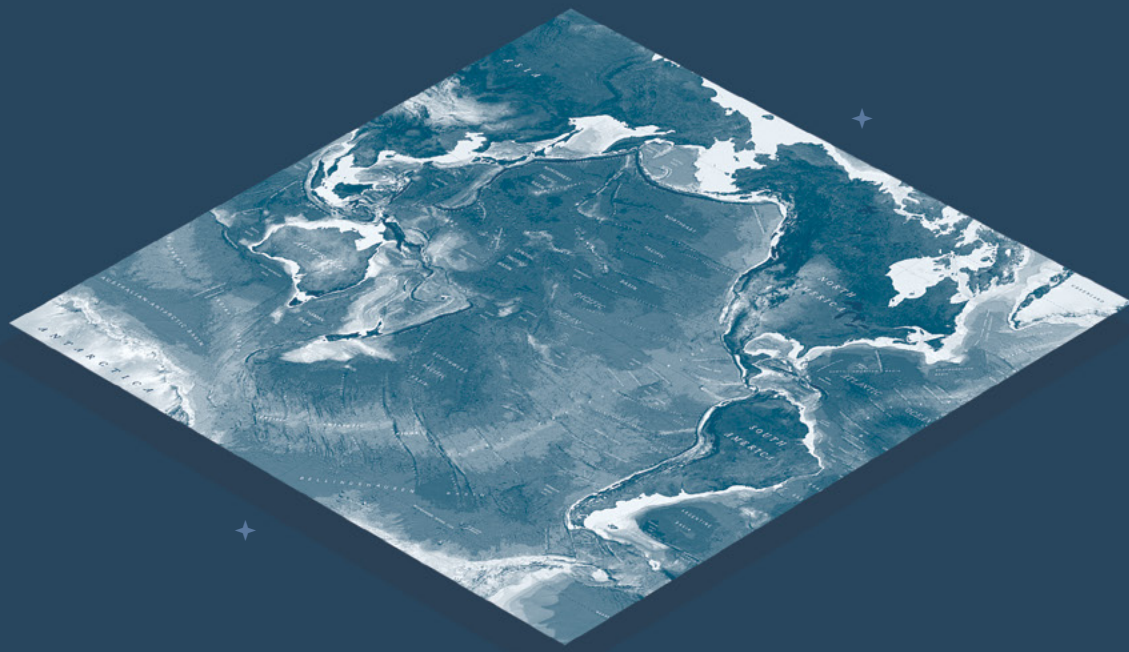


# PERCEPTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY



6<sup>TH</sup> SURVEY | MAY 2025



6<sup>TH</sup> SURVEY

# PERCEPTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

MAY 2025



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### Introduction

The first annual AthenaLab-IPSOS survey emerged as an unusual instrument of measurement, given that the surveys conducted at the time in Chile asked little or nothing about defence and even less about international affairs. In fact, in 2019 we received some criticism for asking about "national interests" or even linking "national security with foreign policy."

However, today we are witnessing various polls seeking to glean perceptions on these issues, of whose importance and significance we have always been certain. Without security, development and well-being are not possible. And in an interdependent world, even seemingly distant threats or decisions have internal repercussions sooner rather than later.

If we wish to observe a general pattern behind the responses to our 2025 survey, it is precisely a concern for security at all levels. In addition to the persistent focus on drug trafficking and border vulnerability, there is the spontaneous mention of El Salvador and Singapore as examples for Chile, which we suspect stems from the demand for greater order or tranquility, something these countries achieve in very different ways.

Certainly, in an election year, one of the main focuses should be on serious proposals for the recovery of public space and the improvement of border protection. Among the contingency-related questions we decided to include, several touched on this issue, but were far removed from the penal populism that currently prevails.

Chileans were asked about the need for a permanent national security council for the State, the creation of a new force to protect the country's borders, and the importance assigned to the many tasks currently performed by the Carabineros (Police) — probably too many.

These and other key topics are addressed in the sixth survey, eagerly awaited by ministries, armed forces, embassies, academics, businesses, and, of course, you..

Sincerely,



Juan Pablo Toro  
Executive Director of AthenaLab  
May 2025

### Foreign relations: the demand for order and the Trump factor

The 6th AthenaLab-IPSOS survey provides interesting and novel insights into Chileans' perceptions of certain countries that they consider role models or examples, as well as of their status as partners.

In the context of Chile's public security crisis, the general population is beginning to spontaneously mention El Salvador as a model (increasing from 5% in 2024 to 9% in 2025), which can be attributed to President Nayib Bukele's highly publicised successes in combating crime. According to figures from the Salvadoran government, the Central American country had only 114 homicides in 2024, nearly 26% fewer than those recorded the previous year, continuing the downward trend.

Since 2019, the Bukele administration has been implementing the so-called Territorial Control Plan, which aims to reclaim public space through a direct attack on gangs. This hinges on the suspension of constitutional guarantees through the ongoing state of emergency that began in March 2022, which – among other things – allows for the extension of provisional detention periods (from 72 hours to 15 days) and authorises telecommunications surveillance without a court order.

Highly popular among Salvadoran citizens, but heavily criticised by human rights organisations, especially for mass incarceration, this approach to security is worth better understanding. This is because it is applied in a country of just 21,000 km<sup>2</sup> (slightly smaller than Chile's Biobío Region), with 6.6 million inhabitants, and where the military plays a role in combatting crime. In other words, it does not seem replicable given its specific conditions and its effects on associated democratic backsliding.

Among experts, New Zealand and Australia remain unbeaten in the top spots, but Singapore has doubled its mentions, reaching a worthy third place (jumping from 8% in 2024 to 16% in 2025). Once again, the demand for order seems to be having an effect. Of course, rather than relying on street repression, the Asian country has implemented an approach that combines technological surveillance and harsh, effective penalties, all preceded by exemplary civic behavior.

While there is no doubt about Chile's alignment with the United States, we see the perception of its status as a partner declining among both the general population and experts. Although the survey was conducted before President Donald J. Trump announced his battery of new tariffs, what is certain is that, when reviewing previous polls, we can confirm that his figure tends to negatively impact the opinion of his country.

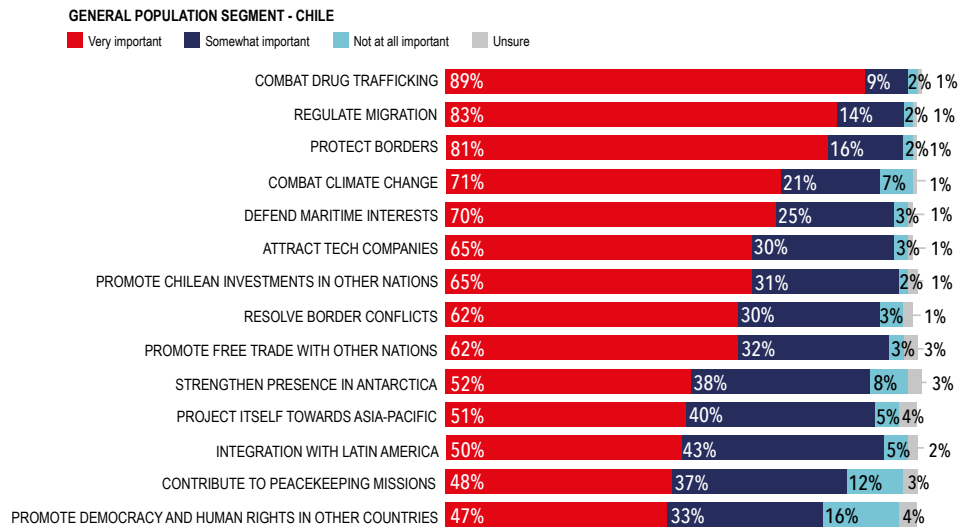
On the other hand, in times of neo-protectionism, it is of positive note that the general population increasingly agrees with the statement that there is a direct benefit in free trade (options “agree” and “strongly agree” garnered 47% in 2021 to 72% in 2025). Ultimately, economic logic has prevailed over ideological positions that initially sought to block initiatives such as the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. Consistent with the above, when asked about foreign policy objectives, the general population assigns increasing importance to attracting technology companies and promoting Chilean investment abroad.

Last but not least, the importance attributed to strengthening Chile's presence in Antarctica as a foreign policy objective increased 11 points among experts from 2024 to 2025. Successive vis-



**FIGURE 1**  
**FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES: GENERAL POPULATION CHILE**

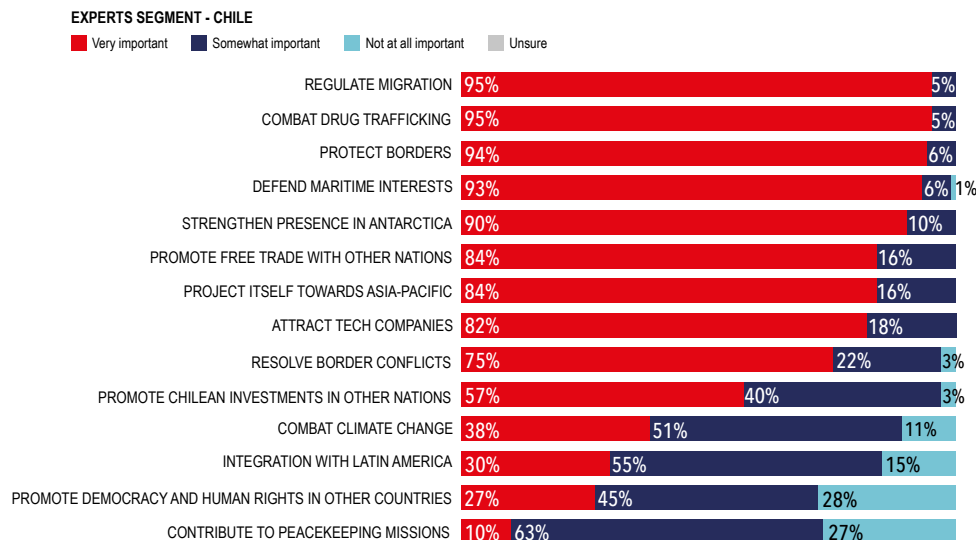
In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?



Sample: 1361, total sample of the general population of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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**FIGURE 2**  
**FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES: EXPERTS**

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?



Sample: 96, total sample of the experts of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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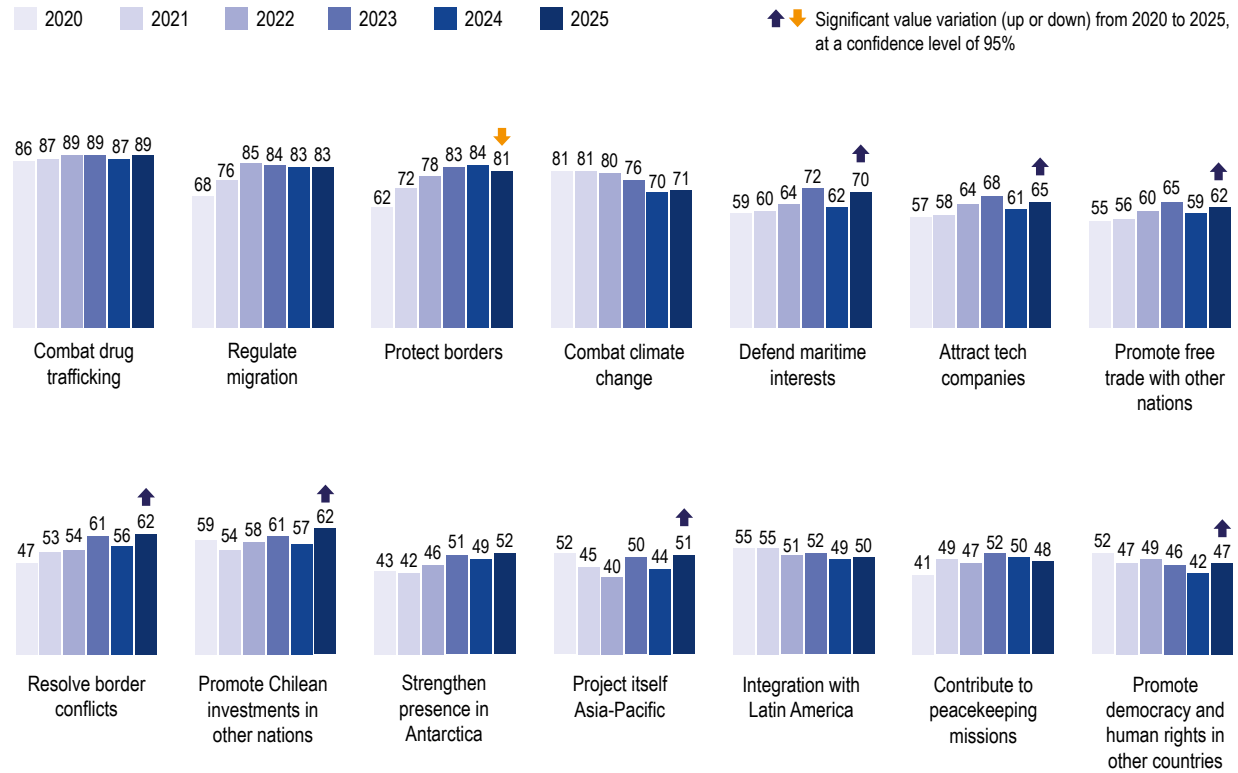
FIGURE 3

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES 2020-2025: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?

### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE

% VERY IMPORTANT



Sample: Total Chilean general population respondents measured every year.  
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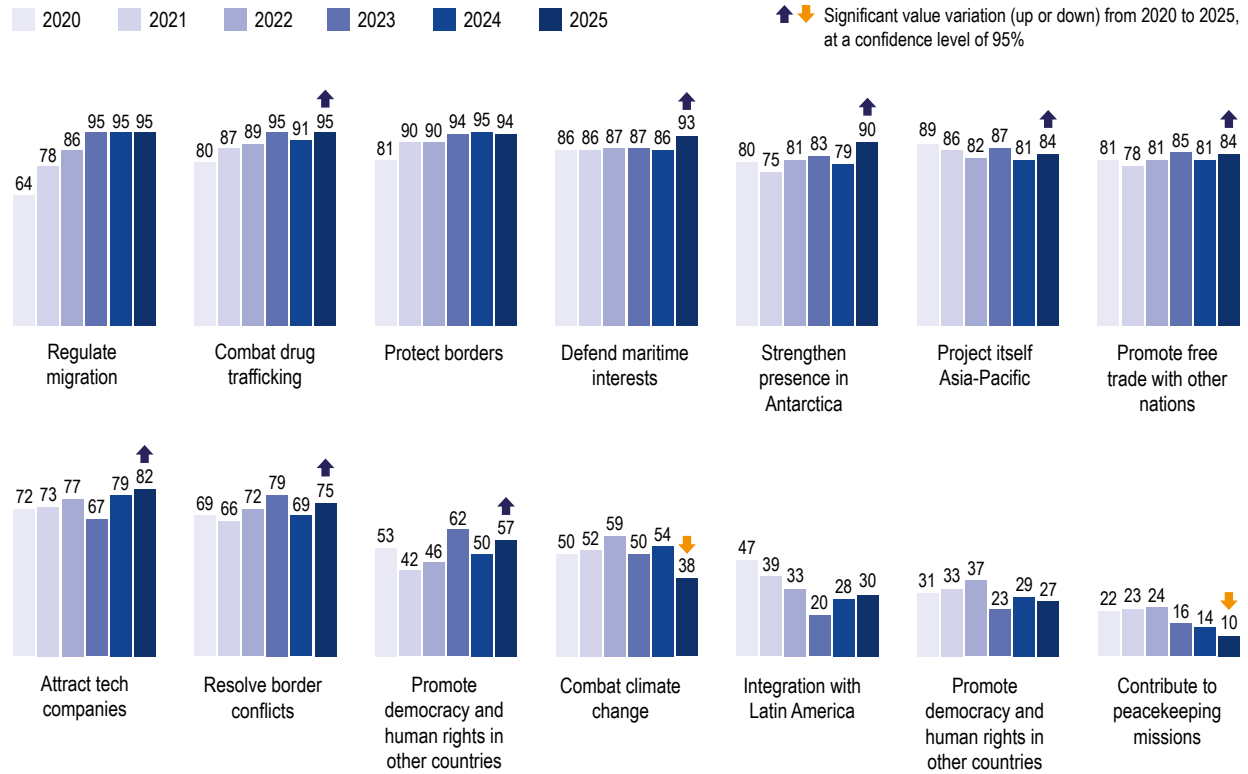
its by authorities to the Antarctic continent, the launch of the icebreaker "Viel," and the increased dissemination of related publications —to which AthenaLab has contributed significantly from the outset— seem to be having an impact among opinion leaders and decision makers. The key, then, is to permanently increase this presence, given that this is our southernmost territory and we see a growing international presence there.

FIGURE 4

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES 2020-2025: EXPERTS

In your opinion, how important for Chile is each of the following foreign policy objectives?

EXPERTS SEGMENT  
% VERY IMPORTANT



Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.  
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FIGURE 5

## POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE: GENERAL POPULATION

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding Chile: partner, neutral, or competitor?

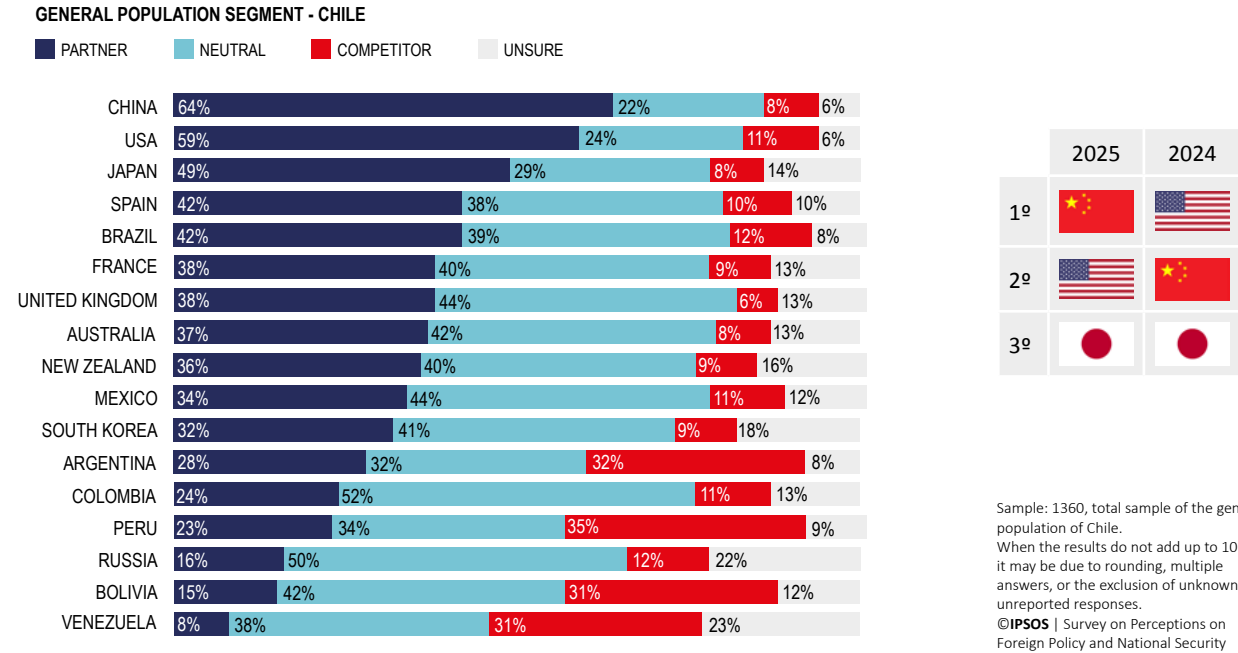


FIGURE 6

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON: POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE 2020-2025: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the countries shown, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain with Chile?

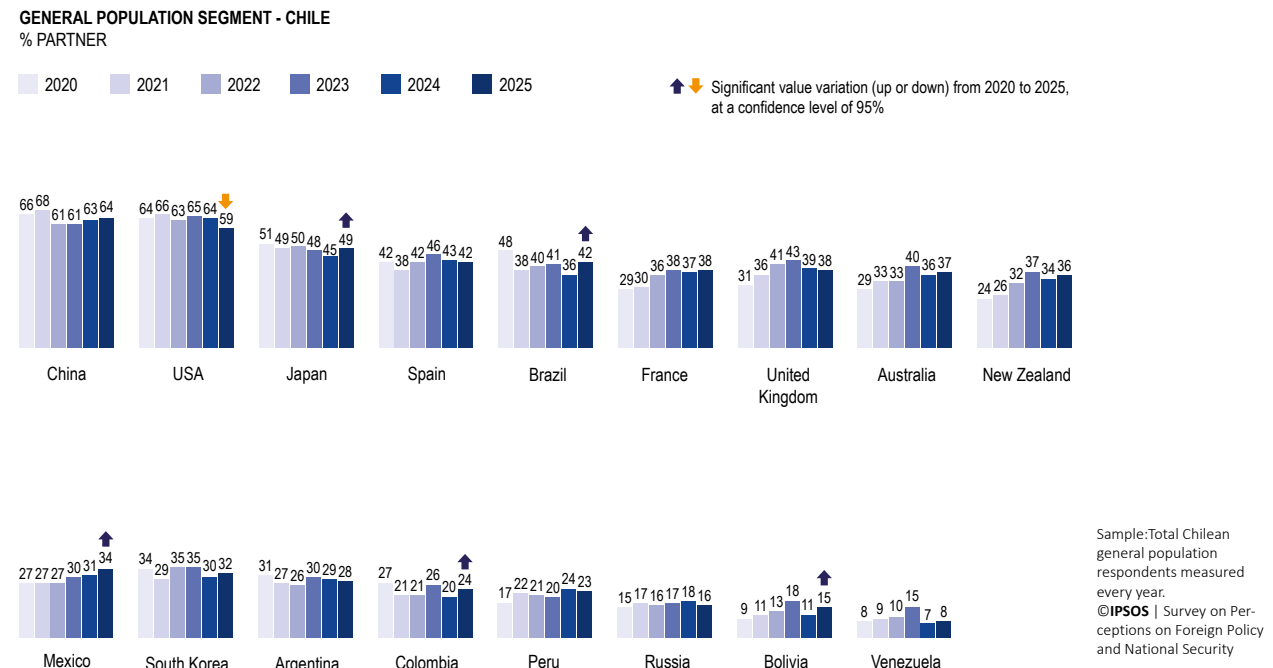
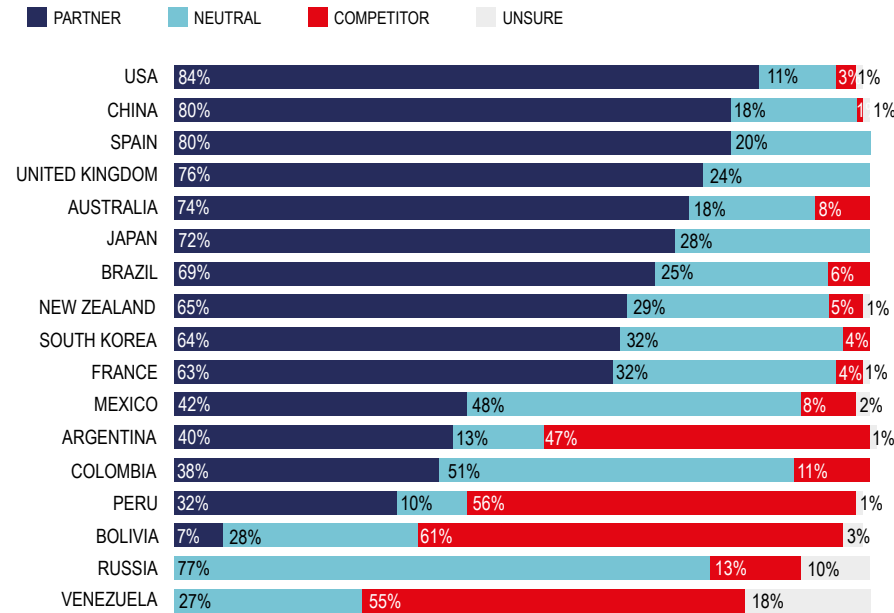


FIGURE 7

## POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE: EXPERTS

For each of the following countries, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain regarding Chile: partner, neutral, or competitor?

### EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE



	2025	2024
1º		
2º		
3º		

Sample: 96, total sample of the experts of Chile.

When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.

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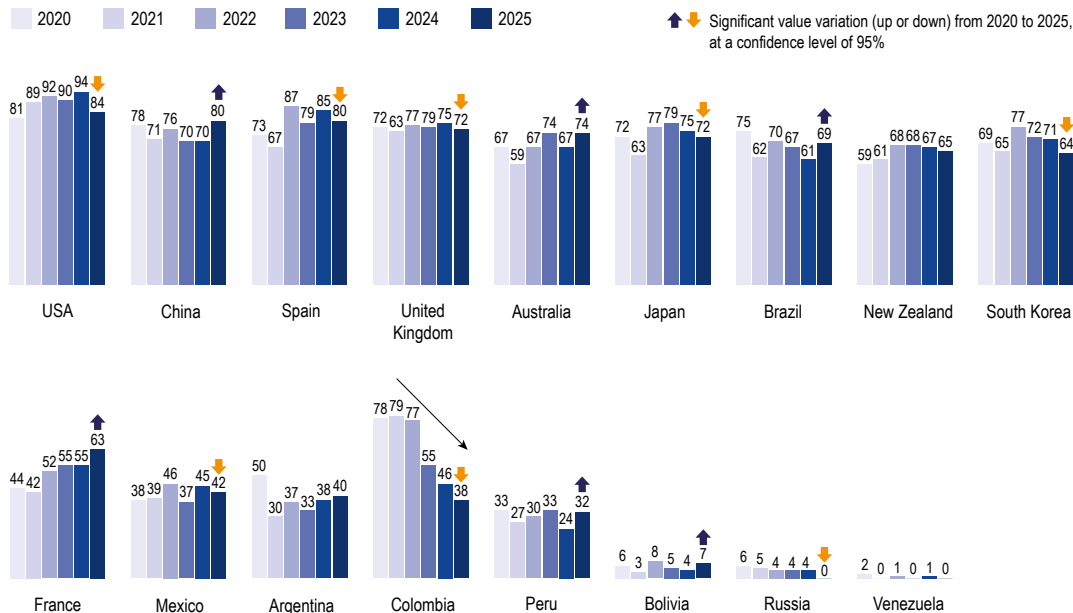
FIGURE 8

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON: POSITION ATTRIBUTED TO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO CHILE 2020-2025: EXPERTS

For each of the countries shown, what is in your opinion the position that they currently hold or maintain with Chile?

### EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE

% PARTNER

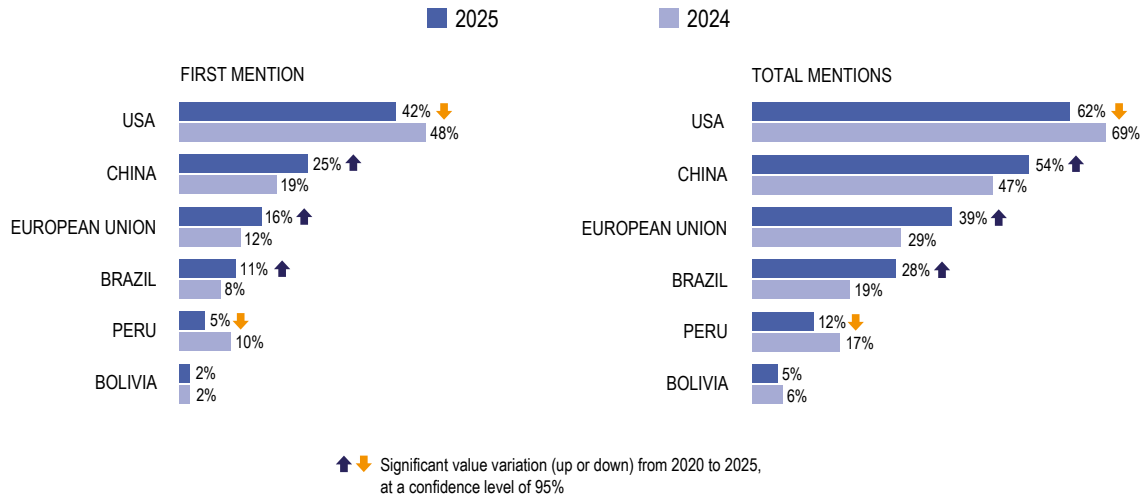


Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.  
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FIGURE 9

### COUNTRIES WITH WHICH GENERAL POPULATION CONSIDER CHILE MORE ALIGNED

Which country do you consider Chile most aligned with? Which other country or countries do you consider Chile significantly aligned with?



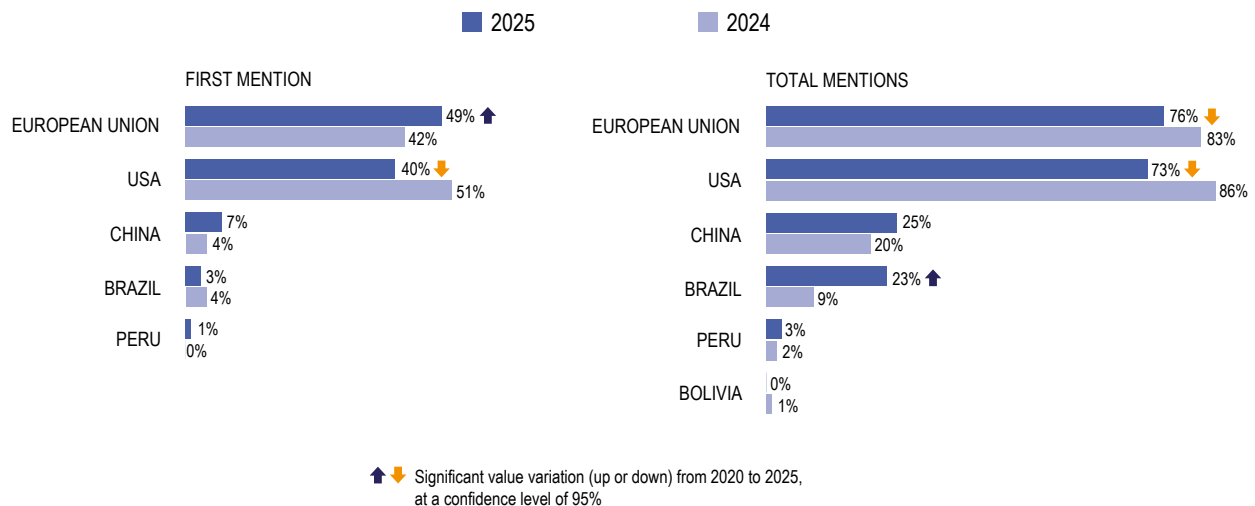
Sample: 1360, total sample of the general population of Chile.

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FIGURE 10

### COUNTRIES WITH WHICH EXPERTS CONSIDER CHILE MORE ALIGNED

Which country do you consider Chile most aligned with? Which other country or countries do you consider Chile significantly aligned with?

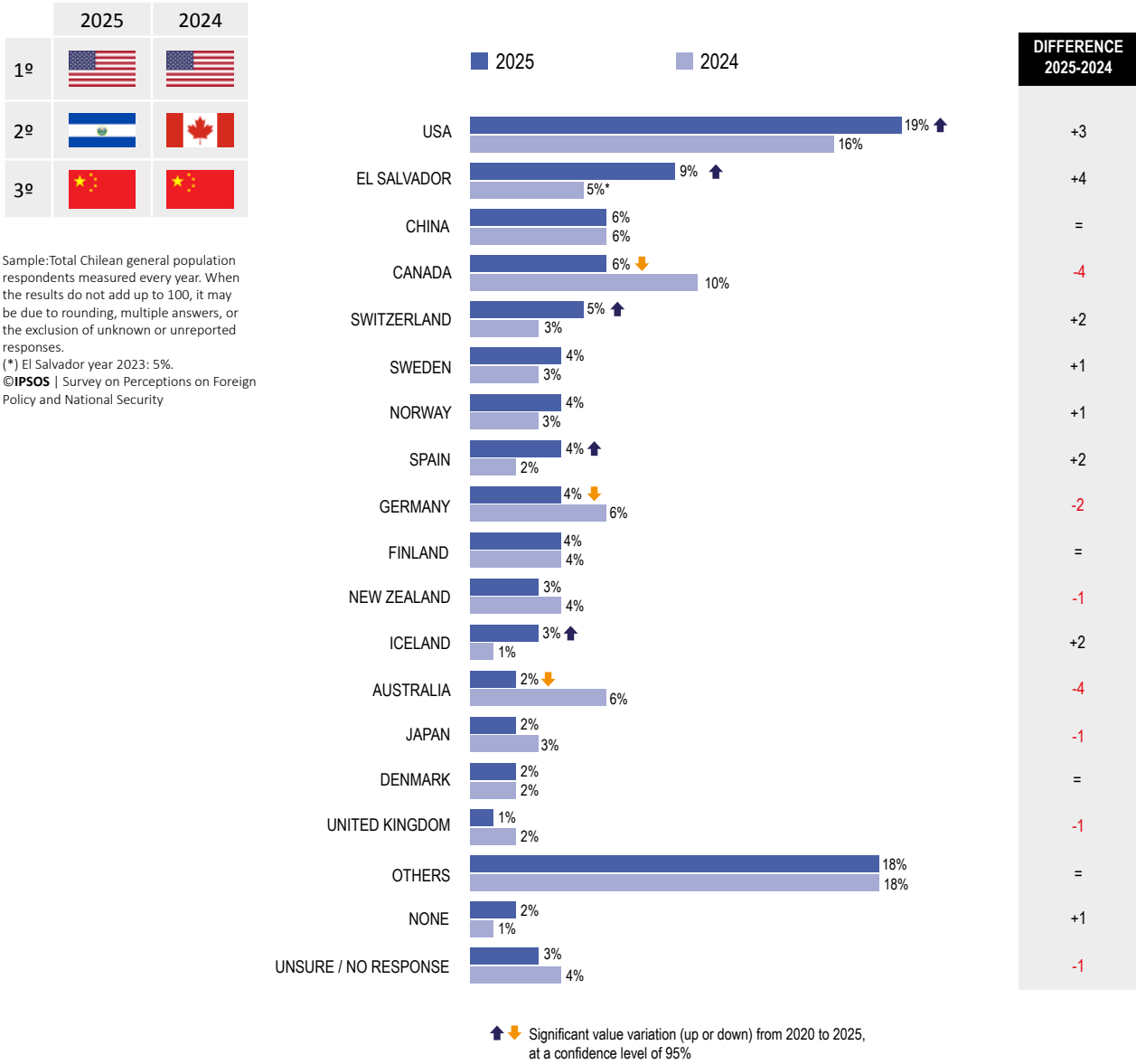


Sample: 96, total sample of the experts of Chile.

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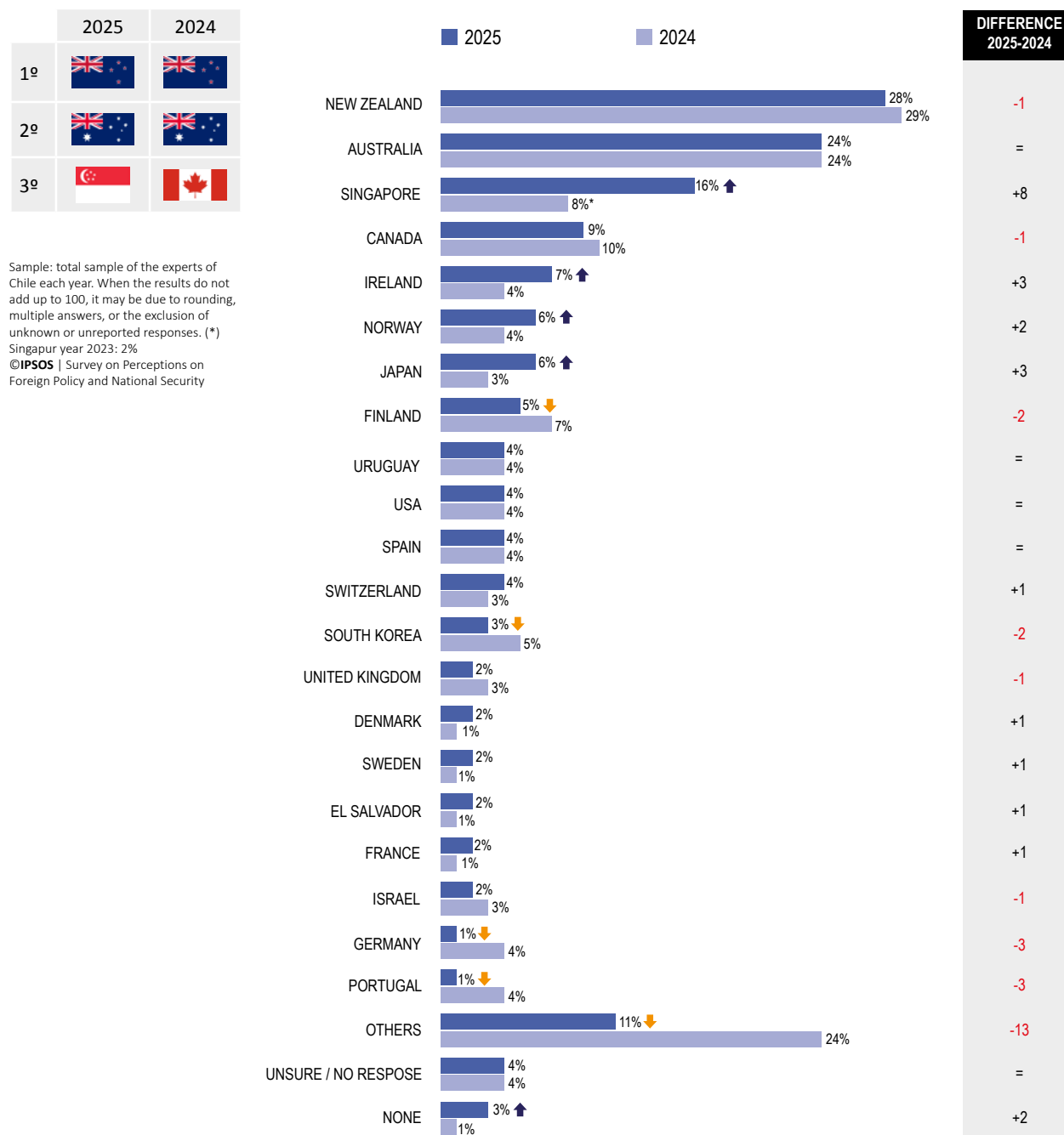
**FIGURE 11**  
**MODEL COUNTRIES FOR CHILE 2025-24:**  
**GENERAL POPULATION**

Which country or countries could serve as a model for your country?



**FIGURE 12**  
**MODEL COUNTRIES FOR CHILE 2025-24:**  
**EXPERTS**

Which country or countries could serve as a model for your country?





## Chile and New Zealand

First, I want to commend IPSOS-AthenaLAB for another insightful edition of the Foreign Policy and National Security survey. As New Zealand's Ambassador to Chile, I am humbled by this recognition of our country being chosen once again by experts as a model for Chile. This distinction reflects the breadth and strength of the relationship between our two nations, built over eight decades of diplomatic relations.

Chile is New Zealand's closest partner in the region, united by our commitment to democracy and the multilateral rules-based system. Our bilateral relationship continues to thrive across multiple fronts: from innovative trade architecture as members of the CPTPP, DEPA, ITAG, and many others, to our long-standing cooperation in agriculture and food innovation. Likewise, we are driven by our shared commitment to sustainability and climate action, particularly in renewable energy and environmental stewardship in extreme regions like Antarctica.

But beyond trade and policy, what truly amplifies our connection is our people – we are neighbours across the Pacific. Through the Working Holiday Scheme, education programmes, tourism and business links, Chilean and New Zealanders experience and embrace each other's culture, foster a deeper understanding and forge stronger connections. Both Aotearoa New Zealand and Chile are also on their respective journeys towards advancing Indigenous People's rights, cultures, and participation in the public sphere.

These threads are woven together through our shared history as small countries collaborating and using our hard-earned voice on the international scene to promote peace, security and prosperity across our wider region.

Happy 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary to Chile and New Zealand!



Daniela Rigoli  
New Zealand  
Ambassador to Chile

## Chile demands greater security

A constant in several responses to the AthenaLab survey is the demand for greater security and a more effective anti-drug policy. It is striking that, for the general population, the country rated second as a model for Chile is El Salvador, behind the United States and just ahead of China.

President Nayib Bukele's example has caught on in Chilean society, which is now calling for a tougher approach. Between 2024 and 2025, support for El Salvador almost doubled, from 5% to 9%. This is not reflected in the experts' responses, where El Salvador is not listed, China is last, and the United States is 11th.

Drug trafficking and organised crime feature prominently in other responses, such as those relating to foreign policy objectives, security threats, and the role of the Armed Forces and the Police. Security covers a broader scope, including border protection and migration, as well as terrorism and cyberattacks.

Another approach addresses Chile's international positioning not only in the region, but also in the world, and specifically in the confrontation between the US and China. Along with the question regarding model countries, there are questions about the position of countries vis-à-vis Chile (are they partners or competitors?) and the countries with which Chile is aligned. Unlike other issues where the general population and the experts agree, profound divergences arise here, linked to the level of knowledge and the position of the respondent.

There are encouraging data from a Spanish and European perspective. Experts consider the European Union the group of countries with which Chile is most aligned; while for the general population, it is third, after the US and China. Meanwhile, Spain is 8th among model countries for the general population (doubling its score from 2% to 4% compared to the previous year) and 9th for experts. In terms of partner countries, Spain is 4th and 3rd, respectively.

Finally, the presence of President Donald Trump has had a significant impact, as seen in the majority of mentions of the United States and in foreign policy objectives. For example, support for free trade has increased in the face of the threat of higher US tariffs, although more intensely among the general population than among experts.

Ultimately, this is a very valuable tool for political authorities and any Chilean actor involved in security, defence, and even foreign policy, to make better decisions. It also helps countries or regions that wish to engage with Chile do so better informed.



**Carlos Malamud**

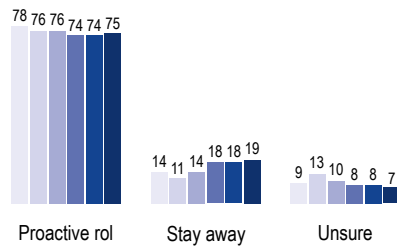
Senior researcher at Real Instituto Elcano, Professor of History of the Americas at the National University of Distance Education (UNED), and member of the National Academy of History of Argentina. Selected as one of the "50 most influential Ibero-American intellectuals" by Esglobal.

FIGURE 13

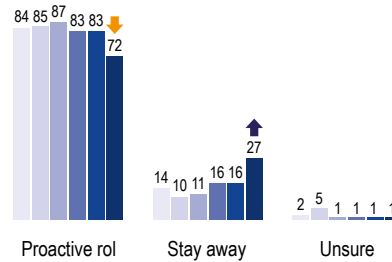
## HISTORICAL COMPARISON: CHILE'S ROLE IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS 2020-25 GENERAL POPULATION AND EXPERTS, CHILE

In your opinion, what do you consider best for Chile: to maintain a proactive role on global issues, or stay away from them?

### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE %



### EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE %



2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025

↑ ↓ Significant value variation (up or down) from 2020 to 2025, at a confidence level of 95%

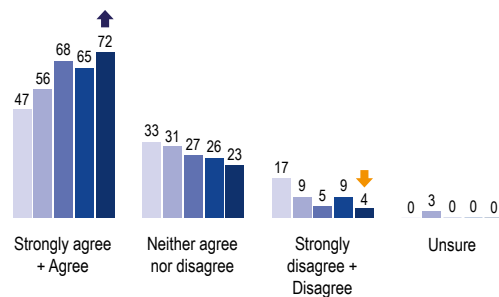
Sample: Total sample of Chilean general population/expert respondents measured each year.  
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FIGURE 14

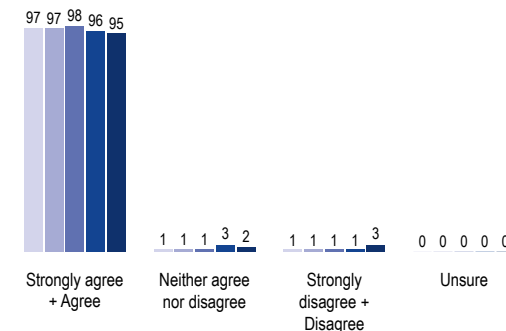
## HISTORICAL COMPARISON: THE CHILEAN ECONOMY AND ITS GLOBAL INSERTION 2021-25

Do you believe that the free trade agreements signed between Chile and other countries have directly benefited you?

### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE %



### EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE %



2021 2022 2023 2024 2025

↑ ↓ Significant value variation (up or down) from 2020 to 2025, at a confidence level of 95%

Sample: Total sample of Chilean general population/expert respondents measured each year.  
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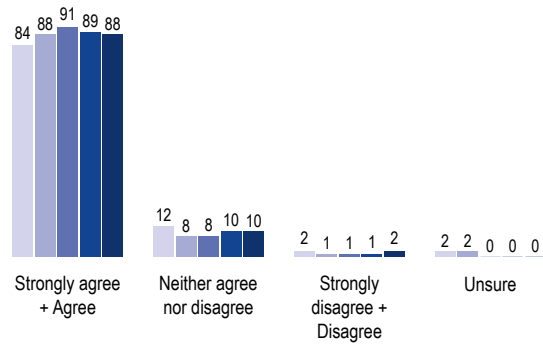
FIGURE 15

**REGULATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT 2021-24: GENERAL POPULATION AND EXPERTS - CHILE**

Do you think that foreign investment in strategic sectors or those with a high impact on Chile's security should be regulated?

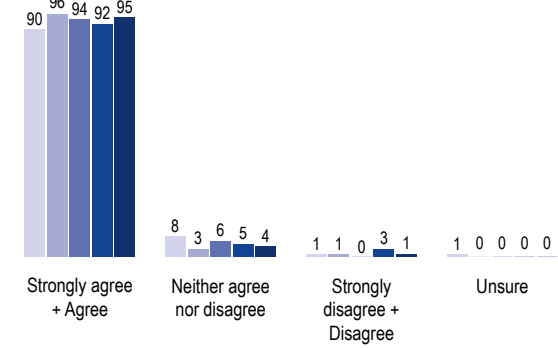
**GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE**

%



**EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE**

%



2021 2022 2023 2024 2025

\* There were no significant differences

Sample: Total sample of Chilean general population/expert respondents measured each year.  
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## Economic interest and national security go hand in hand

The nature of international politics and economics is rapidly changing. Scholars call this a “reordering moment” in global affairs, when all the tectonic plates begin to shift. The basic distribution of power among major countries is changing, at the same time as the rules and norms that guide economic affairs are evolving. The technology revolution and the emergence of general AI – like the invention of electricity in the early 1900s – may change the very fabric of society.

It is safe to say that the next 30 years of the global economic affairs and geopolitics will look very different from the last 30 years, with a heavy dose of volatility and uncertainty. Globalization has peaked as the barriers to trade and investment are growing. The major power centers – the United States, China, Europe, Russia – in the world appear to be lock in a long-term competition for supremacy. The dual forces of global economic fragmentation and geopolitical polarization are everywhere and will define the world that we live in today. Globalization is not dead and economic interdependence will continue, but they will manifest in a very different way.

To be sure, this is not just about the United States, and it is certainly not just about President Trump. These tectonic shifts in global affairs began before Trump and will outlast him. But his views and his policies undoubtedly accelerated them.

In this new and emerging world that we live in today, one of the newest and most important forces every nation needs to content with is the concept of economic security. This concept is a recognition that the line between economic affairs and national security is becoming blurred in today’s world. In a global economy defined by deep economic interdependence and geopolitical competition, economic security is not a luxury or even a priority, it is a necessity.

Economic security is a recognition that business decisions can no longer be made solely based on considerations of efficiency and profitability but also based on risks to national interests. Who a country chooses to sell to and buy from – especially when it comes to strategic minerals like lithium and copper – carries with it a geopolitical consequence, both opportunity and vulnerability. Who a country lets invest in its economy – especially when it comes to national infrastructure – carries with it inherent risks and vulnerabilities. In today’s world, economic interests and national security go hand in hand.

Economic security need not be a barrier to growth and a burden for government policy makers. It is a new idea for many countries and one that requires discussion, debate and education. Each country needs to develop its own expression of economic security. However, done well, economic security should be embraced as an opportunity for a country, like Chile, to leverage its substantial natural resources and its positive investment climate to find the most reliable sources of external demand and most transparent sources of capital to drive the next round of growth, development and prosperity. At its core, economic security is about pursuing strategies of diversification and resilience to find an ideal balance between economic prosperity and national security in this new and highly uncertain era of global affairs today.



**Evan S. Medeiros**

He holds the Penner Family Chair in Asian Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and is a Cling Family Distinguished Fellow in U.S.-China Studies.

His research and teaching focus on East Asian international politics, U.S.-China relations, and China's foreign and national security policy.

He has published several books and articles, and regularly advises global companies and writes articles for international media.

### Perception of threats to Chile's national security

The perception of drug trafficking and organised crime as the most significant threat to national security is becoming more widespread, both among the general population and experts. This threat shares prominence with porous borders, which makes sense considering that organised crime benefits from permeable, vulnerable boundaries.

Among the general population, 81% perceives drug trafficking and organised crime as a crucial threat, and 15% considers it important, reflecting that this issue is relevant for 96% of people nationwide. When we examine in detail how this perception is distributed among those who see it as a crucial threat, women perceive it 9 points higher than men, with the highest percentage being among those 56 years of age and older, closely followed by those aged 46-55. Regarding socioeconomic level, this variable has a similar impact on all ABC1, C2, and C3 segments, confirming its transversality.

Analysed geographically, the figures are similar in non-metropolitan regions and the capital, exceeding 80% across the entire national territory. Among experts, drug trafficking and organised crime are considered a crucial threat by 94%, and 6% consider it important, thus 100% perceive it as the most significant threat.

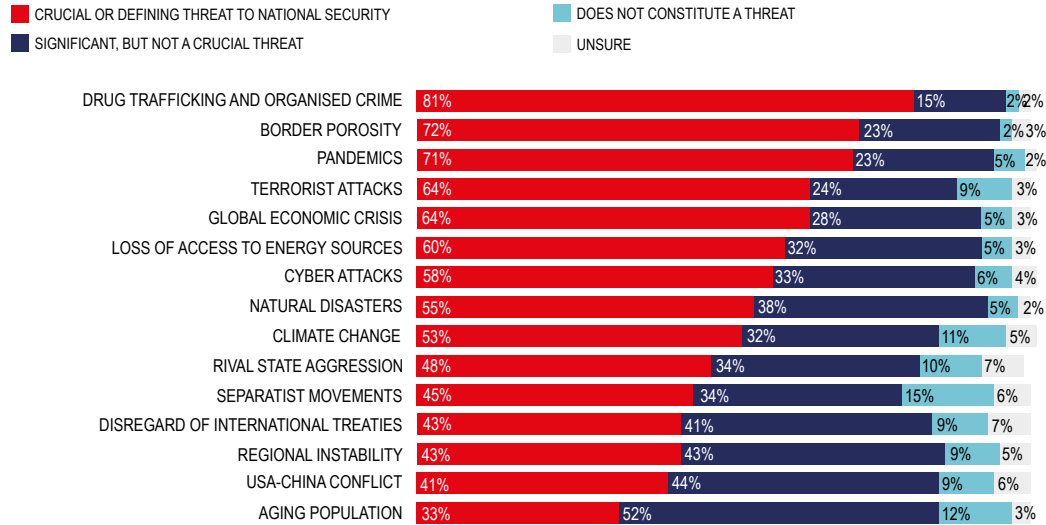
Experts and the general population fully agree on an increasing perception of porous borders as a threat. Regarding differences in their perceptions, while the general population ranks pandemics in third place (71% as crucial), experts rank cyberattacks in second place (83% as crucial). Clearly, through their responses, both the general population and experts express a growing concern about the effects of a possible global economic crisis, as well as the possible loss of access to energy sources for Chile.

FIGURE 16

## PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE: GENERAL POPULATION

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE



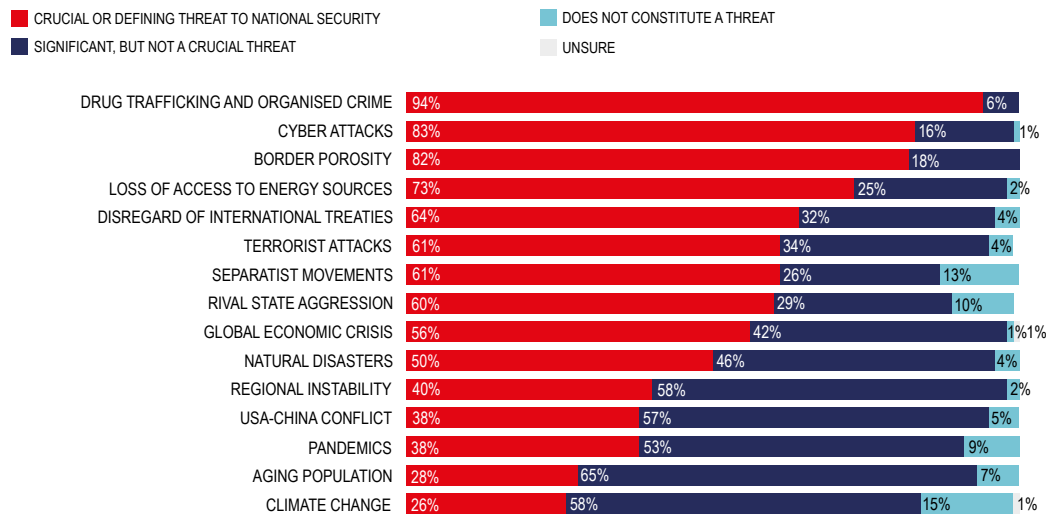
Sample: 1361, total sample of the general population of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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FIGURE 17

## PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE: EXPERTS

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

### EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE



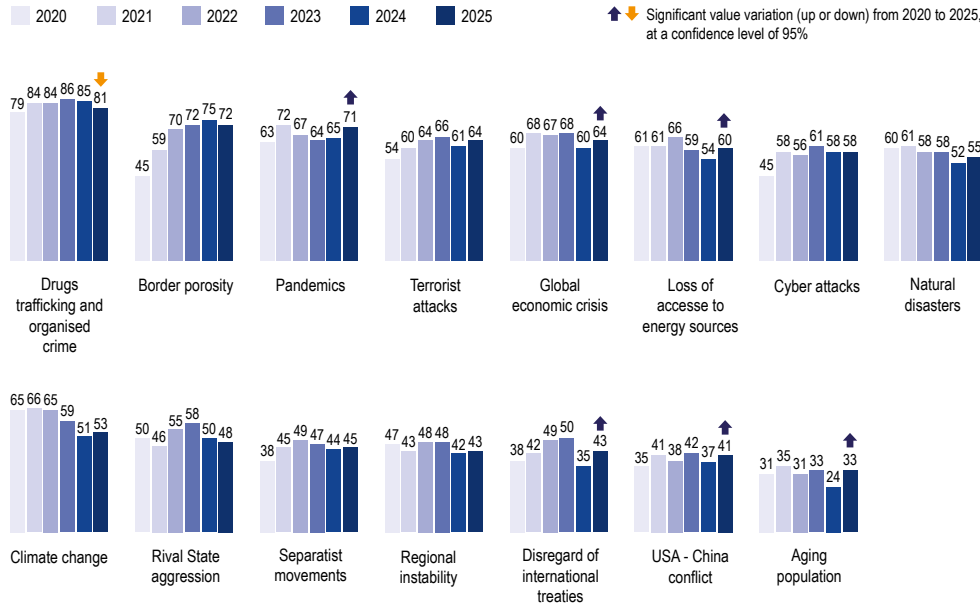
Sample: 96, total sample of the experts of Chile. When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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FIGURE 18

## THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE 2020-25: GENERAL POPULATION

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE  
% CRUCIAL OR DEFINING THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY



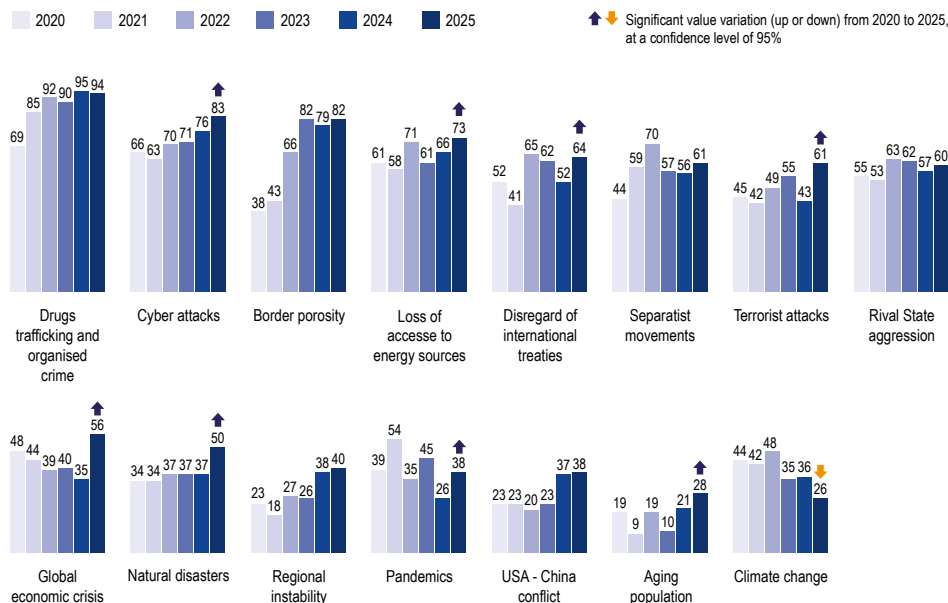
Sample: Total sample of the general population of Chile measured in each year.  
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FIGURE 19

## THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE 2020-25: EXPERTS

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE  
% CRUCIAL OR DEFINING THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY



Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.  
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TABLE 1

**PERCEPTION OF THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF CHILE BY SEGMENTS: GENERAL POPULATION**

For each of the topics mentioned, select whether you consider it a crucial or defining threat to national security, a significant but not crucial threat, or that it does not constitute a threat.

CRUCIAL OR DEFINING THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY	TOTAL	SEX		AGE					SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS				AREA	
		Man	Female	18 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 45	46 to 55	56 or older	ABC1	C2	C3	D/E	Santiago	Regions
Sample	1361	596	765	194	294	297	288	288	339	364	389	269	400	961
Drug trafficking and organised crime	81%	77%	86%	80%	76%	78%	84%	86%	88%	85%	81%	79%	83%	80%
Border porosity	72%	70%	75%	59%	72%	70%	75%	78%	77%	71%	72%	71%	71%	73%
Pandemics	71%	67%	75%	73%	73%	71%	65%	71%	60%	63%	69%	76%	75%	68%
Terrorist attacks	64%	62%	66%	66%	69%	58%	57%	66%	53%	64%	63%	67%	64%	63%
Global economic crisis	64%	59%	68%	68%	68%	62%	57%	63%	58%	63%	61%	66%	68%	61%
Loss of access to energy sources	60%	58%	61%	67%	63%	56%	61%	55%	61%	60%	65%	56%	61%	58%
Cyber attacks	58%	58%	57%	51%	62%	60%	58%	56%	56%	56%	62%	57%	59%	57%
Natural disasters	55%	50%	59%	66%	62%	41%	50%	57%	50%	55%	55%	56%	54%	56%
Climate change	53%	48%	57%	51%	60%	50%	45%	54%	48%	48%	51%	56%	58%	49%
Rival State aggression	48%	46%	51%	57%	48%	51%	41%	48%	50%	56%	47%	47%	45%	51%
Separatist movement	45%	46%	45%	51%	51%	50%	36%	42%	42%	44%	44%	47%	42%	48%
Disregard of international treaties	43%	44%	42%	49%	52%	38%	38%	41%	43%	43%	45%	42%	42%	44%
Regional instability	43%	40%	46%	41%	45%	45%	38%	44%	41%	47%	40%	44%	42%	43%
USA-China conflict	41%	42%	41%	47%	49%	45%	33%	36%	34%	40%	37%	46%	44%	39%
Aging population	31%	34%	32%	25%	44%	33%	24%	34%	29%	34%	32%	34%	33%	33%

Significant value variation (up or down) from 2020 to 2025, at a confidence level of 95%

Sample: 1361, total sample of the general population of Chile.  
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## Chile faces a critical threat from non-traditional challenges

We owe a significant debt of gratitude to AthenaLab and the authors of this important study examining Chile's international relations, security, and defense. Since 2020, this annual survey has provided invaluable insights into societal and expert perceptions of key threats, national interests, and the institutional and policy responses to the complex security challenges confronting Chile. Few comparable national studies exist that so thoroughly explore public and expert views on what has arguably become the principal challenge facing countries across the hemisphere: crime and insecurity.

A central finding of the AthenaLab survey is the near-universal consensus that Chile faces a critical or significant threat from a broad array of predominantly non-traditional challenges, with drug trafficking and crime identified as paramount. The data reveal that fear among Chileans has grown markedly.

Beyond drug trafficking and crime, the prioritization of additional threats varies between the general public and expert respondents. Nevertheless, concerns regarding porous borders, cyberattacks, terrorist attacks, and the global economic crisis are prominent among both groups. Since 2020, public confidence in the armed forces' ability to address a range of national challenges has consistently exceeded 50 percent, except in areas related to national unity, development, and international cooperation. Notably, experts express significantly less support for an expanded military role. For example, expert endorsement of military involvement in national disaster response declined from 68 percent in 2022 to 51 percent in 2025. This trend may reflect expert apprehensions that expanded military responsibilities could undermine or replace underperforming civilian institutions.

Similarly, the Carabineros—the national police—continue to command strong public confidence, with 64 percent expressing trust. While experts express somewhat more cautious support, both groups continue to endorse the Carabineros' traditional roles in crime prevention, public order maintenance, and search and rescue operations. It is evident that the widespread fear of street violence and pervasive insecurity has translated into greater reliance on, and support for, the Carabineros.

Finally, and perhaps reflecting public dissatisfaction with the state's response to insecurity, both societal and expert respondents overwhelmingly expressed strong support for the establishment of a more robust and permanent National Security Council, complemented by an intelligence component. This finding underscores a broad recognition among those surveyed of the need for a more coordinated and enduring structure to address Chile's multiple and complex security challenges.

Once again, AthenaLab and the authors of this survey merit recognition for bringing to light public perceptions that are critical inputs for policymakers as they design and implement effective security strategies.



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of American States  
(2023-2025).

### Perception regarding national interests

This year's survey reveals a paradox: while experts and the general population fully agree that the most important interests are maintaining the integrity of the national territory (land, sea, and air), along with maintaining a level of security that enables development, the difference lies in the degree of perception. While 67% of the general population declares that maintaining territorial integrity is vital, the rate of experts is 91%. Similarly, 64% of the general population and 88% of experts recognise the importance of maintaining a level of security that enables development. Finally, strengthening

social cohesion and unity among the population reaches 45% among the general population, and rises to 63% among experts.

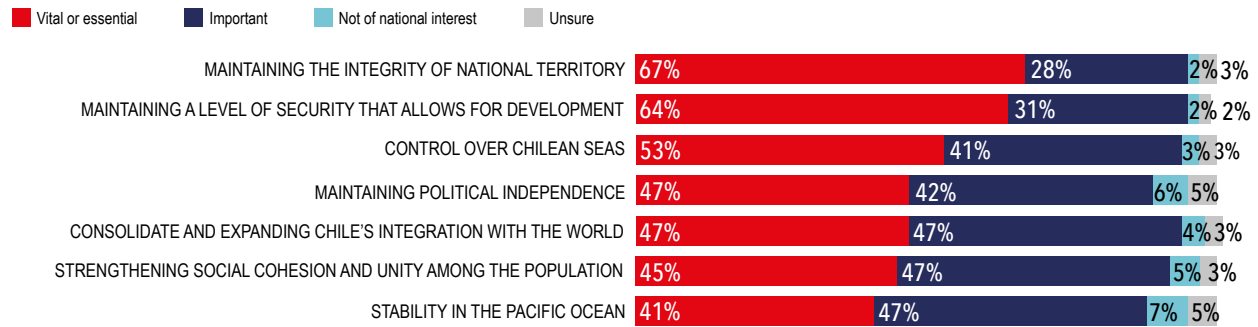
All things considered, it seems relevant to highlight that the symbiotic relationship between security and development is clearly achieving greater relevance, which represents a shift from those who placed greater emphasis on development over security. They are two sides of the same coin; they are interdependent, and both shape the desired common good, the ultimate mission of every State.

FIGURE 20

## NATIONAL INTERESTS: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each national interest listed, select whether you consider it vital or essential, important, or not of national interest.

### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT



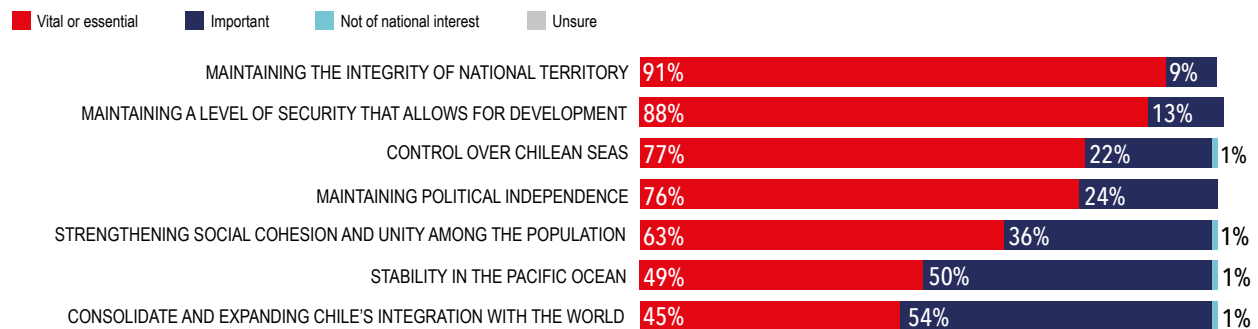
Sample: 1361, total sample of the general population of Chile.  
When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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FIGURE 21

## NATIONAL INTERESTS: EXPERTS - CHILE

For each national interest listed, select whether you consider it vital or essential, important, or not of national interest.

### EXPERTS SEGMENT



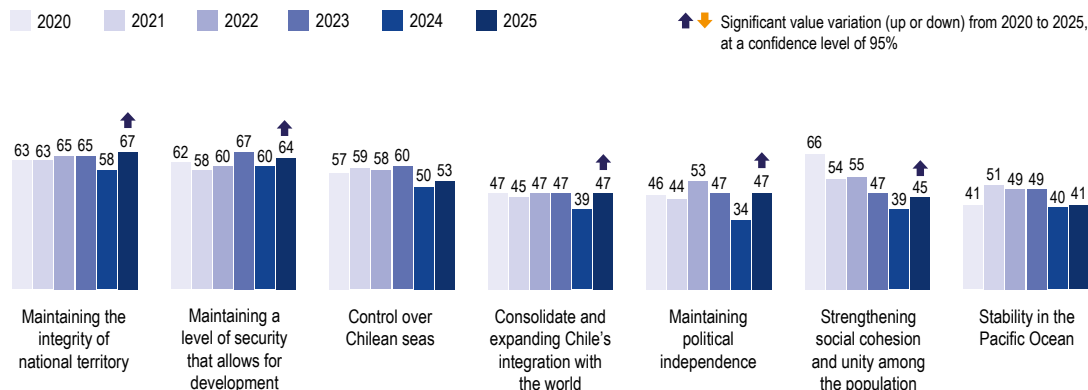
Sample: 96, total sample of the experts of Chile.  
When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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FIGURE 22

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS: 2020-25: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each national interest listed, select whether you consider it vital or essential, important, or not of national interest.

### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT - CHILE % VITAL OR ESSENTIAL



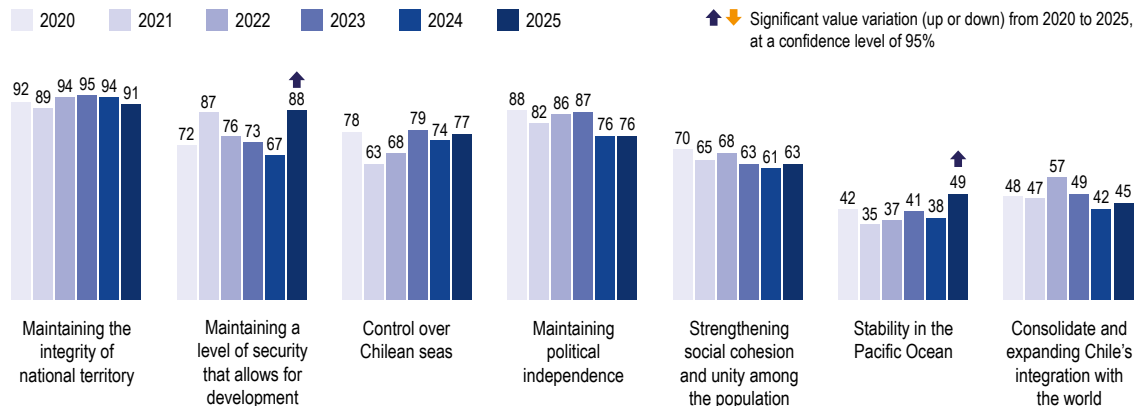
Sample: Total sample of the general population of Chile measured in each year.  
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FIGURE 23

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS: 2020-25: EXPERTS - CHILE

For each national interest listed, select whether you consider it vital or essential, important, or not of national interest.

### EXPERTS SEGMENT - CHILE % VITAL OR ESSENTIAL



Sample: Total of Chilean expert respondents measured every year.  
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### Assignment of tasks to the Chilean Armed Forces

Regarding the Armed Forces' primary constitutional mission, both experts and the general population attach great importance to the relationship between surveying and protecting our borders (land, sea, or air) and the defense of sovereignty. However, significant gaps are perceived regarding the employment of the Armed Forces in the fight against drug trafficking: among general population, 68% perceives this task as fundamental and 24% as complementary, whereas among experts, these figures are 36% and 43%, respectively.

Similarly, among the general population, there is a significant increase in support towards the participation of the military in aiding natural disasters, their presence in remote locations, and the contribution these institutions make to national unity and cohesion. Meanwhile, among experts, the participation of the Armed Forces in combating drug trafficking has increased by 14 points compared to 2024, reaching 36% in the perception of it as a fundamental task, although still far below the general population's perception.

FIGURE 24

## ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES: GENERAL POPULATION - CHILE

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.

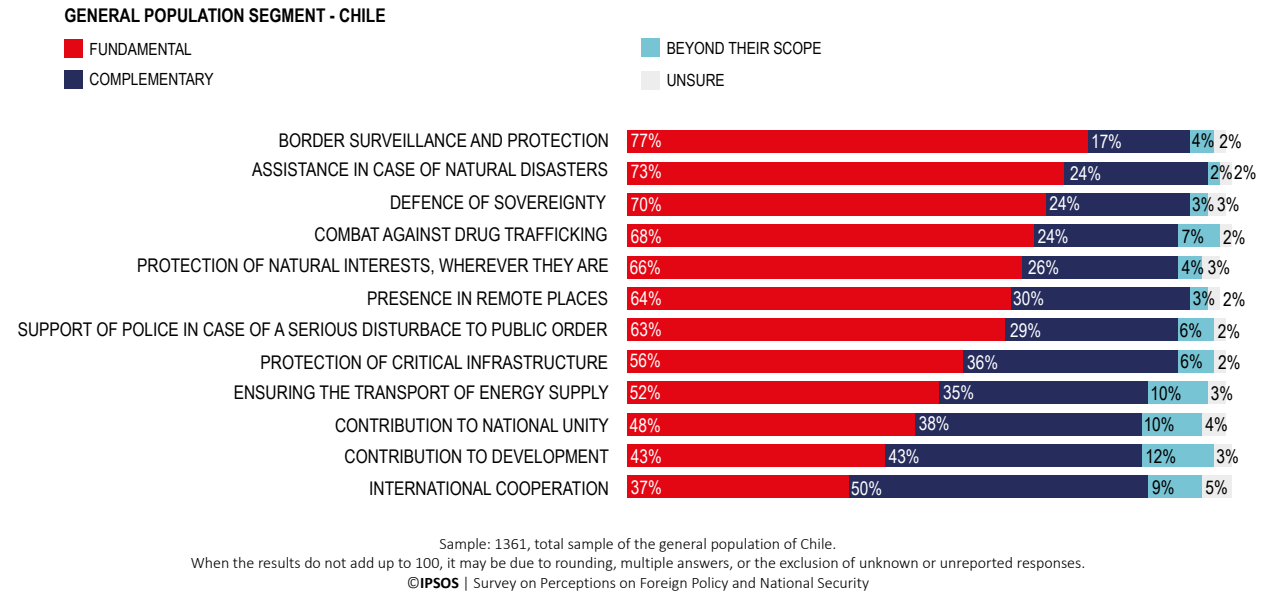


FIGURE 25

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.

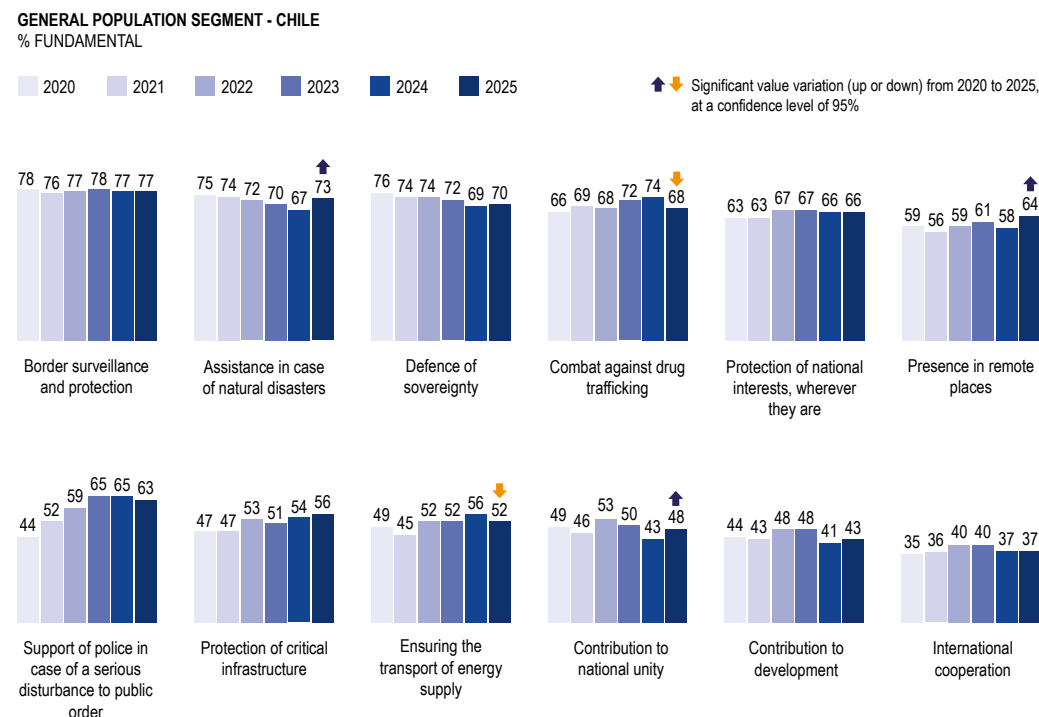


FIGURE 26

## ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES: EXPERTS - CHILE

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.

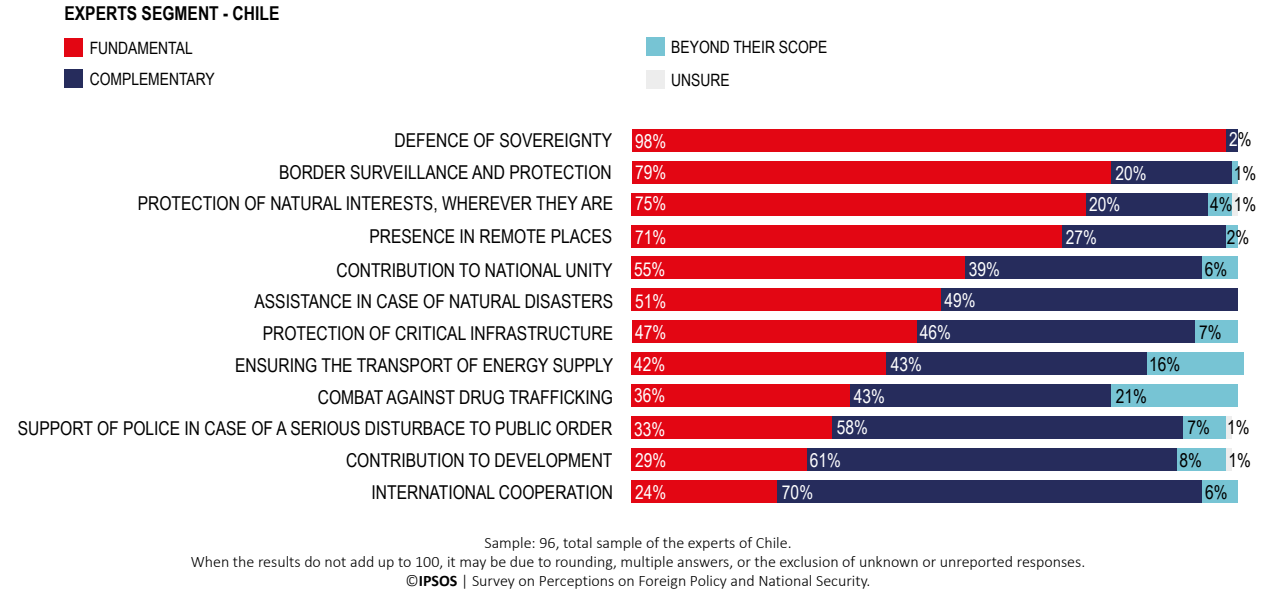
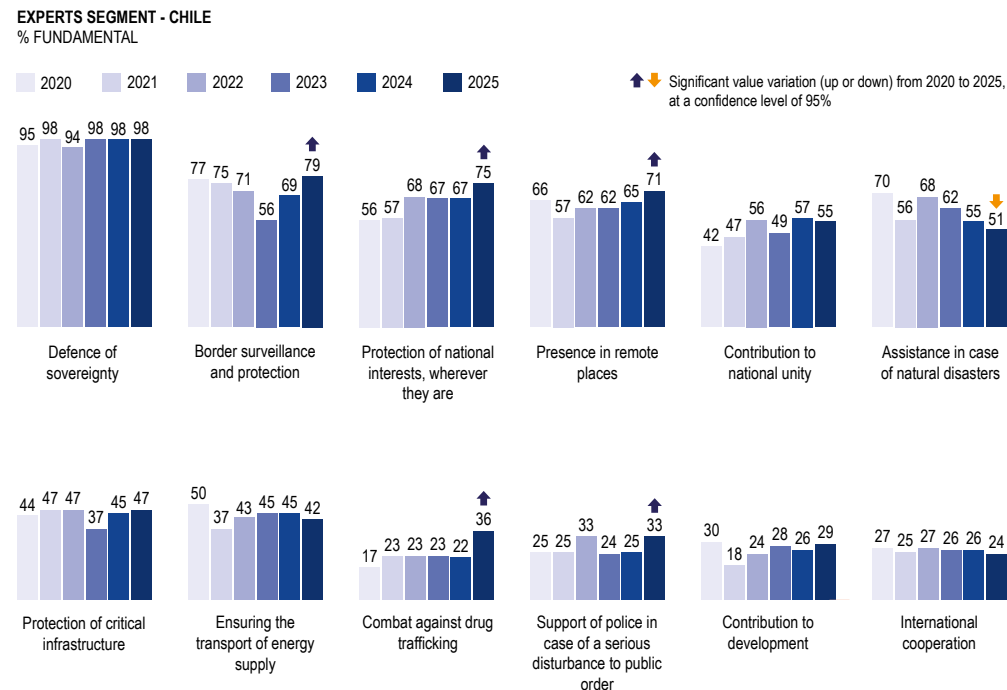


FIGURE 27

## HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF ATTRIBUTION OF TASKS TO THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES: EXPERTS

For each of the tasks listed, select whether you consider it a fundamental task for the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force), complementary, or beyond their scope.





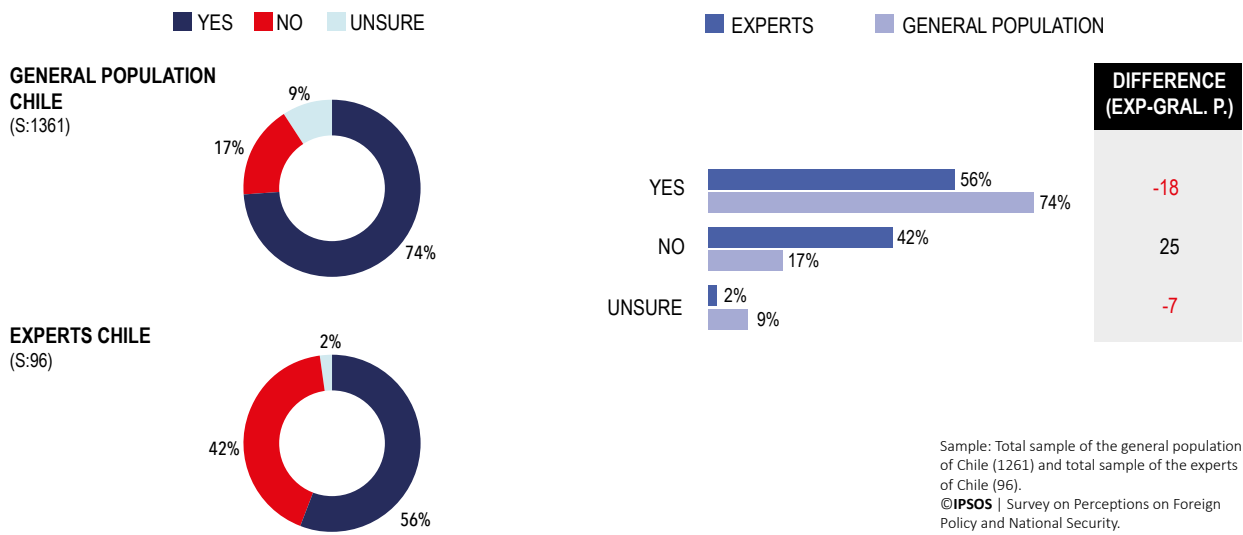
Regarding the opinion on the creation of a new organisation specialised in the control of land borders

In this new question, a significant 74% of the general population agreed, while among experts the figure reached 56%. Breaking it down by geographic distribution, the figure is higher in Santiago (82%) than in other regions (68%). The perception among the general population is very similar between men and women, as well as across age groups and socioeconomic levels. All

things considered, the responses reflect a favorable perception towards the need for greater and better land border control, with specialised police powers, complemented by military border control by the Army, in accordance with its constitutional mission. This entails the challenge of very close co-ordination among all national agencies present on the border.

FIGURE 28  
CREATION OF A NEW SPECIALISED ORGANISATION:

Do you agree with the creation of a new specialised organisation (equivalent to the Armed Forces or Law Enforcement) for permanent border control?



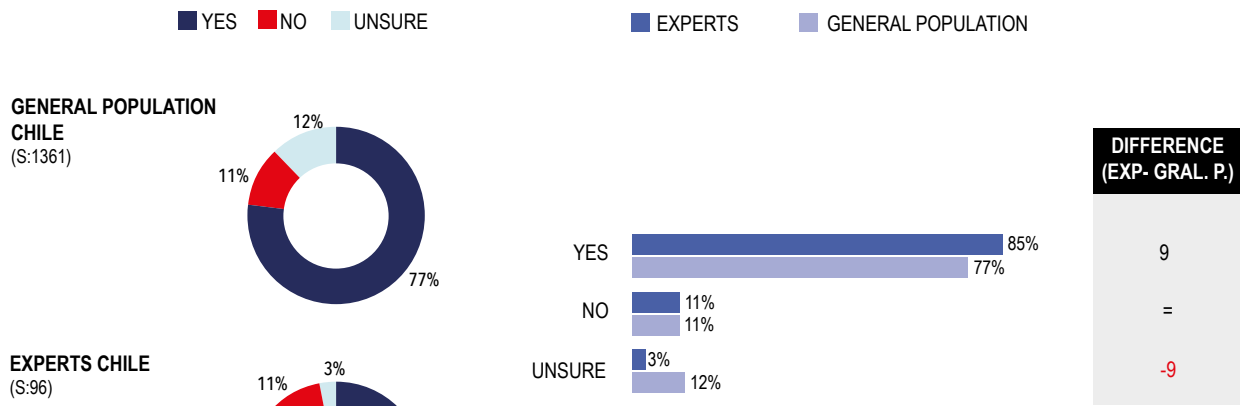
Regarding the perception of a permanent National Security Council of the State of Chile

The response to this question is overwhelming: 77% of the general population and 85% the experts are in favor of implementing a permanent National Security Council.

This reflects recognition of the need for greater integration and coordination among the institutions and agencies responsible for national security, constantly monitoring and minimising risks and threats, and, of course, identifying opportunities for the country.

FIGURE 29  
PERMANENT STATE SECURITY COUNCIL

In Chile, the National Security Council (*Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, COSENA*) is an institution headed by the President of the Republic and includes key leaders from the government, the Armed Forces, and the Police. Its purpose is to advise on national security issues. Currently, it only meets at the request of the President. Based on the above, do you support the creation of a permanent State Security Council backed by a robust intelligence system, with defined powers and responsibilities?



Sample: Total sample of the general population of Chile (1261) and total sample of the experts of Chile (96).  
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## Regarding the main tasks of Carabineros de Chile as a force of order and security

The survey confirms the correct perception regarding the primary role of the Carabineros, as preventive police charged with the vital mission of maintaining public order. Among the general population, preventive work and public order are perceived as priorities (79% and 78%, respectively). Experts identify those responsibilities in the same order of importance, with 89% and 88%, respectively.

The tasks with a relevance score of less than 50% among the general population, in decreasing order, are: guarding the La Moneda Palace; safeguarding large private events; participating in military parades; maintaining a riding school; and performing

musical acts. Meanwhile, in the expert segment, the tasks with a perception of less than 50%, in decreasing order, are: guarding the La Moneda Palace; mountain rescues; participating in military parades; safeguarding large private events; maintaining a riding school; and performing musical acts.

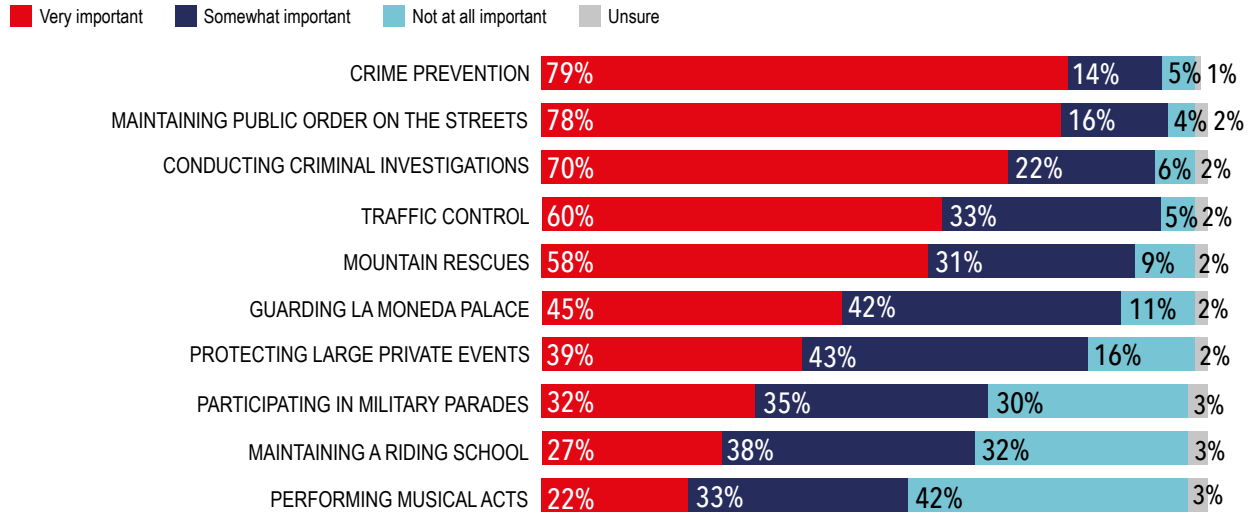
In short, it seems that the general conclusion in this regard, and given the current public security crisis, is to concentrate efforts on the core constitutional missions of a police force, which are key in the fight against organised crime and essential to maintaining the rule of law.

FIGURE 30

### TASKS OF THE CARABINEROS: GENERAL POPULATION

In the context of the current security crisis, how important do you consider limiting the functions of the Carabineros, assuming that there are other institutions that perform the same tasks or have the same capabilities?

#### GENERAL POPULATION SEGMENT CHILE



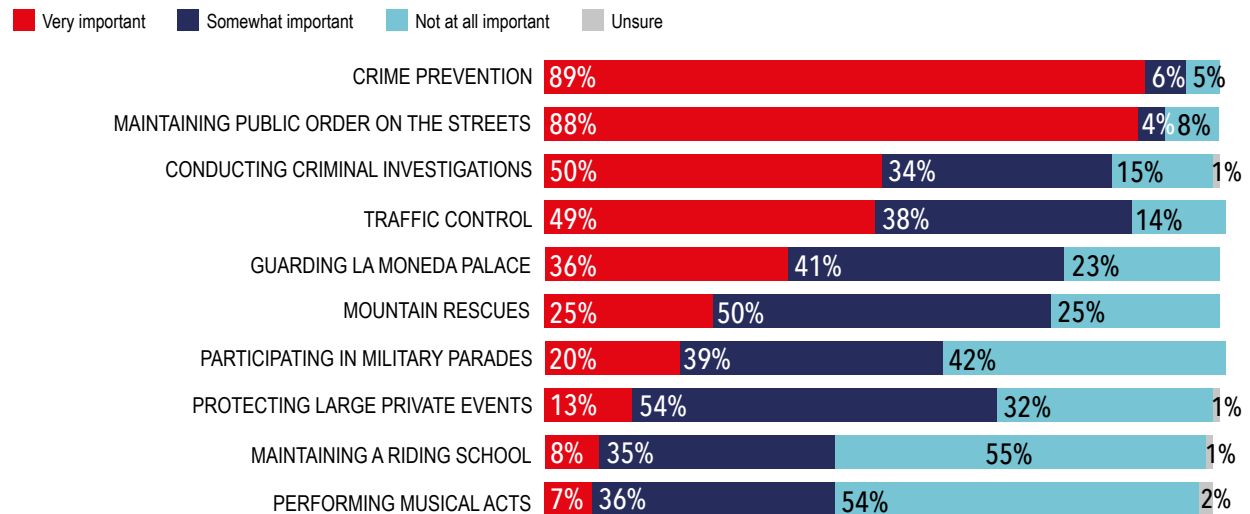
Sample: 1361, total sample of the general population of Chile.  
When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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FIGURE 31

### TASKS OF THE CARABINEROS: EXPERTS

In the context of the current security crisis, how important do you consider limiting the functions of the Carabineros, assuming that there are other institutions that perform the same tasks or have the same capabilities?

#### EXPERTS SEGMENT CHILE





Sample: 96, total sample of the experts of Chile.  
When the results do not add up to 100, it may be due to rounding, multiple answers, or the exclusion of unknown or unreported responses.  
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TABLE 2

**TASKS OF THE CARABINEROS BY SEGMENTS: GENERAL POPULATION CHILE**

In the context of the current security crisis, how important do you consider limiting the functions of the Carabineros, assuming that there are other institutions that perform the same tasks or have the same capabilities?

% VERY IMPORTANT	TOTAL	SEX		AGE					SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS				AREA	
		Male	Female	18 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 45	46 to 55	56 or older	ABC1	C2	C3	D/E	Santiago	Regions
Sample	1361	596	765	194	294	297	288	288	339	364	389	269	400	961
Crime prevention	79%	79%	80%	71%	70%	78%	79%	90%	76%	76%	80%	81%	83%	77%
Maintaining public order on the streets	78%	77%	69%	69%	69%	72%	84%	88%	80%	75%	78%	78%	79%	77%
Conducting criminal investigations	70%	70%	71%	68%	67%	71%	64%	76%	64%	66%	69%	74%	76%	66%
Traffic control	60%	57%	62%	46%	58%	61%	61%	65%	54%	56%	61%	61%	69%	53%
Mountain rescues	58%	59%	58%	50%	54%	51%	60%	68%	49%	54%	53%	65%	65%	54%
Guarding La Moneda Palace	45%	46%	44%	42%	47%	37%	42%	52%	34%	41%	42%	51%	56%	37%
Protecting large private events	39%	34%	43%	32%	40%	41%	33%	41%	32%	32%	34%	44%	40%	37%
Participating in military parades	32%	34%	31%	29%	32%	33%	25%	37%	23%	28%	23%	41%	38%	28%
Maintaining a riding school	27%	30%	25%	31%	27%	35%	22%	23%	21%	19%	23%	33%	32%	24%
Performing musical acts	22%	24%	20%	18%	23%	27%	14%	24%	16%	15%	18%	27%	29%	17%

  Significant value variation (up or down) from 2020 to 2025, at a confidence level of 95%

Sample: 1361, total sample of the general population of Chile.

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## Regarding effective compliance with a compulsory military service

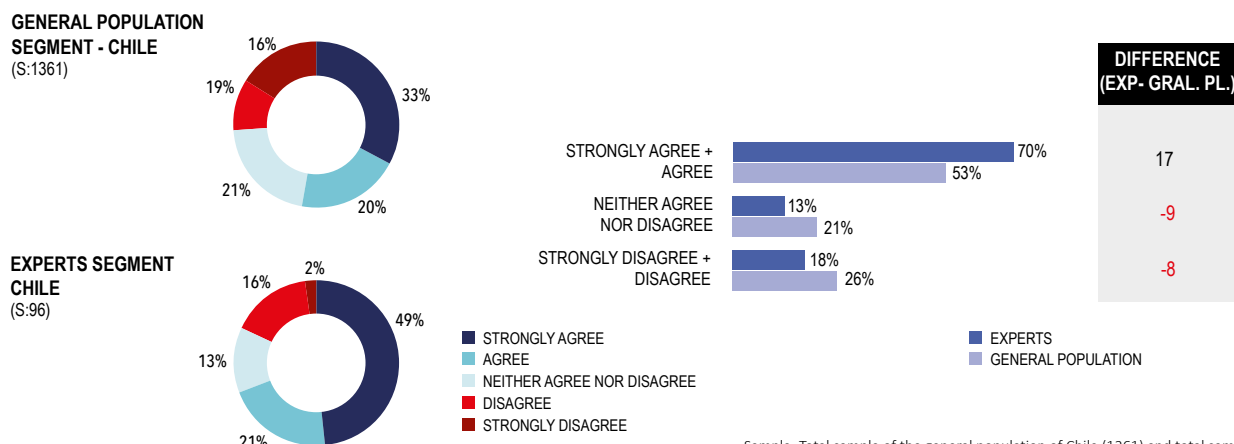
This question's intention was to inquire about the universal and equal nature of civic duty in our society. Among the general population, 53% strongly agree or agree, while 21% are neutral. Meanwhile, among experts, the percentage of those who strongly agree and agree rises to 70%, while the percentage of those who express neutrality falls to 13%. This indicates that both the general population and the expert segment favor universal and equal military service as part of Chilean society's civic duty.

Finally, it is clear that the country's current serious security crisis requires both new strategies and the creation of currently nonexistent institutions to increase the possibilities of containing and neutralising organised crime and drug trafficking, and

at the same time improving public security, which is currently subject to countless challenges. This is supported by the ratification of the idea of designing new organisations to improve the integration and coordination of efforts, such as a permanent National Security Council, as well as the positive perception of implementing a specialised force for land border control. Likewise, the perception is positive both for establishing a clear center of gravity in the police missions of Carabineros de Chile and for moving toward truly compulsory military service, preserving its universal and egalitarian nature. Only by improving the architecture and procedures can the State be more effective and efficient in neutralising the main threats to national security. Business as usual is not an option.

**FIGURE 32**  
**COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE. GENERAL POPULATION AND EXPERTS - CHILE**

Do you agree with the implementation of a compulsory military service that is, in practice, universal and equal for all?



Sample: Total sample of the general population of Chile (1261) and total sample of the experts of Chile (96).  
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## Chileans want a more integrated national security system

Regarding security aspects, the survey presented in this document asked about threat assessments in fifteen different areas, with the noteworthy virtue of using two types of population samples: citizens in general and a group of experts.

The general population is especially concerned about drug trafficking and organised crime, followed by porous borders and pandemics. Experts, who are generally more concerned about threats than the general population, agree that drug trafficking and organised crime are in first place, followed by cyberattacks. This is especially illustrative, since the best way to be resilient to cyberattacks is for the general population, and businesses and organisations in particular, to recognise the high risk of digital vulnerability.

The survey asks about national interests and their level of priority. Many countries only loosely identify these interests, but what makes this instrument unique is that it asks citizens to classify them as vital, important, or not of national interest, in a very novel and commendable attempt to democratise their classification.

Regarding the tasks that should be performed by the Armed Forces, the opinion of the general population has remained very stable over the last five years and demonstrates a high degree of confidence in the effectiveness of the military in carrying out the missions entrusted to them. The expert responses vary depending on the mission, and when asked about the Armed Forces' assistance in natural disasters, it is striking that, in recent years, the general population seeks a greater role, while experts seem to favour a lesser role.

Both experts and the general population favour the creation of a new organisation specialising in border control, as well as a permanent State Security Council supported by an intelligence system.

Regarding the tasks assigned to Carabineros, the general population agrees with the experts; although the percentages for each task are always higher among experts, except in activities not specifically related to this force, such as the horse-riding school and musical performances.

Regarding the implementation of compulsory and equal military service, the general population is divided, but it has sufficient support to suggest that Chilean society could effectively implement it. For their part, the experts overwhelmingly support its implementation. This is a very relevant fact, which demonstrates Chileans' patriotism and their willingness to sacrifice themselves to defend Chile's national interests.

The other important conclusion drawn from this survey is that both the general population and the experts believe the system for protecting the country's interests needs to evolve toward the creation of a more integrated and coordinated national security framework. Such a framework would assist the Chilean government in its decision making based on an information system capable of integrating all available data from its various agencies.

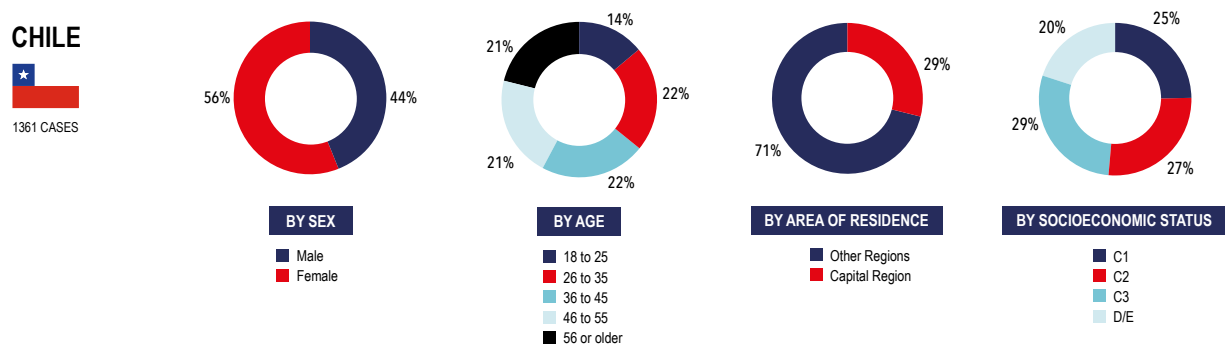


**Miguel A. Ballesteros**

Brigadier General of Artillery. Former Director General of the Department of National Security in the Office of the President of the Government of Spain.

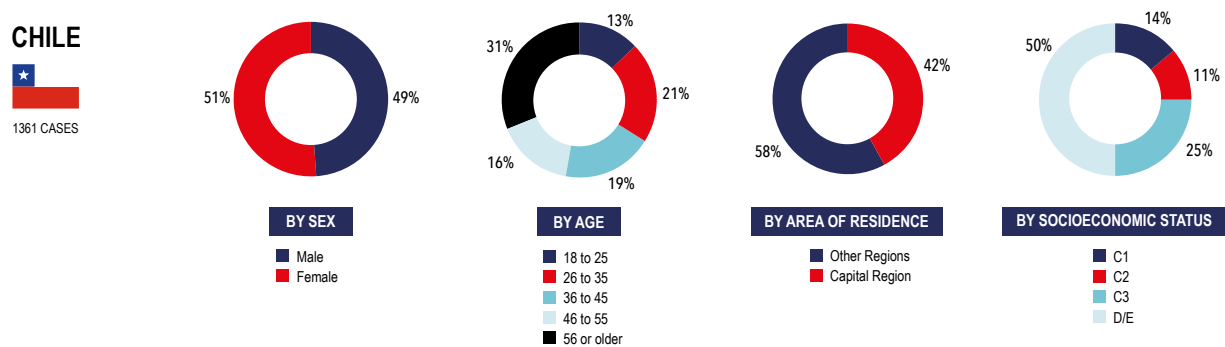
Methodological Annex

FIGURE 33  
PROFILE OF THE UNWEIGHTED GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE



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FIGURE 34  
PROFILE OF THE WEIGHTED GENERAL POPULATION SAMPLE



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## METHODOLOGY SHEET



### METHODOLOGY

- Quantitative Methodology.
- Non-probabilistic quota sampling design.



### TECHNIQUE

- Web survey applied to the Ipsos national web panel (General Population) and client database (Expert Segment).
- Data collection date:  
General population: January 28, 2025 to February 14, 2025.  
Experts: January 29, 2025 to March 13, 2025.



### UNIVERSE

- **General Population:** men and women aged 18 and over, from all regions of Chile.
- **Expertos:** list of experts or opinion leaders in Chile, in or related to the subject of the survey.



### SAMPLE

- **General Population:** 1361.
- **Experts:** 96 experts or opinion leaders.

\* For a study with probabilistic simulation, the reference error would be +/- 2.66% (For total results with maximum variance and 95% confidence).

\*\* When results do not add up to 100%, it may be due to rounding or multiple answers.

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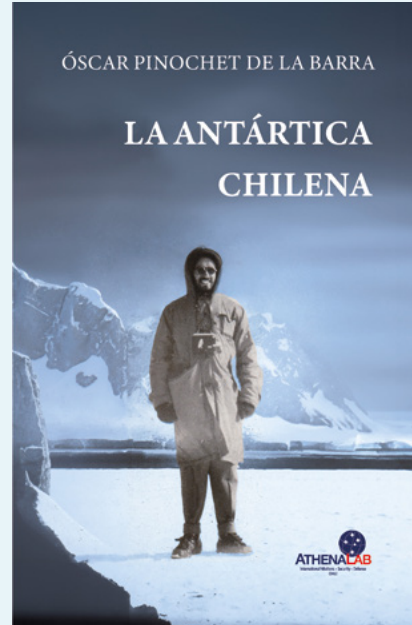
María Soledad Sairafi

## Publications by AthenaLab

### BOOKS



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General Ramón Cañas Montalva  
Edited by John Griffiths and Juan Pablo Toro



*The Chilean Antarctic*  
Óscar Pinochet de la Barra



*Constitutional Route to the Revolution, Chile Between the Civil Unrest, Plurinationality and the Plebiscite*  
José Rodríguez Elizondo



*Challenges for Security and Defence in the American Continent 2020-2030*  
Edited by John Griffiths and Marcelo Masalleras

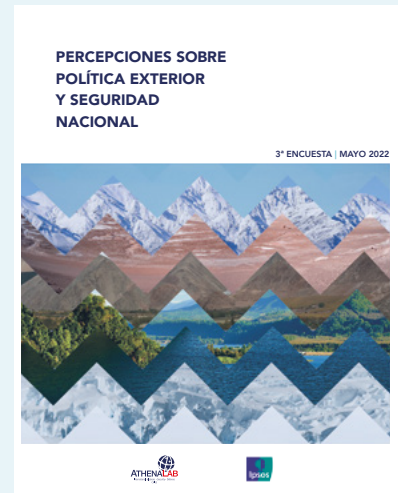
## SURVEYS



*Fifth Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security*  
AthenaLab and Ipsos  
Also available in English



*Fourth Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security*  
AthenaLab and Ipsos  
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*Third Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security*  
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*Second Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security*  
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*First Survey: Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security*  
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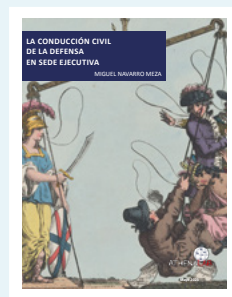
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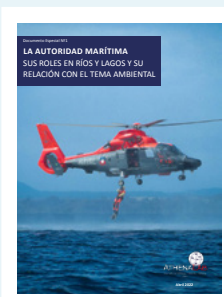
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## WORKING DOCUMENTS











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