

**POST PROJECT EVALUATIONS
FOR THE
UNITED NATIONS DEMOCRACY FUND**

EVALUATION REPORT

**UDF-19-869-CHI
A New Constitution: Historical Opportunity to Advance Gender Equality and Women's Rights
in Chile**

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Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluator. They do not represent those of UNDEF or of any of the institutions referred to in the report.

Author

This report was written by Kevin Lyne, with *pro bono* support from Amaya Lyne.



Workshop to review the text of the (first) new draft Constitution, Punta Arenas, 15 June 2022



The project's core document, summarising feminist demands and proposals for the new Constitution, January 2022

I. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

This report is the evaluation of the project entitled “A New Constitution: Historical Opportunity to Advance Gender Equality and Women’s Rights in Chile”. It was implemented by the *Corporación Humanas - Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género (Humanas)* from 1 May 2021 to 30 September 2023. The project benefitted from a UNDEF grant of USD 198,000 to carry out the following activities:

- Surveys;
- Production of core documents (e.g. a “Gender Agenda”);
- A platform to coordinate and implement advocacy strategies;
- Alliances and agreements with other human rights organisations;
- A media press strategy;
- Social media campaigns.

Direct beneficiaries were: social and political women leaders; elected members of the Constitutional Convention; social leaders; political parties; editors of principal media outlets.

Overall Achievements

This was an ambitious and well-run project, with multiple outputs designed to engage with and influence a broad range of civil society actors and decision-makers – from grass-roots organisations to institutions, and across the country. Despite two (not one, as originally intended) politically contentious constitutional reform processes that ultimately failed to adopt a new Constitution, the **overall impact of the project was very positive**, and the **interventions were highly relevant**. Through a national survey (evidence base), media campaigns, training, advocacy, technical submissions, and the production of high-quality materials, **the project has added considerable value** to the “Gender Agenda” in Chile. This should have **enduring utility** in the country’s future democratic development.

The Grantee and its partners (for the project, and more broadly in the Chilean feminist movement) are understandably frustrated and disappointed by the lack of constitutional progress. They are undergoing a period of reflection to draw lessons for the future. Their story deserves to be told and will be of interest to a wider audience – in the Latin American region and beyond.

Key Recommendations

- **Lessons learned from the project, and the advocacy and technical materials it produced, could be brought together in an easily accessible place (online)**. The core document is already on the *Humanas* website, and eight priorities for the future (directly linked to the findings of the project), are already being articulated – but they deserve more prominence.
- With the development of new alliances from the project (*Nada Sin Nosotras* and the regional *Articulación Territorial Feminista Elena Caffarena*) there is an **opportunity to reconsider how web-based platforms are used to best effect**. For example, there is considerable overlap between the *Humanas* and *Nada Sin Nosotras* websites, and the regional network does not have a website at all. Making these more informative and impactful should help future advocacy efforts relating to elections, the legislative agenda, and beyond.
- ***Humanas* should be included in the Civil Society Group currently being considered by the UN Country Team for the implementation of the UN Framework for Cooperation on Sustainable Development in Chile, 2023-2026** – which has Gender Equality as one of four strategic priorities.

Key Lessons Learned

- **Capturing key takeaways and materials.** The experience of the constitutional reform processes in Chile and lessons learned from the project will self-evidently be of wider interest in the Latin American region, and beyond. Capturing, and preserving for future use, key takeaways and materials should be an integral part of any successful and well-run project.
- **Project design and delivery.** Project designers and managers should always be alive to what is ultimately achievable – and limit scope and ambition accordingly. Risk management should not shy away from worst case scenarios. When significant events threaten to alter the course or delivery of a project, as well as having the flexibility to extend in time it may also be beneficial to review Results Frameworks and adjust objectives and target indicators.
- **Countering disinformation.** When operating in a highly charged political context, where significant stakeholders can pro-actively resist change, disinformation campaigns are increasingly a fact of life. To counter this, project managers should be able to rely on a robust media/engagement strategy to counter false messages that undermine the integrity of their project.
- **UNDEF Lessons Learned.** It would be helpful to ensure that all future bids for UNDEF grants demonstrate that prospective Grantees are aware of the online UNDEF Lessons Learned facility and have used, or intend to use, it.

II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

(i) Development Context

(Due to the complex political context in which the project took place, and its direct relevance to the project, this section covers recent developments in some detail.)

Chile is a long, narrow country stretching along South America's western edge, with more than 6,000 kms of Pacific Ocean coastline, and a population of 19.6 million.

Since the end of military rule (1973-1990), Chile has enjoyed a reputation of political stability and economic success. Between 1990 and 2019 the Human Development Index (HDI) of the country rose 20.5%, from 0.706 to 0.851 leaving Chile with the highest HDI ranking in the whole of Latin America and the Caribbean (it currently stands at 0.860). It is deemed a High-Income Economy country by the World Bank.¹ But student demonstrations in 2011, social protests during 2014-2018 and in 2019, and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, highlighted the persistence of inequality and the marginalisation of groups that had traditionally been left behind, especially women.²

The protests in 2014-2018 included a wave of strikes, occupations, and protests by feminist groups in May 2018 against sexual harassment and sexual discrimination within the education system and workplace. This was a defining moment for the feminist movement in Chile. The *Estallido Social* (Social Explosion) of October 2019 was a series of mass demonstrations and riots that originated in Santiago but spread to regional capitals, with over 11,000 injuries and 36

¹ This category is for countries with a per capita Gross National Income (GNI) of over US\$ 13,846. Chile's per capita GNI in 2022 was US\$ 15,355.50. More background on this here: <https://data.worldbank.org/?locations=CL-XD>.

² From the opening statement in the UNDP Country Programme Document for Chile (2022-2026), available in Spanish at: <https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/2023-06/undp-rblac-CPD-CHL-2023-2026-ESP.pdf>. Structural inequalities mentioned in the Grantee's Project Document (PD) of 12 April 2021 included: women earning 27.4% less than men for the same work or worth of work; women being marginalised in decision-making processes – with 21% in Congress, 12% in local authorities, 8% in leadership positions in the private sector, and 12% in unions; access to health care. With the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath, like in so many other countries across the world, women were vulnerable to job losses in domestic service and there were increases in domestic violence.

deaths.³ In response, an agreement was reached on 15 November 2019 between the main political parties to begin a process to write a new Constitution. A national plebiscite in 2020 approved the decision to establish a Constitutional Convention,⁴ and elections for this were held on 15-16 May 2021. The Convention comprised 155 members directly elected – 138 by the electorate at-large and 17 reserved for citizens identified as indigenous. The 138 at-large members were chosen in 28 constituencies of between three and eight seats by open list proportional representation. Chileans voted overwhelmingly for left-wing independents, with right-wing representatives winning only 37 seats. There were 78 men and 77 women, making it the first such institution in the world to have gender parity by design.

On 19 December 2021, presidential elections were won by Gabriel Boric of the Leftist *Frente Amplio* coalition. At 35 years old, he was the country's youngest-ever democratically elected President. Boric took office on 11 March 2022. In his inaugural address he pledged: "*In this first year of government, we have also set ourselves the task of enthusiastically accompanying the constitutional process that we fought so hard for*".⁵

Such focus on referenda/plebiscites and constitutional change is not without historical and political significance in Chile. The Constitution of 1980 was approved (arguably by a highly manipulated) national plebiscite in that year and gave President Pinochet expanded personal powers and added eight years to his term of office. In 1988 he expected to win a referendum on his presidency, but this sparked a pro-democracy movement that proved to be his undoing. He lost the referendum by 56% to 44%, clearing the way for a free and fair presidential election in 1989, and a formal end to the dictatorship in 1990. The 1980 Constitution subsequently underwent many changes: 257 modifications through 52 separate laws, in fact. Many of these were achieved under the Presidency of Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006): reducing the presidential term from six to four years, and removing the electoral system from the constitution – to open the process to future reform; eliminating appointed senatorial seats; reducing military influence in politics – by transforming the National Security Council into an advisory body to the President; and giving the President the power to dismiss the commanders-in-chief of the military and police.

During the (second term) socialist presidency of Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018), she campaigned to replace the Constitution altogether, on the grounds that Chile needed a Constitution that was "born in democracy", and her priorities were education, tax reform, and social inequality. Social protests in 2014 (mentioned above) widened these demands to self-determination for indigenous people, egalitarian marriage with child adoption, reproductive rights, and healthcare.

Expectations for constitutional change, then, had been high in the years preceding the Constitutional Convention.

On 4 July 2022, the Convention finalised its proposal for a Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile. It was over 170 pages long and contained 388 articles and 57 transitional provisions. Many of its proposals were radically different from the existing text, and proved to be controversial, including: language on a "plurinational" state (recognising the "coexistence of diverse nations and peoples"), an indigenous justice system, workers' rights (including prohibiting "all forms of job insecurity"), and extensive new powers for Congress. Extensive new rights relating to gender included the right to abortion, which would have made Chile the first country in

³ Chile was not the only country to be affected by such events in the region. Between October and December 2019, mass protests also took place in Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador.

⁴ *Convención Constitucional* in Spanish, with members being *convencionales constituyentes*. In the PD and in its reporting, the Grantee refers to Constituent and/or Constitutional Assembly or Constituent Convention. The phrasing used in this report is consistent with what has been used in the media and specialized coverage in English.

⁵ Government of Chile website: <https://www.gob.cl/en/news/president-boric-in-his-first-speech-to-the-chilean-people-we-want-ministers-out-on-terrain-in-the-streets-standing-with-the-people/>.

the world to enshrine the right to terminate a pregnancy in its Constitution.⁶ The text was criticised heavily by conservative forces, in coordinated media campaigns, as being too radical, too prolix, and unworkable.

In a **referendum on 4 September 2022** the text was rejected by 62% of voters. The vote, which was mandatory, was the largest vote in the electoral history of Chile, in which more than 13 million people participated. Because of the mandatory nature of the vote, this included some 4-5 million new voters who would not have participated otherwise.⁷

After this rejection, political momentum shifted towards congressional control of the new process, under an “Agreement for Chile” signed by Congress in December 2022. The move from a fully elected constituent body to a mix of political appointments and directly elected delegates was an attempt to balance expertise with democratic legitimacy in the hope of producing a new constitution that would satisfy voters. The main feature of the new process was the establishment of three different bodies: a Constitutional Council composed of 51 delegates (25 each for men and women, and one for an indigenous list); an Expert Commission, a body made up of 24 experts (12 appointed by each house of Congress); and a Technical Admissibility Committee, composed of 14 jurists.⁸

On 7 May 2023, elections for a new Constitutional Council⁹ were held. The far-right *Partido Republicano*, unexpectedly, won 23 of the 51 seats with a coalition of moderate right-wing parties (*Chile Seguro*) winning an additional 11 seats – giving conservative members a veto-proof three-fifths majority. For this election, although turnout was high at 83%, there was an unusually large number of null and blank votes – at 21.5%.

Under the terms of the “Agreement for Chile” it was agreed that after a period of five months to finalise a new constitutional text, this would be put to another referendum on 17 December 2023. In the run up to this, four parallel mechanisms were put in place to ensure public participation, through: popular initiatives; public hearings; deliberate citizen dialogues; and citizen consultation.

The resulting draft text, as expected, because of the domination of the right-wing members of the Constitutional Council, was conservative in nature: affecting areas such as abortion rights, the right to strike, and indigenous rights.

In the **second referendum on 17 December 2023**, the draft text was rejected by 56% of the voters. While the first text had arguably been rejected for being too progressive, the second was rejected for being too conservative. Boric, who had backed the draft text put to the first referendum, remained neutral on the second. He said ahead of the vote that it would be the last attempt at constitutional reform under his presidency.

Chile will hold local elections in October 2024 and general elections (congressional and presidential) in November 2025. Many of the reforms promised by Boric, not just on the

⁶ This title was eventually earned by France in March 2024, when Article 34 of the French Constitution was amended to protect the “... freedom of women to voluntarily terminate a pregnancy”.

⁷ It is the understanding of the Grantee and its partners CEM and OGE that many of these new voters strongly resented having to vote, and that their voting behaviour for this referendum, and the one that followed, would have been to reject the proposals out of protest.

⁸ The Technical Admissibility Committee determined whether any proposed constitutional provision contravenes the previously agreed “*bases institucionales*”: 12 foundational guiding principles included in the “Agreement for Chile”. According to the Agreement, none of the proposed provisions may contravene these principles, nor may these contents be absent in the draft to be issued by the Constitutional Council. Examples of such preconfigured content are Chile’s commitment to social and democratic rule of law, to being a unitary and decentralized state, to bicameralism, to protecting fundamental human rights and freedoms, and to conserving nature and biodiversity. A political compromise is shown in these principles, which constrained the future content of a new constitution. (Source: ConstitutionNet.com)

⁹ *Consejo Constitucional* in Spanish, with members being *consejeros constitucionales*.

constitution, have been blocked – without a working majority in Congress. Electorate priorities have shifted from pensions, healthcare and education to crime, economic problems, and immigration. In the eyes of many observers, Chile has moved from being “model” to “muddle” in recent times.¹⁰

(ii) Project Objectives and Intervention Rationale

The full title of the project was “A New Constitution: Historical Opportunity to Advance Gender Equality and Women’s Rights in Chile”.

The Grantee, *Corporación Humanas - Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género* (shortened to *Humanas*), was created in Santiago de Chile in 2004 by a group of feminist women, professionals, and human rights defenders, with the aim of generating a space for action, reflection, and advocacy in the institutional development of the country to contribute to the deepening of democracy and the inclusion of women. Registered under Chilean law, the main objective was to advocate for gender reforms and public policies according to international human rights standards and influence decision making processes. Since 2004 the Grantee has managed to establish itself as a leading member of a regional feminist network in Latin America (*Articulación Regional Feminista, ARF*) – working with counterparts in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru.¹¹

For the implementation of the project, *Humanas* worked in partnership with two other Chile-based CSOs: the *Observatorio de Género y Equidad (OGE)* and the *Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM)*.

The project started on 1 May 2021 and was due to finish on 30 April 2023. A new end date of 30 September 2023 was agreed after allowing for delays in the implementation of the national opinion survey and the introduction of the second constitutional reform process after the rejection of the first referendum in September 2022.

The overall project objective was to **contribute to a more gender-inclusive and democratic constitutional process in Chile**. Three outcomes were envisaged:

Outcome 1: Key actors of the constitutional reform process are better informed following the development of the gender constitutional agenda.

Outcome 2: Improved advocacy coordination among women and feminist organisations to include gender contents in the constitutional reform process.

Outcome 3: Improved public opinion in favour of gender and women’s rights inclusion in the constitutional reform process.

To achieve this, the project included the following activities/outputs:

- Surveys;
- Production of core documents (e.g. a “Gender Agenda”);
- A platform to coordinate and implement advocacy strategies;
- Alliances and agreements with other human rights organisations;
- A media press strategy;

¹⁰ See *The Economist* article: “From model to muddle: Chile’s crisis is not over yet”, 15 February 2024, available at: <https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2024/02/15/chiles-crisis-is-not-over-yet>.

¹¹ More background and explanation of mission, vision, and objectives available on the *Humanas* website: <https://www.humanas.cl/>. The ARF was also formed in 2004, now comprising, in addition to *Humanas* in Chile: *Equis, Justicia para las Mujeres* (Mexico); *Corporación Humanas Colombia*; *Corporación Humanas Ecuador*; *Demus, Estudio para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer* (Peru); *Coordinadora de la Mujer* (Bolivia); *Equipo Latinoamericano de Justicia y Género* (Argentina).

- Social media campaigns.

The project was national in scope and implemented in the main cities of the following nine regions: Santiago (Región Metropolitana), Valparaíso (Región de Valparaíso), Antofagasta (Región de Antofagasta), La Serena (Región de Coquimbo), Concepción (Región del Bio Bio), Valdivia (Región de Los Ríos), Aysén (Región de Aysén), Punta Arenas (Región de Magallanes) and Temuco (Región de la Araucanía). These cities concentrate the highest population in each region and have an active civil society including universities as well as women and feminist organizations. Each region elected representatives to the Constitutional Convention according to its population. Other parts of the country were also reached via meetings online.

Direct beneficiaries were: social and political women leaders; elected members of the Constitutional Convention; social leaders; political parties; editors of principal media outlets.

(iii) Project Strategy and Approach

The overall design of the project was encapsulated in what the Grantee called an “Integral Strategy” comprising three components:

Agenda setting strategy: To install, as part of the constitutional debate, a gender agenda to influence the decision-making process and drafting of the new constitution. A base line on women’s preferences and opinions, established through a national and representative survey. Six position papers to deepen specific contents to be drafted for specialized debates with elected assembly members. Assistance from OHCHR and UN Women to ensure proposals are within the framework of international standards and constant information given to the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity on the schedule and type of activities to ensure implementation.

Capacity Building strategy: Feminist organizations to join a national coordination mechanism to mobilize, train, engage women and feminist activists in advocacy strategies at regional and national levels through workshops, meetings, and assemblies.

Communication strategy: To inform and build a favorable public opinion for gender inclusion in the constitutional process through bulletins, radio, digital platforms and social network campaigns, that sustains public and social pressure on the process.

All activities were completed and reporting documents (including milestone monitoring) produced.

The budget for the project was USD 198,000, including USD 18,000 for UNDEF Monitoring and Evaluation, and this was spent in full.

III. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

The evaluation focuses on the achievement of the project’s outcomes, as well as on the impact and programme effectiveness in achieving its ultimate goals. It uses a set of standard Evaluation Questions in line with the OECD-DAC Criteria¹² adapted and developed to fit the context of the project (see Annex 1). The evaluation framework was participatory and people-centred, whereby stakeholders and beneficiaries were the key actors of the evaluation process and not the mere objects of the evaluation.

The evaluation followed a four-step process: (1) engaging project management and conducting a preliminary desk review to describe the project and evaluation framework and consider remote

¹² See: <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm>.

data collection tools (Launch Note agreed on 29 January 2024); (2) gathering credible evidence; (3) consolidating data and writing the report; (4) sharing the draft report with the main users for feedback then finalization.

A field mission to Chile (Santiago and Valparaíso) was carried out during 18-22 March 2024.

Documents reviewed included: project documents and reporting, third party reporting, official Chilean texts, and other sources. The evaluator also conducted more than 100 Internet searches in news, social networks and pages of different institutions and organisations. Some of these have been cited in this report. (Annex 2)

During the evaluation, 32 people (27 women and 5 men) were consulted (see Annex 3).

This final report presents the main findings and gives answers to evaluation questions based on evidence.

IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

Evaluation criteria, questions and sub-questions are listed in full at Annex 1.

(i) **Relevance**

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to the context and needs at the Grantee, local and national levels?

Main findings:

- The project drew on the Grantee's long experience of advocating for women's rights and gender equality in Chile, especially the use of national surveys to provide baselines for developing and legitimising interventions.
- The project targeted a wide range of stakeholders and decision-makers and adapted well to changing circumstances with the rejection of the first constitutional process and the beginning of the second.
- The project included a focus on indigenous women as the most vulnerable and excluded group from decision-making processes in Chile.
- Risk mitigation was set out clearly in the Project Document (PD) agreed on 12 April 2021, covering a good range of scenarios. On the prospect of the constitutional reform process failing, proposed concrete risk-mitigation measures were: "In this case the sector that opposes the drafting of a new constitution has stated that deep constitutional reforms have to be made but through the Congress and the output of this process will contribute to advance legal reforms". It was impossible to predict that there would be two (not just one) constitutional reform processes, and that both would fail. But the point about having a legacy of debate and proposals for any eventual future deliberations by Congress, however remote that prospect currently seems, remains valid.

"Humanas is the core of the network. Feminists were mostly divided before the protests of 2019, but from this diversity there is now a movement. They know everyone." (Evaluation interview in Santiago, 19 March 2024)

Professor Julieta Suarez-Cao, Institute of Political Science, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile

(ii) Coherence

The evaluation addressed the following main question: How well did the project “fit”? - i.e. to what extent was the project compatible with other projects and programmes in the country, sector or institution?

Main findings:

- There is limited external funding for civil society in Chile due to its status as a High-Income Economy country.
- However, *Humanas* is an experienced and respected member of the feminist movement in Chile and is well placed to ensure that project interventions make good use of available funding and related activities. For example:
 - The project grew from an earlier intervention by the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (IFA, funded by the German Foreign Ministry) during the period 2020-2022 – though IFA evaluation reporting from 2022 was unaware of UNDEF’s funding for the period that followed. Support from IFA is expected to continue for the upcoming period of the elections, 2024-2025.
 - UN Women (with whom *Humanas* has a long-standing relationship) supported the project by funding an outreach event and helped fine-tune some of the documents in the early stages. (Although mentioned in the PD, OHCHR did not participate in the design or implementation of the project.)
 - With the EU, *Humanas* used complementary funding at the time of the preparation and publication of the core document (“*Nueva Constitución: Oportunidad histórica de avanzar en igualdad de género y derechos humanos*”, January 2022) to improve quality control of the national opinion survey and provide additional funds for publication of the final document.

“*Humanas* is one of only a few organisations with sufficient experience to serve as a kind of connecting “hinge” between those organisations that focus on influencing institutions and those who choose to mobilise at street level. It is a legitimate interlocutor for all, including the State, Ministries, and Congress.” (Evaluation interview in Santiago, 19 March 2024)

Professor Verónica Undurraga, Universidad Adolfo Ibañez, and President of the Commission of Experts for the Constitutional Council (2022-2023)

(iii) Effectiveness

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?

Main findings:

- The project was able to deliver against the agreed outcomes¹³ as below – using information in the Final Narrative Report (FNR), which the evaluator was able to discuss with the Grantee.
- Outcome 1 (“*Key actors in the constitutional reform process are better informed after the development of the constitutional gender agenda*”).
 - Target Indicator 1.1: 30% of elected members of the constitutional assembly include in

¹³ The evaluator understands ‘outcome’ to mean: behavioural, policy, procedure or budgetary change in target population/institution, partially attributable to project outputs, achievable by the end of the project, but more in the control of the project target population/institution.

their public discourses, debates and deliberations support to gender proposals considered in the core document.

- Target Indicator 1.4:¹⁴ Gender preferences and priorities raised in the survey are supported by 3 different public opinion leaders.

Findings: Targets exceeded for the first constitutional process. The demands made in the core document were discussed in all relevant commissions and all drafting recommendations were agreed. In the second process, proposed amendments to the text were also submitted, but with less success (due to the more conservative membership of that body). Many public opinion leaders supported gender preferences and priorities throughout the two processes.

- Outcome 2 (*“Improved advocacy coordination between women’s and feminist organisations to include gender content in the constitutional reform process”*).

- Target Indicator 2.1: By the end of the project, regional organisations will have implemented at least one public action not considered in the planning, as a consequence of the advocacy trainings in the capital cities of 9 regions to make visible women’s demands of the regions to the constitutional delegates.
- Target Indicator 2.2: At least 40% of the gender proposals are part of the constitutional debate in the constitutional assembly.

Findings: Targets met, meaning that women’s organisations demonstrated the ability to organize around proposals and advocacy relevant to the constitutional reform processes that went beyond a traditional focus on International Women’s Day and individual cases of violence and/or abuse. For the second process, the project contributed directly to a “Popular Initiative for a Norm on Parity” that meant that the Constitutional Council followed the example of the Constitutional Convention with parity for men and women members.

- Outcome 3 (*“Improved public opinion in favour of the inclusion of gender and women’s rights in the constitutional reform process”*).

- Target Indicator 3.1: By the end of the project, 50% increase in followers and visitors in favour of gender and women’s rights inclusion on web platforms.
- Target Indicator 3.2: By the end of the project, at least 3 regional and 3 national news outlets covered the work of the coordination mechanism and its proposals.

Findings: Data seen by the evaluator shows that visits to web platforms run by *Humanas* and their implementing partners OGE and CEM increased in 2022 when compared to 2021 (though not as much as the 50% target) but fell below 2021 levels in 2023. These results are unlikely to reflect what is widely assumed to be an increase in public support for women’s rights and gender equality during the two constitutional processes, despite a coordinated campaign by the far Right to undermine many of the proposals. More work can be done in this area to improve understanding of these developments. This could include more analysis on voting patterns, linked to the large number of new voters mentioned in the introduction.

- Project activities were not hampered significantly by the COVID-19 pandemic. With proper hygiene precautions in place, where appropriate, training events and workshops were conducted successfully. Also, where appropriate, funding permitted the provision of refreshments to participants in certain events that helped women feel valued – which impacted positively on atmospherics and participation.
- There was no change of project staff during the lifetime of the project, and the project coordinator retained responsibility for activity planning, quality assurance and reporting.

(iv) **Efficiency**

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?

¹⁴ In the PD’s Results Framework there are no Target Indicators 1.2 or 1.3.

Main findings:

- The project delivered activities and outputs¹⁵ in a coordinated manner and with a high degree of efficiency, which can be summarised in the table below.

Outputs	Achievements
Output 1.1: One core document distributed and socialized with women and feminist organisations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved. The document was based on the results of the national survey (see Output 1.4 below) which provided results on women's perceptions on the most relevant issues regarding women's rights to be incorporated in the new proposed constitutional text. The summarised demands and proposals were published in a 40-page booklet in January 2022: "<i>Nueva Constitución: Oportunidad histórica de avanzar en igualdad de género y derechos humanos</i>". Available at: https://nadasinnosotras.cl/2022/03/01/nueva-constitucion-oportunidad-historica-de-avanzar-en-igualdad-de-genero-y-derechos-humanos-2/.
Output 1.2: Six position papers on specific issues of the constitutional debate in relation to gender.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved. In fact, eight position papers/documents/submissions were produced, covering what has since become the eight priorities for change promoted by <i>Humanas</i> and its partners, covering: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Domestic work and care; Sexual and reproductive rights; Parity democracy; Human rights; Substantive equality; Right to work; Gender mainstreaming; The right to a life without violence based on gender. For the first constitutional process, documents were presented directly to the relevant commissions of the Constitutional Convention. For the second process, documents were presented in public hearings.
Output 1.3: 10,000 booklets in paper and a digital version of accessible information on constitution, women's empowerment, and the gender agenda.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved. These (one-page) booklets were distributed throughout Chile to CSOs and Women's Offices of selected Municipalities, and distributed at community fairs and dissemination actions at metro stations in Santiago. Two more substantive booklets were produced during the first constitutional process, on: The Constituent Route, accounting for the progress in the process and the minimum contents of a women's human rights agenda; and "Informed Vote", comparing the existing constitutional text with what had been proposed by the Convention.
Output 1.4: A national and representative survey directed to women to gather their opinion on gender constitutional proposals.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved. This was launched three months after the work of the Convention began, drawing on the experience of similar surveys in the past conducted by <i>Humanas</i>, but which had not had the focus of constitutional change. This substantive evidence base informed the future work and direction of the project and improved its legitimacy.
Output 2.1: One platform of 20 feminist organisations and academics established to coordinate advocacy strategies based on gender equality and women's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved. A national network was formed, called the Elena Caffarena Feminist Territorial Articulation, bringing together more than fifty CSOs across the country. Among other things, this was used to validate the core document in January 2022. The Elena Caffarena platform does not currently have a website or visible means of sharing information on the internet, though an

¹⁵ The evaluator understands 'output' to mean tangible (infrastructure, equipment) products delivered/completed, changes in intangible (knowledge/skills) capacities of stakeholders as a result of project activities, and activities completed. Completely/significantly in the control of the project.

rights.	offshoot initiative/platform <i>Nada Sin Nosotras</i> does. (“Nothing Without Us”, run by <i>Humanas</i> , along with its implementing partners for the project – OGE and CEM.)
Output 2.2: One advocacy strategy related to the constitutional process and gender designed and implemented, targeting decision makers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieved. Two training workshops with the support of the Ministry of Women and Gender Equality were held in Valparaiso, and another workshop was held in Santiago with the support of the Municipality of Cerro Navia. During 2022 there were 22 workshops held on “informed voting” across Chile, and four meetings with members of the Constitutional Convention.
Output 2.3: Eight alliances and agreements with human rights organisations and movements achieved to strengthen advocacy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieved. This was put to good use after the result of the first referendum, when two meetings were held to reflect on lessons learned from this process and approaches to take for the new constitutional process with the Constitutional Council. This was made possible by having broadened the alliance to include human rights CSOs, beyond the feminist movement.
Output 3.1: Media press strategy developed and implemented with 10 relevant media outlets to increase awareness on gender constitutional contents.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieved. This included radio programmes, opinion columns in the print media by members of the <i>Nada Sin Nosotras</i> platform, information bulletins prepared by OGE, and a mini documentary. This included live podcasts with guest participants from across the political spectrum.
Output 3.2: Seven social media campaigns (4 on gender and 3 on human rights) developed and implemented to increase women awareness relevant to the constitutional process and key messages related to gender constitutional contents.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieved. Eight social media campaigns were carried out, covering: women’s rights proposals; human rights as the central axis of the constitution; informed voting; parity voting; violence. This included high levels of content on e.g. Instagram and TikTok.

- The project adapted well to the changing circumstances of the first and second constitutional processes. For the first process, this included having to reschedule two workshops due to a decision by the Comptroller General of the Republic to restrict the participation of public bodies/organisations. For the second process, limited direct access to the Constitutional Council itself meant that the project could contribute to a higher number of public hearings and presentations.
- During implementation, the project was overseen by a committee (which met weekly) comprising the project coordinator and other members of *Humanas*, and implementing partners OGE and CEM.

(v) **Impact**

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to the objectives of the project and democratization more broadly?

Main findings:

- The project demonstrated the ability of civil society actors and organisations in Chile to contribute significantly to the democratic process.
- The parity concept adopted for both the Constitutional Convention and Constitutional Council was mentioned by several interlocutors as a historically significant precedent that is expected to influence future democratic institutions in Chile.
- Several draft laws are currently in preparation by the government that draw directly from the materials and presentations of the project: on education, and the care sector. Despite an

absence of a working majority in Congress the government secured an agreement in March 2024 on a law on preventing violence against women which had been debated since 2017.¹⁶

- New networks and platforms are in place to improve information sharing and debate for future related initiatives: the *Articulación Territorial Elena Caffarena* and the *Nada Sin Nosotras*. For the latter, see: <https://nadasinnosotras.cl/>.
- The project has also raised *Humanas'* profile with the UN Country Team, and it is expected to participate in a new Civil Society Group to help implement the UN Framework for Cooperation on Sustainable Development in Chile, 2023-2026. More on this here: <https://chile.un.org/es/227196-marco-de-cooperación-de-las-naciones-unidas-para-el-desarrollo-sostenible-en-chile-2023-2026>.

“Perhaps the main value has not been in the drafting of the text, but the historical importance of this. For us, the main goal was to intervene in a public discussion that never took place before. It was more about the process than the result.” (Evaluation interview in Santiago, 18 March 2024)

Alondra Carrillo, elected member of the Constitutional Convention (2021-2022)

“People in Chile are now more aware of the Gender Agenda than before the project. Voting patterns have changed. Women voters can no longer be categorized as voting conservatively. It has given us a solid foundation on which to base our future work.” (Evaluation interview in Valparaiso, 20 March 2024)

Deputy Lorena Fries Monleón, Chamber of Deputies and President of the Commission on Human Rights, National Congress

(vi) **Sustainability**

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?

Main findings:

- On the assumption that a new Constitution would be accepted with the desired changes, the Grantee (in the PD) envisaged using the tools, materials, strategies, networks and platforms developed by the project to: “... build alliances with diverse groups of feminists and women organisations, as well as to widen alliances with human rights organisations [to] strengthen [the] feminist and human rights movement as a key actor to sustain advances through law reforms and practices”. Despite the absence of a new Constitution, the project’s main enduring legacy will be the technical materials it has produced and the networks it has strengthened – and the debates that will continue to take place.

¹⁶ As reported to the Evaluator by the Ministry for Women. See: Boletín No. 11.077-07, Ministerio de la Mujer y la Equidad de Género, 22 March 2024, Proyecto de Ley que Estatuye Medidas para Prevenir, Sancionar y Erradicar la Violencia en contra de las Mujeres, en razón de su Género. Reporting approval by Congress, and to be promulgated pending approval by the Constitutional Tribunal.

- As mentioned under Impact, tools and materials are already being used by government in the preparation of new legislation. Political parties are also now likely to draw on them in preparation for upcoming elections. Women’s rights and gender equality are no longer perceived to be a marginal issue by political parties. One of the main candidates from the Right expected to stand for President in 2025 (Evelyn Matthei) is reported to be forming her own team of advisers for addressing issues relating to women’s rights and gender equality.

“Even without a new Constitution, *Humanas*’ contribution to the rights of women and gender equality in Chile, through this project, has been tremendous. It has raised awareness and understanding. The tools developed and materials published will be valuable for the future. For legislative deliberations in Congress, and for upcoming elections in 2024 and 2025 - where candidates will need to be clear about where they stand on these issues.” (Evaluation interview conducted remotely, 10 April 2024)

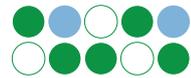
Iván Schanze Cádiz, Regional Director, SernamEG, Ministerio de la Mujer y la Equidad de Género

(vii) **UNDEF added value**

The evaluation addressed the following main question: To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?

Main findings:

- In a country with limited external funding for support to civil society due to Chile’s High-Income Economy status, UNDEF’s support to this project was welcomed by several interlocutors, including the UN Country Team. A visit to Chile by the UNDEF Project Officer in March 2022, had previously introduced the Grantee and the project to representatives of the Resident Coordinator’s Office, UNDP, UN Women, UNICEF, FAO, WHO, and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL).
- A prominent member of Congress (and former Director of *Humanas*, Lorena Fries Monleón), spoke of the “prestige” of the grant, and the perceived neutrality of UNDEF – after many years of applying. Representatives of government also spoke highly of UNDEF’s reputation and of its support for civil society where official funding cannot or does not reach.
- That said, because of the highly politicised nature of the debate around the two constitutional processes, with elements of the hard Right being critical of UN “interference” in national politics on issues including gender, the Grantee had to be careful not to over-promote UNDEF as the sponsoring agency behind the project – especially in materials submitted for consideration by the Constitutional Convention and the Constitutional Council. More broadly, though, UNDEF support for the project was visible in publicity materials for events, during the events themselves, and for most outcome documents.
- There was no evidence to suggest that the online UNDEF Lessons Learned facility had supported or influenced project implementation.



Examples of materials produced for the project in 2022: information leaflets distributed in the Santiago metro (top) and summary of textual proposals (bottom).



Members of a focus group discussion on the results of the national opinion poll, Santiago, 6 September 2021

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion	Recommendation
<p>This was an ambitious and well-run project, with multiple outputs designed to engage with and influence a broad range of civil society actors and decision-makers – from grass-roots organisations to institutions, and across the country. Despite two (not one, as originally intended) politically contentious constitutional reform processes that ultimately failed to adopt a new Constitution, the overall impact of the project was very positive, and the interventions were highly relevant. Through a national survey (evidence base), media campaigns, training, advocacy, technical submissions, and the production of high-quality materials, the project has added considerable value to the “Gender Agenda” in Chile. This should have enduring utility in the country’s future democratic development.</p> <p>The Grantee and its partners are undergoing a period of reflection to draw lessons for the future. Their story deserves to be told and will be of interest to a wider audience – in the Latin American region and beyond.</p>	<p>(1) Lessons learned from the project, and the advocacy and technical materials it produced, could be brought together in an easily accessible place (online). The core document is already on the <i>Humanas</i> website, and eight priorities for the future (directly linked to the findings of the project), are already being articulated – but they deserve more prominence. This should also capture what, in retrospect, did not go well with the constitutional processes – including whether there should have been a more gradual, and politically more acceptable, approach to change. This should be complementary to any upcoming work/publications on this experience by <i>Humanas’</i> partners CEM and OGE.</p>
<p>Several opportunities for future engagement on the Gender Agenda in Chile are already appearing, whether they be elections in 2024 and 2025, or the legislative agenda in Congress.</p>	<p>(2) With the development of new alliances from the project (<i>Nada Sin Nosotras</i> and the regional <i>Articulación Territorial Feminista Elena Caffarena</i>) there is an opportunity to reconsider how web-based platforms are used to best effect. For example, there is considerable overlap between the <i>Humanas</i> and <i>Nada Sin Nosotras</i> websites, and the regional network does not have a website at all. Making these more informative and impactful should help future advocacy efforts relating to elections, the legislative agenda, and beyond.</p>
<p>The project has enhanced <i>Humanas’</i> already strong reputation for committed engagement and thought leadership in the field of women’s rights and gender equality in Chile.</p>	<p>(3) <i>Humanas</i> should be included in the Civil Society Group currently being considered by the UN Country Team for the implementation of the UN Framework for Cooperation on Sustainable Development in Chile, 2023-2026 – which has Gender Equality as one of four strategic priorities.¹⁷</p>

¹⁷ The intent is to establish, for the first time, a space for dialogue with civil society, to give voice and allow representatives of organisations and networks [...] to listen to issues of interest. Full proposals in Spanish at: https://chile.un.org/sites/default/files/2023-05/VERSI%C3%93N%20FINAL_MDC_2023-2026_web_23mayo.pdf.

VI. LESSONS LEARNED

Some key lessons can be learned from the project that could be applied to other projects either in the same region or on the same theme.

<p>Capturing key takeaways and materials</p>	<p>The experience of the constitutional reform processes in Chile and lessons learned from the project will self-evidently be of wider interest in the Latin American region, and beyond. Capturing, and preserving for future use, key takeaways and materials should be an integral part of any successful and well-run project.</p>
<p>Project design and delivery</p>	<p>The scope of the project was very broad, with many activities and actors to cover, and challenging to manage. <i>Humanas</i> admits they were “carried away by the enthusiasm” of the first constitutional reform process, following the social protests of 2019. The project did not necessarily suffer as a consequence, but it placed strain on delivery. Project designers and managers should always be alive to what is ultimately achievable – and limit scope and ambition accordingly. Risk management should not shy away from worst case scenarios (who would have thought that after so much effort in Chile to draft a new Constitution during 2021-2023, there would be so little to show for it?). When significant events threaten to alter the course or delivery of a project, as well as having the flexibility to extend in time it may also be beneficial to review Results Frameworks and adjust objectives and target indicators.</p>
<p>Countering disinformation</p>	<p>When operating in a highly charged political context, where significant stakeholders can pro-actively resist change, disinformation campaigns are increasingly a fact of life. To counter this, project managers should be able to rely on a robust media/engagement strategy to counter false messages that undermine the integrity of their project.</p>
<p>UNDEF Lessons Learned</p>	<p>UNDEF’s desired intent to see Grantees make best use of the online UNDEF Lessons Learned facility (https://www.un.org/democracyfund/content/undef-lessons-learned) did not appear to have traction with this project. Such use of the facility, perhaps, could have helped the Grantee in its ability to counter false information – though the search engine has its limitations when looking for such information. In any event, it would perhaps be helpful to ensure that all future bids for UNDEF grants demonstrate that prospective Grantees are aware of the facility and have used, or intend to use, it.</p>

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Evaluation Questions.

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to the context and needs at the beneficiary, local and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How adaptive was project management, with the process of constitutional reform – and its associated setbacks and ultimate failure? • Was there an adequate risk mitigation strategy in place?
Coherence	How well did the project “fit” - i.e. to what extent was the project compatible with other projects and programmes in the country, sector, or institution?	<p><i>Internal coherence:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent are there synergies and interlinkages between the project and other initiatives carried out by the Grantee? <p><i>External coherence:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent is there consistency with other actors’ initiatives in the same context? • To what extent is there complementarity, harmonisation and coordination between the Grantee/the project and other organisations/projects working in the same context and on the same issue? • To what extent is the project adding value while avoiding the duplication of efforts?
Effectiveness	The evaluator will assess whether the activities of the project linked up, achieved the agreed indicators, and provided the best approach to achieving the outcomes and objectives.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking into account the changing political landscape for the holding of the two referenda, the evaluator will assess the extent to which the project’s objectives have been reached and how this has been measured. • Was there any rotation of project management staff and if so, did this have any impact on the effectiveness of project implementation?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The evaluator will look into how the project was organised and how cost-effective it was.

Impact	To what extent has the realisation of the project objectives and outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are key actors of the constitutional reform process better informed following the development of the gender constitutional agenda? (Outcome 1) • How has improved advocacy coordination among women and feminist organisations included gender contents in the constitutional reform process? (Outcome 2) • Has public opinion improved in favour of gender and women’s rights inclusion in the constitutional reform process? (Outcome 3)
Sustainability	What measures did the Grantee put in place to ensure sustainability of achieved results?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent will the Grantee be able to take forward work initiated by the project, supported by other means? • To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, contributed to democratic development in Chile? • Given the failure of two national referenda to adopt a new constitutional text, and the decision to end the constitutional reform process, how enduring are the achievements of the project?
UNDEF value added	What was the value of UNDEF specific support to the project? Could the objectives have been achieved through alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders?	<p>This will be assessed in relation to other initiatives in the country that may have the same aims, and the comparative advantage that UNDEF offered to the Grantee.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors? • To what extent did the use of UNDEF Lessons Learned support or influence project implementation? <p><i>UNDEF value-added</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How far did UNDEF funding provide value added to the work of <i>Humanas</i>? <p><i>UNDEF visibility</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there evidence showing that UNDEF support to the Grantee appears in all printed materials distributed during the project? • Does UNDEF visibility appear also in all events organised by the Grantee which are related to the project? • What were the specific contributions of UN Women and OHCHR to the project, and how was this aligned with UNDEF?

Annex 2: Documents Reviewed

PROJECT DOCUMENTS

- PO Information Note for Post-Project Evaluation – undated, received 21 December 2023
- Project Document, 12 April 2021
- Project Extension Request Form – agreed by UNDEF on 11 May 2023
- Various documents and media files submitted by Grantee
- Milestone Verification Report 3 – 20 December 2022
- Milestone Verification Report 2 – 2 February 2022
- Final Narrative Report, 30 November 2023
- Final Financial Utilization Report, 30 September 2023

Other reporting and documents from the project, including:

- Findings, presentations, and press releases relating to the opinion poll conducted in October 2021, including material from ClioDinamica Consulting.
- *Nueva Constitución: Oportunidad histórica de avanzar en igualdad de género y derechos humanos*, January 2022.
- *La Ruta Constituyente : La nueva Constitución es una oportunidad histórica de avanzar en igualdad de género y derechos humanos*, Undated.

BOOKS & ARTICLES

Natália María Félix de Souza and Lara Martim Rodrigues Selis, “Gender violence and feminist resistance in Latin America”, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol 24 No 1, 8 February 2022.

Alondra Carrillo, “We are currently witnessing an acceleration of authoritarianism and the deprivation of fundamental rights”, *Equal Times*, 2 June 2023, available at <https://www.equaltimes.org/alondra-carrillo-we-are-currently?lang=en>.

Ernesto Ottone Fernández, *Crónica de una Odisea – Del estallido social al estallido de las urnas*, Editorial Catalonia Ltda, Santiago de Chile, November 2022.

AS/COA Online (<https://www.as-coa.org/articles/explainer-abortion-rights-latin-america>)

- *Explainer: Abortion Rights in Latin America*, Carin Zissis, Chase Harrison, Jon Orbach, Jennifer Vilcarino, 21 November 2023.

ConstitutionNet (<https://constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-chile>)

- *Chileans vote against new conservative constitution to replace current dictatorship-era text*, Nishta Badgamia, 18 December 2023.
- *Third Time’s a Charm? Chile Embarks on a New Constitution-making Process*, Gonzalo García Pino, Miriam Henríquez Viñas, Sebastián Salazar Pizarro – 3 February 2023.
- *Tides of Change: Analyzing the Power Shift in Chile’s Constitutional Process*, Javier Couso - 14 May 2023.
- *Chile’s New Constitutional Proposal: A Balance Between Change and Continuity?*, Sergio Verdugo - 30 June 2023.
- *The new Chilean constituent process: exercising the “muscle” of public participation in an adverse context*, Claudia Heiss - 29 August 2023.
- *Constitutional History of Chile*, 2014.

Council of Europe – Venice Commission

- *Chile - Opinion on the drafting and adoption of a new Constitution, adopted by the Venice Commission at its 130th Plenary Session (CDL-AD(2022)004-e)*, 18-19 March 2022.
[https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-AD\(2022\)004-e](https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-AD(2022)004-e)

The Economist (<https://www.economist.com/search?q=chile>)

- *From model to muddle – Chile’s crisis is not over yet*, 17 February 2024
- *A constitutional quagmire*, 23 December 2023.
- *What can Chile’s politicians learn from the coup in 1973?*, 11 September 2023.
- *Half a century later: Chile is still haunted by the coup in 1973, and is at odds over how to mark it*, 31 August 2023.
- *Common sense prevails as Chileans reject a new Constitution*, 5 September 2022.
- *Special Report: Latin America - Between stagnation and angry streets*, 18 June 2022.
- *Chile, once considered Latin America’s Finland, is in trouble: A constitutional convention, formed to battle populism, looks unlikely to help*, 28 October 2021.
- *A model country in need of remodelling: Can Chile reinvent itself?*, 12 March 2020.
- *Chile staggers towards a new constitution: The painful birth of a different country*, 21 November 2019.

WEBSITES

Corporación Humanas, Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género - <https://www.humanas.cl/>.

Government of Chile - <https://www.gob.cl/>.

Proceso Constitucional (Consejo Constitucional) - <https://www.procesoconstitucional.cl/consejo-constitucional/>.

DecideChile - <https://www.decidechile.cl/>.

Senado - <https://www.senado.cl/capitulo-v-congreso-nacional>.

Cámara de Diputadas y Diputados - <https://www.camara.cl/>.

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UNDP Human Development Index, Gender Development Index, and Gender Inequality Index 2022 - <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/CHL>.

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UN Framework for Cooperation on Sustainable Development in Chile, 2023-2026: https://chile.un.org/sites/default/files/2023-05/VERSI%C3%93N%20FINAL_MDC_2023-2026_web_23mayo.pdf.

UN Women in Chile - https://www.unwomen.org/es/search-results?search_api_fulltext=chile.

UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Chile) - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/countries/chile>.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile (11 September 1980, with revisions to 2021) – English translations available at <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/chile-constitution.pdf> and https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chile_2021.

Draft Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile (July 2022) – unofficial English translation available at <https://constitutionnet.org/vl/item/english-translation-draft-political-constitution-republic-chile-july-2022>.

Draft Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile (October 2023) – unofficial English translation available at https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chile_2023DD.

Annex 3: People Consulted

Those marked with an * were interviewed remotely after the field mission of 18-22 March 2024.

Grantee & Implementing Partners		
Camila Maturana Kesten	Director	Humanas
Victoria Hurtado Pinochet	Deputy Director	Humanas
Paula Salvo Del Canto	Project Manager	Humanas
Mariela Infante Erazo	Supporting team member	Humanas
Fabiola Gutiérrez González	Supporting team member	Humanas
Luna Grado Muñoz	Supporting team member	Humanas
Teresa Valdés Echeñique	Sociologist	Observatorio de Género y Equidad
Virginia Guzmán	Psychologist	Centro de Estudios de la Mujer
Beneficiaries/Participants		
Alondra Carrillo Constanza Schonhaut		Elected members of the Constitutional Convention (1 st process)
Yerko Ljubetic		Elected member of the Constitutional Council (2 nd process)
Verónica Undurraga	Academic and Lawyer	Universidad Adolfo Ibañez, and President of the Commission of Experts for the Constitutional Council (2 nd process)
Alexis Cortés	Lawyer	Member of the team of experts for the Constitutional Council (2 nd process)
Marta Cisternas		CSO/Foundation: Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas
Mónica Ojeda		CSO: La Cueca Sola, Punta Arenas
Lorena Fries Monleón	Diputada (PCS)	Member of the Chamber of Deputies (National Congress) and President of the Chamber of Deputies' Commission on Human Rights
Bianca González Catalina Gutiérrez Constanza Valle	Journalists	La Neta
Julieta Suárez-Cao	Academic	Professor, Institute of Political Science, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile
Iorka Hendl Ana Padilla Javiera Sánchez	Local officials, Oficina de la Mujer	Municipality of Cerro Navia, Santiago

Other Partners/National Actors		
Tatiana Hernández Comandini*	Head of Division for Equality Policies	Ministerio de la Mujer y la Equidad de Género (MinMujeryEG)
Macarena Acuña María José Madarriaga		Fundación PRODEMU
Iván Schanze Cádiz*	Regional Director	Servicio Nacional de la Mujer y la Equidad del Género (SernamEG) - Ministerio de la Mujer y la Equidad de Género
International Community		
Max Bonnel	Head of Office	UN Resident Coordinator's Office, Chile
Maricel Marion Sauterel*	Project Officer	UN Women, Chile
Ben Barker-Street	Deputy Head of Political Section	UK Embassy
Manna Selassie	Political Affairs Officer	US Embassy
Nadine Metzner*	Project Manager	Dialogues Department, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (IFA), Berlin

Annex 4: Acronyms

ARF	Articulación Regional Feminista
CEM	Centro de Estudios de la Mujer
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EU	European Union
FAO	UN Food and Agriculture Organisation
FNR	Final Narrative Report
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
Humanas	Shortened title given to the Grantee: Corporación Humanas - Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - Development Assistance Committee
OGE	Observatorio de Género y Equidad
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PD	Project Document
SernameG	Servicio Nacional de la Mujer y Equidad de Género
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation