

Project: Citizen Engagement in Clean Elections

Final report

March 21, 2018– September 19, 2019

Grant No. 72052718GR00002



“This report was made possible with support from the American people delivered through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The contents are the responsibility of International IDEA and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of USAID or the U.S. Government.”

I. CONTEXT

The project was implemented in 2018 and 2019, in an atmosphere of political instability that involved the resignation of a president, the arrest of two former presidents and the suicide of another. In addition, during this period, the leader of the party with the largest bloc in Congress was detained, Parliament was dissolved, the existence of a high-level corruption network in the judiciary was revealed, and various political organizations faced judicial investigations related to the crime of money laundering during election campaigns.

In March 2018, when the project began, President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski resigned amid accusations of corruption and vote buying by members of Congress. He was replaced, in accordance with the Constitution, by the first vice president, Martín Vizcarra, who, after 18 months of leading the government in constant confrontation with the main political forces in Congress, dissolved Parliament and called extraordinary congressional elections.

The constitutionality of this measure was questioned by various political groups, experts and public opinion leaders, but was supported by other political groups and experts and by 84% of citizens.¹ The president of the Permanent Commission of Congress filed a complaint before the Constitutional Tribunal, questioning the president's power to take this action. Although the tribunal agreed to hear the case, it has said that any decision will take effect in the future and will not affect the timeline for the 2020 parliamentary elections.²

Simultaneously with this crisis, in July 2018, leaked audio recordings revealed that the existence of corruption networks in the judicial system that involved Supreme Court justices, prosecutors, high-level staff and politicians. In response, President Vizcarra called a national referendum on reforming the country's judicial and electoral systems. The measures proposed by the Executive Branch were: reform of the National Council of Magistrates (*Consejo Nacional de la Magistratura*, CNM), the body charged with the selection, evaluation and sanctioning of judges and prosecutors; a return to a bicameral system; prohibition of re-election of members of Congress; and greater regulation of political finance. Except for a return to a bicameral Congress, the measures proposed by the Executive Branch were approved.

¹ National Urban-Rural Survey conducted by the Institute of Peruvian Studies (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, IEP) and published by *La República*. <https://larepublica.pe/politica/2019/10/06/cierre-del-congreso-84-respalda-disolucion-constitucional-del-parlamento/>

²

<https://elcomercio.pe/politica/actualidad/disolucion-del-congreso-tribunal-constitucional-evaluo-en-audiencia-publica-demanda-de-pedro-olaechea-noticia/>

Another significant political event during the implementation of the project was related to the corruption case involving the Odebrecht construction company. In October 2018, Keiko Fujimori, leader of Fuerza Popular, was placed in preventive detention because of accusations of money laundering during her 2011 election campaign. Although she was freed in November 2019 by a Constitutional Tribunal decision, her detention caused a crisis within her party, resulting in the resignation of various members of its congressional bloc. By the time Congress was closed, only 54 legislators remained of the 73 elected from that party.

Regarding issues related to the project, in late 2018 President Vizcarra created the High-Level Commission for Political Reform, which was led by Fernando Tuesta, a political analyst and former head of the ONPE. The commission met with key state institutions, parliamentary blocs, academics, civil society organizations and others to discuss the reforms that should be addressed, from each stakeholder's standpoint. After three months of work, the commission submitted its final report, proposing 12 pieces of draft legislation with significant changes related to the government system, party system and electoral system. The Executive Branch prioritized the proposals related to regulation of internal party democracy; requirements for registering and canceling the registration of parties; elimination of the preferential vote; parity and alternation on candidate lists; classifying irregular political financing and falsification of information about contributions as crimes; and modification of processes for lifting parliamentary immunity.

In April 2019, then-Prime Minister Salvador del Solar presented six pieces of draft legislation related to these issues and requested a vote of confidence to approve them. The vote of confidence was given and a timeline was set for debate in the Constitution Commission. Following an arduous debate, often more political than technical, the draft legislation was approved, but with substantial modifications. The Executive Branch believed that those modifications distorted the "essence" of the draft legislation it had submitted, and tension between the two branches of government increased. In September 2019, when the project was ending, President Vizcarra dissolved Congress and called extraordinary elections to complete the legislative term of the dissolved Congress.

The next Congress will face the challenge of reviewing the draft legislation approved (two still require a second vote) and continuing the pending political reforms.

II. PROJECT OVERVIEW

General Goal:

The purpose of the Citizen Engagement in Clean Elections initiative was promote a clean electoral process during Peru's next round of local and regional elections, which took place in October 2018. It was expected to generate civic awareness among voters about voting for candidates based on their background and integrity.

Specific goals:

The project had three specific goals and five results. All aim to promote citizen engagement in political and electoral processes.

Objective 1: Promote a more informed electorate that chooses clean candidates for the 2018 regional and local elections and continue improving electoral rules.

IDEA and its partners focused on the general electorate to enable voters to cast well-informed, responsible and conscientious votes.

To achieve this result, two results were accomplished:

Result 1.1. Public awareness about regional and local elections enhanced

The project will implement several activities to raise awareness and provide citizens with information for choosing better candidates.

Result 1.2 Electoral rules and regulations improve

This outcome encompasses all the activities we undertook with and for the JNE, ONPE and Congress, not excluding in any way other government bodies playing a role in the electoral process.

Objective 2: Strengthen the political participation and the capacity of emerging civil society and marginalized groups to engage in reforms of electoral and political processes.

This outcome continued the early work of the project “Fighting the Influence of Illegal Interests in Peru’s Political Processes,” which achieved significant progress in integrating relevant issues for marginalized groups in electoral debates and policy platforms. Such marginalized groups include indigenous populations, people of African descent, people with disabilities, the LGBTIQ community, and women.

Result 2.1 Emerging civil society and marginalized groups strengthened to carry out advocacy actions and raise policy proposals

The activities were developed in alliance with the LGBTIQ advocacy organization, PRESENTE. The project organized working sessions for advocacy and to present specific policy proposals and demands to governing bodies to address key problems affecting the full exercise of political and civil rights of marginalized communities.

Objective 3: Enhance citizens’ engagement and political participation in selected municipalities before, during and after the 2018 regional and local electoral process

This outcome mainly included work in the Monzón and Aguaytía communities. In these places, capacity building programs and awareness-raising campaigns were conducted, targeting local leaders and young people. There were two results in this area:

Result 3.1. Youth leaders’ capacities strengthened

Because more than 30% of the population in Aguaytía and the Monzón Valley is under age 25 at the time of the 2018 elections, we consider it important that information be specifically targeted at this age group in order to strengthen civic responsibility among younger voters and promote the best conditions for their first voting experience.

Result 3.2. Civil society organizations’ capacities to influence the regional electoral agenda improved

This result was achieved while making special efforts to involve local leaders, political leaders and producers of crops offering an alternative to coca (such as cocoa and coffee, among others) in the Monzón Valley. To achieve this outcome, the project

focused on places where people had experience with coca eradication and where hard work is needed to achieve sustainability in the cultivation of crops replacing coca.

III. IMPACT OF RESULTS

a).- Progress regarding political reform

Discussion about the political-electoral reform gained ground on the public agenda about two years, ago, but progress has been slow because of a lack of political will.

In 2018, after becoming chief executive of Peru, President Martín Vizcarra asked Congress to address these issues in the short term. Congress ignored his request. That same year, President Vizcarra called a nationwide referendum on four priority issues:

1. A bicameral Congress,
2. Prohibition of reelection,
3. Political finance regulations, and
4. Reform of the National Magistrates Council (*Consejo Nacional de la Magistratura*, CNM).

IDEA participated actively, generating information about each of the proposals so voters could cast informed ballots. Proposals 2, 3 and 4 were approved in the referendum.

After the referendum, the executive branch formed a High-Level Commission for Political reform. International IDEA supported the commission's work by generating comparative information and promoting dialogue between commission members and academic circles, civil society organizations, political parties, key state institutions and other entities to discuss the political reforms that, from their standpoint, should be promoted and the content they should include. The commission's report was presented in March 2019 and served as input for the Executive Branch as it developed a package of six priority political reforms.

This package was submitted to Congress, with a request for a confidence vote for its approval. The package consisted of the following legislative proposals:

- 1) parliamentary immunity,
- 2) impediments to running for elected office,
- 3) elimination of the preferential vote,
- 4) party financing,

- 5) parity and alternation on candidate lists, and
- 6) internal elections in political parties.

During 2019, Congress approved 4 pieces of draft legislation:

- 1) impediments to running for elected office,
- 2) party financing,
- 3) parity and alternation on candidate lists, and
- 4) internal elections in political parties.

These laws were published in 2018 and will take effect for the 2021 elections.

b). Generation and dissemination of electoral information

IDEA established an important partnership with Radio Programas del Peru (RPP). With that radio group, the campaign "THE POWER IN YOUR HANDS" was implemented to broadcast electoral information through its multiple platforms throughout the election campaign period. This communication campaign reached more than 30 million people nationwide (according to RPP's ratings records).

IDEA and its partners generated election-related content and information about the need to cast an informed vote, and also disseminated information about programmatic proposals. During October and November 2018 (the electoral period), a significant number of visits was registered, as shown in the following table:

Resource	Jul- Sep 2018	Oct-1 8	Nov-1 8	Dec-1 8	Jan-1 9	Feb-1 9	Mar-1 9
Facebook fans	12,348	12,79 7	12,856	12,540	12,98 7	13,22 4	13,31 9
Twitter fans	3,552	4,132	4,251	3,938	4,352	4,435	4,500
TV Cultura Videos (05)	-	24,32 3	13,340				
Pacho Vivaracho (03)	-	1,902	321				
TOTALS	15,900	43,15 4	30,768	16,478	17,33 9	17,65 9	17,81 9

Meanwhile, the following achievements were registered during the 2018 electoral process:

For the first time, a debate was held in the Monzón Valley, where there was the risk of electing a pair of candidates who were pro-coca grower and anti-system. The debate helped people understand programmatic proposals. Ultimately, a candidate who supported alternative crops and sustainable development was elected.

In Lima, the project worked with 52 activist organizations that promote participation by populations who are traditionally excluded from the political arena: people with disabilities, Peruvians of African descent, indigenous people, LGBTIQ communities and women. With these 52 groups, a common agenda called "THE STREETS ARE TOUGH" was developed, reflecting the demands of traditionally excluded groups. This agenda was presented to municipal candidates in Lima. In 2019, Mayor Jorge Muñoz, who was elected in Metropolitan Lima, incorporated this agenda into his plans, and in the first half of 2019, A NON-DISCRIMINATION ORDINANCE WAS PASSED.

- During the campaign period, theater works aimed at prompting reflection were presented. For the first time, artists, cultural managers and experts from the art world began to systematically incorporate into their scripts content related to electoral issues, such as combating corruption and illicit activities tied to politics (such as illegal logging, human trafficking and drug trafficking).

IV. MAIN ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS

Objective 1. Promote a more informed electorate that chooses clean candidates for the 2018 regional and local elections and continue improvement of electoral rules

Result 1.1- Public awareness about regional and local elections enhanced

To achieve this result, the project proposed the design and implementation of a program of creative and artistic interventions for each intervention zone. The objective was to transmit electoral information in an entertaining way using cinema forums, theater, dance, animated videos and written material (posters, etc.), among other things.

During the project, the following activities were carried out:

a). **Mini-theater for democracy:**

To take a humorous look at the main political issues in the news, political commentators from across the spectrum were invited to write mini-plays in collaboration with scriptwriters, which enabled them to put their ideas on the stage.

The first season of Theater for Democracy was held during five Wednesdays in September and October 2018. It reached a total of about 2,500 spectators. The positive experience led us to hold a full season of 10 works on five weekends in 2019. During the latter season, about 3,000 spectators attended.

Scriptwriter	Journalist / Embassy	Work	Year
Ebelin Ortiz	Augusto Álvarez Rodrich	La Misma Vaina (The Same Old Thing)	2018
Christian Ysla	Rosa María Palacios	Korruption High School	2018
Fabiola Coloma	Mijael Garrido Lecca	Election Challenge	2018
Pablo Saldarriaga	Mónica Delta	Diálogo de Sordos (Talking Past Each Other)	2018
Jorge Villacorta	Marco Sifuentes	Contigo Perú (With You, Peru)	2018

Gonzalo Molina	Augusto Álvarez Rodrich	Si Lima Hablara (If Lima Could Talk)	2019
Jimena Salas	Embassy of Spain	Mientras quede voz (As Long as a Voice Remains)	2019
Paloma Carpio	International IDEA	Este / Oeste (East / West)	2019
Vera Castaño	Embassy of Chile	Un Sueño Diferente (A Different Dream)	2019
Jesús Oro	Embassy of Canada	Escuela para hombres (School for Men)	2019
Vanessa Vizcarra	Renato Cisneros	Dictador (Dictator)	2019
Diego López	Rosa María Palacios	Pana Call Center	2019
Mario Ballón	Fernando Vivas	En Instantes (In Instants)	2019
Fabiola Coloma	Embassy of the European Union	Arequipa.EU	2019
Rodrigo Benza	Clara Elvira Ospina	El Colaborador (The Collaborator)	2019

b). **"Artivism"**

Since 2017, International IDEA has been working on the formation of a network of young scenic artists interested in theater with a political content, holding free workshops: the Artivism Workshop (2017), Wednesday Workshop (2018) and Workshop for Intervention of Spaces (2019).

With Ana Correa (Yuyachkani³), we have explored political issues in the scenic arts from various angles. The goal of the first two workshops was exploration and creation, with a focus on the creative process. In both, the objective of the workshop participants was to create short scenic pieces for a public space, to be presented in places like the Plaza San

³ A cultural group recognized as one of the greatest theater troupes in Peru and Latin America. As critic and researcher Ileana Diéguez put it: "It is not only a producer of shows, but also, and essentially, a research center focusing on Latin American cultural traditions, a permanent laboratory for training and artistic development of actors and of scenic languages."

Martín, the Catholic University and the Parque de la Exposición during the Pura Calle festival. As a result of the 2018 presentation in the Parque de la Exposición, the following motivational video was produced to encourage political participation by the audience, as part of the "Street Beats" ("La Calle Late") campaign:

<https://www.facebook.com/ideaenperu/videos/2098706560449659/>

In the third workshop, for intervention in spaces, the artists explored a literary text to create a scenic action and tie it to current political events through the creation of characters and staging.

The work involved about 27 artists on stage, with live, original music composed especially for the piece. The chosen text was *Historia de una gaviota y del gato que le enseñó a volar* ("The Story of a Seagull and the Cat that Taught it to Fly"), by the Chilean author Luis Sepúlveda. After slightly more than a month of preparation, two short runs were held at the LUM with a tour to the Monzón. The work was directed by Ana Correa and Ricardo Delgado.

"The Story of a Seagull and the Cat that Taught it to Fly" recounts the adventures of Zorbas, a cat whose unflagging sense of honor leads it to commit to raising a seagull chick. Just before she dies, a beautiful seagull trapped by a wave of oil dumped into the ocean leaves the cat the egg she just laid. Zorbas promises her three things: to care for the egg so it will hatch, to make sure the cats around the port don't eat it, and once the chick has hatched, to teach it to fly. Zorbas' friends help him in the task, creating greater solidarity among the cats of Callao.

When the project ended, an evaluation of the theater workshop participation showed that the network of artists was stronger and they were committed to the cause of democracy. The artists' comments were later used for the video promoting the theater work: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3slqkJFdlfw>

In the performances for specific audiences, such as schools or in the Monzón Valley, the spectators reaffirmed the messages about democratic co-existence.

c). **"Pura Calle"**

The PURA CALLE International Festival of Urban Cultures is a preventive cultural platform created in 2012 to promote a culture of co-existence, dialogue and peace;

highlight the values of respect, integration and intercultural relations; and emphasize that diversity allows for social integration with creativity and innovation.

In 2018, The D1 Cultural Association⁴ partnered with International IDEA to go into greater depth in some aspects of the content of the festival, positioning messages related to democracy, civic engagement and the fight against corruption.

Pura Calle was the first massive activity of International IDEA's "The Street is Ours" ("La Calle es Nuestra") campaign, which included a series of motivational talks and scenic arts presentations in the Parque de la Exposición. During the awards ceremony, IDEA also presented theater pieces that illustrated problems related to discrimination and political corruption.

IDEA also sponsored the presentation of theatrical performances in various spaces in the Parque de la Exposición during the festival on June 8.

d). Production of digital communications pieces: videos, infographics and animations.

- **Pacho Vivaracho Campaign**

Pacho Vivaracho was a series of animations designed to educate people about civic values. Once the referendum was called, three videos were added to the series to inform people about the process.

A total of 8 videos were produced on the following topics:

- Pacho Vivaracho – Dónde se tira la basura (Where is the garbage dumped)
- Pacho Vivaracho – Luz roja (Red light)
- Pacho Vivaracho Corrupto (Corrupt)
- Pacho Vivaracho Hospital
- Pacho Vivaracho coimero (bribery)
- Pacho Vivaracho – La Reforma Política (The Political Reform)
- Pacho Vivaracho – Acoso político (Political harassment)
- Pacho Vivaracho – La Caída (The Fall)

⁴ D1 is a non-profit cultural association whose purpose and commitment is to promote integration and social transformation in Peru. D1 was founded in 2005 by Vania Masías.

- **TV Cultura Campaign**

A series of videos was produced with TV Cultura and NAPA. For the ERM2018, the objective was to raise awareness about an informed vote. Later, in the context of the referendum, it was to inform citizens about the importance of each of the questions.

The animations produced were:

Be careful with candidates who promise it all! (¡Cuidado con los candidatos que ofrecen de todo!)

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1130805827072706>

The candidate who shouldn't be elected! (¡El candidato al que no hay que elegir!)

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1797126107080870>

Watch out for the Referendum (Ojo con el Referendum)

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=910398112497459>

Say no to dirty money in political campaigns (Dile No al dinero sucio en las campañas políticas)

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=372768966602587>

Should parties be sanctioned if they violate electoral regulations? (¿Los partidos deben ser sancionados si incumplen las normas electorales?)

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=616178555465648>

Electoral publicity and political campaigns in Peru (Publicidad electoral y campañas políticas en Perú)

<https://www.facebook.com/no.apto.para.adultos/videos/1210029275815129/>

- **Material prepared with the JNE**

With the JNE, five educational videos were produced for workshops with political organizations, with the goal of educating them about the process of running for office and the regulations they must follow.

- How to be a candidate (¿Cómo ser candidato?)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TwOhZ3Bihng&feature=youtu.be>

- How to present a list of candidates for the elections (¿Cómo presentar una lista de candidatos a las elecciones?) <https://youtu.be/JI1GXynTAbQ>

- #ERM2018: What can disqualify a candidate? (¿Qué puede dejar a una inscripción fuera?) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BICWPmmCqWc>
- #ERM2018: What can disqualify a candidate? (¿Qué puede dejar a una inscripción fuera?) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BICWPmmCqWc&t=144s>
- #ERM2018: Money in electoral campaigns (Dinero en campañas electorales) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BICWPmmCqWc&t=s>

Informative animations about the referendum

Also in coordination with the JNE, two animations were produced to provide information about the referendum questions:

- Peru: Understand more about the December 9 Referendum <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HjSOwgWHHzg>
- Financing of political parties <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8H0Gla-UXg>
- **#ReformaPolíticaYa (Political Reform Now) Campaign**

A large amount of content was produced for social networks regarding the political reforms proposed to Congress by the Executive Branch. This includes videos and infographics, which were also distributed among our stakeholders and in the various workshops on the issue that International IDEA has held.

The videos produced were:

- #Reforma Política: Proposal on registration and cancellation of parties and regional organizations <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2b8fl29fml8&t=129s>
- #Reforma Política: Proposal on internal democracy in political organizations <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d3zOSI-3kcc&t=15s>
- #ReformaPolíticaYA: Proposal for parity and alternation in internal elections in political parties <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-oVanFEofCw&t=5s>
- #ReformaPolíticaYA: Constitutional proposal to promote governance and strengthen democracy https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lKwoUb9zj_k

- #ReformaPolíticaYA: Proposal for anti-corruption mechanisms #Anticorrupción
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9NQkF7PtXbw>
- #Reforma Política YA: Proposal for financing of political organizations
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRVWcnuALb4>

A video to raise public awareness was also produced:

- #ERM2018: In these elections, make your vote count (En estas elecciones, haz que tu voto cuente)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rOu0wrdXFIE>

Result 1.2. Alternative and traditional communication media provide information for decision making.

To achieve this result, a process was implemented to develop journalists' skills for investigating the connections between illicit money and politics. This included the following key actions:

a). Development of journalists' skills related to the political reform:

In partnership with the Mohme Foundation, the project sponsored seven (7) decentralized workshops, one (1) workshop in Lima with regional journalists, three (3) panel discussions with journalists from national media, and one round-table discussion with journalism students. The purpose was to strengthen skills in and knowledge of methods and tools for investigation, as well as legislation on issues related to the project, with the goal of producing information that would help voters make better choices about candidates running for office in their localities.

b). Development of journalists' skills for electoral coverage without gender stereotypes:

The project included skills development for journalists for electoral coverage without gender stereotypes: six sessions with the country's most important media organizations were held by Virginia García, an expert on political communication and gender, about campaign coverage without gender stereotypes. The workshops were held with the following media: América TV/Canal N; El Peruano / Agencia Andina; RPP; Publimetro

and Latina. Participants were 85 journalists, including directors, editors, reporters and anchorpersons. The most notable participants included Clara Elvira Ospina (news director at América TV and Canal N) and Ricardo Montero (managing editor of El Peruano). As a result of the workshops, two interviews with Virginia García Beaudoux were published, by RPP and Publimetro.

c). Promotion of venues for journalistic coordination at the national level:

Encounter of the Regional Investigative Network and Ojo Público's regional journalism round table.

The round table for regional investigation is a venue for journalistic coordination that was created with Ojo Público to produce relevant local investigations with high impact during the 2017 regional electoral process. Its purpose is to provide local journalistic content related to issues of national interest, investigating candidates' conflicts of interest, their ties to criminal networks and the existence of illicit economic activities (drug trafficking, timber trafficking, money laundering, corruption) in campaign financing. Like the preceding activity, this is a new strategy that makes it possible to generate information that gives voters tools for making choices about their next elected leaders.

For the security of correspondents in the regions, the coordinators are based in Lima, where there is an editor and an assistant, and virtual meetings are held regularly with the regional journalists, verifying the topics proposed, encouraging collaborative work and providing logistical support for macro-regional investigations. The chosen methodology included two phases: the first phase focused on existing electoral legislation specifically related to topics such as corruption. The second phase was based on cases presented by the journalists once the candidates were known, and focused on specific topics related to searching for information in open-data platforms through virtual media.

The priority regions are Callao, Ucayali, Huánuco, Ancash and Ayacucho. The following topics have been defined for national, macro and regional coverage:

National:

Politics, soccer and money laundering

Public officials and candidates investigated for money laundering and illegal activities

Financing of regional campaigns

Macro regional:

Candidates along the drug route: who's who in regions, where are Peruvian drugs transported (Ayacucho, Cusco, Puno, Huánuco).

Former suppliers of the regional government now running for office in Ayacucho and Puno.

Unregulated spending before electoral campaigns vs. public financing received by political parties

Investigations focusing on conflicts over water

Local:

Huánuco: Processes during the time that Congressman Bocángel was university rector

Pucallpa: Politics and timber in Ucayali

Ayacucho and Apurímac: The boom in cooperatives

Ancash: César Álvarez's ties to current candidates

Puno: Candidates with ties to informal mining

d). **Partnership with high-impact communications media:**

Radio Programas del Perú, "The Power in Your Hands" ("El poder en tus manos") and "One-Minute Candidate" ("Candidato en un minuto").

Following up the RPP programs related to the 2018 Elections and electoral reform, we established a new partnership with the RPP Group to broadcast a series of mini-programs called "The Power in Your Hands," to continue discussion about reform and elections in the medium with the largest national audience. The programs were broadcast two weeks before the World Cup and resumed in the second week of July. International IDEA was responsible not only for providing content, but also for organizing talks and training workshops for journalists involved in reporting on these issues, so they would have a greater understanding of them. The content included issues such as the role of local governments in cases of social conflict, women's political participation, candidates and party affiliation, and other issues related to the elections. This campaign reached an audience of up to 2,000,000 people in Lima, and the commercial value was USD 88,630.00.

In the context of the electoral reform, an effort was made to inform media about the issue. The idea was to ensure a better understanding of the proposals for political reform, as well as to provide journalists with the material and information needed for more in-depth analysis of the issue. In coordination with UNDP, Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) and the Peruvian Press Council, three talks were held with journalists from three important Peruvian media outlets: Radio Programas del Perú (RPP), *La*

República and *El Comercio*. Two former members of the High-Level Commission for Political Reform, Fernando Tuesta and Martín Tanaka, were present.

e) Electoral debate among candidates:

On 23 September, the first debate among candidates for Metropolitan Lima was held. Candidates from nine (9) political organizations participated in this initial debate: Luis Castañeda Pardo (Solidaridad Nacional), Jorge Villacorta Carranza (Peruanos por el Cambio), Jaime Salinas López Torres (Alianza para el Progreso), Esther Capuñay Quispe (Unión por el Perú), Jorge Muñoz Wells (Acción Popular), Daniel Urresti Elera (Podemos por el Progreso del Perú), Juan Carlos Zurek Pardo Figueroa (Somos Perú), Luis Ocrosopoma Pella (Perú Nación), Renzo Reggiardo Barreto (Perú Patria Segura) and Pablo Silva Rojas (Frente among Agrícola FIA del Perú - Frepap).

On 30 September, the second debate for candidates for Metropolitan Lima was held, with the participation of ten (10) political organizations: Alberto Beingolea (PPC), Ricardo Belmont (Perú Libertario), Enrique Fernández (Frente Amplio), Gustavo Guerra García (Juntos por el Perú), Julio Gagó (Avanza País), Humberto Lay (Restauración Nacional), Manuel Velarde (Siempre Unidos), Enrique Cornejo (Democracia Directa), Diethell Columbus (Fuerza Popular) and Roberto Gómez Baca (Vamos Perú).

The debates were broadcast on TV Peru, the state-run television channel, as well as open-signal channels, and reached approximately 8 million people.

At the same time, the JNE held decentralized debates in all departments of the country. IDEA collaborated, providing technical assistance for the debates and assistance with moderating some of them.

A district debate was also held in the Monzón Valley with the participation of nine candidates, two of whom had a pro-coca grower discourse. This debate, which was the first in the district's history, allowed candidates to present their programmatic proposals. The event was recorded and broadcast three times in the public square, always attracting great interest from local residents.

Result 1.3. Electoral rules improved

To achieve this result, work was done with congressional committees, the JNE and the ONPE to improve electoral regulations through the following actions:

a) Generation of information for the debate about political reform

To provide initial input based on legislative trends in the parliamentary blocs regarding issues related to political reform, a systematization was done of the draft legislation introduced as of April 2018. Three common themes were identified in the legislative initiatives introduced by legislators:

1. Bicameral Congress
2. Transparent political finance
3. Representation of women and indigenous peoples

The project supported technical studies of each of these issues with national experts and with comparative information from IDEA. The purpose of these reports was to create a technically sound political and juridical foundation for the project's advocacy actions.

IDEA generated:

- Information about the impact of the implementation of the indigenous quota in the 2018 regional and municipal elections.
- Comparative information about political finance in Latin America
- Comparative information about women's political participation in Latin America.
- A study of the classification of illicit financing of political parties as a crime.

The information produced was submitted to the president and members of the Constitution Commission and made available to parliamentarians interested in the issues.

b) Political advocacy for approval of election-related political reforms

Advocacy has been crucial for maintaining fluid communication between the project and stakeholders involved in the political reform. During 2018 and 2019, the team held meetings with parliamentarians, especially with the heads and members of the Constitution Commission, as well as the heads and staff members of electoral bodies.

Once the Executive Branch expressed the intention of promoting a referendum for approval of political reforms, the project met with the minister of justice (the portfolio responsible for these initiatives), as well as the functionaries responsible for developing the technical proposals.

Once the reforms were approved and a High-Level Commission for the Political Reform was established at the Executive's initiative, the project held working meetings with the commissioners and the technical secretariat of that body.

Finally, after the high-level commission submitted its report, IDEA encouraged the president of the commission, Fernando Tuesta, and the commissioners to hold various working meetings to present the document. These meetings were held with academics, politicians, communications media, cooperation agencies and non-governmental bodies.

c) Meetings with parliamentary blocs to evaluate parliamentary performance in the area of political reform

In 2018 and 2019, parliamentary evaluation meetings were held with Fuerza Popular, Peruanos por el Cambio, Nuevo Peru and APRA. The purpose of these meetings was to help ensure that issues related to political reform continued to be a priority on parliamentary agendas. To do so, among the work sessions planned by each parliamentary bloc, there was a session devoted exclusively to the issue of political reform, especially aspects that were priorities for the project, such as transparency in political finance, improved representation in Parliament, parity and alternation, and making the selection of candidates democratic.

d) Dialogue among politicians, experts and civil society organizations

International Seminar on "Indigenous peoples in our democracies: political participation in the region"

On 8 and 9 November 2018, more than 25 indigenous leaders from Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico and Peru participated in this event, which was organized jointly by the National Elections Board (*Jurado Nacional de Elecciones*, JNE), International IDEA, the European Union and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation– Bolivia (Annex 5). The seminar was supported by the Working Group for the Strengthening of Indigenous Political Participation, a dialogue group created by the JNE with International IDEA as an observer.

The indigenous leaders shared with nearly 100 other participants their comparative experience with mechanisms implemented to facilitate political representation of these groups. A special session of the Working Group was also held, in which a report prepared by International IDEA, which described an assessment of the implementation of the indigenous quota in regional and municipal elections in 2018, was presented.

Participation in the RPP "Women of Change" campaign. In 2018 and 2019, IDEA participated as a technical partner in the "Women of Change" campaign. This is an excellent opportunity to present content and experiences aimed at promoting equal opportunity between men and women in three areas: economic, political participation and violence against women. Special emphasis and visibility are given to two issues that are priorities of the project: mechanisms for preventing and mitigating political harassment; and the implementation of parity and gender alternation to increase women's political participation.

The campaigns are disseminated through the multiplatform news outlets of the RPP Group, which include radio, cable television and a Web site.

Objective 2: Strengthen the political participation and the capacity of emerging civil society and marginalized groups to engage in electoral and political processes reforms.

Result 2.1. Emerging civil society and marginalized groups strengthened to carry out advocacy actions and raise proposals

For the 2018 municipal elections, and in partnership with the organization Presente, a proposal was developed for a methodology and tools for gathering the demands and proposals of groups traditionally excluded from politics, to present them to candidates running for office in 2018.

Five organizations were invited to take part in this participatory process, one for each marginalized group. They were: SODIS, representing people with disabilities; NO TENGO MIEDO, representing LGBTIQ people; ASHANTI, representing Afro-Peruvians; CAAAP, representing indigenous people; and COMADRES, as facilitators of the process of inviting women leaders and academics. These groups also convened at least 15 collectives from their communities to design the chapter corresponding to their constituency.

Altogether, approximately 75 collectives working for civic proposals were involved. The issues were divided into sectors: health, education, security, accessibility, work, etc.

This process led to the development of more than 60 proposals for making Lima a more accessible city. "The Streets Are Tough" ("La Calle está Dura"), a guide to a habitable city, was developed in coordination with Presente, our partner organization, with guidance from the School of Government of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru.

A public forum to present the guide was held with Lima mayoral candidates, heads/presidents of electoral bodies, representatives of collectives and organizations of vulnerable populations (people with disabilities, Afro-Peruvians, indigenous people, the LGBTIQ community and women). At the forum, candidates for Metropolitan Lima were asked to commit to reviewing proposals from marginalized populations and incorporate them into their government plans. The candidates signed the Pueblo Libre Accord, in which they committed to including some of the proposals in their government plans, electoral campaigns and city management, if they were elected. The signers of the agreement included then-candidate Jorge Muñoz, who is now the mayor of Lima.

For the runoff election, we met again with our partners at No Tengo Miedo to implement a new Trans Vote 2018 campaign. This time, an intervention was designed that included graphic material about what to do if a person's right to vote is violated because the person is trans, as well as personalized monitoring of specific people who talk about their experience in the balloting, to identify the main cases and think about measures that we could implement to facilitate their right to vote and to political participation.

We developed three tools to promote this campaign: The first one, six informative graphics about:

- a). What is the Trans Vote: general guidelines of the observatory, what it consists of, why we do it and how to participate?
- b). What do I need to vote: basic guide for trans people and those of non-binary gender about what documents they need to exercise their vote and / or 'check' their identity in case it is questioned.
- c). What should not happen: possible discriminatory situations that should not be accepted on Election Day and how Trans people can address them.
- d). What to do in a situation of discrimination: steps to follow to file a complaint with authorities at polling places and through the web page of I am not Afraid.
- e). So that voting does not become a negative experience: recommendations for trans people and those of non-binary gender to avoid situations of discrimination in elections.

- f). What usually happens when trans people vote: List of the most common situations of discrimination and violence that trans people experience when they go to vote.

The second tool developed was the form, which includes a total of 13 questions aimed at knowing more about the person who files a complaint about violence, including age, gender identity, district and province where the vote was cast, and whether your DNI (name and image) represents you.

The third tool was a one-minute video about the gender identity law and the consequences of its absence for transgender people and those of non-binary gender in everyday life and in the context of elections.

One noteworthy aspect for the promotion of the political rights of vulnerable populations was working on gender mainstreaming in politics. As mentioned above, six workshops for media about campaign coverage without gender stereotypes were led by Virginia García, an expert on political communication and gender.

To address gender mainstreaming in politics, extensive work was also done with the organization called "We are half; we want parity without harassment" to promote parity and alternation for the next elections, with events such as working breakfasts and press conferences. Themes included "Bicentennial women call for parity and alternation," "Men for equality," "Female former ministers for equality," with the participation of then-Prime Minister Salvador del Solar, Minister of Women's Affairs Gloria Montenegro, and others, and support from a large number of male and female politicians, representatives of civil society, activists and artists. One result was the approval of Law 30996, which modifies Articles 21 and 116 of the Organic Elections Law and establishes gender alternation on the list of candidates for Congress and a progressive increase in the gender quota until parity is reached.

The partnership with RPP was also consolidated and we collaborated with the Women's Forum for Change, a space for discussing and developing key issues related to equal opportunity between men and women. In the forum, Peruvian and international speakers made presentations in three areas: economy, political participation and violence against women. Special emphasis was placed on two issues that were priorities for the project, mechanisms for preventing and mitigating political harassment, and affirmative actions such as parity and gender alternation to increase women's political participation. The

event was broadcast through the RPP Group's multi-platform news outlets, which include radio, cable television and a web site.

Result 03: Enhance citizens' engagement and political participation in selected municipalities before, during and after the 2018 regional and local election process

The activities for this result were implemented in Aguaytía (Ucayali) and the Monzón Valley (Huánuco), areas chosen as priorities for the project. They are places where democratic processes do not have a long history, because of the narco-terrorist violence that reigned there until just a few years ago. They also are places where coca plants have been eradicated, and where USAID is implementing an alternative crop project with which our project worked to create synergies and complement interventions.

In these places, the following activities were implemented:

3.1 Capacity building with educational communities

The work in educational communities involved three key activities: 1) Learning modules about civic engagement and the fight against corruption; 2) Painting murals with scenes related to democracy and civic engagement; and 3) Cinema-forums in educational communities.

- **Learning modules**

Two learning modules were implemented with students in the Monzón valley in August and September 2018. The objective of the first was to raise the students' awareness about the local government responsibilities and to construct a civic agenda of issues that the students identified as priorities for the new mayor. This agenda was presented to the authorities who were finally elected. The second module focused on raising students' awareness about the importance of the fight against corruption and the need for all citizens to participate.

- **Mural painting**

In 2018, collective mural painting was carried out in the three schools with which the project worked. The same process was used with all of the groups of students. Before the mural painting began, brief talks were given to the students to explain the process. There was an average of 20 to 25 students in each collective mural painting group. This made it possible to organize teams of 4 to 6 students per mural painter, in order to complete the work within the planned time frame. Although rough drafts of the murals were designed ahead of time, the students' ideas were always included. For example,

the mural by the students at Javier Pérez de Cuellar School originally was going to include the message, "Without corruption, the valley grows," but one student suggested, "The Monzón Valley, without corruption," and that was the phrase ultimately used. Because of the number of students per mural, however, each student's painting time was very brief. Because of that, the decision was made to have a participatory mural painting project in 2019.

In 2019, in each school where the project worked, the students participated in workshop that included exercises in basic principles of drawing, design, collective creation and mural painting. Group dynamics were also included to create opportunities for reflection about civic engagement and to collectively develop the mural designs. These workshop offered an opportunity for dialogue and organization that made it possible to agree on the ideas that the students shared, as well as the use of public space as a medium for expression and information.⁵

▪ **Cinema forums in educational communities**

In 2018, a phase of pre-electoral cinema forums was held in three schools participating in the project in the Monzón Valley. In 2019, a cycle of cinema forums was held in I.E 32738, a one-teacher school in Nueva Selva,⁶ to raise the awareness of primary students there about the keys to democratic co-existence.

Cinema forums were also held in schools in Sachavaca and Agua Blanca with which the project worked in 2019.

3.2 Work sessions with producers / farmers

In 2018, training sessions were held with farmers in the Monzón Valley. They were held in villages to facilitate attendance. Farmers from various villages and towns attended. The work sessions were divided into three parts:

- Part 1: listen to the farmers' stories about their diverse and difficult experiences, to understand the processes and historical events that have affected their lives.
- Part 2: recognition of all they have done and all they have achieved to overcome the difficult situations they have experienced, and reflection about what else they can do. This helps the farmers strengthen their recognition of themselves as agents of change, first in their own lives and then in their communities.
- Part 3: gather their demands and proposals for authorities, to develop a civic agenda.

⁵ More details about this activity can be found in the success story, "Building democracy beginning in school" (Annex 1).

⁶ Details about this intervention can be found in the success story, "Cinema forums in rural schools" (Annex 2).

This activity resulted in the drafting of a civic agenda, which later was validated in meetings with farmers and representatives of farmer organizations, and which was ultimately presented to elected officials.

3.3 Cinema forums and theater in public spaces⁷

In 2018, during the pre-election phase, cinema forums were held in the main plazas of Monzón and Cachicoto. Decentralized cinema forms were also held after the elections that year. The films were chosen based on how well the audience could relate to them and the ability to generate reflection about issues that were priorities for the "Valley Beats" ("El Valle Late") program.

In 2019, after the electoral process, a cinema forum was held in the town of Caunarapa. Two presentations of the play, "The Story of a Seagull and the Cat that Taught it to Fly," directed by Ana Correa, were also held. The play addresses the cross-cutting issues of acceptance and tolerance of diversity. After the play, there was an opportunity for the audience members to share their thoughts and reactions. In both spaces, children participated in the forum. There was greater participation in Cachicoto than in Monzón. After the play, very positive comments were heard. People were also enthusiastic about being able to see a play, as there had never before been a theater presentation in Monzón.

3.4 Opportunities for dialogue with the population⁸

In September 2018, IDEA organized the first debate among candidates for municipal office in the Monzón Valley. This initiative was received positively by both the candidates and local residents, who for the first time had the opportunity to listen to candidates and compare their proposals.

In November 2018, the civic agenda was presented to Michael Rubio, the mayor-elect of Monzón. Students Ingrid Huamán Cadillo, Cristofer Trevejo Dionicio and Keyssi Guillén Vega, representing the I.E "San Benito," I.E "Javier Pérez de Cuellar" and I.E "Antonio Raimondi" schools, presented the proposals developed by students in Monzón y Cachicoto. Ms. Tania Ceferino Vega, a farmer from Monte Grande, and Mr. Enrique

⁷ More detail about this action area can be found in the success story, "From no-man's land to using public spaces for cultural encounters."

⁸ More detail about this activity can be found in the success story, "Spaces for dialogue in the Monzón Valley."

Serna Romero, a farmer and president of the Mozo Durmiente Coffee Producers' Association, presented the proposals drawn up by the farmers in the Monzón Valley. Mayor Michael Rubio was very open to receiving the proposals. He also presented a summary of progress made so far on those issues. The team of newly elected council members also participated, and there was an opportunity for local residents to ask about other matters. A total of 135 people attended.

3.5 Workshops with mayors and municipal officials

In 2019, workshops were held with the mayor and officials of the district government, as well as with mayors and officials from smaller communities known as "population centers." The purpose of these events was to strengthen capabilities for accountability as a key strategy for transparent management. Four workshops were held with mayors and functionaries, as described below:

- **Workshop on "Organic Law of Municipalities and accountability," for mayors of population centers in the district of Monzón**

Place	Auditorium in Cachicoto
Date	Tuesday, 4 June 2019
Participants	14 participants (local mayors and municipal functionaries; 5 women and 9 men)

Representatives of seven of the 11 population centers in the Monzón Valley attended. The functionaries who participated were from Tazo Grande, Manchuria, Chipaco, Agua Blanca, Palo de Acero, Sachavaca and Cachicoto.

The workshop included two parts:

Part 1: The Organic Law of Municipalities was explained with a presentation and dialogue addressing the following topics:

- Topic 1: CREATION AND NATURE OF POPULATION CENTERS
- Topic 2: REQUIREMENTS
- Topic 3: TERM OF OFFICE, ELECTION AND PROCLAMATION
- Topic 4: EXPENSE ALLOWANCE
- Topic 5: POWERS AND OBLIGATIONS
- Topic 6: RESOURCES
- Topic 7: RESPONSIBILITY IN THE USE OF RESOURCES

- Topic 8: LIMITATIONS
- Topic 9: COMPLEMENTARY TEMPORARY PROVISIONS

The presenter tied these topics to the importance of having a vision and clear objectives as municipalities, because the law aims to assign responsibility for providing services aligned with a vision described in a Consensus-Based Development Plan.

Part 2: Accountability

This issue was addressed in a presentation based on the document titled *Program for capacity building in open government in regional and local governments. Handout 3 – Civic engagement and accountability.*

At the end, there was an opportunity for the mayors to ask questions, but participation in that part of the session was minimal.

- **Workshop on “Accountability” for the district mayor and functionaries of the district government**

Place	Meeting room in the Monzón district government office
Date	5 June
Participants	11 participants (3 women and 8 men)

The session began with a presentation by the managers and mayor, which included their vision for the Monzón Valley. This vision coincided with that of the mayors of the population enters.

The session was based on the document titled *Program for capacity building in open government in regional and local governments. Handout 3 – Civic engagement and accountability.* It also allowed the participants to reflect on the importance of mainstreaming accountability in their governance practices.

- **Workshop on Accountability for members of the CCLD**

Place	Aromas del Monzón Café
Date	6 June

Participants	2 participants (2 men)
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The session centered on key ideas about accountability for members of the Local District Coordination Council. The participants also had the opportunity to express their views about how the valley has evolved in the past decade.

- **Workshop for capacity building in accountability, for mayors and functionaries of population centers**

Place	Two sessions were held: 13/08/2019: Telecentro in Tazo Grande 14/08/2019: Telecentro in Sachavaca
Date	13/08/2019: Telecentro in Tazo Grande 14/08/2019: Telecentro in Sachavaca
Participants	Total number of participants in the two sessions: 12 participants (7 women and 5 men)

The session included a review of the concepts of accountability, based on a document prepared by the USAID Pro-Decentralization Program,⁹ which was projected. The following topics were addressed:

- What is accountability?
- What types of accountability exist?
- Constitutional and legal regulation of accountability
- On what issues must regional governments and local governments be held accountable?
- Accountability as a mechanism for learning and for constant improvement in the functioning of public administration.
- Why is accountability important for public officials and citizens?
- Other mechanisms for accountability
- Public spaces for accountability
- The demand for accountability

The workshops had a practical component that sought to promote accountability based on accomplishments, results and progress in local governance, and not limit it to an

⁹ Program for capacity building in Open Government for regional and local governments. Handout 3 – **Civic engagement and accountability**.

economic report on income and spending, as noted in the concepts underlying this process.

V. INDICATORS OF MONITORING PLAN

The project has achieved and exceeded the goals set, as can be seen in **Table 1**. This shows high levels of efficiency and effectiveness, making a rational use of resources, has managed to expand the scope of the expected results.

This has been possible basically thanks to the strategic alliances established with several key institutions and organizations such as the media, activist groups and public organizations (especially the NEB and ONPE).

Table 1: Indicators/targets final report, based on approved indicators:

Indicator Code	Indicator	Unit of measure	Baseline year	Baseline value	Target 2018	Actual 2018	Target 2019	Actual 2019
1.1.1	Number of people in Lima who access information about the project with greater public awareness of the importance of 2018 elections	Number of people the project has reached through events and social media	FY2018	0	45,000	30,335,766	45,000	52,817
1.1.2	Progress by Parliament on pending Electoral Reform topics	Number of reforms discussed by Parliament	FY2018	0	3	8	4	6
2.1	Number of proposals prepared by representative organizations of traditionally marginalized populations linked to the project	Number of proposals published	FY2018	0	10	114	N/A	N/A
2.2	Percentage of political parties that incorporate in their government plans for	Number of political parties that incorporate	FY2018	0%	20%	15%	N/A	N/A

	Metropolitan Lima proposals prepared by organizations of traditionally marginalized populations	proposals/ total number of political parties in the electoral campaign						
2.1.1	Number of participating CSOs that have developed capabilities for identifying and prioritizing demands and proposals in a consensual manner.	Number of CSOs and organizations that participate in workshops	FY2018	0	20	54	N/A	N/A
3.1	Number of agenda items established by youth and CSOs that are incorporated in the local government proposals	Number of agenda items incorporated in local government proposals	FY2018	0	N/A	N/A	5	7
3.2	Number of civil society organizations that participate in organized citizen oversight of local and regional management.	Number of CSOs involved	FY2018	TBD	N/A	N/A	6	12
3.1.1	Percentage of young local leaders with whom we work whose citizenship skills are improved after work sessions	Number of students who pass the exit test / Number of students that pass the entrance test	FY2018	0	60%	86%	N/A	N/A
3.2.1	Number of associations / citizen organizations that present their prioritized demands and proposals to their new authorities.	Number of associations / citizen organizations	FY2018	0	5	9	5	6

VI. LESSONS LEARNED

- For discussion of regulations and legislation, it is useful to hold small working sessions with representatives of different political groups. This helps identify points of agreement and build consensus.
- Generating content about elections and democracy for artistic activities (theater, dance, song, etc.) yields very positive results. This can be a very powerful strategy and work methodology.
- Inter-institutional networking is crucial, especially in places where a greater impact is sought through activities with a wider reach.
- Projects/activities implemented in localities such as Monzón and Aguaytía should include opportunities to listen to the beneficiaries' opinions and suggestions, as this gives the intervention greater impact.
- Involving different stakeholders, from primary school students through municipal government functionaries, leads to more comprehensive awareness raising about civic engagement and the importance of democratic co-existence.
- When holding workshops with students, it is important to raise awareness among teachers and parents so that the actions will be sustainable in the long term.
- "Artivism" activities, such as mural painting or activities in public spaces (scenic arts or cinema forums) have a high impact on public awareness and are an important component of projects in localities such as the Monzón Valley.
- Changes in attitudes and behaviors are much more rapid and visible in students. We therefore recommend promoting initiatives aimed at working with primary and secondary school students and educational communities.

VII. OVERALL FINANCIAL REPORT

Final financial report	
Estimated budget for the duration of the project (March 21, 2018 to September 19, 2019)	\$ 1,000,000.00
Obligations to date	
Accumulated expenses from March 21, 2018 to September 19, 2019	\$ 1,000,000.00
Cost share	\$ 120,694.59