Grove Vallejo brothers (if consequently they are considered as a family group it is necessary to point out that to the Allende Gossens-Grove Vallejo family correspond four applications to the Presidency of the Republic) becomes qualified as a member of a family group which in comparison with the traditional ones proves to be insignificant because of its small size.

However, in the case of Carlos Ibañez del Campo, to whom belong the extraordinary amount of four applications, it is different; from the point of view of the importance of the family relationships he stands out on account of his parental family-in-law relationship with the Opazo Cousiño. The cases of Carlos Ibañez del Campo as well as the one of Salvador Allende Gossens require a deeper historical analysis in order to be able to establish up to what point a more explicit relationship between family origin and political career

can be determined.

It is interesting to emphasize that during the period of fifty years none of the members of the traditional political families stand out for applying for the Presidency of the Republic. However, it is possible to verify that they stand out for their high representation in the different institutions of the national government. Clearly enough the most evident explanation is that in the course of the fifty years included in our study the absolute predominance of the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family-in-law stand out. From this perspective it is possible to state that this family plays the same role as the one, which the Larrain Salas-Vicuña Larrain family had to play at the beginning of the XIX century (Patria Vieja 1810-1814).

From this perspective and in terms of family links, it can be stated that from the 1920s up to the 1950s the presence of the members of these two associated families surpasses any other family group in quantitative terms.

The role that the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain families have played fits the definition of 'parentela'. And it is so because it embodies the typical example of what different authors have pointed out as a typical example of an oligarchical family. In most cases the definition includes the fact that the said families are characterized by monopolizing top political posts. From this perspective the amount of political posts accumulated by the members of the Alessandri Palma family compared to others, allows us to identify it with the traditional oligarchical families.

Up to a certain point it is possible to speculate that until the sixties the presence of the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain is substantially important in the different institutions belonging to the national government. The displacement from the national government of the political parties that have traditionally ruled the country also meant the displacement of certain families. Nowadays it is possible to see the presence of small family associations such as those of Frei – Ruiz Tagle and Aylwin - Oyarzun ones, which are not significant per se, but it is worth the trouble to wonder whether they are the family embryos, which will characterize the Christian Democracy party in the future or not.

It is also worth question if the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family association has been the last expression of the traditional oligarchical family in the history of the Chilean politics. Or as it is stated by Loveman (1979:176-177) that during the XIX century the Chilean institutional stability in most part depended on restricted suffrage, the very low levels of political

participation and the preservation of the principal governmental posts and of the chambers in the hands of a small elite familiarly and socially interrelated. Or as is stated by Agor (1969) the bases of the Chilean Senate's influence in decision-making are: (1) the long evolutionary historical development of the Senate over 150 years; (2) the presence of an opposition majority in one of the two chambers, usually the Senate; (3) public support for a democratic system that includes a congress independent of the executive; (4) member stability; and informal norms of Chamber-Senate apprenticeship; and (5) senators' personal ties (economic and kinship) to the environment of the Senate System.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

According to the antecedents which are presented in our study it is possible to establish that the percentage of members of the Chilean Senate does not involve more than a third of the total sum of senators who have been elected in the course of these five decades. From a comparative perspective, we have to consider that the proportion registered inside de Chilean Senate coincides with the results of similar studies.

According to our results it can be established that we can distinguish three periods characterized by registering variations in relation to the level of representation of legislators with family background. Of the three periods clearly differentiated there stands out the first period (1932-1949) where we can see a distinctive predominance of the legislators with political family antecedents.

The analysis of the distribution per political party reveals an unequal distribution of legislators with political family antecedents. Two parties stand out by the fact of registering a disproportionate representation, which involves more than a half of their representatives. The party, which registers the highest ratio, is the Conservative Party with 67.9% and in the second place comes the Liberal Party with 55.2%.

The relationship of these antecedents as a whole allows us to establish some general conclusions. First, if we consider the results of our previous study, where we can see a progressive decrease of the proportion of political veterans in the Chilean Senate, and associate this antecedent with the fact that through the years there has been a proportional decrease of the legislators with family backgrounds, we can establish, in relation to these two aspects, that it is possible to confirm that a decrease of what in the specialized literature has been called the agglutination phenomenon has taken place in the Chilean Senate.

In the same way it is possible to establish that the predominance phenomenon of the senators with family antecedents occurs in a specific time and space. As to space, it is possible to establish that the parties that register the highest ratio are the parties that have ruled the country in the course of the 1930s and 1940s. In particular, we have to point out that in the course of this same period of time the predominance of the veteran legislators is also registered, antecedent that has been pointed out in our previous study.

In that respect the results corroborate the assumption established by La Palombara, which postulate that the hegemonic quality of parties, is the key variable affecting parentela, and it has two dimensions: spatial and temporal. In this case, these parties are clearly the hegemonic parties as far as the spatial dimension is concerned.

The investigation of the family maps allowed us to confirm that the family groups, which are outstanding because of their high representation in the different national governmental institutions, belong to those, which have been previously pointed out as typical political families by other authors. In the period dealt with in our study, there still predominates the representation of historical family groups such as those of Matte Larrain, Bulnes Correa, Aldunate Errazuriz, Errazuriz Valdés and Opazo Cousiño.

Out of the family groups as a whole that were examined, the members of the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family group stand out especially for registering a high ratio of their individual members or for being simultaneously in different institutions of the national government; Chamber of Deputies, Senate, ministries, candidates to the Presidency of the Republic and Presidents of the Republic. It is important as well to consider that in the course of the five decades involved in our study, five members of the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family group applied to the Presidency of the Republic, resulting twice elected as Presidents of the Republic.

It is possible to verify the absolute predominance of the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain political family in the course of the fifty years involved in our study. It is also possible to compare the predominance sustained by this family group to the one sustained by the Larrain Salas-Vicuña Larrain one in the beginning of the XIX century. In the Chilean political history only these two families have been so highly represented in such high public posts.

In fact the predominance of the traditional political families as a whole with the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain political family is placed in the course of the three first decades of the period dealt with in our study. From the beginning of the 1950s, the irruption of the Christian Democracy and the leftists' parties put an end to the high representation of legislators with political family backgrounds, and it specifically coincides with the disappearance of the greater part of the family groups identified in our study.

This result makes evident the displacement of the families, in that respect it is possible to draw a parallel to what Loveman (1979:176-177) says that during the XIX century the Chilean institutional stability mainly depended on

restricted suffrage, very low political participation and the preservation of the main governmental posts and the chambers in the hands of a small elite socially and familiarly interrelated. Or as Agor (1969) states that the bases of the Chilean Senate's influence is decision-making are: (1) the long evolutionary historical development of the Senate over 150 years; (2) the presence of an opposition majority in one of the two chambers, usually the Senate; (3) public support for a democratic system that includes a congress independent of the executive (4) member stability, and informal norms of Chamber-Senate apprenticeship; and (5) senators' personal ties (economic and kinship) to the environment of the Senate system.

Has it got to do with the crisis arising from the displacement of the two parties, which have traditionally ruled the country?

A question is if the Alessandri Palma-Matte Larrain family alliance was the last expression of the traditional oligarchical family in Chile's political history?

The displacement from the national government of the political parties, which have traditionally ruled the country, also meant the displacement of certain families. Nowadays it is possible to notice the presence of small family associations such as those of the Frei – Ruiz Tagle and Aylwin - Oyarzun ones, whose presence is not significant per se, but it is worth the trouble to wonder whether they are the family embryos that will characterize the Christian Democracy in the future or not.

Those antecedents, which allow our observation, are the following; in 1989 Andrés Aylwin Azócar brother to Patricio Aylwin Azócar was elected deputy for the Christian Democratic Party. Another brother, Arturo Aylwin Azócar, became in 1989 chief for Auditor-General's Office. Mariana Aylwin Oyarzun daughter to Andrés Aylwin Azócar in 2000 became Minister of Education. In 1989 Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, son of Eduardo Frei Montalva, became senator. In 1991 elected president of the Christian Democrat Party. In 1993 proclaimed candidate for the Presidency of Chile. 11th, December of 1993 became President of Republic.

In this case our study makes it evident that historical political families assume concrete relationships at particular times and places. In this term it illustrates the degree to which they lose or maintain their elite position over time.

Notes

- ¹ According to Weber the honorary politician normally regards politics as a sideline, he is occasionally closely linked to a stable political organization, he exists in periods of stagnant precarious and unbureaucratic political organizations, and usually comes from the upper social class. The professional politician, however, is entirely dependent on politics for his subsistence; he moves up into the ranks of the political elite through a career linked to stable political organisations and may come from any social class.
- ² Michels's 'iron law of oligarchy' thesis postulates that in mass political organisations there is an inexorable tendency for a gap to develop between the mass membership and the cadre of functionaries who increasingly separate themselves off from membership.
- ³ The term 'embourgeoisement' is used in the same sense as by Johnson (1973), Guttman (1974), and Pakulski (1982); it refers to the gradual displacement of politicians with working class backgrounds by those from the middle class
- ⁴ In a study of political decision-makers in US, Matthews (1954:30) found that lawyers made up more than 50% of all US senators and representatives between 1949-1951, and about 70% of all president, vice-presidents and cabinets between 1877-1934.
- ⁵ Further discussion in Putnam, 1976:184-188; Pedersen, 1972:25-63; Pakulski, 1982:125-129
- ⁶ The main characteristics pointed out by several researchers is that, in many Western European countries, political forces are aligned into three great blocs: the Right, the Center, and the Left. Distinctive for these countries are the existence of strong working class parties. Consequently, these facts favour the presence of a distinct channel of recruitment for politicians from lower levels in society. Several researchers have examined the relation within the social origins of politicians from left-wing parties and the 'process of formation of oligarchies' among these parties.
- ⁷ For a more detailed examination of college or postgraduate degree holders among Parliaments and Senates members in various countries, see: Kim and Patterson (1988:384), Parliament. Matthews (1960:25), Senate. Guttman (a) (1974:28), House of Commons. Sköld & Halvarson (1966:446), Andra Kammaren.
- ⁸ The criterion to define the level of education is based on the difference among those who have a university education and those who do not have it. Those without a university education are classified as with middle education. Primary education has been classified as low. Unclassified means those who lack any kind of educational record on their biographies.

⁹ Between 1953 and 1961 there is no 'middle level.' There are two reasons why it has been omitted. Firstly, we can observe a clear increase on the low level. Against this background we presume that the low level replaces the middle level. This supposition is in fact relative considering the general tendency. Being more in detail, it is possible that a drastic diminution of middle level took place. Secondary is the lack of information on 10 senators during this period, fact that most probably matches the omission of our description.

¹⁰ Our classification of professions is a product of a previous classification, adapted and used on similar studies. The reasoning is based on a grouping of the 'Principal Occupations Among Chilean Senators'. here we are referring to the "occupations" existing at the time of elections. The criteria is arbitrary, mainly represented by the proportion of professions among the Chilean Senators.

The "professionals" have been grouped with reference to their professional qualification in order to distinguish them among the lawyers. The difference between "proprietors" and "landowner" is mainly what they own, and no professional classification was mentioned on their biographies. The final result of our classification is as follows:

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS AMONG CHILEAN SENATORS	
LAWYERS	Lawyer
PROFESSIONALS	Architect, Author, Economist, Engineer, Philosoph, Physician, High School Teacher, Sociologist
PROPRIETORS	Business, Merchant
LANDOWNER	Landowner
WORKERS	Worker
UNCLASSIFIED	Housewife, Merchant Service Officer, Military, School Teacher

Under the title 'Unclassified occupation' we have placed Housewife (1 individual), Merchant Service Officer (1), Military (4), School Teachers (8). Since Military and School Teachers do not outstand through time, we are able to have an individual representation. However their opposite lines do not allow us to group them. The level that this group reached in 1989 is higher than that of landowners and workers because we have included those employed on merchant fleets and the military.

¹¹ See Matthews (1960:30-31) Principal Occupations Among US Senators 1947-1957.

¹² For an account of lawyers on various parliament see Pedersen (1972:28). For a more extensive analysis of the role of lawyers among legislators, see: Schlesinger (1957); Holmberg (1974); Kaltefleiter (1976); Pakulski (1982); Guppy, Freeman, and Buchan (1987).

¹³ The classification of the parties has been constructed with basis on a reference to the DIAPOL (1987) study. The criterion to denominate the parties is founded on a follow-up of their origins and fractions. This procedure implies certain difficulties if we apply it

consequently.

The case of the Conservative, Liberal, National, National Renovation, and National Democratic Union is problematic. They all have a common root and more than once have been separated or united. According to past records on the separating process, the distance between the Conservative, Liberal and National is not significant. But from the perspective of origin and separation, the distance between the Conservative, Liberal, National Renovation and National Democratic Union it is indeed significant.

An alternative is to group them under criteria of origin. This will mean to classify a conglomerate with a concentration of a 29.16% of the total of senators. The problem will be the denomination to be given to the group. Arbitrarily we have decided to group them according to the distance in the process of separation and with reference to their common origin. Therefore, under this denomination of Conservative party we have grouped all the versions of the conservatives. Under Liberal Party we have grouped all versions of liberals. Under the denomination of National Party we have National Renovation and National Democratic Union.

The category 'Other' corresponds to all the ones which do not have any of the above conditions and which have less than 10 senators. As an example we have Christian Democracy Party and the Movement of Popular Unitary Action (MAPU); this last one has its origin on the first one but ideologically they differ from one another.

Conservative Party (CON); Democrat Party (DEM); Liberal Party (LIB); Communist Party (PC); Christian Democracy Party (PDC); National Party (PN); Radical Party (PR); Socialist Party (PS); minor parties (OTH).

¹⁴ We make this distinction respecting the role of the National Party as "government party," because an important proportion of the representatives in the National Party, Independent Democratic Union and National Renovation (which in this case have been grouped under National Party) held different executive posts like ministers, mayors or political counsellors during the military dictatorship from 1973-1989.

¹⁵ According to Weber the honorary politician normally regards politics as a sideline activity, he is occasionally closely linked to a stable political organization, he exists in periods of stagnant precarious and unbureaucratic political organizations, and usually comes from the upper social class. The professional politician, however, is entirely dependent on politics for his subsistence. He moves up into the ranks of the political elite through a career linked to stable political organisations and may come from any social class.

¹⁶ Michels's "iron law of oligarchy" thesis postulates that in mass political organisations there is an inexorable tendency for a gap to develop between the masses of the members and the cadre of functionaries that increasingly separate themselves from the rest of the membership.

¹⁷ Mosca's thesis postulates that the effectiveness of the governing stratum hinges on the recruitment of its members from among the dominant social types.

¹⁸ The term "cursus honorum" is here used in the same sense as in Schlesinger (1965) and

Pakulski (1982); for the purpose of operationalizing the concept of political career in terms of well demarcated entrance points followed by specific sequences of political positions.

¹⁹ For further discussion, see Pakulski (1982:142), Matthews (1960:63), Mills (1952) and Schlesinger (1965).

²⁰ For further discussion, see Kim and Patterson (1988)

²¹ "Professional politicians", according to Pakulski (1982:137), may be termed so in the sense that their occupational careers have consisted mainly or wholly of full-time political positions.

²² For a brief description of the comparative analyses carried out by Agor (1969 and 1971)

²³ See Agor (1969:22)

²⁴ As Matthews (1966:61) points out "... when 180 senators must be assigned to one or the other category, some agonizing decisions have to be made."

²⁵ According to the operational definition of Kim and Patterson; membership distribution by types of political career appears as follows.

POLITICAL CAREER IN SIX PARLIAMENTS

(Kim and Patterson; 1988:387) (percent)

	Belgium	Italy	Switzerl and	Kenya	Korea	Turkey
Careerist	76	83	55	25	58	37
Arriviste	19	0	37	46	34	42
Parliamentarian	2	16	2	22	2	5
Amateur	3	1	4	7	6	16

²⁶ According to the Kim and Patterson's (1988:387) classification arrivist and parliamentarian are the two groups which register previous political and institutional experience.

²⁷ See Kim and Patterson's (1988:387) and Matthews (1966:appendix e, table:3)

²⁸ The classification of the parties has been constructed with basis on a reference to the DIAPOL (1987) study. The criteria to denominate the parties is founded on a follow-up of their origins and fractions. This procedure implies certain difficulties if we apply it consequently.

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²⁹ Mosca (1939:53-55) distinguished between elite positions, which, he thought, indicated various qualities leading to elite status, and elite control, which depended on cohesion and organizational abilities which made the minority autonomous and uncontrolled.

³⁰ According to Pakulski (1982:23-25) Elite agglutination means that elite position-holders belong to the most elevated social stratus in a society. The concept of elite agglutination focuses primarily on the character of elite's social and educational backgrounds. When agglutination is substantial, elite persons, who are defined solely by their possession of large amounts of power, are those who also rank highest on social status, education, wealth and other dimensions of social stratification. To the extent that evidence of substantial agglutination including frequent kinship links is found in an elite, it is a reasonable inference that members of that elite have used their power to promote and co-opt persons like themselves to their ranks. For further discussion, see Putnam (1976:33-38) and Stnaworth and Giddens (1974:82)

³¹ For further discussion, see Pakulski (1982, Chapter 3, 4, 5); Bell (1973:361-362)

³² More bibliographic data in Lowenthal, 1976:80.

³³ Studies which show the importance of kinship in political systems in Latin America is founds in Lipset and Solar (eds.) 1967; Imaz, 1970; Stone, 1975; Lowenthal, 1976; Smith, 1979; Camp, 1993.

³⁴ Quoted by Lowenthal (1976:77)

³⁵ For a brief description of the data and sampling method see Biographic Compendium.

³⁶ According to the data a majority of the members of the Chilean Senate has started their political career as senator (38.7%); secondly elected deputy-senator (35.4%); thirdly they have a regular career pattern as senator-minister (13.8%); and fourthly they became deputy-senator-minister (12.1%).

³⁷ Further, for purpose of comparison; systematic data on political careers and family background in general are not plentiful. In particular, the early stages of political

careers have only rarely been investigated; either formulated a coherent criterion concerning the operationalization of family background variable. The characterization used by researchers to define social origins (political family background) is associated to the notion of "old families", "families" "well-known families". The picture, which emerges, is imprecise, because the operationalization requires the exercise of subjective judgment concerning the boundaries of "families". Therefore, we are forced to rely on rather crude indicators and on general assessments in the literature on elite recruitment

In the case of USA Matthews (1966:61) reported that about ...7% of the senators, come from America's "old families"

In the case of the study of Kim and Patterson; (1988:385); it is reported, "For the Third World parliamentary elites professional distinction are of no major importance. What is important, however, to a successful political career is ascriptive qualities of a candidate such as family, clan, tribal, and regional ties"

Guttsman (1963:160) point on; "Of 5,034 M.P.s who sat in Parliament between 1734 and 1832, 3,045 belonged to 922 families and, of these, 247 families could claim 1,527 M.P.s. Indeed there were 31 families who had sent a total of 382 men in the House of Commons"

Hamon, (1952:551) "Nor is the political elite a hereditary body. Just as few members of parliament under the Fourth and Fifth Republics were leaders in their profession before entering parliament, few of them belong to well-known families who made a name for themselves in politics"

³⁸ Its purpose is to determine the extent of the family links, which have been detected inside the Chilean Senate. Next to the degree of kinship I have included all the political posts accumulated in their political careers in the field of the legislative and executive institutions.

39 1920 Candidate for President of Republic: Arturo Alessandri Palma.
1920 President of Republic: Arturo Alessandri Palma.
1931 Candidate for President of Republic: Arturo Alessandri Palma,
1932 President of Republic: Arturo Alessandri Palma.
1946 Candidate for President of Republic: Fernando Alessandri Rodriguez.
1953 Candidate for President of Republic: Arturo Matte Larraín
1958 Candidate for President of Republic: Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez.
1958 President of Republic: Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez.
1970 Candidate for President of Republic: Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez

⁴⁰ 1932-1938 Alessandri Palma Arturo;
1938-1941 Aguirre Cerda Pedro;
1942-1946 Rios Morales Juan Antonio;
1946-1952 Gonzalez Videla Gabriel;
1952-1958 Ibañez Del Campo Carlos;
1958-1964 Alessandri Rodriguez Jorge;
1964-1970 Frei Montalva Eduardo;
1970-1973 Allende Gossens Salvador;
1989-1938 Aylwin Patricio Azocar

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The Chilean Senate

1932-1989

1 ACHARAN ARCE CARLOS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal 1957

DIPUTADO: Valdivia, La Unión, Río Bueno 1933 1937 1941 1945 1949

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

2 ACUÑA ROSAS AMERICO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical. Izquierda Radical

DIPUTADO: Osorno, Río Negro 1965

SENADOR: Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

3 AGUILERA BAEZ LUIS

PROFESION: Obrero?

PARTIDO: Socialista

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1961

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

4 AGUIRRE DOOLAN HUMBERTO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical. Izquierda Radical 1971

DIPUTADO: Chillán, Bulnes, Yungay 1949

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1953 1961 1969

MINISTRO: Agricultura 1946, Tierras y Colonización 1947

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

5 AHUMADA PACHECO GERARDO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Unión Nacional Independiente 1953

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

6 AHUMADA PACHECO HERMES

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical 1961

DIPUTADO: Santiago Tercer Distrito 1945, 1949, 1953

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

7 ALAMOS BARROS LUIS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO: San Carlos, Chillán, Bulnes, Yungay 1926 (Itata S C)

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1933

MINISTRO: Hacienda 1931 1936 1946, Relaciones Exteriores 1941, Interior 1945

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

8 ALDUNATE ERRAZURIZ CARLOS

PROFESION: Abogado 1916

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1941

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1933 r

MINISTRO: Relaciones Exteriores 1931

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

9 ALDUNATE ERRAZURIZ FERNANDO

PROFESION: Abogado 1917

PARTIDO: Conservador, Miembro de la Dirección del Partido

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1937

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

10 ALESSANDRI BESA ARTURO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989. Nacional 1973

DIPUTADO: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, El Loa, Tal Tal 1973

SENADOR: Antofagasta 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

11 ALESSANDRI PALMA ARTURO

PROFESION: Abogado 1893, Universidad Estado

PARTIDO: Liberal, Miembro de la Dirección del Partido. Alianza Liberal

DIPUTADO: Curicó, Vichuquén 1897 1900 1903 1906 1909 Curicó 1912

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1915 1932, Curicó Mataquito 1941, Santiago 1949,
Presidente de Chile 1945 1949

MINISTRO: Obras Públicas y Vías de Comunicación 1898, Interior 1918

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1920, 1931, 1932

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1920-1925, 1932-1938

12 ALESSANDRI RODRIGUEZ EDUARDO

PROFESION: Abogado 1926

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO: Copiapó, Chañaral, Huasco, Freirina 1937 Cauquenes, Constitución
Chanco 1941 1945

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

13 ALESSANDRI RODRIGUEZ FERNANDO

PROFESION: Abogado 1919, Universidad Estado

PARTIDO: Liberal. Nacional

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1933 1937 1945 1953 1961 Presidente de Chile
1945 1949

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1946

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

14 ALESSANDRI RODRIGUEZ JORGE

PROFESION: Ingeniero 1919, Escuela Ingeniería

PARTIDO: Independiente 1925. Liberal 1920

DIPUTADO: Santiago 1926

SENADOR: Santiago 1957

MINISTRO: Hacienda 1947

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1958, 1970

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1958-1964

15 ALLENDE GOSSENS SALVADOR

PROFESION: Medico 1932

PARTIDO: Socialista 1933. Socialista Popular 1948. Socialista de Chile 1957

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1937

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1945 Tarapacá,
Antofagasta 1953; Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1961

MINISTRO: Salubridad Previsión y Asistencia Social 1939 1941

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1952, 1958, 1964, 1970

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1970-1973

16 ALTAMIRANO ORREGO CARLOS

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista, Secretario General del Partido 1970

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1965, 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

17 ALVAREZ SUAREZ HUMBERTO

PROFESION: Abogado 1917

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1933 1937

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1941 1949 Presidente de Chile 1949 1957

MINISTRO: Justicia 1936, Interior 1940, Economía 1942

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

18 AMPUERO DIAZ RAUL

PROFESION: Abogado 1944

PARTIDO: Socialista Popular 1953. Socialista Secretario General del Partido 1946

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1953 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

19 AMUNATEGUI JORDAN GREGORIO

PROFESION: Ingeniero

PARTIDO: Liberal, Presidente del Partido 1960

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1933 1937

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1941 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

20 ARANEDA BRIONES ERNESTO

PROFESION: Obrero Construcción

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

21 AYLWIN AZOCAR PATRICIO

PROFESION: Abogado 1944

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina, Presidente del Partido 1958 1960 1965 1973 1987.
Falange Nacional, Presidente del Partido 1951

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1989

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1989-19??

22 AZOCAR ALVAREZ GUILLERMO

PROFESION: Abogado Agricultor

PARTIDO: Radical. Socialista 1931

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1933 1937

MINISTRO: Agricultura 1931

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

23 BALLESTEROS REYES EUGENIO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina, Presidente del Partido 1965

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1965

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

24 BARROS PEREZ COTAPO JAIME

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Comunista. Independiente

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

25 BARRUETO MOLINET DARIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

26 BARRUETO REEVES EDGARDO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Agrario Laborista 1957

DIPUTADO: Temuco, Lautaro, Imperial, Villarica, Pitrufquén 1949 1953

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

27 BELLOLIO ZAPPETTINI BLAS

PROFESION: Agricultor, Comerciante

PARTIDO: Agrario Laborista 1953. Nacional Popular

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

28 BORQUEZ PEREZ ALFONSO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical. Socialista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1926 1930 1933 1937
1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

29 BOSSAY LEYVA LUIS

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido, Presidente del Partido 1939.
Izquierda Radical 1971. Social Democracia 1973, Presidente del Partido
1973

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1941 1945 1949

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1953 1961 1969

MINISTRO: Trabajo 1946, Economía 1947 1958

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

30 BRAVO ORTIZ ENRIQUE

PROFESION: Militar?

PARTIDO: Liberal. Social Republicano, Presidente del Partido 1931

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1933 1937

MINISTRO: Defensa Nacional 1931

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

31 BULNES CORREA FRANCISCO

PROFESION: Abogado 1909

PARTIDO: Liberal, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: San Felipe 1921

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1945 r

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

32 BULNES SANFUENTES FRANCISCO

PROFESION: Abogado 1939

PARTIDO: Conservador, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido, Presidente del Partido
1962. Conservador Unido, Presidente del Partido 1953. Nacional.
Renovación Nacional 1990?

DIPUTADO: San Fernando, Santa Cruz 1945 1949

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1953 1961 Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

33 BUSTAMANTE CORDERO LUIS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical. Radical Socialista 1931

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

34 CABERO DIAZ ALBERTO

PROFESION: Abogado 1901

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido. Radical Socialista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1925 1933

MINISTRO: Tierras y Colonización 1937. Defensa Nacional 1938

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

35 CALDERON ARANGUIZ ROLANDO

PROFESION: Obrero Agrícola

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989. Socialista 1970

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Magallanes 1989

MINISTRO: Agricultura, Trabajo 1970

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

36 CAMPUSANO CHAVEZ JULIETA

PROFESION: Ama de Casa

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

37 CANTUARIAS LARRONDO EUGENIO

PROFESION: Ingeniero Civil Químico

PARTIDO: Unión Democrática Independiente, Vicepresidente del Partido 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

38 CARMONA PERALTA JUAN DE DIOS

PROFESION: Abogado 1944

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1957. Falange Nacional

DIPUTADO: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, El Loa, Tal Tal 1949 1953

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1969

MINISTRO: Defensa Nacional 1964. Economía 1968

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

39 CARRERA VILLAVICENCIO MARIA ELENA

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Socialista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

40 CASTRO PALMA BALTASAR

PROFESION: Comerciante Empleado

PARTIDO: Vanguardia Nacional del Pueblo, Presidente del Partido 1958

DIPUTADO: Rancagua, Cachapoal, Caupolicán, San Vicente 1949 1953

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

41 CERDA JARAQUEMADA ALFREDO

PROFESION: Ingeniero Agrónomo

PARTIDO: Conservador Tradicionalista

DIPUTADO: San Felipe, Petorca, Los Andes 1937 1941

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1945 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

42 CHADWICK VALDES TOMAS

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista. Unión Socialista Popular 1967

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

43 CHELEN ROJAS ALEJANDRO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Socialista Popular 1957

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1949 1953

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

44 COLOMA MELLADO JUAN ANTONIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador Tradicionalista 1957

DIPUTADO: Laja, Nacimiento, Mulchén 1933 1937 Santiago Primer Distrito 1941
1945 1949

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

45 CONCHA RODRIGUEZ LUIS AMBROSIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1937

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

C. Urbina Juan DEP 1989 DC

46 CONCHA STUARDO AQUILES

PROFESION: Ingeniero

PARTIDO: Demócrata

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1926 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

47 CONTRERAS LABARCA CARLOS

PROFESION: Abogado 1924

PARTIDO: Comunista, Secretario General del Partido 1931-1941

DIPUTADO: Iquique, Arica, Pisagua 1937

SENADOR: Santiago 1941 Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1961

MINISTRO: Obras Públicas y Vías de Comunicación 1946

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

48 CONTRERAS TAPIA VICTOR

PROFESION: Obrero Cargador

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, El Loa, Tal Tal 1945

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1961 1969

MINISTRO: Tierras y Colonización 1946

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

49 COOPER VALENCIA ALBERTO

PROFESION: Ingeniero Agrónomo

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Coquimbo 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

50 CORBALAN GONZALEZ SALOMON

PROFESION: Ingeniero Químico

PARTIDO: Socialista, Secretario General del Partido 1953

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

51 CORREA CORREA ULISES

PROFESION: Abogado Agricultor

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1947

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1941 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

52 CORVALAN LEPE LUIS

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Comunista, Secretario General del Partido 1958 Hasta 1988?

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1961 Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

53 COX MENDEZ TOMAS

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

54 CRUCHAGA TOCORNAL MIGUEL

PROFESION: Abogado 1889

PARTIDO: Conservador 1940

DIPUTADO: Victoria, Mulchén 1906

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1937 O'Higgins, Colchagua 1945

MINISTRO: Relaciones Exteriores 1932 1937. Defensa Nacional 1933. Interior 1935.
Hacienda 1903 1936

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

55 CRUZ COKE LASSABE EDUARDO

PROFESION: Medico 1921

PARTIDO: Conservador 1946. Conservador Social Cristiano 1949

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1941 1949

MINISTRO: Salubridad, Previsión y Asistencia Social 1937 1946

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

56 CRUZ CONCHA ERNESTO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO:

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1933 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

57 CRUZ TOLEDO MARIA DE LA

PROFESION: Comerciante Dueña de casa

PARTIDO: Femenino, Presidente del Partido 1950

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1953 (In)

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

58 CRUZAT ORTEGA ANIBAL

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1937

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

59 CURTI CANNOBIO ENRIQUE

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador Tradicionalista. Conservador Unido. Nacional

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1945 1949

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1953 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

60 DAGNINO OLIVERI ARTURO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO:

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

61 DIAZ SANCHEZ NICOLAS

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

62 DIEZ URZUA SERGIO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Nacional. Conservador, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido 1952,
Vicepresidente del Partido 1961. Independiente 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1973, Araucanía 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

63 DOMINGUEZ DOMINGUEZ ELIODORO

PROFESION: Contador 1914

PARTIDO: Socialista. Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1941

MINISTRO: Educación Pública 1952

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

64 DUHALDE VASQUEZ ALFREDO

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO: Valdivia, La Unión, Río Bueno 1933

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1945

MINISTRO: Defensa Nacional 1939 1942. Interior 1945

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

65 DURAN BERNALES FLORENCIO

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Radical. Radical Democrático, Presidente del Partido 1946

DIPUTADO: Rancagua, Cachapoal, Caupolicán, San Vicente 1933 1937

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1937 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

66 DURAN NEUMANN JULIO ANTONIO

PROFESION: Abogado 1944

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido 1942, Presidente del Partido 1952. Democracia Radical, Presidente del Partido 1969

DIPUTADO: Temuco, Lautaro, Imperial Villarica, Pitrufquén 1945 1949 1953

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1957 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1964

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

67 ECHAVARRI ELORZA JULIAN

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Nacional 1957

DIPUTADO: Temuco, Lautaro, Imperial Villarica, Pitrufquén 1937 1941 1945 1949 1953

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

68 ECHENIQUE ZEGERS DIEGO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

69 ENRIQUEZ FRÖDDEN HUMBERTO

PROFESION: Abogado 1931

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1965

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1949 1953

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1961

MINISTRO: Educación Pública 1946

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

70 ERRAZURIZ PEREIRA LADISLAO

PROFESION: Abogado 1936

PARTIDO: Liberal, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: San Fernando, Santa Cruz 1937

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

71 ERRAZURIZ VALDES MAXIMIANO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador. Nacional

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1933 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

72 ESTAY CORTES FIDEL SEGUNDO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Democrático, Presidente del Partido 1926

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1933 1937

MINISTRO: Trabajo 1932. Tierras y Colonización 1945 1947

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

73 FAIVOVICH HITZCOVICH ANGEL

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical. Democracia Radical 1969, Miembro de la Dirección del Partido

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1937 1941 1945

SENADOR: Santiago 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

74 FERNANDEZ LARRAIN SERGIO

PROFESION: Abogado 1933

PARTIDO: Conservador, Miembro de la Dirección del Partido

DIPUTADO: Ancud, Castro, Quinchao 1937 Melipilla San Antonio San Bernardo
Maipo 1941 1945

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1945 r

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

75 FERRANDO KEUN RICARDO

PROFESION: Profesor Enseñanza Superior

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

76 FIGUEROA ANGUITA HERNAN

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933 1949

MINISTRO: Interior 1945

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

77 FONCEA AEDO PEDRO

PROFESION: Abogado 1929

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina. Agrario. Agrario Laborista. Democrático Nacional

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1965 1973

MINISTRO: Trabajo 1954

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

78 FREI BOLIVAR ARTURO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1989

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1973

SENADOR: Bío Bío 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

79 FREI MONTALVA EDUARDO

PROFESION: Abogado 1933 Universidad Católica

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1957. Falange Nacional 1938, Presidente del Partido
1941 1943 1945. Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1949 Santiago 1957 1973 Presidente de Chile 1973

MINISTRO: Obras Públicas y Vías de Comunicación 1945 1946

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1958 1964

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1964-1970

80 FREI RUIZ TAGLE CARMEN

PROFESION: Profesor Primario Educadora de Párvulos

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Antofagasta 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

81 FREI RUIZ TAGLE EDUARDO

PROFESION: Ingeniero Civil

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristiana 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

82 FUENTEALBA MOENA RENAN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristiana, Presidente del Partido 1965. Falange Nacional 1939

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

83 GARCIA GARZENA VICTOR

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Nacional, Presidente del Partido 1966

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

84 GARCIA GONZALEZ JOSE

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Agrario Laborista 1945, Presidente del Partido 1953. Nacional. Agrario
Laborista Recuperacionista 1954

DIPUTADO: Laja, Nacimiento, Mulchén 1949

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1953 Bío Bío, Malleco,

Cautín 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

85 GATICA SILVA ABRAHAM

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal Cristiano, Presidente del Partido 1925. Liberal. Liberal Doctrinario,
Presidente del Partido 1925

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

86 GAZMURI MUJICA JAIME

PROFESION: Ingeniero Agrónomo Economista Agrario

PARTIDO: Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, Secretario General del Partido
1973. Partido por la Democracia 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Maule 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

87 GODOY GOMEZ LUIS

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

88 GOMEZ GALLO JONAS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

89 GONZALEZ CORTES EXEQUIEL

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

90 GONZALEZ MADARIAGA EXEQUIEL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical 1953. Izquierda Radical 1964

DIPUTADO: Ancud, Castro, Quinchao 1941 1945 1949

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1953 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

91 GONZALEZ MARQUES CARLOS RUBEN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valparaíso 1989 Presidente de Chile

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

92 GONZALEZ ROJAS EUGENIO

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Socialista Popular, Secretario General del Partido 1948

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1949

MINISTRO: Educación Pública 1932

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

93 GONZALEZ VIDELA GABRIEL

PROFESION: Abogado 1922 Universidad Chile

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1946. Frente Democrático de Chile,
Presidente del Partido 1962. Democracia Radical 1969

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1933 1937
Presidente de la Cámara 1933

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1946

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1946-1952

94 GORMAZ MOLINA RAUL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

95 GROVE VALLEJO HUGO

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Socialista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1933 1937

MINISTRO: Tierras y Colonización 1952

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

96 GROVE VALLEJO MARMADUQUE

PROFESION: Militar

PARTIDO: Socialista 1933, Secretario General del Partido 1936. Nueva Acción Pública 1931, Presidente del Partido 1932. Socialista Auténtico 1943

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1933 1941

MINISTRO: Defensa Nacional 1932

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1932

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

97 GUEVARA VARGAS GUILLERMO

PROFESION: Obrero Zapatero

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

98 GUMUCIO VERGARA RAFAEL LUIS

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Conservador, Presidente del Partido. Democracia Cristiana

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

99 GUMUCIO VIVES RAFAEL AGUSTIN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina. Federación Social Cristiana, Presidente del Partido 1955. Falange Nacional, Presidente del Partido. Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria 1969

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

100 GUTIERREZ VIDAL ARTEMIO

PROFESION: Obrero Sastre

PARTIDO: Democrático, Presidente del Partido 1922 1933

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933

MINISTRO: Obras Públicas y Vías de Comunicación 1921

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

101 GUZMAN CORTES LEONARDO

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1937

MINISTRO: Educación Pública 1931. Interior 1941

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

102 GUZMAN ERRAZURIZ JAIME

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Unión Democrática Independiente 1989, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

103 GUZMAN FIGUEROA ELEODORO ENRIQUE

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1949

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1933

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1937 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

104 HAMILTON DEPASSIER JUAN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1945

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1965 1973

MINISTRO: Vivienda 1966. Minería 1990

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

105 HAVERBECK RICHTER CARLOS

PROFESION: Industrial naviero

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1933 1937 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

106 HIDALGO PLAZA MANUEL

PROFESION: Obrero Grafico

PARTIDO: Izquierda Comunista Trozquista 1931. Comunista 1922. Radical 1902.
Democrático 1903. Obrero Socialista 1912, Secretario General del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1926 1933

MINISTRO: Obras Públicas y Vías de Comunicación 1942. Economía 1943

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1931

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

107 HIRIART CORVALAN OSVALDO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1937

MINISTRO: Interior 1943

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

108 HORMAZAVAL SANCHEZ RICARDO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristiana 1989

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1973

SENADOR: Coquimbo 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

109 IBAÑEZ DEL CAMPO CARLOS

PROFESION: Militar

PARTIDO: Independiente. Agrario Laborista. Alianza Popular Libertadora 1938

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1949

MINISTRO: Guerra 1925

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1938 1952

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA: 1927-1931 1952-1958

110 IBAÑEZ OJEDA PEDRO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal. Nacional

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1961 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

111 IRURETA ABURTO NARCISO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina, Presidente del Partido 1961 1971, Vicepresidente del Partido 1990

DIPUTADO: Llanquihue Puerto Varas Maullín Calbuco Aysén 1965

SENADOR: Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

112 IZQUIERDO ARAYA GUILLERMO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Agrario Laborista 1945, Presidente del Partido 1953. Movimiento Nacionalista de Chile, Presidente del Partido 1941

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

113 JARAMILLO LYON ARMANDO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Liberal Republicano. Nacional 1953

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

114 JARPA REYES SERGIO ONOFRE

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Renovación Nacional, Presidente del Partido 1989. Nacional, Presidente del Partido 1966 1972. Agrario Laborista, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido. Acción Nacional 1963, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1973, Maule 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

115 JEREZ HORTA ALBERTO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristiana. Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria 1969.
Izquierda Cristiana 1969

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1965

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

116 JIRON LATAPIAT GUSTAVO

PROFESION: Medico 1919

PARTIDO: Radical. Radical Doctrinario 1947

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

117 JULIET GOMEZ RAUL

PROFESION: Abogado 1932

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido. Izquierda Radical 1971

DIPUTADO: Curicó Mataquito 1945 1949

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1965

MINISTRO: Relaciones Exteriores 1946

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

118 LAFERTTE GAVIÑO ELIAS

PROFESION: Obrero Minero

PARTIDO: Comunista 1922, Secretario General del Partido 1931. Demócrata. Obrero

Socialista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1937 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1927 1931 1932

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

119 LAGOS COSGROVE JULIO

PROFESION: Obrero Transportista

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

120 LARRAIN GARCIA MORENO JAIME

PROFESION: Ingeniero

PARTIDO: Agrario Laborista 1945, Presidente del Partido 1949. Movimiento
Recuperación Doctrinaria 1952, Nacional Agrario 1954. Nacional,
Miembro de la Dirección del Partido 1956

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1941 1949

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

121 LARRAIN VIAL BERNARDO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador Unido 1957

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1949 1953

SENADOR: Santiago 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

122 LARRE ASENJO ENRIQUE

PROFESION: Ingeniero Agrónomo

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989. Nacional 1973

DIPUTADO: Valdivia, La Unión, Río Bueno 1973

SENADOR: Los Lagos 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

123 LAVANDEROS EYZAGUIRRE JORGE

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Movimiento Nacional del Pueblo 1953

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

124 LAVANDEROS ILLANES JORGE

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina. Democrático Nacional (PADENA). Nacional 1956

DIPUTADO: Curicó Mataquito 1957 1961 Temuco, Lautaro, Imperial, Villarica,
Pitrufquén 1965 1969

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1973, Araucanía 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

125 LETELIER ICAZA LUIS FELIPE

PROFESION: Abogado 1930

PARTIDO: Conservador Unido 1957. Conservador Social Cristiano

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1957

MINISTRO: Justicia 1948. Trabajo 1949

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

126 LIRA INFANTE ALEJO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1933 1937

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

127 LORCA VALENCIA ALFREDO

PROFESION: Comerciante

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristiana, Presidente del Partido 1964

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1965

SENADOR: Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

128 LUENGO ESCALONA LUIS FERNANDO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democrático Nacional, Presidente del Partido 1964. Radical 1972

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

129 MAIRA CASTELLON FERNANDO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1933 1941 1945 1949

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

130 MARAMBIO MONTT NICOLAS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

131 MARIN BALMACEDA RAUL

PROFESION: Abogado 1937

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1937 1941
1945

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

132 MARTINEZ MARTINEZ CARLOS ALBERTO

PROFESION: Obrero Grafico

PARTIDO: Unión Social Republicana de Asalariados de Chile, Presidente del Partido.
Socialista Popular 1953

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1933 1937 Copiapó, Chañaral, Huasco, Freirina
1941

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1937 Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1945 1953

MINISTRO: Tierras y Colonización 1931 1938

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

133 MARTINEZ MONTT JULIO

PROFESION: Obrero

PARTIDO: Demócrata

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1933

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1937 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

134 MARTINEZ URRUTIA IGNACIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

135 MARTONES QUEZADA HUMBERTO

PROFESION: Obrero Mecánico

PARTIDO: Democrático del Pueblo 1948, Presidente del Partido. Democrático de Chile. Socialista

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1930 1949

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1953

MINISTRO: Obras Públicas y Vías de Comunicación 1952

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

136 MATTE HURTADO EUGENIO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista 1932, Secretario General del Partido 1933. Nueva Acción Pública, Miembro de la Dirección del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

137 MATTE LARRAIN ARTURO

PROFESION: Abogado 1916 Universidad Chile

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1949 r

MINISTRO: Hacienda 1943

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1952

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

138 MAURAS NOVELLA JUAN LUIS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical, Vicepresidente del Partido 1953

DIPUTADO: Valdivia, La Unión, Río Bueno 1949 1953

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

139 MAZA FERNANDEZ JOSE DE LA

PROFESION: Abogado 1913

PARTIDO: Liberal, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1933 1937 1945

MINISTRO: Interior 1924

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

140 MENDEZ ARANCIBIA JERONIMO

PROFESION: Medico 1914

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1941

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1933 r

MINISTRO: Interior 1941. Salubridad, Previsión y Asistencia Social 1943

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

141 MEZA RIVERA AURELIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO:

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

142 MICHELS CABRERO RODOLFO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical. Democrático Nacional (PADENA)

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

143 MIRANDA RAMIREZ HUGO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1949 1953

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

144 MOLLER BORDEU ALBERTO

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1937 1945 r

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

145 MONTANE URREJOLA FRANCISCO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

146 MONTES MORAGA JORGE

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1957 1961 1965

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

147 MOORE MONTERO EDUARDO

PROFESION: Abogado Agricultor

PARTIDO: Liberal 1953

DIPUTADO: San Fernando, Santa Cruz 1933 1937 Valparaíso, Quillota 1941 Melipilla
San Antonio San Bernardo Maipo 1945

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

148 MORA MIRANDA MARCIAL

PROFESION: Abogado 1918

PARTIDO: Radical 1953

DIPUTADO: Chillan 1926

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1953

MINISTRO: Relaciones Exteriores 1940. Hacienda 1940

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

149 MORALES ADRIAZOLA RAUL

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido 1951, Presidente del Partido 1959

DIPUTADO: Ancud, Castro, Quinchao 1953 1957 1961 1965

SENADOR: Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

150 MORALES VIVANCO VIRGILIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Demócrata 1953

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933

MINISTRO: Tierras y Colonización 1932

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

151 MORENO ROJAS RAFAEL

PROFESION: Ingeniero Agrónomo

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

152 MUSALEM SAFFIE JOSE

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

153 MUÑOZ CORNEJO MANUEL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador. Conservador Social Cristiano, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1933

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1937 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

154 MÜHLENBROCK LIRA JULIO VON

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Nacional 1958. Agrario Laborista 1945, Presidente del Partido 1957

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue 1961 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

155 NAVARRETE BETANZO RICARDO

PROFESION: Economista Ingeniero Comercial

PARTIDO: Radical 1989, Secretario General del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Araucanía 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

156 NERUDA PABLO (Reyes Basoalto Neftali Ricardo hasta 1948-12-28)

PROFESION: Poeta

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

157 NOEMI HUERTA ALEJANDRO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

158 NUÑEZ MORGADO AURELIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical Socialista 1931. Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

159 NUÑEZ MUÑOZ RICARDO

PROFESION: Sociólogo

PARTIDO: Socialista 1955

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

160 OCAMPO PASTENE SALVADOR

PROFESION: Obrero Grafico

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO: Rancagua, Cachapoal, Caupolicán, San Vicente 1941

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

161 OCHAGAVIA VALDES FERNANDO

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Conservador. Nacional

DIPUTADO: Ancud, Castro, Quinchao 1965

SENADOR: Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

162 OLGUIN ZAPATA OSVALDO

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

163 OPAZO COUSIÑO PEDRO

PROFESION: Abogado 1933

PARTIDO: Liberal, Vicepresidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: Linares L P 1937 1941 1945

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1949

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

164 OPAZO LETELIER PEDRO

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Liberal Unido, Presidente del Partido 1930. Liberal Democrático,
Presidente del Partido 1926. Liberal Democrático Unido 1926

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1933 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1931

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

165 OPITZ VELAZQUEZ PEDRO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical.

DIPUTADO: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, El Loa, Tal Tal 1933 1937 1941

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

166 ORTEGA MASSON RUDECINDO

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Radical. Radical Doctrinario, Presidente del Partido 1948

DIPUTADO: Temuco, Lautaro, Imperial Villarica, Pitrufquén 1933 1937

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933 1941

MINISTRO: Educación Pública 1938

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

167 ORTIZ DE FILIPPI HUGO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Renovación Nacional 1989. Nacional, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aysén 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

168 OSSA COVARRUVIAS MANUEL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1937

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

169 PABLO ELORZA TOMAS

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1961 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

170 PACHECO GOMEZ MAXIMO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Maule 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

171 PAEZ VERDUGO SERGIO

PROFESION: Contador

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1989

DIPUTADO: Llanquihue M C PV 1969 1973

SENADOR: Los Lagos 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

172 PAIROA TRUJILLO AMADOR

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1937

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

173 PALACIOS GONZALEZ GALVARINO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista Popular

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

174 PALMA VICUÑA IGNACIO

PROFESION: Ingeniero Civil

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1953

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1965

MINISTRO: Tierras y Colonización 1950

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

175 PALZA CORVACHO HUMBERTO

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1989

DIPUTADO: Arica Iquique Pisagua 1969 1973

SENADOR: Tarapacá 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

176 PAPI BEYER MARIO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Social Democracia 1989, Secretario General del Partido

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Maule 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

177 PAPIC RAMOS LUIS

PROFESION: Comerciante Empleado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO: Valdivia, La Unión, Río Bueno 1965

SENADOR: Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

178 PEDREGAL ARTIGAS ALBERTO DEL

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Agrario Laborista, Presidente del Partido. Nacional 1956

DIPUTADO: Linares L P 1941 1945

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1949

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

179 PEREIRA LARRAIN JULIO

PROFESION: Abogado 1931

PARTIDO: Conservador, Presidente de la Juventud del Partido

DIPUTADO: Santiago Tercer Distrito 1933 1937 1941 1945

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1949

MINISTRO: Defensa Nacional 1961

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

180 PEREZ DE ARCE PLUMMER GUILLERMO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Movimiento Nacional Ibañista 1953. Agrario Laborista. Nacional 1956

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

181 PEREZ WALKER IGNACIO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Renovación Nacional 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

182 PHILLIPS PEÑAFIEL PATRICIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Nacional 1970. Liberal 1965

DIPUTADO: Temuco, Lautaro, Imperial Villarica, Pitrufquén 1965

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

183 PINO PEREIRA HUMBERTO DEL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Agrario 1931. Agrario Laborista 1945, Presidente del Partido 1945

DIPUTADO: Arauco Lebu Cañete 1937

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1941

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

184 PIÑEIRA ECHENIQUE SEBASTIAN

PROFESION: Economista

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

185 POKLEPOVIC NOVILLO PEDRO

PROFESION: Abogado 1931

PARTIDO: Liberal, Vicepresidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1937 1941

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1945 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

186 PORTALES VICUÑA GUILLERMO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

187 PRADENAS MUÑOZ JUAN

PROFESION: Obrero Grafico

PARTIDO: Demócrata, Presidente del Partido 1921 1931, Vicepresidente del Partido 1924

DIPUTADO: Coronel 1921 Antofagasta 1930

SENADOR: Santiago 1933

MINISTRO: Trabajo 1940 1947

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

188 PRADO CASAS BENJAMIN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1961 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

189 PRAT ALEMPARTE FRANCISCO

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Renovación Nacional 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Araucanía 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

190 PRIETO CONCHA JOAQUIN

PROFESION: Abogado 1915

PARTIDO: Conservador, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: Melipilla San Antonio San Bernardo Maipo 1933 1937

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1941 1949

MINISTRO: Agricultura 1932. Salubridad, Previsión y Asistencia Social 1936. Minería 1962

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

191 PUGA MONSALVE RAUL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Democrático

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1933

MINISTRO: Justicia 1938. Agricultura 1941. Trabajo 1942

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

192 QUINTEROS TRICOT LUIS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Socialista 1957

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

193 RETTIG GUISSSEN RAUL

PROFESION: Abogado 1935

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1950 1960. Izquierda Radical 1971. Social
Democracia

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1949

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

194 REYES VICUÑA TOMAS

PROFESION: Arquitecto 1935

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina. Falange Nacional, Presidente del Partido 1951

DIPUTADO: Santiago Primer Distrito 1949

SENADOR: Santiago 1965

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

195 RIOS ARIAS JOSE MARIA

PROFESION: Abogado 1913 Agricultor

PARTIDO: Liberal, Miembro de la Dirección del Partido 1913

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1925 1930 1933

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1933 r

MINISTRO: Justicia 1931

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

196 RIOS SANTANDER MARIO

PROFESION: Filósofo

PARTIDO: Renovación Nacional 1989. Nacional 1973

DIPUTADO: Laja, Nacimiento, Mulchén 1973

SENADOR: Bío Bío 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

197 RIVERA BAEZA GUSTAVO

PROFESION: Abogado 1918

PARTIDO: Liberal, Presidente del Partido

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso, Quillota 1926 1930 1933

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1937 1945 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

198 RODRIGUEZ ARENAS ANICETO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Socialista, Secretario General del Partido 1965. Socialista Popular 1953

DIPUTADO: Santiago Tercer Distrito 1949

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1953 1961 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

199 RODRIGUEZ DE LA SOTTA HECTOR

PROFESION: Abogado 1908

PARTIDO: Conservador, Presidente del Partido 1925 1932

DIPUTADO: Curicó Vichuquén 1926 1932

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1933 1937 1945

MINISTRO: Agricultura 1932

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1932

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

200 ROMERO PIZARRO SERGIO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valparaíso 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

201 ROZAS LOPETEGUI ALEJANDRO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Demócrata

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valdivia, Llanquihue, Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

202 RUIZ DI GIORGIO JOSE

PROFESION: Oficial Marina Mercante

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina, Vicepresidente del Partido 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Magallanes 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

203 RUIZ ESQUIDE JARA MARIANO

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1965

DIPUTADO: Concepción, Tomé, Talcahuano, Yumbel, Coronel 1965 1973

SENADOR: Bío Bío 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

204 SAENZ CERDA CRISTOBAL

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933 r

MINISTRO: Relaciones Exteriores 1940

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

205 SANTA MARIA CERVERO ALVARO

PROFESION: Abogado 1910

PARTIDO: Liberal. Unión Nacional

DIPUTADO: Curepto 1924

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1933 1937

MINISTRO: Justicia 1926

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

206 SCHNACKE SILVA ERICK

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista 1970. Partido por la Democracia, Presidente del Partido 1990

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

207 SCHNAKE VERGARA OSCAR

PROFESION: Medico

PARTIDO: Socialista, Secretario General del Partido 1933 1948

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1937

MINISTRO: Hacienda 1939 1942

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

208 SEPULVEDA ACUÑA ADONIS

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Socialista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Chiloé, Aysén, Magallanes 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

209 SEPULVEDA GARCES SERGIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO: Osorno, Río Negro 1949 1953

SENADOR: Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue 1961

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

210 SEÑORET SILVA OCTAVIO

PROFESION: Abogado 1913

PARTIDO: Radical. Democracia Radical 1969

DIPUTADO: Valparaíso C 1918
SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1933
MINISTRO:
CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:
PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

211 SIEBERT HELD BRUNO
PROFESION: Militar
PARTIDO: Independiente 1989
DIPUTADO:
SENADOR: Los Lagos 1989
MINISTRO:
CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:
PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

212 SILVA CORTES ROMUALDO
PROFESION: Abogado 1900
PARTIDO: Conservador
DIPUTADO: Santiago 1906 Yungay B 1912 Caupolicán 1918
SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1933 Maule 1921
MINISTRO:
CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:
PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

213 SILVA SEPULVEDA MATIAS
PROFESION: Abogado 1904
PARTIDO: Liberal, Presidente del Partido 1926
DIPUTADO:
SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1933 r
MINISTRO: Hacienda 1933. Agricultura 1933. Defensa Nacional 1935. Interior 1936
1938
CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:
PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

214 SILVA ULLOA RAMON

PROFESION: Contador

PARTIDO: Unión Socialista Popular 1967. Socialista 1965

DIPUTADO: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, El Loa, Tal Tal 1953 1965

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

215 SOTO GONZALEZ LAURA

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Partido por la Democracia, Vicepresidente del Partido 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valparaíso 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

216 SUAREZ BASTIDAS JAIME

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista 1970

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín 1973

MINISTRO: Interior 1972

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

217 SULE CANDIA ANSELMO

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical. Izquierda Radical, Presidente del Partido. Independiente 1998

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1969 O'Higgins 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

218 TARUD SIWADY RAFAEL

PROFESION: Comerciante

PARTIDO: Acción Popular Independiente 1969, Presidente del Partido. Agrario Laborista 1945, Presidente del Partido 1946. Agrario Laborista Recuperacionista 1954

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1957 1965

MINISTRO: Economía 1953. Minería 1953

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

219 TEITELBOIM VOLOSKY VOLODIA

PROFESION: Profesor Enseñanza Superior

PARTIDO: Comunista, Secretario General del Partido 1990

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1965 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

220 TOMIC ROMERO RADOMIRO

PROFESION: Abogado 1945

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristiana 1957. Falange Nacional 1935, Presidente del Partido 1946

DIPUTADO: Iquique, Arica, Pisagua 1941 1945 1961

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1945

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA: 1970

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

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221 TORO HERRERA ALEJANDRO

PROFESION: Profesor Primario

PARTIDO: Comunista

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1973

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

222 TORRES CERECEDA ISAURO

PROFESION: Medico 1918

PARTIDO: Radical, Presidente del Partido 1962

DIPUTADO: Copiapó, Chañaral, Huasco, Freirina 1933 1937

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1941 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

223 UGALDE NARANJO PEDRO LEON

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

224 URENDA ZEGERS BELTRAN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Independiente 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Valparaíso 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

225 URETA ECHAZARETA ARTURO

PROFESION: Abogado 1899

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Santiago 1933 r

MINISTRO: Justicia 1932

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

226 URREJOLA MENCHACA JOSE FRANCISCO

PROFESION: Abogado 1903

PARTIDO: Conservador

DIPUTADO: Curicó Mataquito

SENADOR: Ñuble, Concepción, Arauco 1937

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

227 URRUTIA MANZANO IGNACIO

PROFESION: Agricultor

PARTIDO: Liberal Doctrinario

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1933

MINISTRO: Defensa Nacional 1932

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

228 VADANOVIC SCHNAKE HERNAN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Socialista. Partido por la Democracia 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aysén 1989

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

229 VALDES SUBERCASEAUX GABRIEL

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina, Presidente del Partido 1989

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Los Lagos 1989

MINISTRO: Relaciones Exteriores 1964

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

230 VALENTE ROSSI LUIS

PROFESION: Ingeniero Comercial

PARTIDO: Comunista 1965

DIPUTADO: Iquique, Arica, Pisagua 1965

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

231 VALENZUELA SAEZ RICARDO

PROFESION: Abogado Químico Farmacéutico

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina 1965

DIPUTADO: Rancagua, Cachapoal, Caupolicán, San Vicente 1965

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1969

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

232 VALENZUELA VALDES OSCAR

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: O'Higgins, Colchagua 1933 1937

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

233 VASQUEZ GALDAMES ANGEL CUSTODIO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1945 r

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

234 VENEGAS SEPULVEDA MAXIMO

PROFESION: Obrero?

PARTIDO: Demócrata

DIPUTADO: Antofagasta, Tocopilla, El Loa, Tal Tal 1941 1949

SENADOR: Santiago 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

235 VIAL ESPANTOSO CARLOS A

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Conservador. Independiente

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Curicó, Talca, Maule, Linares 1957

MINISTRO: Hacienda 1950

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

236 VIDELA IBAÑEZ MANUEL

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Movimiento Nacional Ibañista 1953. Movimiento Republicano 1956,
Presidente del Partido. Liberal Democrático

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Aconcagua, Valparaíso 1953

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

237 VIDELA LIRA HERNAN

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1941 1949 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

238 WACHHOLTZ ARAYA JORGE

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Radical Socialista, Presidente del Partido 1932. Radical

DIPUTADO:

SENADOR: Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1933

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

239 WALKER LARRAIN HORACIO

PROFESION: Abogado 1907

PARTIDO: Conservador, Presidente del Partido 1948. Conservador Social Cristiano,
Presidente del Partido 1949. Falange Nacional. Democracia Cristiana VP
1957

DIPUTADO: Santiago S 1933

SENADOR: Santiago 1933 1941

MINISTRO: Justicia 1931. Relaciones Exteriores 1950

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

240 ZALDIVAR LARRAIN ANDRES

PROFESION: Abogado

PARTIDO: Democracia Cristina, Presidente del Partido 1990

DIPUTADO: Santiago Tercer Distrito 1969 1973

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1973 Santiago 1989

MINISTRO: Economía 1968. Hacienda 1968

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

PRESIDENTE REPUBLICA:

241 ZEPEDA BARRIOS HUGO

PROFESION:

PARTIDO: Liberal

DIPUTADO: La Serena, Coquimbo, Elqui, Ovalle, Combarbalá, Illapel 1933 1937
1941 1945 1949 1953 1957

SENADOR: Atacama, Coquimbo 1957

MINISTRO:

CANDIDATO PRESIDENCIA:

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