EVALUATION REPORT

UDF- CHI-10-404—The rights and political participation of the Mapuche Peoples of the Region of Araucanía.
Acknowledgments
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Disclaimer
The evaluators are solely responsible for the content of this publication, which in no case can be considered to reflect the views of UNDEF, Transtec, or any other institution and/or individual mentioned in the report.

Authors
This report was written by Luisa María AGUILAR and Irene GARCÍA. Landis MacKELLAR, Evaluation Team Leader, provided methodological and editorial input. Aurélie FERREIRA, Evaluation Manager at Transtec, provided quality assurance, and Eric TOURRES is the Project Director.

\(^1\) ProyectAmérica has now merged with Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane.
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I. Executive Summary

(ii) Project Data

This report is the evaluation of the project entitled “The rights and political participation of the Mapuche Peoples of the Region of Araucanía, in Chile,” implemented by Corporación ProyectAmérica from February 1, 2012 to January 31, 2014. The project received a grant of US$175,000 from UNDEF to carry out the following activities with the following objectives.

The aim of the project was “to develop spaces for political dialogue between Chile’s Mapuche communities, government authorities and the political sphere. Increasing the capacity of the representatives of Mapuche communities from the region of Araucania to participate in a political dialogue oriented towards the constitutional recognition of their indigenous rights which includes the rights of Mapuche women and the representation of their specific interests, through actions designed to impact on policy makers in Chile.”

The project focused on political processes in the realm of public policy, legislative initiatives, and State actions that impact the development of Mapuche society and its constitutional recognition. This is particularly important in a country that focuses much of its policy (energy, water, and territorial development) on intervening in the very territories in which the traditional activities of Mapuche culture are carried out.

The project strategy was aligned with efforts to prepare Mapuche community leaders and increase their capacity to dialogue with the mainstream political world in order to effectively position the issue of constitutional recognition of indigenous rights. An effort would also be made to create the political conditions for effective, independent representation of the Mapuche in Chilean institutions. This project had three established outcomes:

1. Generating greater awareness among Mapuche leaders of legislation and public policies involving the Mapuche dimension in the region of Araucania has been achieved;
2. The relationships between leaders of the Mapuche communities in the region of Araucania and the political leaders and government officials have increased;
3. Increased organizational capacity, leadership and project design for Mapuche women to allow their development and participation in political dialogue processes is in place.

To achieve these outcomes, the project sought to develop spaces for political dialogue between Mapuche communities in Chile, government authorities, and the political world. Despite the challenges, project organizers believe that this goal must be met, given the current situation in the country and the growing importance of Mapuche movements.

The project covered Chile’s Araucanía region. Its beneficiary groups were the Mapuche communities of Araucanía, Mapuche organizations, Mapuche women’s organizations, and regional authorities.

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2 The project outcomes are not always formulated the same way in the Project Document. The evaluation team decided to work with the formulation used in the Logical Framework, which should make it easier to analyze the indicators initially formulated.

(ii) Evaluation Findings

As the first and only initiative devoted to fostering political dialogue between the State, members of Congress, and the most radical Mapuche communities, the project was highly relevant to the need for recognition of the rights of native people in Chile. The project approached indigenous issue from a broader, more inclusive multicultural angle, moving beyond the partial analysis that for years considered it simply a problem of poverty, public order, and security. The project objectives demonstrate its cultural relevance and address the need to improve the leadership capabilities of Mapuche authorities to enable them to draft participatory proposals in which the needs of their different communities are represented. The gender issue is addressed through the empowerment of Mapuche women in leadership positions, although this was affected by the vulnerability of Mapuche women and the utter lack of relevant public policies in this regard. Through roundtable discussions, the project helped identify legitimate partners in the indigenous world and enter into collaborative relations with them.

Despite the problems stemming from the context of the intervention, the project was effective, generally achieving the intended outcomes.

It organized training workshops and roundtables as spaces for dialogue, providing important information about progress in the development of the policy on indigenous peoples, integrating the community’s perspective into this process. These forums have acquired the character of institutions, and the beneficiaries value them as relevant spaces for recognition of indigenous concerns, chiefly those of the Mapuche, that have moved the political dialogue forward and spurred the development of culturally relevant public policy proposals. This space created by the project also became an opportunity for advocacy, addressing issues on the policy agenda connected with the development of a native people agenda at a very important juncture.

The effectiveness analysis also revealed a number of components that fell short of expectations. One of them was the programmed advocacy with members of Congress, who rarely participated in the meetings. Efforts should also have been made to bring other relevant stakeholders, such as civil society and the media, on board. Furthermore, while the program aimed at increasing political participation by Mapuche women had a direct impact on the women leaders who participated in the initiative, it also unearthed the hitherto underestimated dimension of violence against Mapuche women and violations of their rights. The program should have lasted longer to help the women understand that any type of violence is unacceptable.

The project’s efficiency levels were satisfactory and its cost-benefit ratio good. Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane (“the Foundation) has ample experience managing international cooperation resources, and its technical team is both professional and competent. Despite the administrative changes and the transfer of project management to the Foundation, the use of financial resources was maximized, and the collaboration of the Ford Foundation was enlisted to finance the Indigenous Policy Program. The national elections and context of violence hindered the implementation of certain activities, primarily the advocacy with members of Congress, slowing the process down. A thorough analysis of the potential risks prior to project implementation would have revealed these problems. The training activities were planned so as to reduce costs without jeopardizing the quality of the courses and studies conducted or the design and distribution of the project publications, which were culturally, pedagogically, and linguistically appropriate.

Notwithstanding the problems of the context, the project achieved varying degrees of impact depending on the type of stakeholder it wished to mobilize. The beneficiaries consider the
project’s greatest contribution to have been the strengthening of leadership capacity among Mapuche leaders, although in the case of Mapuche women, a lengthier intervention to foster structural changes in their vulnerable situation should have been undertaken. The project had a significant impact on government authorities and the Executive branch, chiefly through the multistakeholder roundtables, achieving tangible results with several ministries. The stakeholders interviewed confirmed that the knowledge, information, and training the project provided on human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples helped pave the way for political dialogue in Chile. However, the media should have been involved in this process to highlight the problem in its full dimensions and change the public mindset.

The evaluators have identified factors that augur the sustainability of the project. The Foundation’s track record and competence in the field of indigenous policy, particularly that related to the Mapuche People, makes it a preferred and legitimate partner with the Mapuche. The involvement of the Ford Foundation and other international cooperation agencies guarantees the project’s financial sustainability, providing continuity for the implementation of its institutional strategy and projects. In the institutional and technical sphere, the strengthening of leadership capacity among Mapuche community authorities is an important component of sustainability. Mapuche organizations continue to take advantage of lessons learned, pass them on, and maintain ongoing contact with the Foundation, designing new initiatives to promote political dialogue. The multistakeholder roundtables, which continue to be held monthly, strengthen ties between universities, civil society, the political world, members of Congress, Mapuche leaders, and ministries.

UNDEF value added contributed to significant analytical processes and coordination among political figures, many of them guarantors of the promotion of indigenous rights. It revealed the limitations of the current Constitution with respect to the implementation of Convention 169 and the need to develop a relevant public policy with a rights-based approach. In the Mapuche communities, it provided a unique space for political dialogue among the various stakeholders. For the first time, the more radical Mapuche groups sat down at the table to dialogue with government authorities.

(iii) Conclusions

- The project created spaces for training and analysis, providing knowledge and information about the new standards relative to the rights of indigenous peoples. The project made clear the need to implement ILO Convention 169 and restructure the domestic legal framework governing the rights of indigenous peoples. Mapuche leaders, men and women alike, learned more about their rights and expressed their needs given the new international standards.

- The project gave greater importance to the multicultural approach as essential to recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. The project emphasized respect for the diversity, ethnic identity, and structure of the native people of Chile as the basis for constructing a political dialogue and approaching the conflict from an integrated social and political perspective, rather than a fragmented one.

- The project fostered a highly relevant and participatory horizontal dynamic, organizing forums for political dialogue with different types of stakeholders. The project provided government authorities and members of Congress with excellent information, supporting reasoned, in-depth analysis of the situation of indigenous peoples in Chile. It created the country’s first recognized forum for multi stakeholders dialogue, in which political figures, academics, civil society stakeholders, and representatives of the more radical Mapuche groups participated.
The project capitalized on the lessons learned during its activities, introducing knowledge about the existence of a local gender identity. Through initiatives designed to strengthen political leadership among Mapuche women, the project opened the door to political organizing, planning, and advocacy in some women’s organizations. These initiatives brought to light the serious violations of Mapuche women’s rights and the need to make them visible.

The authorities’ silence and failure to move was striking, as was the lack of civil society initiatives. This prolonged “unresolved” situation, marked by serious conflict, complexity, escalating violence, and growing government repression, leads the evaluators to wonder whether a certain underlying resignation and indifference to the problem isn’t developing. There is a need to mobilize strategic stakeholders, especially civil society, whose capacity to promote and implement processes of change could get help get things moving.

(iv) Recommendations

- Identify new pathways for advocacy, strengthening the forums for political dialogue already created with a vision that is more strategic and balanced among the different stakeholders. This would involve strengthening the forums established to link the various stakeholders, making the key points of the project “the object of analysis and political dialogue” to facilitate the design a strategy responsive to the challenges encountered during project execution. Creating a “roadmap” could facilitate this process.

- Develop a specialized training and technical assistance strategy targeting the political and institutional sector. Chile’s ratification of Convention 169 as a binding, self-executing instrument calls for capacity building among institutional and political stakeholders to ensure that they are familiar with the instrument and properly apply it. At a time when the government is drafting a new Constitution and exploring other issues (the place of the indigenous world in Chilean society, constitutional rights, and indigenous rights), the ministers need help drafting public policies that include a multicultural approach. Given its experience in these areas, Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane could play an important role in implementing a strategy to empower political and institutional stakeholders.

- Conduct initiatives that increase and guarantee indigenous women’s access to justice. Responding to the serious violence against Mapuche women will require more permanent training processes and legal assistance to raise awareness among government authorities and the general public about violations of women’s rights. This calls for forward movement in the creation of sustainable networks and the strengthening of community organizations through a gender approach and cultural perspective.

- Shine a light on the full dimension of the problem and counter the weak civil society presence. Given the government’s failure to act and Chilean society’s lack of receptivity, the evaluators recommend mobilizing and partnering with other major players to increase the capacity to denounce, report, and analyze what is happening from a comprehensive and political standpoint. Above all, they underscore the need to get civil society and the media involved to shine a light on the issue of indigenous rights and put it on the public agenda.

- Supplement the monitoring of project activities with a strategy to monitor the impacts achieved. In this context of conflict and extremely vulnerable rights, the monitoring must be more strategic to show the successes achieved and identify the adjustments needed to tailor interventions to the changing context.
II. Introduction and development context

(i) The project and evaluation objectives

“The rights and political participation of the Mapuche Peoples of the Region of Araucanía, in Chile” project was implemented by Corporación ProyectAmérica from February 1, 2012 to January 31, 2014. UNDEF provided a grant of US$175,000, $17,500 of which was retained for monitoring and evaluation purposes. Other donors provided cofinancing of US$80,000, bringing the total budget to US$255,000.

The aim of the project was “to develop spaces for political dialogue between Chile’s Mapuche communities, government authorities and the political sphere. Increasing the capacity of the representatives of Mapuche communities from the region of Araucanía to participate in a political dialogue oriented towards the constitutional recognition of their indigenous rights which includes the rights of Mapuche women and the representation of their specific interests, through actions designed to impact on policy makers in Chile.”

The project focused on the political processes under way in the areas of public policy, legislative initiatives, and State actions that impact the development of Mapuche society and its constitutional recognition. This is particularly important in a country that focuses much of its policy (energy, water, and territorial development) on intervening in the very territories in which the traditional activities of Mapuche culture are carried out.

ProyectAmérica’s Indigenous Program has made progress in fostering analytical processes, developing relationships, and increasing the capacity of Mapuche leaders in the Araucanía region to engage in dialogue. The project strategy was designed to foster clear synergies and exchanges between the various project components. This was accomplished mainly by developing the capacity for leadership and policy analysis as part of the movement toward constitutional recognition of indigenous rights. In this context, the program developed a cooperation relationship with the Ford Foundation (which funds other institutional projects). This partnership enabled the project to organize efforts to increase the visibility of the issue of the recognition of the Mapuche society and culture. The Ford Foundation has financed ProyectAmérica’s Indigenous Policy Program for the past two years. This program keeps track of the government’s indigenous policy, advises members of Congress in the legislative debate on issues related to the indigenous agenda, promotes policy dialogue with Mapuche organizations and leaders, and organizes forums for debate and reflection on the situation of indigenous peoples in the country.

The project strategy was aligned with efforts to train Mapuche community leaders and improve their ability to dialogue with the mainstream political world to effectively position the issue of constitutional recognition of indigenous rights. An effort would also be made to generate the political conditions for effective, independent representation of the Mapuche in Chilean institutions. This project had three outcomes: 4 (1) Generating greater awareness among Mapuche leaders of legislation and public policies involving the Mapuche dimension in the region of Araucanía has been achieved; (2) The relationships between leaders of the Mapuche communities in the region of Araucanía and the political leaders and government officials have increased; (3) Increased organizational capacity, leadership and project design for Mapuche women to allow their development and participation in political dialogue processes is in place.

4 The project outcomes are not always formulated in the same way in the Project Document. The evaluation team decided to work with the formulation used in the Logical Framework, which should make it easier to analyze the indicators initially formulated.
To achieve these outcomes, the project sought to develop spaces for political dialogue between Mapuche communities in Chile, government authorities, and the political sphere. Despite the challenges, the project organizers believe that this goal must be met, given the country’s current reality and the growing importance of Mapuche movements.

The project covered Chile’s Araucanía region. The beneficiary groups were the Mapuche communities of Araucanía, Mapuche organizations (including Mapuche women’s organizations), and regional authorities. However, although the project was conceived in the Araucanía region, it ultimately included Mapuches from the Los Ríos and Los Lagos regions.

The evaluation of this project is part of the larger evaluation of the Rounds, 2, 3 and 4 UNDEF-funded projects. Its purpose is to “contribute towards a better understanding of what constitutes a successful project which will in turn help UNDEF to develop future project strategies. Evaluations are also to assist stakeholders to determine whether projects have been implemented in accordance with the project document and whether anticipated project outputs have been achieved.”

(ii) Evaluation methodology
The evaluation was conducted by an international expert and a national expert hired under the Transtec contract with UNDEF. The evaluation methodology is spelled out in the contract’s Operational Manual and is further detailed in the Launch Note. Pursuant to the terms of the contract, the project documents were sent to the evaluators in early September 2014 (see Annex 2). After reading and analyzing them, they prepared the Launch Note (UDF-CHI-10-404), describing the analysis methodology and instruments used during the evaluation mission to Chile (Santiago and Temuco) from October 6 to 10, 2014. The evaluators interviewed project staff and members of the Corporación ProyectAmérica coordinating team and government representatives. The team also flew from Santiago to Temuco to meet with project beneficiaries, political leaders, and local government officials. Annex 3 contains the complete list of persons interviewed.

(iii) Development context
According to the 2012 census, 11.11% of the population in the Republic of Chile self-identify as belonging to an indigenous people (1,714,677). Approximately 84% of are Mapuches, the most numerous native people in Chile, with around a million and a half members. The problems between the Chilean State and its native people are rooted in history, with the government’s refusal to recognize their ancestral lands and identity, not to mention their cultural autonomy and political rights. Relations between the State and the Mapuche have therefore been tense since the 19th century.

The civil-military dictatorship (1973-1990) exacerbated the Mapuche’s vulnerability and stigmatization, heightening the social exclusion and poverty of its rural population while at the same time spurring its migration to urban centers. After years of Mapuche activism and the advent of democracy, in 1993 the Corporation for Indigenous Development (Corporación de

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7 According to data from the 2012 census, which also states that around 90% of the total who self-identify as indigenous do not speak their indigenous language.
Indigenous issues have not been handled properly, because the matters that the communities wish to take up have not been addressed. Moreover, the government does not have legitimate partners to work with the indigenous world. It perpetrates violence against the community, and the people most affected are women and children. They grow up in this environment.

Oscar O. Chief, Office of the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture of Chile

Desarrollo Indígena – CONADI) was created. Later, in 2007, Chile became a signatory to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and in September 2008, ratified ILO Convention 169. Nevertheless, as the various stakeholders point out, these instruments have not had any effect on practice, since the Mapuche today live in worse social and economic conditions than the non indigenous population in Chile.

The general consensus is that this issue is not a high priority on the nation’s public agenda and that there is little knowledge about indigenous rights at the institutional level. Government intervention has addressed the situation of Chile’s native people only partially, employing a welfare or antipoverty, public order, and national security approach and investing less effort on genuine recognition of the rights of Chile’s indigenous peoples. According to Molina,\(^8\) resolving the conflict will depend on the government’s ability to dialogue, act, and coordinate with native people. In this regard, Viera Gallo\(^9\) asserts that reactions to the conflict are increasingly violent, and that there is no institutional concern in the central government about anything other than public order. Enrique Correa\(^10\) likewise notes the need for greater public expenditure, special legislation, and recognition of the Mapuche as a people, reasserting that a security policy alone will not make the conflict disappear. The Mapuche, along with government and institutional stakeholders, agree about the complexity of current relations between the Chilean State and the Mapuche People. Concerning territorial demands, they primarily claim the areas demarcated in the land titles and those that were seized during the dictatorship, as well as access to the natural resources in their settlements.

Currently and for some years now, legal action in the courts has been accompanied by demonstrations, the seizure of funds, and the burning of machinery, vehicles, or buildings. For roughly a decade, the Chilean government has reacted to this situation with police repression and criminal prosecutions. The community representatives interviewed repeatedly mention rights violations, the impunity with which abuses by the police are committed, and ethnic discrimination by the State and other sectors of society. The first legislature during the administration of President Michelle Bachelet passed an antiterrorism act to combat the problem known as the “Mapuche Conflict.” This act

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\(^8\) Former Advisor to the Ministry General Secretariat of the Presidency on indigenous affairs (2007-2014), Advisor to the Minister of Education (2014-present).

\(^9\) Former Senator (1990-2006), Former Minister of the General Secretariat of the Presidency in the first administration of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) and Former Minister of the Constitutional Court of Chile (2010-2014).

\(^10\) Former Minister of the General Secretariat of the Presidency (1990-1994), President and legal representative of Corporación ProyectAmérica, President of Imaginaccion Comunicaciones.
was applied to several Mapuches, who, accused of taking up arms, occupying land, etc., were deprived of liberty through an application for preventive detention.\textsuperscript{11}

In 2008, during the occupation of a site, a police officer shot a Mapuche youth (Matías Catrileo) in the back. The young man died, igniting a series of demonstrations and protests. From 2009 to 2012 decree N° 124 and N° 66 were signed but rejected by the Mapuche as violating the terms of ILO Convention 169. Since then, the Mapuche have demanded that decrees 40 and 66 be rescinded because they violate the human rights of indigenous peoples. However, the dialogue between the State and Mapuche communities has been put on the back burner, generating mistrust and fragmentation, which in turn has led to further demonstrations and protests.

In January 2013, on the fifth anniversary of the killing of Matías Catrileo, a group of hooded Mapuches set fire to the home of entrepreneur Werner Luchsinger and his wife, Vivianne McKay, causing their death. These new events led to a further deterioration in the dialogue between the State and the Mapuche. In 2014, some five months after the new legislature of President Bachelet was installed, the government launched an indigenous consultation to explore with each community the possibility of creating a Ministry of Indigenous Affairs and a Council of Indigenous Peoples, among other things, since the current Constitution dates back to the time of the Dictatorship\textsuperscript{12} and does not recognize native people. Constitutional recognition has been an aspiration under congressional debate for about 20 years. The new government is currently drafting a constitutional reform that legally recognizes and protects the rights of native people in the supreme legal instrument of the State.

Nevertheless, the majority of Chile’s native people, including the Mapuche, oppose this initiative, because they consider the consultative process a vertical, imposed, unilateral move and just one more instrument of government control. This situation has sparked Mapuche demonstrations not only in the Araucanía region but throughout Chile, aimed at preventing consultation activities. Moreover, distrust of the State and disappointment at the current administration’s response has fueled demonstrations, the burning of machinery, road blockades, and the occupation of land and forests, resulting to date in the death of a Mapuche man during the peaceful takeover of a piece of land in Galvarino (Araucanía) in October 2014.

Today, the Mapuche report the improper and excessive use of force against men, women, and children in the form of searches day and night, armed threats, and other forms of direct violence against Mapuche men, boys, girls, women, and elders. The stakeholders interviewed agree on the need for the Mapuche to participate in policy design and implementation if the conflict between the Chilean State and their people is to be settled. In this context, ProyectAmérica formulated “The rights and political participation of the Mapuche Peoples of the Region of Araucanía” project, whose purpose was to strengthen spaces for political dialogue and thereby contribute to an understanding and resolution of the

\textsuperscript{11} This is the case of interviewee Sergio Catrilaf, one of the leaders and spokesmen for the Xuf Xuf territory of the Araucanía region and president of the Juan Katrilaf community, who was detained on October 25, 2009, jailed on July 12, 2009, and subsequently released on September 14, 2010 after an 84-day hunger strike. Thanks to this initiative involving 30 other Mapuche community members who were tried under the antiterrorism act, the case was appealed and he was ultimately released due to lack of evidence for the conviction.

\textsuperscript{12} The current Constitution was adopted by plebiscite on September 11, 1980, entering into force on March 11, 1981.
conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuche and other native people of Chile, while promoting a process for the recognition and exercise of indigenous rights.

II. Project strategy

(i) Project approach and strategy

The project strategy is aligned with ProjectAmérica’s institutional policy, which is centered on working with communities. In 2010, the NGO began examining the government’s policies with respect to indigenous peoples, periodically publishing the results of its analysis and distributing them to major social and institutional stakeholders. However, in 2012, given the needs rising from the context, the NGO shifted its strategy, and while it continued to conduct situation analyses, it also decided to undertake direct interventions with the parties involved. The project was designed precisely during this time of institutional reorientation, and its strategy focused on developing spaces for political dialogue, basically among three types of stakeholders: (a) Mapuche community leaders, both men and women; (b) political figures; and (c) government authorities. This approach was a real challenge, given the complex developments in the country’s political and institutional context. Indeed, the worsening conflicts in Araucanía hindered implementation of some of the programmed activities to some extent (see point ii Effectiveness), since the beneficiary groups were less available to participate, and the gulf between the State and the Mapuche People was widening.

The NGO chose to work with the most conflict-prone radical communities – those that were less open to engaging in a political dialogue with the State and with whom the State, in turn, had no interest in dialoguing. According to the project group’s analysis, Chile’s roughly 1,400,000 Mapuches could be divided into three groups with the following characteristics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. “Most radical” Mapuche groups</th>
<th>2. Mapuche groups “that negotiate”</th>
<th>3. Mapuche groups “don’t care,” “don’t have a political opinion”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated population</td>
<td>Some 15,000</td>
<td>Some 300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs that intervene</td>
<td>This was the population targeted by Project/América/ Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane</td>
<td>These are the rest, and therefore the majority, which the NGO describes as a group of “political opportunists” with “tactical indifference.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The target population was group 1, consisting of certain Mapuche communities in Araucania, Mapuche organizations, including women’s organizations, and regional authorities. During the course of the project, Mapuches from the Los Rios and Los Lagos regions were also added.

13 The Project began in February 2012
One of the project’s key components was capacity building among Mapuche leaders, both men and women, to increase their participation in efficient spaces for dialogue that would contribute to constitutional recognition of the rights of native people. These workshops and meetings facilitated an ongoing in-depth review of progress in the legislative process for constitutional recognition of indigenous rights, particularly through official documents related to Mapuche communities. The leaders interviewed said they had received a great deal of information about the status of the recognition of indigenous rights in Chile, as well as the problems created by the current Constitution for application of Convention 169 and by decree N° 124 and N° 66. In addition, through its training events, the project sought to create the political conditions to foster effective independent representation of the Mapuche People in Chilean institutions, acknowledging the multicultural nature of the country. The project thus became an important vehicle for bringing people from the different Mapuche communities together to get to know one another and engage in dialogue, since the Mapuche are a highly fragmented group and because of their horizontal structure, find it very hard to reach consensus and agreement. These forums enabled the various groups to discover that they had common problems and expectations.

The training activities ended with roundtables organized as “spaces for multistakeholder dialogue” that met monthly, bringing researchers and representatives from academia, civil society, the political world, and government entities together for discussions. The object was to build trust among the stakeholders, offering them a respectful forum in which they could obtain reliable information, interact, and listen to varied opinions. The problematic element of the strategy for political dialogue was the interaction with members of Congress, whose participation was very limited.

The project strategy also included a coordinated cultural and gender approach, enabling it to provide a specific line of training on Mapuche women’s rights. However, the activities implemented over a four-month period revealed the gravity of the violence against women and the violations of their rights—a situation whose magnitude and complexity was far beyond what had been imagined in the project design phase. The female attorneys who had been advising and assisting Mapuche women’s organizations since 2002 were of the opinion that, despite all that had been done, not enough progress had been made.

Finally, the project had an excellent strategy for disseminating the information analyzed and processed during its implementation. Using an electronic mailing list, it was able to capitalize on the results of the different activities, circulating the information among the stakeholders (Mapuche communities, members of Congress, political parties, government figures, and other beneficiaries) in a relevant manner.

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### (ii) Logical framework

The table below presents the project’s intervention logic: its activities, intended outcomes and achievements, objective, and the development objective pursued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Intended outcomes</th>
<th>Project objective</th>
<th>Development objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • 10 interviews (with 5 *Lonkos* and 5 *Werkenes*) to determine Mapuche leaders’ awareness levels;  
• 5 focus groups with Mapuche community members;  
• 4 capacity-building workshops for 160 Mapuche leaders (on ILO Convention 169 and Chilean State Decree N°124);  
• Review of legislative progress on constitutional recognition of indigenous rights: (official documents related to Mapuche communities; ongoing transmission of information via e-mail to political figures on the status of Mapuche rights (800 e-mail addresses); review of 7 reports on Chilean State public policies;  
• More than 1,000 reports were distributed to Mapuche communities, informing them about the status of the dialogue with Chilean members of Congress;  
• 5 meetings (in Santiago and Temuco) with political figures;  
• 10 roundtables with academic figures, researchers, other civil society stakeholders, and government institutions to discuss Mapuche issues from different perspectives;  
  o Production and distribution of 300 constitutional rights kits;  
  o Production and distribution of reports from Ancestral authorities in Mapuche communities. | 1. Awareness of Mapuche leaders about the legislation and public policies involving the Mapuche dimension in the region of Araucania has been achieved.  
Mapuche community leaders informed about the status of the recognition of indigenous rights in Chile (problems posed by the Constitution for application of Convention 169, and Decree N°124 and N°66). | To develop spaces for political dialogue between Chile’s Mapuche communities, government authorities and the political sphere. Increasing the capacity of the representatives of Mapuche communities from the region of Araucania to participate in a political dialogue oriented towards the constitutional recognition of their indigenous rights which includes the rights of Mapuche women and the representation of their specific interests, through actions designed to impact on policy makers in Chile. | Contribution to strengthening recognition and democratic participation in Mapuche Indigenous people in the Araucania Region, in Chile. |
| • Production and distribution of 300 constitutional rights kits;  
• Production and distribution of reports from Ancestral authorities in Mapuche communities. | 2. The relationships between leaders of the Mapuche communities in the region of Araucania and the political leaders and government officials have increased.  
Mapuche community leaders know each other and have opened channels for communication with each | | |

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16 Ancestral authorities in Mapuche communities.  
18 Diego Portales, Catholics of Temuco, Frontiers Universities, Chile 21 Foundation, and Human Rights Institute (IND).
Information to members of Congress, political parties, and government figures.

- 4 meetings between 30 Mapuche leaders and Chilean political figures;
- 8 regional workshops in Santiago and Temuco;
- Meeting with the Minister of the General Secretariat of the Presidency, Cristian Larroulet, and Matías Abogabir, Manager, MIDESO indigenous issues;
- A forum for multistakeholder dialogue that includes academic figures, researchers, and representatives of civil society and government institutions permanently installed and meets monthly.

- 21 Mapuche women leaders trained, in Temuco;

3. Increased organizational capacity, leadership and project design for Mapuche women to allow their development and participation in political dialogue processes is in place.

Mapuche women leaders empowered to exercise their right to political participation, also trained in project design and implementation.
III. Evaluation findings

(i) Relevance

In a Chilean society so unreceptive to the indigenous dimension and which for years viewed the matter as a problem of poverty, public order, and security, the project has managed to present the issue from a broader, more inclusive multicultural perspective, analyzing the underlying political issues that have yet to be resolved. As the first and only initiative designed to develop a political dialogue among the State, members of Congress, and the more radical Mapuche communities, the project is highly relevant to the unmet needs and challenges of the Chilean context. In particular, it systematically emphasizes the need to recognize human rights and the rights of native people in Chile and the urgent need to amend the constitutional and regulatory framework to guarantee proper application of the international legal instruments ratified by the Chilean State, especially ILO Convention 169.

Within this context, the project helped identify and establish collaborative relations with legitimate partners in the indigenous world, bringing government authorities, political figures, and Mapuche community leaders together to share spaces for analysis and political dialogue. The project objectives thus respond to the needs of the beneficiary groups, increasing the capacity and leadership of Mapuche leaders and representatives so that they can draft participatory proposals that reflect the needs of their different communities.

The criteria used in selecting the beneficiary population were derived from ProyectAmérica’s contacts and prior knowledge of the intervention areas. Also considered was the specific need of Mapuche stakeholders for spaces to discuss matters they knew little about, especially in more geographically isolated areas with little media access. Many of them said they felt abandoned by the local, regional, and national government when it came to the creation of government policies and programs.

It is important to emphasize the cultural relevance of the program, which sought to “look at the Mapuche People from the Mapuche perspective.” Employing this cultural perspective, the project tackled the gender issue and analyzed the situation of Mapuche women, pointing to the lack of a public policy in Chile that addressed their interests and its consequences, since
The project enabled us to bring people from different territories together and forge closer ties among our people. It allowed us to better understand each situation – situations that on the surface seem different but have common problems.

Edith C. President, Felipe Nitrihuala Community

"groups that cannot defend themselves have no influence." This component was very important, since in the current social and political context of highly unstable public order, the parties most affected are women and children. It should be noted that despite the training provided, many types of violence against women and children are still committed with impunity – a situation that must be addressed and condemned by the legal system.

Concerning the training program, the statements from the beneficiaries confirm the relevance of the subject matter and methodological approach to the expectations and needs of the Mapuche communities, academics, and public officials involved. The beneficiary groups say they have gained a better understanding of ILO Convention 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as well as the legal avenues open to them when their rights are violated. Politicians and public officials, in turn, agree that in a country where institutional recognition of native people has been under discussion in Congress, the creation of spaces for political dialogue, consensus building, and information about the issue was indispensable for creating alternative paths. In this regard, the initiative to establish a roundtable for multistakeholder dialogue in which politicians, members of Congress, academics, Mapuche leaders, and civil society would participate fostered horizontal dialogue and feedback. However, the project's relevance could perhaps have been maximized had an effort been made to include media representatives in this forum for dialogue.

Finally, the relevance of the communication strategy prioritized by the project is worth mentioning, as this strategy made it possible to distribute documents containing excellent information on the issue.

(ii) Effectiveness

Despite the problems created by the context, the project produced significant tangible results, generally achieving the intended outcomes. Its effectiveness was fostered by the fact that its design and implementation were based on the installed capacity already in place, enabling it to capitalize on the existing experience and expertise.

Both ProyectAmérica in the initial stage and Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane later on, positioned themselves very quickly as major players in the sphere of human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples, contributing to the creation of an excellent forum for the discussion of these issues – something never before seen in the country or in other spheres. At the same time, it created a climate of respect and trust that encouraged participation and engagement by the different stakeholders involved. These spaces are now institutionalized to a certain extent, as they meet regularly and have responded to the need to train leaders able to dialogue with the State.

One of the most important components was having worked with the more radical and confrontational Mapuche groups, who were less open to political dialogue. The project successfully organized the workshops and roundtables as spaces for exploring issues and engaging in dialogue, encouraging face-to-face encounters between Mapuche leaders from the Bio Bio to the Los Lagos region and the political and academic world. The monthly meetings provided them with important information about the development of the indigenous policy, integrating the communities' perspective into this process. The beneficiaries,
community leaders, academics, and political authorities considered these meetings a good opportunity to gain recognition for the issue of indigenous peoples, especially the Mapuche. This has made it possible to explore different avenues to the political dialogue forward and design culturally relevant public policy proposals. Mapuche leaders, both men and women, have received knowledge and information about indigenous rights, as well as the means to litigate in the courts and lodge grievances related to their situation. They have also had the opportunity to directly express their needs and expectations to ministers and government representatives. According to the participants’ statements, the meetings enabled them to meet with people who think differently, people who do not have solutions to the problems, and people who are not even aware of the problems. Convincing indigenous people to sit down at the table and dialogue was an extremely important outcome. One of the leaders interviewed said “this is the only place where we Mapuche can sit down and talk to each other.”

Furthermore, Convention 169’s entry into force led to changes in how and in what direction to steer public policies. The creation of these interdisciplinary forums promoted the sharing of views, since they were attended not only by attorneys, but politicians, indigenous professionals, indigenous urban dwellers, ministers, and academics representing a host of universities, among them the University of Chile, the Central University, Alberto Hurtado University, and Diego Portales University and its ICSO Institute, part of the Science Development Fund. These stakeholders provided a wealth of reliable information rooted in citizen perceptions, survey results, studies on rights, fieldwork, etc. To a certain extent, the forums became a tool for advocacy, permitting matters on the political agenda connected with the development of the native people’ agenda to be addressed at a very important juncture. Some academics said that these project forums to some degree had led to the creation of a roadmap for what they were doing and what they wished to do, and that for them, a goal would be to one day achieve acceptance of the fact that “Chile is a multicultural nation.”

This assessment is related to another basic line of action implemented by the project in a cross-cutting manner: technical assistance. That is, all these meetings, roundtables, and the production and processing of information on the issues were a way of offering technical assistance for the design of policies with a multicultural approach. This contribution responded to the need for capacity building in ministries and government institutions, entities that will undoubtedly still need strengthening in future stages. Some of the people interviewed expressed shock at the ignorance of cultural symbolism they observed among government officials, especially when these agents had to participate in official meetings.

Another project achievement was the dissemination and targeting of information, which was part of the press strategy targeting opinionmakers that indirectly impacted public opinion in general. The materials published by the Foundation, as well as its Indigenous Policy Bulletin
(Boletín de Política Indígena), provided information on the real problems and expectations of the Mapuche People, chiefly in the Araucanía region. At the same time, they informed the Chilean public about the realities of life in the communities. Nevertheless, it would have been a very positive thing for the project to have integrated media participation more strategically, as it certainly would have brought the indigenous dimension to the public eye and put it into context. Moreover, from the standpoint of identifying strategic partners capable of maximizing political advocacy initiatives, the project should have recognized that working with the media is fundamental. The project team explained that the problem with the media in Chile is that they are controlled 100% by major economic interests.

The project could likewise have encouraged greater participation by civil society, which is virtually absent when it comes to this issue.

The effectiveness analysis revealed that some components of the project were not fully realized. One of them was the advocacy targeting members of Congress, whose participation in the scheduled meetings was lower than anticipated. This was probably due in part to a certain indifference among these politicians to an issue that was not on their political agenda; this is really unfortunate, because many bills dealing with matters related to native people are currently before Congress. While several of them are formally “under consideration,” the truth is that there has been no forward movement on them in years, and the efforts to pass them are virtually paralyzed. In light of this, the project opted to implement a “practically personalized” strategy to raise awareness, resulting in a firm commitment by two politicians.\(^ {19} \)

In addition, while the program to strengthen the political participation of Mapuche women directly affected the women leaders who participated in the initiative, it also uncovered a hitherto underestimated dimension: the violence against Mapuche women and the vulnerability of their rights. The training program for Mapuche women

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\(^ {19} \) Sergio Aguiló and Cristina Girardi, who participated in the 2013 workshops. The majority of the congressmen and women who participated belong to the New Majority coalition.
to strengthen their political participation and leadership in the indigenous world lasted four months and was conducted by a multicultural, multidisciplinary team made up of Mapuche women, professionals, attorneys, and journalists. The beneficiaries were emerging leaders, student leaders, and women in charge of productive activities. The trainers commented that working with Mapuche women in the Araucanía region is very difficult, because the women must constantly be available to do chores and manage the household finances.

Added to this is the problem of violence, which is ever-present in this region. Searches are conducted in the community day and night. According to the men and women interviewed, armed police and GOPE agents20 barge into homes, threatening children, women, men, and the elderly and dash food, utensils, and dishes to the floor, causing serious material damage and losses. The women interviewed say that these intrusions make them fear for their safety and that of their children, because the men of the house are often out working.

As mentioned during the interviews, alcohol abuse among men in these communities is rampant. This, combined with poverty, unemployment, and bleak expectations about the future, results in a high incidence of domestic violence. However, Mapuche lawyers, women, and men all said that drinking and violence are not part of their culture but a foreign element that is impacting the Mapuche family and cultural dynamic. In fact, according to the interviewees, Mapuche culture is more matriarchal than patriarchal, but Mapuche women only have a place in this world if they are in balance with their husbands – a cultural concept that affects their freedom to report violence and even the notion of what constitutes abuse and violence against women. The workshops have helped shed light on this problem and make addressing it a basic line of action in the future. They have also awakened women to this situation that heightens their vulnerability. It is important for women to realize the gravity of the various types of violence; otherwise, it will be impossible to combat the problem.

Finally, the general observation made by the beneficiary groups is worth noting. Both the Mapuche and other stakeholders interviewed expressed their gratitude for UNDEF’s support. They also commented on the international organizations’ lack of attention to this conflict, saying that they would like United Nations offices in Chile (specifically, UNDP) to be more concerned about the needs and grievances of the Mapuche, since the agencies usually select people as Mapuche spokesmen who are not representative of the communities. In fact, when gathering information about community needs, UNDP failed to consult the four largest Mapuche organizations, leading them to believe that the UN System in Chile owes a debt to the Mapuche People.

20 Chile’s Police Special Operations Group (Grupo de Operaciones Policiales Especiales de Carabineros de Chile), an elite unit of the Chilean Police used in high-risk situations.
(iii) **Efficiency**

The efficiency analysis shows coherence between the budget requested in the PD and its execution level, yielding a satisfactory cost-benefit ratio. The beneficiary organization has substantial experience managing international cooperation funds and appropriate technical and financial monitoring procedures to guarantee project efficiency.

Some administrative changes were observed in the management of the project, beginning in June 2013, when Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane took over its execution. ProyectAmérica, the beneficiary organization that had initially submitted the project to UNDEF, commenced activities at the end of the Lagos administration (2002-2006) and received funding at the time from the political sphere. It subsequently began to experience problems securing funds, forcing it to reduce its office space and move to smaller quarters to cut costs. This made it hard to accommodate all the project staff. The organization therefore decided to gradually transfer management of the project to Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane. The project continued to operate during the transition, and in December 2012, the move to new quarters took place. In June 2013, the entire management of the project was transferred to Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane.

These changes also coincided with the end of the Ford Foundation’s funding to ProyectAmérica in May 2013. Since then, the Ford Foundation has been providing institutional financing for the Indigenous Policy Program of Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane. These changes were communicated to UNDEF in the Mid-term Report and they were approved. The Foundation has a motivated and professional team with specialized expertise in the institution’s priority lines of work, along with extensive international experience.

The project was also affected by the political and electoral changes under way in Chile, which caused some activities to be delayed and hindered the execution of others. The project was executed in the second half of the first rightist government (Piñera, 2010-2014) since the military dictatorship. During this period, tensions began to mount in the project as a result of the electoral dynamic. This was when advocacy efforts with Congress were being organized. Given the expected change in administration, the Foundation was not sure which party would win and with which politicians and leaders it should work at that juncture – those who were leaving public office or those who were about to come in. This created uncertainty, so the decision was made to wait for the outcome of the election and postpone the meetings and activities programmed with members of Congress.

In addition, in January 2013, Mapuche demonstrations left two people dead, further complicating relations with the government, given the renewed distrust in Mapuche communities. At the same time, owing to this situation, the authorities’ interest in participating in the project began to wane. With the installation of the second Bachelet administration, the project began to identify new and important figures and connect with the forces working with
the Secretariat of the Presidency. Moreover, in the Indigenous Council, it took advantage of
the presence a leader from the CONADI team, and through her, continued the contacts and
contributed to the development of President Bachelet’s indigenous program.

These processes delayed the execution of some activities, especially initiatives for advocacy
with congressional authorities, since on several occasions their participation was very low
and in some cases nil. In fact, mobilizing members of Congress is difficult. As a rule, they
only get involved when the activity has something to do with their districts and can provide
leverage with their constituents. Added to this is the fact that members of Congress have no
indigenous agenda, and since the Mapuches are not the majority, they are simply not a
political priority. The project team noted that forging closer ties with members of Congress
would have required additional funds to organize other types of events. These problems
could have been anticipated with a more thorough risk analysis, since the electoral period
and the reticence of members of Congress were not unexpected. In contrast, the initiatives to
create spaces for political dialogue with administration authorities and other academic and
civil society stakeholders had a positive cost-benefit ratio, since they achieved good levels of
participation and established the roundtables as permanent discussion forums.

With regard to budget execution, the project had to impose an overall budget cut of 4%,
owing to the difference in the exchange rate. When the project was designed in 2011, the
dollar was at 530 Chilean pesos. However, by the time the funds were received and the
project was under way, the dollar had fallen to 480 Chilean pesos, requiring all budget lines
to be cut.

The most important budget line was “training and meetings” (US$ 51,694.75), which is
consistent with the strategy prioritized by the project. Most of the training was decentralized
and was conducted in the territories, avoiding concentration of the activities in the capitals
and maximizing resource use while encouraging local participation. Given the prohibitive cost
of food and lodging, most of the training activities were one-day affairs. Only the activities
with women lasted two days. The experts who conducted the training activities were hired
locally, which also reduced the cost of the initiatives. In addition, hiring local experts,
including Mapuche experts, facilitated cultural, pedagogic, and linguistic adaptation of the
training. The presentations were tailored to the context to facilitate the participants’
understanding, especially of subjects like Convention 169.

The evaluation team acknowledges that a more demanding training program would have
been more expensive, since it would have called for the hiring of human resources,
attorneys, and experts in different areas; however, the budget would have substantially
exceeded the percentage acceptable to UNDEF for this budget line.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the project measured only the implementation of
activities; it did not monitor the impact of its processes and initiatives over time. Only some
Mapuche leaders were able to organize spaces for dialogue to determine what had been
achieved with the information about Convention 169 and the requirements for its proper
application. More qualitative monitoring would have been useful to determine the impact
achieved and at the same time, the issues and aspects that needed to be explored in greater
depth. According to the project team, this would have required a 10% higher budget.

(iv)Impact

Despite the problems stemming from the project’s political context, the evaluation mission
observed highly significant contributions that have unquestionably laid the foundations for
strengthening stakeholders who hold political office and/or work on indigenous issues in different settings.

In fact, the project’s impact varied with the type of stakeholder it wished to engage. The most tangible impact was achieved in Mapuche communities. Capacity building among Mapuche leaders was one of the contributions valued most highly by the beneficiary groups. All Mapuches interviewed said that the project had improved their knowledge about the rights of native people, providing information and training on human rights and fostering a greater understanding of the current legal framework, its advantages, and the problems preventing its proper application.

More specifically, the beneficiaries pointed out certain effects that, while local in nature, are important indicators of change in mindset. For example, the Mapuche Territorial Alliance (Alianza Territorial Mapuche) said that it had had the opportunity to interact with local authorities – something that had never happened before. The Mapuche Group for Lafquenche Identity (Agrupación Mapuche Identidad Lafquenche) said that thanks to the project, it received support from the Municipality and now has a representative on the Municipal Council. It also participates in technology transfer programs and now has mayors and councilmen.

The initiatives for strengthening the political leadership and public activities of the Mapuche women leaders taught them how to take advantage of legal instruments and legislative processes and provided information on the status of the constitutional recognition of Mapuche rights, motivating them to participate in local politics. However, the impact of the initiatives was less evident. Reducing the vulnerability of indigenous women and their fragility as a social group would have required a longer multidimensional intervention designed not only to inform beneficiaries and raise their awareness, but more importantly, to promote structural changes resulting in relevant public policies. The project activities, however, brought women’s problems and needs to light and provided a closer look at what is happening and the changes that must be made.

The project also helped build bridges and solidarity between Mapuche communities from different regions, enabling them to get to know one another and share experiences. The community members interviewed considered the opportunity to meet, share experiences and viewpoints, and learn about other communities’ needs and problems a very positive, tangible result. In terms of the initiatives with government authorities and the Executive Branch, the project also had a major impact, especially through its roundtables for political dialogue. In fact, both the Mapuche and the other stakeholders interviewed (academics, politicians, and public officials) are convinced that these forums have contributed to a dialogue. This project initiative successfully mobilized several ministries (Economy, Energy, Education, and Agriculture), obtaining very tangible results, among them:

- The Federation of Mapuche Students managed to meet with the Ministry of Education;
- As a result of the Workshop on the Indigenous Situation, held at the Ministry of National Assets, the Minister reaffirmed the commitment of his ministry and the Ministry of Government to addressing the grievances of the country’s native people. He noted the importance of the President’s proposed Indigenous Agenda, which includes the transfer of national lands and waters from the Ministry of National Assets to indigenous communities.
- The meeting with the Minister of Agriculture enabled the parties to search for areas of consensus on a culturally relevant productive agenda for the Mapuche, extending
The project has been an excellent space for multidisciplinary discussion of things that people normally don’t talk about. Women, young people, ministers, public officials, researchers, and others have participated. It is a permanent space that really supports the political dialogue that we wish to promote.

Minda B. Researcher on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights Center, University of Chile

(iv) Sustainability
ProyectAmérica is a respected organization recognized for its knowledge and expertise in indigenous policy, especially policies related to the Mapuche People. Little by little, this organization has become a legitimate partner in the dialogue with government entities and a reliable resource for other institutions working on this issue, both nationally and regionally. Its roots in society were thus a very important component of sustainability. In 2012 (see point iii Efficiency) ProyectAmérica began merging with the Indigenous Policy Program of Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane, the entity that assumed responsibility for the continuity of the activities. The technical staff moved to the Foundation, guaranteeing continuity in terms of both the coordination of activities and work approaches and priorities. The Foundation also had a pool of local experts, who were in charge of the field activities, technical assistance, and training regularly provided in the Araucanía region. This informal network of professionals, organizations, and local resources also contributed to the sustainability of the initiatives and at the same time maintained contact with the beneficiary groups and kept them motivated.

The Foundation’s different types of relations with international cooperation agencies have increased the financial sustainability of the organization and its projects and initiatives. Moreover, the Ford Foundation annually allocates a general budget to support the institutional program, which is a valuable component of sustainability. Now that the project has ended, Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane’s contracts with other funding agencies have enabled it to continue implementing its institutional strategy. For example, with the support of UN-Women and partial cofinancing from the European Union, it is implementing a project for the coordination of Indigenous Councils to develop culturally relevant municipal
gender policies. Also, in connection with the official meeting between the European Union and the Chilean State to review the human rights situation in Chile (document attached), it submitted a document to the EU ambassadors in Chile at an official meeting with Chilean civil society. It also drafted a proposal for the Embassy of Norway, seeking funding for activities related to the issue of energy and communities, which is under review.

In the institutional and technical sphere, the strengthening of leadership capacity among Mapuche community authorities is an important component of sustainability, since the vast majority of the beneficiaries interviewed say that the training they received and the opportunity to interact with one another has improved their ability to lead their own communities and that they continue to use what they learned and pass it on. The women who were interviewed remarked that many Mapuche beneficiary organizations stay in constant touch with the Foundation's technical team and are developing initiatives to ensure the continuity of the processes begun. For example, the leaders of the Mapuche Indigenous Association of the Loncoche Community described their activities program and said they expected to build a "House for Indigenous Development with Identity." 21 One of its leaders explained that thanks to their persistence, they have gained a space for recognition in the municipality; their current concern is to continue the dialogue to make greater progress toward respect and recognition of their culture, identity, and relevance. They are accomplishing this with support from Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane.

The leaders from the Newen Pu Lafkenche Association of the Araucania Region, in turn, described how they are continuing efforts to create forums for dialogue with the State to promote exercise of the rights enshrined in the Coastal Areas Act; passed five years ago, the act has failed to result in a genuine effort to develop a coastal management program for the Lafquenche communities. The women interviewed also stated their interest in continued training opportunities and spaces for dialogue with women from other Mapuche associations and communities, while acknowledging the problems that this entailed, given the distances involved and the lack of financial resources.

Concerning the initiatives to promote political participation and dialogue, the monthly political roundtables held under the aegis of the Foundation's Indigenous Policy Program made it possible continue the connections created among important political figures, Congress, the ministries, and Mapuche community leaders. Another component of continuity for these initiatives was the close collaboration with Diego Portales University.

(v) UNDEF value added

UNDEF value added facilitated the implementation of an analysis and coordination process involving a substantial number of important political stakeholders, many of them directly responsible for and guarantors of the defense and promotion of indigenous rights. At the same time, the project brought to light the problems and constraints imposed by the current Constitution on the application of Convention 169, putting the need to design a relevant policy with a rights-based approach on the agenda. The project created a unique forum for interaction and dialogue in the Mapuche communities, facilitating the creation of participatory spaces for analysis and training among the beneficiary communities. It also convinced the

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21 The Mapuche Indigenous Association already has the land and is seeking funding to finance the building’s construction.
most radical groups to sit down at the table with the authorities, which would have been highly improbable without its presence.

IV. Conclusions

The evaluation team arrived at the conclusions and lessons learned through the field visits, interviews, and meetings with the beneficiary groups, political stakeholders, and members of the project team.

(i) The project created spaces for training and analysis, providing important knowledge and information about the new standards relative to the rights of indigenous peoples. In a social and political context in which indigenous issues are relegated to the back burner, the project made a highly important contribution, creating and disseminating knowledge, information, and guidance on the need for constitutional recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples as a prerequisite for guaranteeing the full application of Convention 169 and demanding its enforcement by the State and an internal restructuring of the legal system. In addition to strengthening the leadership capacity of Mapuche leaders, the project gave them the opportunity to learn about the new international standards and express their views and understanding of them. Satisfied with the outcomes achieved, the leaders have requested that new opportunities for learning, discussion, and participation be provided not only for themselves but for all members of their communities. This conclusion follows from the findings on relevance, effectiveness, and impact.

(ii) The project gave greater importance to the multicultural approach as essential to recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. This component was designed with a cross-cutting approach that emphasized recognition of the ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity and identity of Chile’s native people, considering it indispensable for promoting citizenship and intercultural dialogue, since the social and political structure of native people differs from that of the current Chilean system. Furthermore, to foster a genuine dialogue with government and legislative entities, the project underscored the need to recognize Chile’s multicultural nature to approach the conflict from an integral, rather than fragmented, social and political perspective. This conclusion follows from the findings on relevance and effectiveness.

(iii) The project fostered a highly relevant and participatory horizontal dynamic, creating forums for political dialogue with different types of stakeholders. The project made an extensive effort to “inform and raise awareness” among government authorities and members of Congress to make qualitative progress toward recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. Although the impact of the project was dampened by the problems and obstacles stemming from the unresolved political conflict, its in-depth, reasoned analysis of the situation and the spaces it offered for academia, political stakeholders, civil society, and the leaders of the most radical Mapuche groups to engage in political dialogue constituted the first recognized opportunity for multistakeholder dialogue in the country. This conclusion follows from the findings on relevance, impact, and effectiveness.
The project capitalized on the lessons learned during its activities. Through initiatives to strengthen political leadership and local and regional participation by Mapuche women in public affairs, the project introduced them to the existence of a local gender identity. The activities with Mapuche women leaders revealed the gravity of the problems that affect women (violence, rights violations, assaults on their children, etc.), as well as the need to develop networks and entities to work with women's organizations. While the outcomes must be consolidated, the project managed to get the organizing, planning, and advocacy efforts of some Mapuche women in the region off the ground. This has enabled them to participate in activities for developing public policies with a gender and intercultural approach. Nevertheless, a light must be shined on the grave violations of Mapuche women's rights as a prerequisite for improving their situation and raising their social status. This conclusion follows from the findings on relevance and impact.

The authorities' silence and failure to move was striking, as was the absence of civil society initiatives. The complexity of the situation and the escalation of the conflict in recent months are problems that, obviously, cannot be solved by the project. While some “recurrent descriptive speeches” about the gravity of the conflict, the growing violence, and the heightened State repression have been observed, the evaluators wonder whether this “unresolved” situation is not generating a certain resignation and indifference to the problem. The risk is that anecdotal narratives will prevail over the strategic search for alternatives focused on accurate reporting of instances of human rights violations that are unacceptable in a State of law. Mobilization of strategic stakeholders (civil society included) capable of promoting and implementing substantive changes is clearly needed. The challenge of identifying “how and who” will mobilize these stakeholders and “where and how” to generate greater political awareness with the potential to change the public mindset has yet to be addressed. The spaces for political dialogue created under the aegis of the project are an important and relevant starting point. Going forward, these issues should probably become the main focus of the meetings and roundtables for political dialogue that are already up and running. This conclusion follows from the findings on relevance, impact, and sustainability.

V. Recommendations

Given the characteristics of the social and political context in which the project intervened and to maximize achievement of the objectives initially identified, the evaluation team is issuing some recommendations that could consolidate the organizational processes begun and maximize stakeholder capacity for advocacy and political dialogue.

(i) Identify new pathways for advocacy, strengthening the forums for political dialogue already created with a vision that is more strategic and balanced among the different stakeholders. This would entail strengthening the forums established to link the leaders of the Mapuche People, politicians, congressional authorities, academia, and civil society, focusing on the “object of analysis and political dialogue,” where the key points of the conflict lie, viewed as a State and political problem. With this as the starting
point, a well-targeted strategy could be designed that addresses the challenges identified during project execution, including very specific, complementary lines of action, such as: exploring how to get more effectively to the heart of the problem, from what angle to approach it and with whom; determining which activities to undertake and abandon, and in what time frame. All this should be condensed into a clear and specific “roadmap” that will strengthen the spaces for interaction and advocacy, maximizing the complementarity and specific contributions each stakeholder can offer. (See Conclusions i and iii).

(ii) Develop a specialized training and technical assistance strategy targeting the political and institutional sector. Convention 169 has been ratified by the Chilean State as a binding, self-executing initiative, which is extremely important for strengthening the current legal framework. However, this will require capacity building among the politicians, professionals, and government agents responsible for knowing about the Convention and properly applying it. Furthermore, each ministry will have to develop the respective indigenous component and will need technical assistance to draft public policies with a multicultural approach. Moreover, when the government takes up the issue of a new Constitution, it needs to consider the indigenous dimension, as well as constitutional and indigenous rights. The path followed by Fundación Felipe Herrera Lane under the aegis of the project, especially with respect to training, should serve as the basis for implementing a strategy to empower political and institutional stakeholders. (See Conclusion i).

(iii) Implement initiatives that increase and guarantee indigenous women’s access to justice. In order to respond effectively to the serious violence perpetrated against Mapuche women, training processes should be lengthier. Moreover, they should become a permanent fixture accompanied by legal services to raise public awareness and understanding that violence of any type is a violation of women’s rights and hence, intolerable. The initiatives carried out under the aegis of the project led to greater awareness of the situation, permitting a closer view of the situation and needs of women. Progress toward creating sustainable networks and strengthening community organizations using a gender and cultural approach could be another line of action that should be intensified and consolidated in the next intervention stages planned in the region. (See Conclusion iv).

(iv) Make the full dimension of the problem visible and counter the weak civil society presence. Considering the government’s failure to act, Chilean society’s lack of receptiveness to tackling indigenous issues, and the predominance of a public mindset that does not necessarily reflect a real understanding of the problem, indigenous groups must band together and organize with other social stakeholders and strategic partners capable of denouncing, reporting, and analyzing events from a comprehensive political standpoint. This would involve bringing together relevant civil society and academic stakeholders who can provide objective, reasoned information about the complexity of the situation, reporting and shining a spotlight on instances of rights violations largely unknown to much of society. It would also involve exploring how to get at least some of the media (including community radio stations) involved to help put the issue of indigenous rights on the public agenda, offering spaces for communication open to all stakeholders. (See Conclusions iii and v).

(v) Supplement the monitoring of project activities with a strategy to qualitatively monitor the impacts achieved. In a context marked by serious conflicts and extremely vulnerable rights, more strategic monitoring of project activities is recommended to
determine what changes have (or have not) taken place and what adjustments are needed to tailor the interventions to the ever-changing situation. (See Conclusions iv and v).

Mapuche meeting called by Corporación Felipe Herrera Lane, the NGO Políticas Indígenas, and the Warria policy committee, held in the former congressional building. Santiago, January 22, 2014.
# VI. ANNEXES

## Annex 1: Evaluation questions:

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<tr>
<th>DAC criterion</th>
<th>Evaluation Question</th>
<th>Related sub-questions</th>
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| Relevance     | To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels? | - Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context?  
- Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why?  
- Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse? |
| Effectiveness  | To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals? | - To what extent have the project’s objectives been reached?  
- To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not?  
- Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives?  
- What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this? |
| Efficiency     | To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts? | - Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs?  
- Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability?  
- Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives? |
| Impact         | To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy? | - To what extent has/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address?  
- Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative?  
- To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization?  
- Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples? |
| Sustainability | To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development? | - To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact?  
- Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)? |
| UNDEF value added | To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors? | - What was UNDEF able to accomplish, through the project, that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc.).  
- Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF’s comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues? |
Annex 2: Documents Reviewed

Project documents:
(i) PO Note - UNDEF;
(ii) Initial project document;
(iii) Mid-term and final narrative reports submitted by Corporación ProyectAmérica;

Materials produced during project execution:

- AGENDA LEGISLATIVA SOBRE PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS; Documento de Trabajo elaborado por el Equipo Central del Programa de Política Indígena.
- MAPA DE ACTORES EN POLÍTICA INDÍGENA: RECONOCIMIENTO CONSTITUCIONAL DE LOS DERECHOS INDÍGENAS; Documento de Trabajo elaborado por el Equipo Central del Programa de Política Indígena.
- ANÁLISIS DEL D.S N° 124 DE 2009 DEL MINISTERIO DE PLANIFICACIÓN QUE REGULA LA CONSULTA INDÍGENA; Documento de Trabajo elaborado por el Equipo Central del Programa de Política Indígena.
- Report presented by the Indigenous Policy Program to the Supreme Court in the case of werkén Mijael Carbone
- Ercilla entre la pólvora y la mentira brutal, by Mijael Carbone Queipul, werkén Alianza Territorial Mapuche.
- Nuevo traspié del gobierno en conducción política indígena; José Vargas Niello, Director, Indigenous Policy Program.
- “El Conflicto mapuche es un problema de Estado”; José Vargas Niello
- Manejo del Conflicto Mapuche; Column by José Vargas Niello.
- Preocupación y solidaridad; Column by José Vargas Niello.
- La falta de conducción política del gobierno en el “Conflicto Mapuche”; José Vargas Niello.
- La «invisibilización» del tema indígena; José Vargas Niello.
- Política en materia indígena a 18 meses de mandato; José Vargas Niello.
- ARAUCANÍA: LA MENTIRA OFICIAL; by Fernando Villagrán.
- COMUNICADO Oficial del Programa, Frente a la agresión permanente a las comunidades indígenas de la Comuna de Ercilla.
- José Antonio Viera-Gallo: “No hay que criminalizar la demanda mapuche, más bien hay que separar la paja del trigo”
- December 2103; PROYECTOS DE LEY SOBRE RECONOCIMIENTO CONSTITUCIONAL DE LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS (1991-2013)
- Elementos básicos para una agenda programática de política indígena mapuche, de cara al nuevo ciclo político.
- November 2013; Pueblos Indígenas y Plurinacionalidad, ¿Punto de partida o punto de llegada?
- September 2013, LA POLÍTICA MAPUCHE DE LOS GOBIERNOS DEMOCRÁTICOS. LA DEMANDA DE TIERRAS Y LOS NUEVOS DESAFÍOS. JAIME GAZMURI MUJICA
- December 2013, Análisis preliminar de los resultados electorales presidenciales en La Araucanía, Los ríos y Los Lagos, comunas con presencia mapuche.
- January 2014: Territorio y Autonomía mapuche: perspectivas y propuestas para nuevos planes de ordenamiento territorial indígena, by Antonio Correa
- April 15, 2013, Inversiones en territorios indígenas
- June 5, 2013 Workshop: Investment in indigenous territory. Presentation by Rafael Guilisasti, member of the board of directors of the Federation of Production and Commerce of Chile (CPC); text: www.politicaindigena.org
- August 19, 2013: Workshop with presentation by the advisor to the Ministry of Social Development’s Office of Indigenous Affairs: Matías Abogabir, text: www.politicaindigena.org

Other documents reviewed:

- December 28, 2012; Nuevo traspié del gobierno en conducción política indígena, by José Vargas Niello, Director, Indigenous Policy Program.
- October 1, 2012; “El Conflicto mapuche es un problema de Estado”; Interview of José Vargas Niello in the online journal La Opinión (Temuco, May 26, 2012), by Leyla Noriega; also at http://www.mapuche.info/print.php?pagina=3235
- October 1, 2012; Manejo del Conflicto Mapuche; Column by José Vargas Niello, Director, Indigenous Policy Program of Corporación ProyectAmérica, published in the May 17, 2012 edition of the newspaper La Tercera.
- September 30, 2012; Preocupación y solidaridad; Column by José Vargas Niello, Director, Indigenous Policy Program of Corporación ProyectAmérica, published in Diario Austral de Temuco.
- La «invisibilización» del tema indígena; Column by José Vargas Niello, Director, Indigenous Policy Program, ProyectAmérica, published in the November 2, 2011 online edition of Diario La Segunda.
- Política en materia indígena a 18 meses de mandato; Column by José Vargas Niello, Director, Indigenous Policy Program, ProyectAmérica, published in Diario La Segunda, in which indigenous policies under the government of President Sebastián Piñera are evaluated.
- December 27, 2012: cooperativa.cl/noticias/politica-indigena/210027.html: Algunas condiciones para un diálogo efectivo con el pueblo mapuche
### Annex 3: Persons Interviewed

#### October 5, 2014

**Arrival, international consultant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luisa María Aguilar</td>
<td>International Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene García</td>
<td>National Consultant</td>
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**Evaluation Team meeting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luisa María Aguilar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irene García</td>
<td>National Consultant</td>
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#### October 6, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cristian Candia</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Vargas</td>
<td>Director, Indigenous Policy Program, Corporación ProyectAmérica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luisa María Aguilar</td>
<td>International Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene García</td>
<td>National Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oscar Osorio</td>
<td>Chief, Office of the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture of Chile (2014). MINAGRI expert (2010-2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paola Rodríguez</td>
<td>Project Finance Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Antonio Viera Gallo</td>
<td>Former Senator (1990-2006), Former Minister of the General Secretariat of the Presidency in the first administration of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) and Former Minister of the Constitutional Court of Chile (2010-2014).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo Lincoñir</td>
<td>Coordinator, Competitive Development Office of CORFO (Corporación de Fomento de la Producción), Ministry of the Economy (2009-2014)</td>
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#### October 7, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minda Bustamante</td>
<td>Attorney specializing in indigenous law, researcher on the rights of indigenous peoples at the Human Rights Center, University of Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudio Fuentes</td>
<td>Director, Institute for Social Science Research (ICSO), Diego Portales University, until February 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcelino Collío</td>
<td>Mapuche political leader, Former Coordinator of the Wall Mapu Wen Mapuche Party (2010-2013), project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristian Candia</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
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<tr>
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<td>International Consultant</td>
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<td>Irene García</td>
<td>National Consultant</td>
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#### October 8, 2014

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeannette Seguel</td>
<td>Attorney specializing in indigenous development and gender; project field coordinator, training for women leaders of indigenous communities; academic, Catholic University of Temuco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamela Donoso</td>
<td>Attorney; academic specializing in gender issues, and family mediator, Catholic University of Temuco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Melin</td>
<td>Werkén (spokesman) for Mapuche Territorial Alliance (ATM). Project field coordinator and trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Alonqueo</td>
<td>Project consultant and collaborator, Araucanía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position/Role</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricardo Peña</td>
<td>Mayor of Loncoche commune (Araucanía)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edith Carileo Martínez</td>
<td>President, Felipe Nitrihuala Community, Loncoche Commune. Project beneficiary, training for women, Loncoche Commune, project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario Mila</td>
<td>President, Mapuche Indigenous Association of Loncoche, Loncoche, project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene de Mila</td>
<td>Director, Mapuche Indigenous Association of Loncoche, project beneficiary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fidel Curallanca</td>
<td>Director, President’s office of the Mapuche Indigenous Association of Loncoche, project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Huaraman</td>
<td>Director, President’s office of the Mapuche Indigenous Association of Loncoche</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elba Matus</td>
<td>Secretary of the Mapuche Indigenous Association of Loncoche, project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aura Antipichún Ávila</td>
<td>Leader, Loncoche Commune; secretary of the Newen Pu Mapuche Association, project beneficiary, training for women, Loncoche Commune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moisés Vilches</td>
<td>Director, Newen Pu Lafkenche Association, Araucanía region, project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Cheuqueman</td>
<td>President and Technical Coordinator, Identidad Territorial Lafkenche, project beneficiary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristian Candia</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
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<tr>
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**October 9, 2014**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Lasalle Calfunao</td>
<td>Current CONADI official and Former regional director of CONADI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuela Royo</td>
<td>Attorney specializing in indigenous law, ATM (Mapuche Territorial Alliance), legal advisor, proyect trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Álvaro Villarín</td>
<td>Leader, Villarín community (ATM, Araucanía), project trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberto Curamil</td>
<td>Leader and Werkén for Curacautín (ATM, Araucanía), project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mijael Carbone Queipul</td>
<td>Leader and Werkén for the Temucuicui Mapuche community (ATM, Araucanía), project beneficiary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan López</td>
<td>Leader and Werkén for Quilape López (ATM, Araucanía), project beneficiary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Melin</td>
<td>Leader and Werkén (ATM), project field coordinator and trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergio Katrilaf</td>
<td>Werkén for the Xuf Xuf territory and president of the Juan Katrilaf community, project beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristian Candia</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luisa María Aguilar</td>
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<td>Irene García</td>
<td>National Consultant</td>
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**October 10, 2013**

**Closing meeting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Position/Role</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cristian Candia</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Vargas</td>
<td>Director, Indigenous Policy Program, Corporación ProyectAmérica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
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<tr>
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<td>International Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene García</td>
<td>National Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrique Correa</td>
<td>Former Minister Secretary General of the Presidency (1990-1994), President and legal representative, Corporación ProyectAmérica; President, Imaginación Comunicaciones.</td>
</tr>
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## Annex 4: Acronyms

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ATM</td>
<td>Alianza Territorial Mapuche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONADI</td>
<td>Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORFO</td>
<td>Corporación de Fomento de la Producción</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOPE</td>
<td>Grupo de Operaciones Policiales Especiales de Carabineros de Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICSO</td>
<td>Instituto de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Diego Portales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>Chile 21 Foundation and Human Rights Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Nongovernmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDP</td>
<td>Diego Portales University</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDEF</td>
<td>The United Nations Democracy Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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