Increasing Women's Political Participation in Chile and South America

Project Effectiveness Review

Oxfam GB
Citizen Voice Outcome Indicator

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Photo: Design for the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign by Corporación Humanas
Acknowledgements

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This report has been produced by an independent evaluator, commissioned by Oxfam GB. The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this work expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of Oxfam.

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Editor: Chris Whitehouse, MiniAID
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Christian Democrat Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>British Pound Sterling</td>
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<td>GPF</td>
<td>Global Performance Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>OGB</td>
<td>Oxfam Great Britain</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPD</td>
<td>Partido por la Democracia (Party for Democracy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRSD</td>
<td>Partido Radical Social Demócrata (Radical party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Socialist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHV</td>
<td>Raising her Voice</td>
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<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>National Renovation Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SERNAM</td>
<td>Women National Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDI</td>
<td>Democrat Union Independent Party</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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1 Executive summary

This report presents the findings of the final review of the project ‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile and South America’ as part of the Oxfam GB’s Raising her Voice (RHV) portfolio to promote the right and capacity of poor women to engage effectively in governance at all levels.

Under Oxfam Great Britain’s (OGB) Global Performance Framework (GPF), sufficiently mature projects are being randomly selected each year and their effectiveness rigorously assessed. ‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile and South America’ was selected in this way under the citizen voice thematic area.

1.1 Overview of the project

The Raising her Voice portfolio is funded by the Governance and Transparency Fund of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and works in 17 countries across the world to a shared overall objective: that public policy, decision-making and expenditure, national and customary and traditional rights reflect the interests of poor and marginalised women, especially those excluded from political, social and economic life. In Chile the intervention has been implemented by Corporación Humanas – Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género – and focuses on increasing women’s leadership and participation in politics and decision-making in Chile and South America more widely. Running from 2008 till 2013, the project has a national and a regional scope although only the former will be fully assessed and reflected in this report. Total budget of RHV-Chile amounts to GBP 197,557. At national level, the final goal of the project was to increase the political participation of Chilean women and to ensure that women’s voices are equally represented in political processes. In working towards this goal, three outcomes were identified by Humanas staff members as necessary preconditions:

1. A higher participation of women candidates in electoral processes both at national and local level is required to ensure an appropriate representation of women in quantitative terms. It is also expected that a higher number of women in political positions will contribute to a more substantive representation of women’s issues at all levels.

2. A number of institutional reforms need to be promoted, including the reform of the electoral system and the introduction of affirmative action measures aiming to increase the number of women in the political sphere. This entails building a favourable environment among legislators towards both gender issues in general and women’s political rights in particular that need to be more actively included in the parliamentary agenda.

3. Political parties are unanimously identified in the literature and by stakeholders as the main bottlenecks in constraining a wider participation of women in electoral processes in Chile. Working towards increasing their gender sensitivity and political will to ensure a balanced representation of women in electoral processes is therefore considered crucial to make any progress towards the final goal of promoting a wider engagement and participation of women in governance.

In the shorter term, it was expected that through the different strategies described below, legislators would increase their capacity to address and promote gender issues. In a particularly difficult civil society context strongly debilitated by progressive withdrawal of international donors, a key strategy is also seeking to bring women’s organisations to rally around the issue of political participation in order to keep political participation in the public agenda.

Three main strategies have guided the work of Humanas towards meeting those goals:

- Working with women and men legislators to increase their capacity and knowledge on key debates about women’s issues. The organisation regularly provides information, data and policy papers to individual MPs and is called on to participate in parliamentary committees and debates to present civil society positioning on key issues.
Engaging champions from different political parties and women’s organisations into campaigning for a more inclusive participation of women in electoral processes. A key campaign, Más Mujeres al Poder\footnote{‘More women in power’} was launched on the occasion of the 2012 local elections. Coordinated and led by Humanas, the campaign has become the flagship of the women’s movement and mobilisation for equal representation in decision-making spaces. A website and promotional materials were designed and made accessible (downloads) to the public and a number of media events and meetings with women candidates and political parties’ leaders held throughout the year. This also included a radio space hosted by Radio Universidad de Chile that was open to women candidates and social leaders.

Providing a solid ground of research and knowledge. Both the strategies described above rest on two specific research products of Humanas, the national survey about women and politics and the annual legislative report produced by the Parliamentary Observatory.\footnote{The Parliamentary Observatory was launched by Corporación Humanas in 2006. Since then other organisations have joined and it is now regarded as a collective project. Led and coordinated by Humanas, observatory members are: the Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Diego Portales, Fundación Ideas, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer CEM y Observatorio Ciudadano.} The national survey is conducted annually (with the exception of 2012 due to lack of resources) and is the only one that is women-only at national level. The annual legislative report is a monitoring mechanism that assesses the work of the legislator regarding human rights, democracy and gender issues. The report also reflects the positions and votes of individual MPs on key debates and monitors other accountability aspects, such as the level of attendance of MPs or the participation of civil society actors in the Parliament.

1.1.1 Evaluation design and methodology
Following a predefined research protocol, this report presents a qualitative analysis and discussion of the project’s results, following a thorough and detailed review of strategic project documentation and numerous informant interviews. The purpose of this Effectiveness Review is to evidence the extent to which the project’s key targeted outcomes have materialised and what other alternative or competing factors may have also contributed to those outcomes.

1.1.2 Identification of the outcomes for this evaluation
This report will focus on two particular targeted outcomes, as identified by key stakeholders during preliminary conversations and validated in a group discussion during the field mission:

1. Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates.
2. Gender issues strengthened in the parliamentary agenda.
1.2 Findings

### Contribution scores chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Short Commentary (including reference to other evidenced explanations as appropriate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Part of the RHV project in Chile the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign was found to be a significant contribution to engaging a number of political parties’ representatives from the Concertación alliance into advocating increasing the number of women candidates participating in electoral processes at local and national level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender issues strengthened in the parliamentary agenda</td>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Although full materialisation of the outcome falls very much outside of the control of the organisation, the evaluation found that Corporación Humanas has made a crucial contribution to ensuring the presence and priority of gender issues and women’s political participation in the parliamentary agenda.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Scoring key: Specific contribution of intervention

- **G**: Outcome realised in full
- **G A**: Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
- **GA**: Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
- **A**: Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
- **AR**: Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made some contribution
- **R**: Outcome realised to small degree & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
- **R A**: Outcome realised, to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

**Outcome 1: Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates**

The under-representation of women as candidates in elections and in decision-making in the public arena is a critical factor in limiting the inclusiveness of Chile’s political process. There are a number of clear barriers to ensuring full participation of women in political life, among them a strong resistance to incorporate women candidates by political parties. Chile’s political organisation relies heavily on strong and stable political parties. The main assumption behind this outcome is that without those structures fully embracing and internalising women’s equality in the political sphere, progress towards that objective will be difficult to materialise. This challenge is addressed by a) bringing the issue to the public agenda through public campaigning; b) supporting women candidates; and c) engaging and networking with women leaders from political parties to support and advocate more women in decision-making and electoral processes.

The Más Mujeres al Poder campaign was implemented by Corporación Humanas in the framework of the Raising her Voice project in Chile.

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3 Full chart in Section 5.
Initially designed to raise public attention about the under-representation of women in the political sphere and to promote the idea of equal participation of men and women in decision-making, the campaign was designed, led and coordinated by Corporación Humanas, with five other women’s organisations and attracted a reasonable and proportional (given its costs) media attention, being reported in national newspapers such as La Nación or La Tercera, local press, and political parties’ websites (Socialist Party and Radical Party). It was also, as stated unanimously by stakeholders consulted for this evaluation, the only civil society initiative bringing the issue of women’s political participation to the electoral agenda.

But also, and most importantly, they claim, the campaign was extremely effective in supporting women candidates in a variety of ways, such as breaking the isolation of women candidates and making them feel part of a collective project; building networks with other women candidates and giving them a voice. The initiative was also found to be effective in reinforcing a gender approach that many of those candidates did not necessarily have and in providing important resources, such as access to the media. Finally, both candidates and independent experts agree that the space and network provided by the campaign and the strategy of involving women leaders from the political parties had been particularly important to get those women on board, to strengthen their gender lens and to connect them with other women in different political parties and with the women’s movement.

As a result, the evaluation found enough evidence to affirm that the project has made a relevant contribution to the identified outcome.

**Outcome 2: Gender issues are strengthened in the parliamentary agenda**

Strengthening gender in parliamentary work was targeted as another key goal of this project, the assumption being that the commitment of political parties would always be insufficient and contingent on particular personal will, without key institutional reforms that guarantee gender balance in political representation. This goal was twofold. On the one hand Corporación Humanas expected to create a more favourable parliamentary environment to promote the reform of the binomial system (see box page 16) and the approval of affirmative action measures. On the other hand, the organisation has focused on actively participating in the parliamentary debates and advocating a stronger presence of gender issues and feminist claims in both chambers’ agendas.

Since 2006 Humanas has been monitoring parliamentary work and, together with other civil society organisations, delivers an annual report that assesses the progress made through the year on several key issues, including gender and political participation. A product of the Parliamentary Observatory, the report has been strategically supported by Raising her Voice funds in the past five years. The organisation also actively works with women and men parliamentarians to advocate and push gender issues higher on the agenda and to ensure that policy and legislation reflect the claims of women’s organisations and the needs of women as they come out from the organisation’s annual survey ‘Women and politics’. As a result of this work, the evaluation could find strong evidence that the organisation has gained reputation and visibility and has consolidated as a key actor in parliamentary life. This has contributed to increasing the visibility of gender issues as structural problems in the country and to influencing the public debate to promote the approval of administrative and legal measures that guarantee a balanced participation of women in elections for representative positions at local and national levels. It has also provided a leverage to other organisations’ advocacy work.

### 1.3 Programme learning considerations

- Despite Raising her Voice being a great opportunity for Humanas to continue working on the inclusion of women as participant subjects in the political sphere, the evaluation found that the RHV framework had not really permeated and was insufficiently owned by the implementing partner. The lack of a clearer link to the broader programme, and the insufficient spaces provided for share learning and exchange, may have not created the right environment to fully capitalise the potentials of both the programme and the partnership.
The Más Mujeres al Poder campaign illustrates how powerful the building of networks of women candidates can be. The campaign was found to be key to building a strong network of women from the political parties and civil society organisations and has been instrumental to women candidates. However, the risk of political identification with certain parties was realised, and this needs to be addressed in future initiatives. It is recommended that the net of alliances is broadened in future initiatives. This may be done by including more independent women candidates, other key stakeholders (such as student leaders or trades unions) and experts or opinion leaders in future initiatives.

A more continuous support to women candidates was unanimously demanded by those interviewed for this evaluation. So far, campaigning has mostly revolved around key electoral processes, but they say at that point it might be difficult to have an impact on the number of women candidates. Despite this identified need, the context to attract international funds to build up this long-term approach is particularly challenging in the region and the need to find alternative sources of funds is a clear priority.

An appropriate monitoring framework that ensures capturing the full impact of the project and relevant stories of change is highly recommended in the future.

2 Introduction

This report presents the findings of the final review of the project ‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile and South America’ as part of the Oxfam GB Raising her Voice portfolio (RHV) to promote the right and capacity of poor women to engage effectively in governance at all levels.

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In Chile the intervention has been implemented by Corporación Humanas – Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género – and focuses on increasing women’s leadership and participation in politics and decision-making in Chile and South America more widely.

As per Oxfam Great Britain’s (OGB) Global Performance Framework (GPF), samples of mature projects are being randomly selected each year and their effectiveness rigorously assessed. The ‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile and South America’ project was selected in this way under the citizen voice thematic area. The project has a national and a regional scope, although only the former will be fully assessed and reflected in this report. Actions at regional level will be duly brought in when touching or contributing to national level outcomes.

Following a predefined research protocol, this report presents a qualitative analysis and discussion of the project’s results, following a thorough and detailed review of strategic project documentation and numerous informant interviews. The purpose of this Effectiveness Review is to evidence the extent to which the project’s key targeted outcomes have materialised and what other alternative or competing factors may have also contributed to those outcomes.

This report will focus on two particular targeted outcomes, as identified by key stakeholders during preliminary conversations and validated in a group discussion during the field mission:

1. Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates.

2. Gender issues strengthened in the parliamentary agenda.


3 Evaluation design

3.1 Process tracing

Oxfam GB has adopted a Global Performance Framework. Among other things, this framework involves the random selection of samples of closing or sufficiently mature projects under six outcome areas each year and rigorously evaluating their performance. These are referred to as Effectiveness Reviews. Effectiveness Reviews carried out under the Citizen Voice and Policy Influencing thematic areas are to be informed by a research protocol based on process tracing, a qualitative research approach used by case study researchers to investigate causal inference.

As evaluators our first task is to help identify the scope of the intervention, including the intermediary and final outcomes, or changes it is seeking (or sought) to achieve, and the activities undertaken that were intended to bring these about. We are then to evidence the extent to which the intervention's key targeted outcomes have materialised; investigate how the observed outcome change came about; and, in light of an evidenced understanding of competing explanations, draw conclusions about the significance of the intervention's contribution.

As such, the purpose of the evaluation is not to simply narrow in on only one explanation for an observed outcome-level change. Rather, the approach is more nuanced and should accomplish three things: a) shortlist one or more evidenced explanations for the outcome in question (which may or may not include the intervention); b) rule out alternative, competing explanations incompatible with the evidence; and c) if more than one explanation is supported by the evidence, estimate the level of influence each had on bringing about the change in question.

While not intended to be a mechanical sequence of linear steps of how the research exercise should proceed, the following eight steps form the core of the research exercise's protocol.

1. Undertake a process of (re)constructing the intervention’s theory of change, in order to clearly define the intervention being evaluated – what is it trying to change (outcomes), how it is working to effect these changes (strategiesstreams of activities) and what assumptions is it making about how it will contribute to these changes (key assumptions)
2. Work with relevant stakeholders to identify up to three intermediate and/or final outcomes considered by stakeholders to be the most significant for the evaluation to focus on (central to the intervention’s theory of change, and useful for learning/forward planning)
3. Systematically assess and document what was done under the intervention to achieve the selected targeted outcomes.
4. Identify and evidence the extent to which the selected outcomes have actually materialised, as well as any relevant unintended outcomes.
5. Undertake ‘process induction’ to identify salient plausible causal explanations for the evidenced outcomes.
6. Gather required data and use ‘process verification’ to assess the extent to which each of the explanations identified in Step 5 are supported or not supported by the available evidence.
7. Write a narrative analytical report to document the above research processes and findings.
8. Summarise aspects of the above narrative analysis by allocating projectcampaign ‘contribution scores’ for each of the targeted and/or associated outcomes. This is not expected to provide a precise measure of contribution, but rather a sense of how much the campaign was likely responsible for observed change(s).

For the full process tracing protocol, please see Oxfam GB’s Policy and Practice website (http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/methods-approaches/project-effectiveness-reviews)

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4 Significant iteration between many of the processes is expected and, indeed, desired.
3.2 Development of logic model
As a first step the Evaluator worked with key stakeholders from Oxfam GB, Oxfam Bolivia and Corporación Humanas to reconstruct the intervention’s theory of change and identify a number of key targeted outcomes to focus on during the research. Extensive desk review of key project documents provided by the global programme manager and the regional office in Bolivia preceded and followed these conversations and were valuable in putting all the pieces together before the field mission. During the field mission the theory of change and the targeted outcomes were validated in a participatory workshop with Corporación Humanas staff.

3.3 Data collection strategy
The conclusions presented in this report draw on programme documentation and progress reports, other relevant sectoral and secondary documents and materials, and in-depth interviews with a broad range of stakeholders and beneficiaries of the intervention.

A field mission to Santiago de Chile was conducted from March 11–22, 2013. Since most of the work had been conducted in the Metropolitan region no other regions were included in this research. In total the Evaluator gathered information from 30 key informants. The selection of these was based on a basic stakeholder map provided by the implementing organisation. Although not all stakeholders could be thoroughly identified in a preliminary phase, the map provided an indication of the key categories of stakeholders that should be included for interview. During the field mission other stakeholders were identified and included.

The following research tools and data sources were used:

Desk review
The global coordinator provided a large preliminary body of documents. They included strategy documents and progress reports that were examined together with additional relevant documentation and pieces of evidence gathered during the field mission. We also reviewed a number of third party reports and official documents. For a full list of all documents reviewed please refer to Appendix 1.

Stakeholder map
We used a stakeholder map to identify and classify the stakeholders involved with the programme. The map provided a snapshot of the range of the project’s partners, and was used to select interviewees, and was added to further during the field visit.

In-depth informant interviews
The Evaluator conducted semi-structured interviews with 25 key informants whose selection was based on the stakeholder map. Efforts were made to ensure that a range of voices was represented and that they were politically balanced. Although the interview sheets were highly structured, we freely followed up on any emerging issues that appeared relevant to the core questions. Interviewees included high-level decision makers, such as MPs, members of local councils, a mayor and representatives of the main opposition parties. They also included a number of key experts that could provide an independent and overall perspective on the issues, and help triangulate findings. Invitations were sent to stakeholders from all the main political parties (PS, PPD, UDI, RN, DC).

Questionnaire
Limitations on the time availability of some decision makers suggested the need to allow them to send their inputs in a qualitative written questionnaire, designed following the guide of questions included in the interviews’ protocol. The questionnaire was sent to six selected members of parliament from different political parties.
**Online survey**
This report also draws on the responses from Chile to the online survey launched for the final evaluation of the *Raising her Voice* portfolio by Chilean stakeholders.

**Group discussions**
The Evaluator organised two group discussions involving the implementing partner staff members. Follow-up interviews were conducted with most of them. The objectives of these meetings were to a) reconstruct and discuss the project’s theory of change; b) create a learning-oriented environment and provide a space for the collective examination and assessment of the project; and c) to present the preliminary findings at the end of the field mission.

This debriefing gave the implementing partner an opportunity to complete and challenge the initial conclusions and to provide the Evaluator with extra documentation to conclude the data analysis.

The evidence presented in this report relies on existing research and secondary sources, a plural range of testimonies and first-hand observations of the implementing partner’s work. All findings have been carefully triangulated across different primary and secondary sources. Whenever that has not proved possible it is clearly indicated. In presenting the findings we will be intentionally quoting many of the women interviewed. This is an attempt to give justice to their voices and to their work.

3.4 Limitations and scope
The data-collection strategy was intentionally designed to collect a broad range of political perspectives. Invitations were sent to stakeholders from all the main political forces represented in Parliament (PS, PPD, UDI, RN, DC). However, we did not succeed in engaging stakeholders from the conservative governing parties and most of the interviewees belonged to either the Socialist Party (PS) or the Party for Democracy (PPD). Similarly, we only received one out of the six questionnaires sent to MPs (PS). The disappointing response levels among conservative stakeholders may be attributed to a certain perception that the *Más Mujeres al Poder* campaign, a key output of the RHV project, is identified with particular political parties, an issue that is discussed later in this report. Although we have made a particular effort to triangulate information with independent experts and secondary sources, this entails a certain degree of political deviation, which should be taken into account when considering findings.

It was also not possible to compile a list of all the women candidates participating in the campaigning events for the local elections 2012. According to the implementing organisation, the number of women varied from one event to another and no rigorous monitoring of participants was conducted. As a result, a survey could not be conducted and we opted instead to interview those candidates that could be identified.

As described in more detail in the next section, the design of the project ‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile and South America’ is complex. In practice, the project encompasses two different, but interrelated components. The first component includes two specific outcomes aiming to influence key regional institutions, such as MERCOSUR with regard to public policies that impact on women domestic workers, and this part of the project is implemented from Uruguay with the Articulación Feminista Marcosur as the main partner. The second component includes actions both at national (Chile) and regional level and it aims to promote political participation of women at both levels. This evaluation only covers the national part of this second component implemented in Chile.
4 Project description

‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile and South America’ was launched in 2008 as part of Oxfam GB’s *Raising her Voice* portfolio.

As previously mentioned the project encompasses two different but interrelated components. According to project documents the first component, which is not covered in this evaluation, aims to influence regional institutions such as MERCOSUR with regards to public policies that impact on women domestic workers. This part of the project is mostly implemented from Uruguay with the Articulación Feminista Marcosur as the main partner.

The main goal of the second component is to promote a higher and better participation of Chilean women in public life and decision-making. It also has a regional subcomponent that aims to increase political participation of women in the region. This component (‘the project’ from here on) is led and coordinated by Corporación Humanas Chile and includes the following six outputs:

**Output 1:** Women’s organisations monitor and lobby the legislative branch in different countries in the region with respect to legislating on and prioritising matters that are important for women in each country. *(Regional)*

**Output 2:** Women in the region raise their voice on issues of participation, governance and discrimination, through the realisation of national surveys of the opinion of women on these issues, to be used across the region for advocacy and to lobby to strengthen the arguments for an increase their participation. *(Regional: Argentina; Chile; Colombia; Ecuador; Peru)*

**Output 3:** Women’s organisations monitor and influence media reporting of public debates on the participation of women in governance and the protection of the rights of women, through the establishment of a regional internet-based Media observatory. *(Regional)*

**Output 4:** Women elected representatives take a proactive role in promoting an increase in women’s participation in governance and in the protection of women’s human rights and are supported by male parliamentarians. *(Chile)*

**Output 5:** More women candidates participate in elections and more candidates (men and women) include in their electoral programmes issues identified by women as priorities. *(Chile)*

**Output 6:** Women’s organisations influence public debates in three countries on the approval of legal and administrative measures to increase the participation of women in elections for representative positions at the local and national levels. *(Regional)*

Running from 2008 till 2013 the total budget managed by Corporación Humanas Chile for all six outputs amounts to GBP 197,557.

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5 The outcomes are presented as they are reflected in the most recent project’s log frame.
4.1 The implementing partner

Corporación Humanas is a civil society organisation created in 2004 as a feminist centre for research and political action to promote women’s rights and gender justice in Chile and Latin America. Part of the regional Corporación Humanas network, the organisation works on three main areas: democracy and political participation; human rights and international protection systems and gender justice.

In the past five years Raising her Voice has made a significant contribution to the mission of this organisation by providing strategic funds to support the first of these three areas of work.

In 2010, as part of the change to a single management system, Oxfam GB closed the national office in Chile. Since then, the project has been monitored and coordinated by the regional office in Bolivia, with Oxfam playing a back-up role in implementation. Although this closure resulted in some short-term disruption, implementation of the project was not critically affected by the handover process in the longer term.

4.2 The theory of change of the project (Chile)

This logic model was designed by the Evaluator with inputs from key document projects and information provided by the implementing partner and key stakeholders from Oxfam in preliminary telephone conversations. It was validated in a group meeting with Corporación Humanas staff during the field mission.

The theory represents in a graphic manner the work of Corporación Humanas Chile in the field of political participation and integrates Outputs 4 and 5 above. It does also partially reflect outputs 1, 2 and 6.
4.2.1 Working towards the final goal

Despite Chile’s noticeable socioeconomic progress in the past few years, the political rights of women are still an unresolved issue in the country. The situation has been recurrently raised by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which in its concluding observations of October 2012 again notices the low participation of women in government, in both chambers of parliament, the diplomatic service and the judiciary, as well as locally in terms of numbers of women mayors and municipal councillors, and recommends the government take a number of actions that can accelerate the achievement of substantive equality in political and public life.

In this context the final goal of the project is to increase the political participation of Chilean women and to ensure that women’s voices are equally represented in political processes. In working towards this goal, three outcomes were identified by Humanas staff members as necessary preconditions:

1. There is a need to increase the number of women candidates in electoral processes, both at national and local level. This will not only ensure an appropriate representation of women in quantitative terms but, it is hoped, will contribute to a more substantive representation of women’s issues at all levels.
2. A number of institutional reforms need to be promoted, including the reform of the electoral system and the introduction of affirmative-action measures aiming to increase the number of women in the political sphere. This entails building a favourable environment among legislators towards both gender issues in general and women’s political rights in particular that need to be more actively included in the parliamentary agenda.

3. Political parties are unanimously identified in the literature and by stakeholders as the main bottlenecks in constraining a wider participation of women in electoral processes. Working towards increasing their gender sensitivity and political will to ensure a balanced representation of women in electoral processes is therefore considered crucial to make any progress towards the final goal of promoting a wider engagement and participation of the women in Chile in governance.

In the shorter term, it was expected that through the different strategies described below, women legislators (but also men) would increase their capacity to address and promote gender issues. In a particularly difficult civil society context strongly debilitated by progressive withdrawal of international donors, a key strategy is also seeking to bring women’s organisations to rally around the issue of political participation in order to keep political participation in the public agenda.

The Raising her Voice programme aims to promote the rights and capacity of poor women to engage effectively in governance at all levels. In Chile, it is interesting to note that the project’s theory of change does not explicitly make a class distinction among women and does not include poor and marginalised women as specific targets. Interestingly, the issue never emerged during interviews unless openly brought up by the Evaluator. When asked about it, most internal and external informants argued that, given that Chile is so stratified, the inclusion of poor and marginalised women (but also men) in the political system is a real challenge. While the partner was not specifically asked to work in this particular issue, or include it in the project, it is nevertheless worth noting that the project rests on an implicit assumption that, at least indirectly, the inclusion of more women in the political scenario will end up also benefiting poor and marginalised women.

Despite the issue having no explicit presence in the project’s framework, during implementation there has been some contact with Anamuri, the only national association of rural and indigenous women, and some rural candidates participated in the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign.

4.2.2 Strategies

Humanas has been working in three key directions:

1. Working with women and men legislators to increase their capacity and knowledge on key debates about women’s issues. The organisation regularly provides information data and policy papers to individual MPs and is called on to participate in parliamentary committees and debates to present civil society positioning on key issues.

2. Engaging champions from different political parties and women’s organisations into campaigning for a more inclusive participation of women in electoral processes. During the lifetime of the project Humanas has launched and led two campaigns specifically aiming to promote a more active involvement of women in politics. The first one, Yo mujer condiciono mi voto,6 took place during the presidential elections in 2009 and was designed to raise awareness among women voters on their ability to influence presidential candidates to make a clear commitment to women’s issues.

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6 “We women, decide our vote”.
The second campaign *Más Mujeres al Poder*, was launched during the local elections of 2012. Coordinated and led by Humanas, the campaign has become the flagship of the women’s movement and mobilisation for equal representation in decision-making spaces. A website and promotional materials were designed and made accessible (downloads) to the public and a number of media events and meetings with women candidates and political parties’ leaders held throughout the year. It also included a radio space hosted by Radio Universidad de Chile that was open to women candidates and social leaders. The campaign had three key audiences: public opinion, political parties and women’s organisations.

At the time of the evaluation a third campaign, *Más Mujeres al Parlamento*, had just been launched for the parliamentary elections that will take place in November 2013.

3. Providing a solid ground of *research and knowledge*. Both the strategies described above rest on two specific research products of Humanas, the national survey about women and politics and the annual legislative report produced by the Parliamentary Observatory. The *national survey* is conducted annually (with the exception of 2012 due to lack of resources) and in the words of its coordinator ‘legitimates the work of the organisation by making explicit representational gaps (differences between the interests and needs felt by women and the issues in the political agenda) and allowing us to raise women’s voices and opinions on a number of issues’. This survey is the only one that is women-only at national level, and it continuously feeds both the communicational and parliamentary work of the organisation. Frequently cited by stakeholders and policy makers interviewed, the survey has also been expressly used and quoted by UNDP in its *National Human Development Report for Chile, 2010*.

The *annual legislative report* is a monitoring mechanism that assesses the work of the legislator regarding human rights, democracy and gender issues. The report also reflects the individual positions and votes of individual MPs on key debates and monitors other accountability aspects, such as the level of attendance of MPs or the participation of civil society actors in the Parliament.

**4.2.3 Targeted outcomes (focus of research)**

Based on the above-described theory of change this report will focus on two particular targeted outcomes:

1. **Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates.**

2. **Gender issues strengthened in the parliamentary agenda.**

Both outcomes were identified by key stakeholders during preliminary conversations and were validated in a group discussion during the field mission. They were considered to be central to that theory, particularly significant and logistically viable for the evaluation.

As described in the next section, both outcomes work to eliminate two of the key barriers for women’s political participation.

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7 ‘More women in power’.
8 ‘More women in parliament’.
9 The Parliamentary Observatory was launched by Corporación Humanas in 2006. Since then other organisations have joined and it is now regarded as a collective project. Led and coordinated by Humanas, other members of the observatory include the Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Diego Portales, Fundación Ideas, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer CEM and Observatorio Ciudadano.
5 Findings

5.1 The context

Despite acknowledged advances in other areas, women’s overall presence in Chilean politics remains comparatively muted.

At local level, where there are usually more opportunities for political participation, women in 2012 represent 25.6 per cent of municipal councillors but only 12.7 per cent of mayors. Although these figures fall within the regional average, they are still considered to be insufficient by most international institutions. At the parliamentary level the situation is no better, with women holding only 13 per cent and 14 per cent of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies seats respectively (IPU, 2010). In the last presidential period (2010–2013) the percentage of women ministers has dropped from 47 per cent in the previous period to the current 20 per cent. Chile is one of the very few countries in Latin America that has not adopted any affirmative action measures such as quota laws, to promote substantive equality and encourage full participation of women in decision-making and the public sphere.

On the other hand, mirroring a particularly stratified society, most women participating in political life tend to belong to the elite groups or to the traditional political families. Although this is not uncommon around the world, it was surprising to see the issue mentioned so consistently by the women candidates interviewed for this evaluation. ‘My political participation was facilitated by my family background. Very few women have that. For a number of family reasons I had the connections, and knew the key people. This happens often here. Most of we women who make our way into politics do so because we have those family links that open up the space for us. Otherwise it is very difficult.’

In general, there is a wide consensus in the literature and among the people interviewed for this evaluation that the political arena in Chile is not conducive to women’s participation. Barriers to women’s participation in politics are numerous and have been thoroughly documented. People interviewed for this evaluation consistently identified the following key barriers:

- The binomial system, which is considered to be not conducive to the participation of new actors, such as women and young people, and the absence of legal quotas or other affirmative action incentives.

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11 This figure represents an increase of two percentage points in the number of women candidates relative to the 2008 local elections (23%) and places Chile close to the regional average (25%). ‘Los bonos en la mira: aporte y carga para las mujeres’; Observatorio de Igualdad de América Latina y el Caribe. Annual report 2012. ECLAC. There have not been any major changes in the percentage of women mayors since 2008 (12.4%).
13 Most countries in the region show better performance in this regard: Argentina has 37.4% of the Lower House seats held by women (and 38.9% in the Senate); Peru has 21.5% of women represented in the Parliament; and in Bolivia women make up 25.4% of the Lower House and 47.2% of the Senate. Meanwhile, in the UK Parliament 22.5% of the House of Commons and 22.6% of the House of Lords are women.
14 ‘Los bonos en la mira: aporte y carga para las mujeres’; Observatorio de Igualdad de América Latina y el Caribe. Annual report 2012. ECLAC.
15 Among others: Ríos, Marcela; Villar, Andrés ‘Cuotas de género, democracia y participación’; IDEA; FLACSO-Chile, 2006: The Road to substantive democracy: Women’s political participation in the Americas; OEA/Ser.L/V/II. Doc. 79 18 April 2011 [Inter-American Commission on Human Rights].
Increasing Women’s Political Participation in Chile and South America – Project Effectiveness Review

- A deep patriarchal culture in the political parties that makes party dynamics difficult for women to reconcile their reproductive roles and their political career and a strong resistance to give up power to women. According to Corporación Humanas’ national survey 2011, 60 per cent of women believe that political parties give little opportunity to women. Although some political parties have adopted a quota system in their internal regulations they are voluntary and not always fully implemented. All stakeholders agree that without the adoption of compulsory measures by law the pace of progress is condemned to be extremely slow and the effectiveness of internal regulations severely limited.

- Lack of financial support for women candidates. Electoral campaigns in Chile tend to be highly individualistic. Candidates need to raise their own funds and are only partly supported by the political parties they are running for. This is a major challenge for women, whose economic status is usually lower than men and who have less access to credit and to fundraising networks.

- Growing resistance from women to engage into politics. ‘In the political parties we find it increasingly difficult to find women candidates. In the past local elections we tried and tried, and systematically received no for an answer; ‘women are just not interested in holding power, we only do it when higher interests are at stake, but we don’t find the power game attractive’; ‘women are just not as ready as men to withstand the type of things that a campaign entails’. Even if the situation has gradually improved according to Humanas’ surveys, data still show that a significant number (over 50 per cent) of women declare to have little or no interest in politics. More importantly, surveys also show that the percentage of women who believe that they are discriminated against in the political sphere keeps growing (from 60 per cent in 2009 to 74 per cent in 2011).

- To a lesser extent informants also mentioned that the existing ideological divisions in the women’s movement and the difficult economic situation that they are presently facing because of the progressive withdrawal of international aid funds, also act as a marginal factor, which is not contributing to a more effective building of strong alliances that allow positioning political participation higher in the agenda. The lack of a real prioritisation of the issue in the civil society traditional agenda was also acknowledged by most civil society interviewees. ‘We got late to this issue of political participation, as feminists we were more worried on other issues, abortion, reproductive rights...’

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16 According to the 2012 report issued by the Inter-American Development Bank ‘New century, old disparities: gender and ethnic earnings gaps in Latin America and the Caribbean’ (Hugo Nopo) Chile occupies the fifth position in the Latin American ranking the regarding earning gap between men and women. Men in Chile earn about 19.3% more than women.

17 In 2011 53% of women declared themselves as having no interest in politics. In 2008 the number of women that admitted being little or not interested in politics amounted to 71%
**Personal experiences of political participation**

‘I started my career in a political party when democracy arrived. It has been a long and silent career because even if I joined a progressive party, the space for participation of women in decision-making was (and still is) minimal. I was also very young. I had to learn how to deal with the internal alliances and finally got to build a political discourse that progressively appeared more interesting to them, but always from a relative invisibility. I only started existing in the party very recently, a couple of years ago, when with the support of other women I decide to assume my present position. Still, I have no participation in the top decision-making organism in the country.’

‘I used to be the president of a local association of neighbours and was very active in the social movements. One day during one of our local celebrations, my colleagues asked me to run for the local council. I felt flattered but I thought that it would be very difficult to gain the support of the party and enough funds for the campaign. It’s not easy for us, the parties are usually reluctant to give up space to women. Moreover, as a social leader I was quite inexperienced in dealing with the internal tensions in the party. I finally got to be a candidate. For the last local elections the electoral law was reformed and that made the level of uncertainty about the results grow. In this condition not everybody was willing to run the risk. That opened up the space for us women to have a bit more access to internal quotas.’

‘The most difficult part was to find the funds to run the campaign. The party only provides a limited amount of funding. I had to stop working and get a personal credit. That was not easy. Family life was difficult too. A campaign means that you spend most of your time out of the house and that your reproductive activities and personal life are neglected. Family relations deteriorate, my son started doing not so well in school... But even if it was hard, at the end I feel lucky because I had their support. As women we need to achieve a balance between our family, professional and political roles. That is not easy. But it was worth it, I got the highest number of votes in my district.’

‘We are three women in the municipal council. When we started working we had to get used to sexist comments from our colleagues ‘you are our three flowers’; at the time of the official photo they asked us to not be together because they felt we provided a touch of colour; once we got invited to an official dinner and they expressly invited us to bring our husbands, that didn’t happen to our men colleagues. They seemed to think that we needed a tutor…’

‘I always had an interest in politics and have been involved in different social movements since I was 13. My political experience has a lot of nuances. I feel privileged because I was invited to participate by my party. I didn’t ask for it. I am also older now. That gives me an incredible freedom inside the party. If I was 30 and wanted to get to Parliament, the situation would be very different…’

‘My political career took about 90% of my time and effort. That had an impact in my personal life. I never married.’

‘Being a woman was never a barrier during my early days in politics. Problems arrived when I had kids. I realised what a minority I was and how incompatible party dynamics and family life were. Most of the women that had started with me had opted out for one or another reason. The political mortality of women was really high. However, my political participation was facilitated by my family background. Not many women have that. For a number of family reasons I had the connections, and knew the key people. This happens often here. The reason most of us get our way into politics is because we have those family links that open up the space for us. Otherwise it is very difficult, the playing field is extremely closed and it’s difficult for outsiders to be able to get in. For us women it is even more difficult because we don’t share the codes, the language, and the party dynamics (working hours…) are not inclusive. It’s a number of factors.’

‘Parties tend to support women as candidates in places where they think there is very little chance for us to win.’
5.2 Outcome 1: Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates

5.2.1 Materialisation and significance of the outcome

The under-representation of women as candidates in elections and in decision-making in the public arena is a critical factor in limiting the inclusiveness of Chile’s political process. As figures show, women constitute 25.6 per cent of municipal councillors and 12.7 per cent of the total number of mayors. What’s more worrying, probably as a consequence of the combination of the above described barriers, the number of women that are willing to enter the political arena and participate as candidates seems to be declining.

This was the case in the past local elections (2012) when the percentage of women candidates to local councils fell from 17.5 per cent of the total number of candidates in 2008 to 14.6 per cent in 2012. Chile’s political organisation relies heavily on strong and stable political parties. The main assumption behind this outcome is that without those structures fully embracing and internalising women’s equality in the political sphere, progress towards that objective will be difficult to materialise. This challenge is addressed by a) bringing the issue to the public agenda; b) supporting women candidates; and c) engaging and networking with women leaders from political parties to support and advocate more women in decision-making and electoral processes.

Although difficult to measure in absolute terms, evidence gathered during this evaluation suggests that there is growing acceptance among political parties of the urgent need to incorporate women candidates. Indicators of change include public demonstrations of support by key political actors, introduction of voluntary gender quota mechanisms in political parties and political manifestos and growing internal support for women candidates.

In the past few years, a growing number of politicians, even from the most conservative party (that officially rejects and systematically votes against the reform of the binomial system), are increasingly showing their inclination to start debating possible electoral reforms that can make the system more inclusive and plural and even show increasing support for affirmative action measures.\(^{18}\) Indeed, some political parties have recently approved internal quotas and although these are still insufficiently applied, all stakeholders and opinion polls agree that the issue has, at least formally, entered the official discourse.

5.2.2 Salient causal stories and findings

Facing those challenges: The Más Mujeres al Poder campaign

In the light of the many constraints that Chilean women face to fully participate in political life, women’s political participation has become a priority issue for the organisation, Corporación Humanas, which has recently implemented two communication campaigns partly supported by Raising her Voice.\(^{19}\) Because of its bigger scope and clearer focus on increasing women representation in the political sphere, this report focuses on the second campaign Más Mujeres al Poder, launched on the occasion of the local elections in 2012. The campaign was designed, led and coordinated by Corporación Humanas, with five other women’s organisations: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM), Corporación de Desarrollo de la Mujer la Morada; Movimiento pro Emancipación de la Mujer Chile (MEMCH); Fundación Dialoga, and Observatorio de Género y Equidad.

> ‘When one woman comes into politics, she changes; but when many women come into politics, politics change.’

Michel Bachelet

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\(^{18}\) There are many examples reported in the media. Most recently: http://diario.latercera.com/2012/09/04/01/contenido/pais/31-117586-9-diez-diputados-udicen-respaldar-cambios-al-binominal.shtml

\(^{19}\) The Más Mujeres al Poder campaign was co-funded by RHV (about 33% of total cost) and UN Women. However, there are a number of intangibles and work done by the implementing partners that are not easily translatable into exact campaigns’ economic costs. For instance, all participating organisations devoted a fair amount of effort to the dissemination of the campaign and in mobilising their grassroots. That work is not reflected as an associated cost.
Initially designed to raise public attention about the under-representation of women in the political sphere and to promote the idea of equal participation of men and women in decision-making, the promoting coalition decided to actively involve political parties and women candidates in the core strategy, and a number of meetings and media events were planned.

That strategy raised important discussions within the coalition about the desirable scope and inclusiveness of the initiative. Which women should they invite? Were they campaigning to just increase the number of women – any women – participating, or were they aiming to have more women that would take gender and women’s issues forward in the public agenda? While it was decided that they would go for an inclusive campaign that would invite women from across the political spectrum to participate and join the campaign’s demand for higher representation of women at the same level, the coalition also decided to include five policy asks as the basis of the campaign, including calling for the reform of the constitution and of the binomial system. Key stakeholders report on the many discussions held around these policy asks. Whereas everybody interviewed agreed (and most literature argues) that without reforming the electoral system in Chile it is very unlikely that real progress towards higher representation of women can easily happen in the medium term, the organisations were also aware that these policy asks were problematic for some women to accept, most notably those belonging to the conservative parties that have systematically voted against such reforms. As a result the campaign mostly engaged leaders and women candidates from the opposition parties (left wing) and failed to attract women from the governing parties (right-wing).

Most independent experts and bellwethers interviewed for this evaluation believed that, as a result and in practice, the campaign portrayed an image relatively biased toward the Concertación parties; this was considered a significant main weakness, because in the current political system, failure to engage conservative parties considerably hampers anybody’s ability to meet policy goals, such as the reform of the electoral system or the introduction of gender quotas in the legislation. However, it is also an unavoidable trade off that the promoting organisations were ready to accept.

In terms of results, given its modest costs,\(^\text{20}\) the Campaign attracted a reasonable level of media attention, being reported in national newspapers, such as La Nación or La Tercera, local press and political parties websites (Socialist Party and Radical Party).

The website received over 40,000 visits. Even if all informants agree that the campaign necessarily (given its limited cost) had a modest outreach in terms of getting to the general public, they unanimously celebrated that it was the only initiative bringing the issue of women’s political participation to the public agenda and that it was important to keep the issue of women’s political participation in the electoral agenda. This perception is consistent with the results of recent research by ECLAC\(^\text{21}\) that shows that Chilean opinion leaders rank the work of women’s organisations as the second key factor contributing (after having a woman President) to feeding the public debate on political participation in the country.

\(^{20}\) The organisation estimates that the total cost of the campaign amounted to around USD 50,000.

\(^{21}\) Paridad política de género en América Latina: evolución, impulsos y frenos según los líderes de la región. ECLAC, 2011
However, conversations held for this evaluation revealed that beyond its successful public outreach and media impact, which might just have been expected given its size and costs, the Más Mujeres al Poder was extremely effective in supporting women candidates in a variety of ways, and in clearly transmitting the call to political parties to advance gender justice and political representation. A number of aspects were highlighted by different informants. They are presented here according to the degree of consensus around them.

In the first place there was universal agreement among all those interviewed that the campaign had been key to breaking the isolation of women candidates. Even if, as we already mentioned, the campaign missed off women from one side of the political spectrum, of those candidates that it did engage, all that were interviewed agreed that the sense of being part of a collective project had been extremely useful for them. Working as a cross-party network of women had allowed them to establish new links with other candidates, to exchange experiences, ideas and common challenges and to support each other in practical issues. This campaign was unanimously identified as a key factor in giving a voice to women candidates and in promoting the political participation of women. We reproduce here some of the quotes from women candidates that were interviewed in this evaluation. These voices highlight the lack of real support and space within the different political parties and suggest the need to promote these spaces in a longer-term strategy.

Secondly, a high number of informants highlighted that the initiative had helped many of those candidates to gain or reinforce a gender approach that they had not always had. The insufficient attention paid to gender issues by women politicians was recurrently and consistently mentioned by interviewees during the evaluation: ‘not all of us come from that background’; ‘once near the centres of power, women tend to follow male leadership models’.

The need to work on the training and political education of women candidates in gender issues and transformative leaderships emerged as a constant demand in our conversations. As a result, the informants agreed that the meetings and events organised in the framework of the Campaign, and the contacts between women candidates and political leaders and feminist groups, had all contributed to raising awareness and knowledge on these issues among women participants.

Thirdly, candidates mentioned that the Campaign had provided them with important resources, such as access to the media. The launching event of the Campaign was recurrently mentioned as a key symbolic milestone. The event brought together more than 70 women candidates and women from civil society organisations in front of the presidential Palacio de la Moneda, where government sits, and received considerable media attention. The picture included women candidates for particularly emblematic districts, such as the now mayors of Santiago and Providencia and the candidate for Ñuñoa. Moreover, Humanas sponsored a radio space that women candidates could use during their campaigns and that was unanimously praised by candidates interviewed. From January 2012 till November that same year, 20 women candidates of local elections and many other political leaders (men and women) and members of Parliament participated in the programme. Aired by Radio Universidad de Chile and accessible through the campaign’s website, it gave voice to those candidates and, in the words of one of them, allowed them to get to those people in the community that were more difficult to reach with the traditional door-to-door campaigning techniques.
Finally, both candidates and independent experts agree that the space and network provided by the Campaign and the strategy of involving women leaders from the political parties had been particularly important to get those women on board, to strengthen their gender lens and to connect them with other women in different political parties and with the women’s movement.

A good indicator of the level of engagement achieved is the presence of all women responsible for their women’s division or organisation from all opposition parties (PPD, PS, DC, PRSD, PC and Izquierda Ciudadana) in a recent press conference organised by Humanas to fire up engines towards the parliamentary elections of November 2013. It is remarkable that, as confirmed by both Corporación Humanas’ staff members and women politicians, on this occasion the initiative to meet up and call for ‘More women in Parliament’ came from some of those political leaders who urged Corporación Humanas to convene a meeting with all of them. This example illustrates the level of engagement built and nurtured during the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign.

However, concerns were raised, too. The failure to engage women from the governing parties and the inclusion of more independent women candidates was recurrently raised by independent informers and bellwethers who shared a widespread perception that, in practice, the campaign had been relatively biased towards the Concertación parties. Although the participation of some political leaders and Members of Parliament from independent and right-wing parties in the Humanas radio programme partly contradicts this perception, the campaign mostly engaged women from progressive parties. This suggests the need to further promote (and make visible) broader alliances in future initiatives.

Even if the engaging of conservative candidates was, as already discussed, accepted by promoting organisations as a strategic trade off, it is well worth exploring the feasibility of introducing bias-corrective measures, such as the inclusion of more independent and non-partisan faces in future campaigns.

The issue raised an interesting and open debate about how much the substantive gender agenda should be integrated or separated from the political representation claim. Whereas informants from the coalition believe that lobbying for the reform of the binomial system is a *sine qua non* to truly remove the obstacles that prevent women from participating in the public sphere and that their fight is not only about numerical representation but about true equality, others (mostly bellwethers) believe that it would be strategically wiser, more effective and more attractive to conservative women and political parties, to separate the two agendas.

This takes us to briefly assess the coalition building process around this campaign. The process has particular connotations in the case of Chile. As has been well documented, women and women’s organisations played a crucial role of resistance during the dictatorship. With democracy, important divergences emerged between those women who decided to move forward and integrate in the new institutional architecture and those feminists that rejected that option. As a result the women’s movement was divided and has been critically debilitated ever since. In this particularly difficult context and although not an intended goal of the project, several women from both the civil society movement and from political parties recognised that the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign had also offered an interesting opportunity to bring together women from the two factions and to start working on building bridges and relationships.

**Other contributing factors or causal stories**

In the course of our conversations with different stakeholders we discussed the significance of the work done by Humanas and systematically asked interviewees to identify other factors that may have also contributed to increasing the political will about women’s political participation. As described in the previous section, we found a robust and widespread perception among those consulted for this evaluation that the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign has been a significant factor in maintaining the political participation issue in the agenda during the local elections and that it has significantly contributed to a strengthening of the commitment of key political actors in the
Concertación to support women candidates inside their political parties. At the same time they note that this work has to be seen in the context of a broader and multi-faceted cultural and political shift and that a number of factors converge to make Humanas’ contribution significant. The following three were frequently raised as important converging, but not mutually exclusive, factors:

1. The election of Michel Bachelet as the first woman President of the country in 2006 was unanimously identified as a key factor with a tremendous symbolic effect in the social imagination of Chile. As documented in many secondary sources and opinion polls, the presence of a woman President who had taken a gender agenda as her flagship had managed, despite the many challenges that she faced, to change the country’s perception on the capacity and ability of women politicians to lead. For the first time, Chile had a gender-balanced cabinet, an image recurrently mentioned by all independent and political informants in this evaluation. As a result, they all agree, today gender is formally on the agenda, and the open exclusion of women is deemed ‘politically incorrect’. Although the Bachelet experience definitely changed society’s perception, it is nevertheless criticised by women’s organisations and feminists for not having undertaken the structural reforms that would have guaranteed her legacy in this regard.

2. In the second place, interviewees acknowledged the work done by women inside the political parties to gain space for gender issues and women’s representation. Lack of access to a sufficiently representative sample of women in political parties has not allowed the evaluation to further explore the weight of this factor in the overall picture.

3. Other civil society initiatives have also been important. In particular, the work conducted by Comunidad Mujer, a civil society organisation much more linked to the economic and political elites, and which is also campaigning for affirmative action measures, was recurrently mentioned by stakeholders. Comunidad Mujer is an independent organisation created in 2002 to promote leadership and full participation of women in the political and economic spheres. Although with a much stronger focus in the latter, Comunidad Mujer is calling for the approval of a quota system in Chile and also provides training to women candidates. Although the organisation holds a very different approach from traditional feminist women’s organisations, practically all informants acknowledge that, because of its origins and links with the economic power, the organisation plays an important complementary role and is a key contributor to expanding the net of alliances around the political participation issue and reaching out to particularly reactionary social strata. Again, this factor could not be fully explored during the field mission and it is only pointed out as it emerged from the different interviews.

5.3 Outcome 2: Gender issues are strengthened in the parliamentary agenda

As previously noted, the main barrier to gender balanced representation in the political institutions and the low numbers of women in both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies is the lack of sufficient political will, not only in the political parties, but also in the legislature. Although studies have revealed a growing support for affirmative action measures and gender balanced representation in political life, Chile is among the few Latin American countries that have yet to pass any legislation to face this particular challenge. As a result, women make up just 13.1 per cent of the members of the Senate and 14.2 per cent of the Chamber of Deputies, well below the regional average of 24.1 per cent.22 This numerical under-representation, as has been prominently researched, does usually have a direct effect on the qualitative representation of the interests of women and gender equality in legislation.

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22 PARLINE Database. IPU data 2013
Strengthening gender in parliamentary work was therefore targeted as another key goal of this project, the assumption being that the commitment of political parties would always be insufficient and contingent on particular personal will, without key institutional reforms that guarantee gender balance in political representation. This goal was twofold. On the one hand Corporación Humanas expected to create a more favourable parliamentary environment to promote the reform of the binomial system and the approval of affirmative action measures. On the other hand, the organisation has focused on actively participating in the parliamentary debates and advocating a stronger presence of gender issues and feminist claims in both chambers’ agendas.

5.3.1 Materialisation and significance of the outcome
Data shows that gender issues have been on the parliamentary agenda of Chile for quite some time. It also shows that, apart from a few notable exceptions, such as the passing of laws against femicide (2010) and discrimination (2012), and the law that provides for maternity leave (2011), women’s issues have not generally been prioritised by the legislature. Particularly worrying is the lack of attention and debate on the issue of women’s participation in political life.

On the other hand, although no real progress in terms of policy reform is observed there are signs of qualitative changes in the support for affirmative action measures among parliamentarians both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate. In effect, Humanas’ surveys to parliamentarians show that, in the period 2006–2011, support for legislative measures that introduce a quota system has increased from 40.8 per cent to 48.7 per cent among members of the Chamber of Deputies and from 42.8 per cent to 63.3 per cent among members of Senate.

5.3.2 Salient causal stories
As in Outcome 1, there are a number of factors that converge to make this outcome possible and that reproduce to a large extent those salient causes already described in section 5.2.2. For that reason we will focus in this section on the particular contribution of Humanas’ work to this particular outcome.

Since 2006 Humanas has been monitoring parliamentary work and, together with other civil society organisations, delivers an annual report that assesses the progress made through the year on several key issues, including gender and political participation.

A product of the Parliamentary Observatory, the report has been strategically supported by Raising her Voice funds in the past five years. The organisation also actively works with women and men parliamentarians to advocate and push gender issues higher on the agenda and to ensure that policy and legislation reflect the claims of women’s organisations and the needs of women as they come out from the organisation’s annual survey ‘Women and politics’.

Internal documents from Corporación Humanas and official Congress reports document the constant and active presence of the organisation in parliamentary debates. Humanas is constantly called to provide policy papers and opinions in different parliamentary committees. It also offers individual parliamentarians advice and expertise in a number of subjects and, as could be verified by the Evaluator, maintains a fluid relationship with them through email, correspondence and telephone contact. Of particular relevance to this evaluation, the organisation works closely with the Bancada Transversal de Mujeres, an informal group of women parliamentarians from different political parties, and organises training workshops on political participation and other gender issues. For example, in 2012

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23 The report is officially delivered by the Parliamentary Observatory, a project led by Corporación Humanas but integrating other civil society organisations.
Humanas organised a workshop on quota systems and gender balanced representation with women parliamentarians from different political parties. According to the testimony of one of the participating experts: ‘It was my first time in such a meeting. It was really interesting to see how they open up and share their concerns on the issues when they are together. It’s a change. I could see that many of the women that were against these measures are now supporting them. It was particularly obvious among conservative women.’

### 5.3.3 Findings

All the members of Parliament and independent experts consulted for this evaluation agree that over the past five years there has been significant growth in both the reputation and visibility of Corporación Humanas, and that the organisation has consolidated as a key actor in parliamentary life. It has already been noted that, beyond the Parliament, the growing reputation of the organisation is clearly illustrated by the express citations of their annual survey in the country’s Human Development Report 2010, an edition particularly focusing on gender equality.

Testimonies unanimously point to the annual legislative report as having been a crucial tool to increase transparency and accountability of parliamentarians. The report brings to public light the individual behaviours of parliamentarians in terms of their vote in key debates or their assistance to parliamentary session. It is presented to the media each year in the Parliament premises and convenes a high representation of parliamentary authorities.24

In 2012 the report was formally presented by the coordinator of the Parliamentary Observatory25 in the presence of the Vice-Presidents of both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and a representative from the government.

According to interviewees, the legislative report has also served to increase the visibility of gender issues as structural problems. The reports have been key to ‘highlight the lack of priority given to certain laws on women’s issues’ and to ‘making visible how structural some gender issues are in Chile’. It was also acknowledged among members of civil society organisations as an invaluable tool for their own advocacy work. Several organisations interviewed mentioned that they had used their report either as a training tool or to design their own advocacy work: ‘The Observatory makes Parliament and parliamentarians’ behaviours visible. It’s an incredible tool for us. We use those reports in our work with women activists. They can use that information to lobby their representatives. Now they know how they voted for this or that issue.’ ‘After one of their reports we decided to include a particular claim in our advocacy strategy with Parliament. Humanas did an incredible research work in bringing to light the type of organisations and institutions that are usually invited to participate in Parliamentary committees. We are now asking the Parliament to provide that information in a clearer and more accessible way.’

Finally, the women parliamentarians consulted were unanimous in acknowledging that Humanas’ work was most useful and a substantive contribution to their parliamentary work. That was also supported by most independent

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25 Camila Maturana, member of Corporación Humanas’ staff.
experts who told us that parliamentarians do not always have the best resources to do the research that their job requires. This, they believe, makes Humanas’ work most valuable for parliamentarians.

**Advocating institutional reforms and gender-balanced political representation**

Influencing the public debate to promote the approval of administrative and legal measures that guarantee a balanced participation of women in elections for representative positions at the local and national levels was a key goal of this project. Work with parliamentarians and monitoring progress through the parliamentary observatory were the core elements of this strategy.

Corporacion Humanas has consistently denounced the lack of political will to promote effective measures that would encourage a higher participation of women in political life and a more balanced representation of both genders in political institutions, and it continues to warrant particular attention in every annual report. This strategy was designed to ensure that the issue was not left out of the public debate, and that the positions of parliamentarians on the issue are made known and public. Although no specific legal measure has been successfully passed, the data presented earlier in this report show a shift in attitudes, and growing support for affirmative action measures among member parliamentarians.

Although we cannot safely assume attribution of that shift directly and fully to Humanas’ work, the testimonies from different women parliamentarians give a very strong indication of the importance of the organisation’s contribution to this growing support. ‘*Their main contribution is that they have installed women’s human rights in the agenda.*’ ‘*Because of their persistent work and rigorous data, they have had an ideological influence and made people understand that without certain political and institutional reforms, the participation problems cannot be solved.*’ There are also many examples of direct and indirect influence in the legislative process. For example, although this could not be fully triangulated with key stakeholders, there was a strong indication of a link between Humanas’ advocacy work and a petition presented to government. Firstly, there was the already mentioned workshop for women parliamentarians in July 2012, then the follow-up meeting of Humanas staff and women deputies (including the submission of a policy paper on institutional reforms to promote women’s political participation) on September 3, 2012, followed almost immediately by the official claim from eight women parliamentarians who were asking the government to present legal measures to promote women’s political participation on September 5. Half of the women signing that petition had participated in those meetings.

### 5.3 Contribution scores chart

The following chart summarises aspects of the above narrative analysis by allocating project ‘contribution scores’ for each of the targeted outcomes. This is not expected to provide a precise measure of contribution, but rather a sense of how much the project was likely responsible for the observed changes.

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### Increasing Women’s Political Participation in Chile and South America – Project Effectiveness Review

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Short Commentary (including reference to other evidenced explanations as appropriate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Part of the RHV project in Chile the Más Mujeres al Poder campaign was found to be a significant contribution to engaging a number of political parties’ representatives from the Concertación alliance into advocating increasing the number of women candidates participating in electoral processes at local and national level. The Campaign was able to engage women responsible for the women’s sections or division in all Concertación parties in the Campaign activities and has prompted a new initiative that will take place in the November 2013 parliamentary elections. The campaign has also been effective in building bridges between women in the political parties and women’s organisations, which is unanimously perceived as an important step forward by all stakeholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender issues strengthened in the parliamentary agenda.</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Although full materialisation of the outcome falls very much outside of the control of the organisation, the evaluation found that Corporación Humanas has made a crucial contribution to ensuring the presence and priority of gender issues and women’s political participation in the parliamentary agenda. The persistent monitoring of parliamentary work conducted by Corporación Humanas was highly acknowledged by all political actors interviewed for this evaluation. The annual report has become a key event in the legislative period and is normally presented to the media within the parliamentary premises and with the participation of top representatives of the institution. The report has contributed to the significant and growing reputation of Corporación Humanas as a key civil society actor. It has helped to strengthen accountability, forcing MPs to justify their position and voting on key issues of particular relevance for women (abortion, discrimination, political participation, etc.) and to make visible how structural gender issues are. It has also proved to be a useful tool for other civil society organisations or international institutions. Public recognition of Corporación Humanas as a key actor in Parliament has been growing over these past few years. The evaluation found that the organisation has been able to build trust and relationships with women MPs from different political parties and regularly meets with them to consolidate a women’s bond that ensures that women’s interests and issues are placed high in the agenda.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Legend**

- **G**: Outcome realised in full
- **GA**: Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
- **A**: Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
- **AR**: Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made some contribution
- **R**: Outcome realised to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution
6 Programme learning considerations

6.1 Considerations about the project’s design

With reference to Oxfam GB’s decision to support projects that build on existing work and local processes, interviews to members of Corporación Humanas direction reveal that the work done has been very well aligned and embedded into the partner’s work and mandate. Women’s political participation was already a strong area of work of Humanas and Raising her Voice came to critically support some activities that were either difficult to fund or needed extra funding.

This has added value to the work of the implementing partner who recognises that the flexibility of OGB and the donor has allowed the organisation to adapt to emerging needs and windows of opportunity, such as the local elections process and to strengthen their campaigning work and expertise. Moreover, Corporación Humanas acknowledge, RHV has critically supported the organisation’s work on women’s empowerment and area of work particularly underfunded by the few international donors that still support civil society organisations in the country.

However, this approach makes it difficult for the organisation to see Raising her Voice support as ‘a project’ with a coherent framework of goals, outcomes and strategies. ‘We were told that the idea was not to fund a new project, but actions that could not fit in other projects or were not properly funded. As a result, we never designed a project, it doesn’t have that logic. We never thought that we were accountable for a particular project, but only for the activities funded by RHV.’ This was triangulated during the participatory workshop with the organisation’s staff where we could verify that, although affected by the higher logic of the organisation’s programme on democracy and political participation, the RHV framework had not really permeated and was insufficiently owned by the implementing partner.

Raising her Voice has meant a great opportunity for Humanas to continue working on the inclusion of women as participant subjects in the political sphere. Moreover, informants from the organisation confirmed that the participation of some of its staff members in the global inception meeting in Oxford inspired the communicational and campaigning aspects of their work. But the lack of a clearer link to the broader programme, and the insufficient spaces for share learning and exchange, may have not provided the right environment to fully capitalise the potentials of both the programme and the partnership.

6.2 Considerations about the project’s effectiveness

- The Más Mujeres al Poder campaign illustrates how powerful the building of networks of women candidates can be. Even if originally designed to bring the under-representation of women in the Chilean political arena to the public attention, the Campaign has been key to building a strong network of women from political parties and civil society organisations and has been supportive of women candidates. However, the challenge of expanding the outreach still remains and the risk of political identification with certain parties is an issue to be addressed in future initiatives. It is therefore recommended that coalition building takes this learning into consideration and that the net of alliances is broadened in future initiatives. This may be done by including more independent women candidates, other key stakeholders (such as student leaders or trades unions) and experts or opinion leaders in future initiatives.
Increasing Women’s Political Participation in Chile and South America – Project Effectiveness Review

- Several informants also pointed to the need to work on a longer-term basis. This evaluation shows that networking and coalition building has the potential to encourage participation of women in political processes. A more continuous support is nevertheless unanimously demanded. So far, campaigning has revolved around key electoral processes, but at that point it might be difficult to have an impact on the number of women candidates, for example. The campaigns implemented have provided Humanas with a substantive body of knowledge and experience, which they can use to design longer-term initiatives that provide women in Chile with a more stable platform of support and networking. The challenge remains, however, of finding funds for such long-term empowerment initiatives in a particularly difficult regional context.

- Although there is a generalised perception that the Campaign has been extremely efficient and very effective it was also recognised that it lacked an appropriate monitoring framework to capture the full impact of the project and relevant stories of change. The only monitoring system in place was the project’s logframe described in Section 4 that included a number of outputs and indicators that do not fully reflect the real work being done. As a result, the logframe has been of little use during implementation and, although a reference, has not guided the analysis in this evaluation. This has to do with the particularly complex and ambitious design of the project, but closer attention to this issue is suggested as an area to be improved in the future.

7 Conclusions

‘Increasing women’s political participation in Chile’ aims to promote the participation of women in decision-making and political spaces. This is done by addressing two key issues that are unanimously identified as barriers to a balanced inclusion of women in the political sphere: 1) the lack of will in the political parties to support more women in the decision-making structures and as women candidates; and 2) the need to reform an electoral system which is not conducive to women’s participation.

To do this, Corporación Humanas has put in place a campaign to support women candidates and engage women in the political parties and to work to influence the legislature and make it more sensitive and responsive to women’s issues and women’s political participation.

Outcome 1: Increased political will to incorporate more women candidates

Overall the evaluation findings suggest that there is growing acceptance of the issue of women’s political participation in the country. A number of factors have contributed to this, including having had a woman president in the country, and the work of women’s organisations.

The Más Mujeres al Poder campaign, led and coordinated by Corporación Humanas and part of the RHV project played a significant role in this. The campaign has shown a great ability not only to ensure the issue is included in the public agenda, but also to promote networks of women that offer important qualitative assets to both women candidates and women in the political parties. Despite its limited scope and resources, the campaign has had a reasonable impact in the media and among women candidates who have felt supported and accompanied in this process. Although it is unanimously recognised as a very positive experience there is a risk of having the Campaign strongly associated with a certain political position, therefore broader alliances are strongly recommended.

27 Some of the indicators included in the logframe are found to be extremely challenging. In particular we highlight the indicators associated to parliamentary work (% of men and women that incorporate gender issues in their work) that require further qualitative clarification and intensive monitoring that is not currently being done. Other indicators, such as the number of women that incorporate gender issues in electoral programmes, face the same challenges.
Outcome 2: Gender issues are strengthened in the parliamentary agenda

One of the key issues in Chile is the lack of success in approving affirmative action measures that correct the worrying under-representation of women in political institutions. Since 1997 a number of legislative initiatives have been blocked in the Parliament, finding strong resistance among parliamentarians, particularly from the conservative parties. Although the situation seems to be changing and Humanas’ monitoring reports show that the level of support to approve a quota system is growing, there is no real advance in terms of policy reform as yet.

Here, again, a number of factors play an important role, including the social change provoked by having had a woman president in the social imagination of Chile. Nevertheless, the work done by Humanas with men and women legislators was unanimously perceived to have made an important contribution. The evaluation has found strong evidence that this work is particularly well regarded by stakeholders. There are also indicators of direct influence of the organisation in the legislative work of parliamentarians. Furthermore, a significant number of testimonies affirm that the regular monitoring of legislative work conducted by the organisation has been instrumental in making sure that gender issues and women’s political issues are on the parliamentary agenda and that individual voting behaviours on key debates are made visible.
Appendix 1: Documentation reviewed

Proposal CHIA72
GTF158 Logframe Chile, November 2009
YR1 Annual Report Chile
Quarterly Report CHIA72 Humanas, September 2009
CHIA72 Quarterly Narrative Report HUMANAS, September 2009
Yr2 Narrative Rep CHIA72 HUMANAS, March 2010
CHIA72 Humanas Programmatic Report, 07 November 2011
CHIA72 HUMANAS Agreement Addendum, April 2011
Chile Annual Report RHV 2010-11, 31 March 2011
Progress report CHIA/072; Raising her Voice. Articulacion Marcosur – Montevideo Corporacion Humanas – Santiago de Chile, November 2011.
Mid-term report CHIA72 HUMANAS, September 2011
Raising her Voice in Chile, progress report 2011–12
Narrative Report HUMANAS CHIA72, September 2012
FINAL HUMANAS question
Narrative Report RHV-HUMANAS CHIA72, April 2012 English
RHV Regional learning meeting LAC Report, May 2012
RHV Survey 28 November 2012
Dossier Chile Uruguay, December 2012
GTF158 RHV Chile Budget information 2008–2013
Humanas Work Plan, Year 5
Chile LFA reorganised, October 2013
Annual Surveys ‘Women and Politics’ 2008, 2009, 2010; Corporación Humanas
CEDAW Indicators 210113
Keila Gonzalez (NDI) & Kristen Sample (IDEA Internacional). Muchos modelos, un objetivo: experiencias de comisiones y bancadas de género en los congresos, 2010
Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, CEDAW/C/CHL/CO/5-6, 24 October 2012
Marcela; Villar, Andrés ‘Cuotas de género, democracia y participación’; IDEA; FLACSO-Chile, 2006
The road to substantive democracy: Women’s political participation in the Americas; OEA/Ser.L/V/II. Doc. 79 18, April 2011 [Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.]
Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, Gender Quotas and Women’s Political Participation in Latin America; Paper from the Americas Barometer Small Grants and Data Award Recipients, 2011
Informe ‘Género En La Agenda Pública – 2012’; Friedrich Ebert Foundation-Chile
‘Paridad política de género en América Latina: evolución, impulso y frenos según los líderes de la región’; División de Asuntos de Género, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile, 2011
‘Mujeres y política en América Latina según líderes de la región: imágenes y realidades’, Segunda consulta a líderes de opinión de América Latina sobre la participación política de las mujeres y la paridad, División de Asuntos de Género, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile, 2010
Informe Consulta de opinión de líderes de América Latina sobre la participación política de las mujeres y la paridad, División de Asuntos de Género, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile 2009
‘Género: Los desafíos de la igualdad’; Desarrollo Humano En Chile, 2010. UNDP
Morales M. & others; Brechas De Representación: ‘Elites parlamentarias y ciudadanía en Chile’; Observatorio Político Electoral. ICSO – Universidad Diego Portales, 2011

Appendix 2: List of key informants

Alicia Muñoz, Director, Asociación nacional de mujeres rurales e indígenas (Anamuri)

Bet Gerber, Projects Director, Friedrich Ebert Foundation

Camila Maturana, lawyer; coordinator of the Parliamentary Observatory; Corporación Humanas

Carmen Andrade, Fundación Dialoga, former Minister for Women’s Services

Carolina Carrera, Director, Corporación Humanas

Carolina Tohá, Major of Santiago

Catalina Lagos Tschorne, lawyer, Corporación Humanas

Claudio Fuentes, political scientist, Universidad Diego Portales

Emily Brown, global coordinator RHV portfolio, OGB

Gloria Maira, member of the political committee, Izquierda Ciudadana

Harold Correa, policy adviser, PPD

Isabel Allende, member of the Senate

Lorena Fries, President of the National Institute for Human Rights (INDH)

Manuel Arís Alonso, head of advocacy and research, Fundación Ciudadano Inteligente

Marcela Ríos, Governance Programme Officer, UNDP

Maria Antonieta Saá, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, PPD

Mariela Infante, researcher, coordinator of the Corporación Humanas national survey ‘Women and politics’

Marisol Aguila Bettancourt, journalist, head of communications, Corporación Humanas

Maya Cwilich, administration, Corporación Humanas

P.C., Journalist

Patricia Flores, OGB Bolivia

Paula Mendoza, Member of the Local Council of Ñuñoa

Paulina Cid, union representative National Service for Women

Paulina Weber, Director of the Movement for the emancipation of Chilean women, Movimiento pro-Emancipación de las Mujeres de Chile (MENCH)
Rodrigo Álvarez, Asistente de proyectos, OGB
Bolivia

Sonia Montaño, Head of the Division for Gender
Affairs, UN Economic Commission for Latin
America

Teresa Valdés, candidate to the Chamber of
Deputies (Peñaloen); Director, Gender and Equity
Observatory (Observatorio de Género y Equidad);

Verónica Pinilla, FLACSO

Victoria Hurtado, researcher, coordinator of the
Más Mujeres al Poder campaign

Yolanda Pizarro, national secretary for women
issues, PPD