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[*Political Participation*
Qualitative Study of Peru,
Summary of Findings

by Juan Rial^{an}

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I. Introduction: Context¹

The following is a study of the political participation of citizens in Peru. This is a highly relevant issue given Peru's strong transition toward an open and free market economy while it struggles to secure and establish a democratic political regime. As is the case in many Latin American countries, the state has noticeably dominated Peru's so-called civil society.² Although Peru has a heterogeneous social base, it was the upper spheres (the so-called "oligarchy") who took action and created the apparatus to lead society as a whole.

The formation of the state occurred in the twentieth century, but the Peruvian nation was not inclusive; it limited the notion of nationality to the dominant sectors of society and excluded those who adhered to their native culture and languages. Even though the complex political processes during the twentieth century included phases of civil and military authoritarianism — which at times attempted to preserve the pre-existing social situations and conditions, and at others struggled for a strong transformation, the state apparatus was always used as its principal tool for change.

The process of change and economic liberalization caused the inefficient state bureaucracy to enter into a deep fiscal crisis. This, in turn, caused the state to abandon many of its former responsibilities and reformulate the way it would lead society. In Peru, this process coincided with a period of strong political agitation promoted by Marxist movements: one, a *Guevarista* movement that promoted the idea of establishing a *foco guerrillero*, or guerrilla focal point — following the teachings of Ernesto "Ché" Guevara, was led by the *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* (MRTA); and the other, initially a pro-Chinese movement that later looked to and adopted the

¹ This work is based on a field mission that took place in August 1997 and a poll undertaken by the APOYO Institute during the same month per our request. Additional data from previous polls also been taken into consideration. These previous polls were also undertaken by APOYO, as well as DATUM, IMASEN, and CUANTO. The contents of this work reflect the opinions of the author, Juan Rial, and not necessarily those of IFES or USAID.

The assistance of Sociologist Sandro Venturo and IFES Program Officer Victor Contreras during my field mission were extremely important for the completion of this work. Mr. José Tavera and his Iniciativa school were instrumental in the recruitment of working groups in the *El Progreso* neighborhood in northern Lima. In Lince, we were assisted by members of young Catholic groups; in Magdalena del Mar we were assisted by a group of household heads who were collaborating with a school.

In Ayacucho, the assistance of Javier Torres of the *Servicio de Educación Rural* (SER) was invaluable. The non governmental organization (NGO) Micaela Bastidas helped us in the recruitment of groups interviewed in Trujillo.

In Tarapoto, Mr. Dalmacio Hidalgo of *Desarrollo y Mercado* and Mr. Hernandez of *COFIDE* were of invaluable assistance for the completion of this work.

Lastly, I would like to thank Mariela Lopez, In-Country Director for IFES/Peru, and Patricio Gajardo, IFES/Washington, as well as Noy Villalobos and all those who assisted in this project.

² Regarding the different concepts of civil society, see Andrew Arato, *Civil Society* (New York: #NSR/Telos, 1992). We used the expression in two forms to assist the non-expert audience. Loosely, it is referred to as a counterpart to the state. This idea is used in the sense of our argument regarding the predominance of the state. In a more restrained usage, we refer to the volunteer associations created by individuals outside the institutional framework of the state.

examples of Pol Pot,³ was led by the *Sendero Luminoso*, or Shining Path. Also, during the early 1980s, Peru experienced one of the last truly populist governments on the continent, under the administration of Alan Garcia. All of these peculiar developments and characteristics led Peru to travel a very different road than that traveled by the other South American republics. The administration of Alberto Fujimori, which began in 1990, would thus lead Peru through periods of drastic change, as prescribed by his advisor, Hernando de Soto, in his book, *El Otro Sendero*.⁴ Without any parliamentary support and with a heavily affected society, these changes would take place amid the urgent needs for economic openness, fiscal adjustments, and an active military campaign against subversive groups. A considerable portion of Peruvian society would find various capitalistic options to adjust to the new economic reality, thus creating the informal sector.

Within this framework, several civil society institutions have emerged and a notable increase in civil participation has been evident. However, the dominant trend still points to and looks towards the state, especially the president. Peruvians widely consider him to be the individual who leads the country and controls its destiny.

Although Peru has come a long way, Peruvian society is far from achieving the social capital (one of mutual respect and trust) necessary to ensure economic and social growth with greater independence from the state. A study by the APOYO firm in the beginning of 1997 indicated that interpersonal confidence in society was not high. And though it seems clear that there are significant differences between those individuals who participate in communal activities and those who do not, it is also clear that participation in these activities has not increased the social capital.⁵

Chart #1: Trust or mistrust among those who participate or do not participate in civil society organizations

Answers	Participate	Do not participate
People only think about themselves	80%	78%
Mistrust neighbors	63%	61%
People take advantage of me	74%	79%

APOYO, June 1997

³ Pol Pot was the leader of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia in the 1970s.

⁴ There are several editions after 1987. See the Sudamericana publisher in Buenos Aires.

⁵ The use of the term social capital has been steadily increasing. See Robert B. Putnam's *Social Capital: Making Democracy Work* (New York, 1993), or Francis Fukayama's *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York, 1996). APOYO's work was published in June 1997: APOYO Institute, *Study of Citizen Participation in Democratic Processes: Final Report* (Lima: APOYO-USAID, June 1997).

The intended push that was to have strengthened civil society has not yet had the expected impact. Like many other developing countries, the perception that the state should guide society still predominates. *Caudillismo*, or the idea that the president is solely responsible for everything that happens in the country, is still a popular force: it obviously predominates over the conception of civil society being dominant over the state, and that civil society should guide the country. Populism is still strong. Many Peruvians still believe that the state should be an employer.

To illustrate this point, we shall use data from a poll taken in the Lima metropolitan area in the beginning of August 1997 by DATUM:

Chart #2: The free market program...

Favors job creation	30.3%
Hinders job creation	52%
Don't know/don't answer	17.7%

DATUM, August 1997

Citing the negative effects on the job market, it is clear that half of the population is against any changes. One third is in favor, citing a possible effect.

Chart #3: Who should create employment?

The government	60%
Private sector (domestic)	17%
Private sector (foreign)	13%
Don't know/don't answer	10%

DATUM, August 1997

With respect to the question regarding who should be responsible for generating employment, it is evident that the statist view is dominant in Peru.

Chart #4: What should the government do regarding free market economic policies?

Should change	61.4%
Should continue	25%
Should not continue	7.7%
Don't know/don't answer	6.9%

DATUM, August 1997 — Based on a poll of 402 people in Lima and Callao taken between August 8 and 11. Published in *El Comercio* on August 15 and 17, 1997.

Because of the difficulty in interpreting available data regarding political participation,¹ we found it necessary to conduct a complimentary study, the objective of which was to focus on several specific points not addressed by the already mentioned June 1997 APOYO study. Additionally, we wanted to conduct a qualitative study to clarify the meaning of "political participation." The APOYO poll was conducted in August 1997 in the metropolitan area of Lima. The quantitative studies followed the techniques employed by the focus groups: six in Lima and two in each of the following cities: Ayacucho, Huamanga, Tarapoto and Trujillo. An additional study was conducted in the *sierra central*, or central mountains. This study could be characterized as a collective interview with qualified informants of a nearby community. The emergence of subjects, which is a result of using qualitative techniques, allows for the study of the arguments used in debating, as well as the rationale and emotions behind them. These are verbalized in the arguments.

With this qualitative study, we are attempting to "flesh out" the "cold" numbers of the polls, giving them a more human side — we wanted to understand the reasoning and significance behind the quantitative answers. We did not want to make simple generalizations based exclusively on the quantitative data, but rather take into consideration all the qualitative data that are available.

II. Results

a) The degree of social participation is low. In the general population, the activities considered most important involve those pertaining to strategies for survival, such as the soup kitchens, the milk program, or the activities of the mothers' clubs. And although these activities do attract community participation, *they do not extend to the realm of political participation*. Other activities involve the participation in Head of Family organizations. This name refers to parent's associations at the school level. Participation requires only a sporadic presence, and most of the time the participation is of a passive nature.

b) A very low degree of solidarity between groups exists, and there is a considerable degree of mistrust between members of society. Some level of mistrust exists between people engaging in activities of collective action unless these activities are survival related, attempts at improving the community, or focused protests.

c) Many Peruvians have anti-political positions: They give no credit to politicians, formal institutions, or political parties. However, they highly value the ability to vote periodically and somehow impair basic political liberties.

d) The majority of citizens from lower socioeconomic sectors visualize political participation only at a local level thus, in most cases, they do not consider it political participation in the strictest sense. They believe it is a form of social participation. To them, national politics is the responsibility of the "top" leaders — those "who know about politics": the so-called "Head," as the president of the republic is generally described.

e) Peruvians generally have an elitist view of political activity: Although it is stated that anyone with social sensibilities can be a representative in Congress, it goes without saying that these individuals must be duly educated and prepared. The vision that politicians are people who should be able to solve any problems tends to be elitist. The chief of state is expected to face and solve the country's most challenging problems, such as unemployment and the social demands for health care, education, and housing.

f) The state continues to be the first point of reference for Peruvians. The state should be the alpha and the omega of collective action and everything should proceed from it. The private sector is only marginally mentioned as the motor of society and social action. The mobilization of civil society through volunteer organizations is considered a supplement to the state's responsibility to provide a protective network for all Peruvians.

g) Varying outlooks exist between the younger and older generations. Considering their political socialization, even if the younger generations share the same visions as their adult counterparts, including a nostalgia toward populism, they distance themselves to attempt at new forms of political participation. Even if certain plans of action are shared, younger citizens may reject them and opt for new forms of political participation.

h) Uncertainty is the key word. For those who are over 45 years of age — those who turned 18 during the first year of the administration of Juan Velazco Alvarado — this translates into resignation: a retreat from the public scene. They are not members of, nor do they participate in, any political parties or labor unions. Those who are under 45 years old, have difficulty finding jobs in an ever-more-difficult labor market. For the younger generation, those who recently turned 18 and those in their twenties, there is a sense of rebellion and discovery.

In the following diagram, we illustrate the most important attitudes towards the socio-political situation that directly influence political participation. Social strata are taken into consideration, as are the attitudes toward political participation in general, and attitudes toward the future.

Diagram #1: Attitudes that influence political and social participation.

Group attitudes toward the sociopolitical situation	Social strata	Degree of social and political participation	Attitude toward the future
Satisfied and integrated into the current political and economic system.	Business and other high sectors of society; mid-level sectors of state apparatus. Popular sectors.	Null or low social participation. Political participation: only at the electoral level, or financially supporting a certain political sector for election. Participation through voting and assistance. Attitude of withdrawal from the family; tribalism.	Lack of trust in traditional politics; looking for new ways. Optimistic about the future. Uncertainty. Looking for a savior, "a head who will lead us."
Groups that practice "negative accommodation" toward the system. Consider change "natural" and "necessary," but refuse the cost.	Middle-class sectors, especially merchants, workers, etc.; also politicized popular sectors.	Null or defensive political participation. Withdrawal from the family. Political participation caused by sense of political or ideological obligation.	Nostalgic. React to basic politics: populism, state protectionism, <i>caudillismo</i> . Uncertainty about the future. Belief in promises of high ethics.
Unhappy. They do not agree with the changes.	Minority sectors: continually growing due to government policies. From diverse backgrounds; no correlation between economic hardship and unhappiness.	Null or defensive political participation. In search of alternate political options.	Politics as an activity of high ethical content.
Survivors.	Marginalized sectors of the market or not included at all.	Conditioned participation. Aid recipients. Limited political participation. Search for external protection.	Doubts because of uncertainty and ignorance. Risks of the future: fall into criminal activity.

Please note and take into consideration that these results were obtained from an ad-hoc study. More thorough results can be obtained through studies focused on each described sector.

III. Recommendations

i) Encourage campaigns to promote interpersonal trust in society using the mass media. The idea and goal is to implement campaigns that transmit simple messages, such as "trust your neighbor," "trust your neighborhood," "act now, we can do it together," "we need you and all Peruvians like you," and so forth.

ii) Promote activities in the formal education environment that favor team work and solidarity without ignoring the necessary competitive spirit. Attempt to have elementary, junior, and high schools implement these types of ideas in their everyday routines. Focus on the future generation's adoption of civic interest, and not necessarily the activities that lead to exclusion.

Specifically, for political awareness and formation, it would be beneficial to teach about electoral processes in the schools. This can be done through agreements between the electoral authorities and the Ministry of Education. This agreement can be extended to other educational organizations (private) or non governmental organizations (NGOs). In accordance with the Constitution and the law, the electoral authorities would have to participate.

It would be very important to use the mass media. The radio is a very important tool, especially the FM stations that dedicate their programming almost exclusively to music programs. Television is also important, especially those types of programs that are geared toward younger audiences. (In other countries, agreements have been made with MTV to transmit messages related to civic education. Naturally, these messages would reach only the middle class and up.) We recommend that these messages be focused toward a 15 - 20 year old audience: those who will be voting for president for the first time in Peru in the year 2000.

iii) Attempts should be made to promote a sense of trust and confidence within the business sector so as to form an organization or foundation of its members. This organization or foundation would be focused on promoting civic education and instilling trust within Peruvian society, with the goal of teaching young people a new attitude toward active participation. Some examples from abroad would be the activities of George Soros in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

iv) The consolidation of a democratic regime depends directly on the affirmation of the instruments that allowed it to be implemented. A key objective is to achieve certain forms

of political participation that go beyond exercising a right to vote, be it through representatives or semi-direct democratic mechanisms. An effort should be made to improve the political vision and outlook of the country. It would be beneficial to work with new political party organizations and/or new or existing independent movements to avoid making the same mistakes as their predecessors, and to implement new ideas.

We recommend the creation of a school of political formation — not in the traditional sense of a militant organization — but a modern school that focuses on political management that would teach different techniques than those that are no longer acceptable in society, thus creating a new generation that would not have the bad habits of its predecessors.

v) Implement permanent training sessions for journalists and others in the media that focus on the promotion of political participation and concentrate on reducing the delegitimization of political activity.

vi) Women look to incorporate themselves in the process of participation, but more so in the social aspects than in the political ones. The new forms of politics give them an opening, since they no longer pass exclusively through party militancy, but rather through active movements. An important point is to work with women-oriented NGOs to explore how they can promote more active participation by women, beyond simply exercising their right to vote.

vii) Promote district and local activities, especially in rural communities in transition, so these areas can reach the same levels as the rest of the country and thus overcome feelings of neglect and abandonment.

viii) Political participation will not increase in key institutions like Congress and the Judicial branch while citizens continue to have a low degree of trust and lack confidence in these government branches. Aside from any substantive changes that should be undertaken by these institutions, it would be beneficial to explain to the population what the institutions can and can not do. Expectations should be stated clearly and a campaign should be undertaken to improve the institutions' respective images. Simple publicity campaigns will not be enough.

It would be beneficial to establish consultative systems to access judicial processes and parliamentary proposals easily. This can be done at the municipal level such as in Villa El Salvador. It should likewise be done with the legislative and judicial branches.⁶

⁶ The state should create judicial information systems so that, in every court, computer screens containing information about a specific case and its status are available. With that, court workers and the public will have easier access. If this were to be combined with a public service office, exclusively dedicated to informing, greater confidence in the judiciary would be

IV. Response to the Subjects

Although we have performed a detailed analysis of each of our focus group sessions, we believe that, to deepen our understanding, it would be convenient to present a summary of the principal findings in the qualitative study and combine them with the findings of the ad-hoc quantitative study performed by APOYO in the metropolitan area of Lima. For this purpose, we present here a series of quantitative graphs and diagrams, in which we have arranged in four different columns the results of the focus groups in a patterned analysis. The first column illustrates the emerging subject, the product of the maintained conversation in each group, followed in the second column by the debate that was presented. In many cases, we can observe the controversies over various positions and the rationale behind them (column 3). One refers to the rationalization behind the argument, the other to the detected emotional reactions (column 4).

1. Participation

Diagram #2: What is participation?

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Opinion.	"Those who have opinions are involved in politics; but few do so, because you have to have an opportunity."	Empirical approximation.	Prudence. Carefulness in verbal expression toward the moderator.
Take possession.	"...not in a reduced environment (political party), but more than that..."	Empirical approximation.	Imposition: "Star" participants impose topics of discussion, which are accepted by the moderator.
Take part in actions.	For example: manifest "We could present proposals.: "...but in the mayor's office, there are rows of files this tall" (gesturing a big size).	Justification of problems.	Conciliatory and comprehensive attitudes toward the various difficulties faced.

achieved. Screens could also be set up in Congress showing the status of any bill. There should also be a system to promote citizen communication with lawmakers, ensuring that citizens' complaints reach their legislator, whether through messengers, recorded messages, voice mail, or e-mail.

To facilitate citizens' access to these systems, Internet access should be established through home pages that contain various information and e-mail to submit concerns or complaints. Agreements could be made with NGOs or municipal offices whereby the lower socioeconomic sectors that live and work in these areas, also have access.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
There must be participation.	"...even if you disagree."	Idea of "loyal opposition," and conformation of social capital.	Tolerance.
Organized participation.	<p>"For participation to be effective, there must be unity."</p> <p>"We must organize ourselves."</p> <p>"The best would be to organize in groups"</p> <p>"Concrete proposals must be made"</p>	Rationalization of debate.	Rational direction of debate and containment of emotions.
Organizational limits.	<p>"Organization sometimes fails."</p> <p>"They can reject your proposals even if you're organized." (reference to the experience of asking for informalities to be removed and being told that "it is a difficult social problem.")</p> <p>"Organization can cause problems."</p> <p>"Careful. There are those who are sneaky and get involved just to get something for themselves."</p>	Results might not correspond to expectations.	Mistrust.
Participation and leadership.	"To participate is to organize the community; give it a reason; lead it."	Socialist vision of participation. Summary of the "1990's militancy."	Elitism.
Participation as a commitment.	"Commitment to the community and yourself is needed."	No-contractual version.	Organizational participation.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Participation and defensive attitude.	"When you want to have continued collective action, it is not possible, so you retreat to a smaller group. There are symptoms of disintegration."	In light of the uncertainty, there is retreat to known points: family, corporation (as a tribe of a protective clan).	Fear. Prudence. Mistrust.
What is that?	"We don't know anything about that. We do not understand."	A new topic should be treated very carefully by those who have had traumatic experiences. This was expressed by a peasant from San Jose de Cecce.	Unknowledgeable. Mistrust. Slyness.
There are more interesting things to do.	<p>"There are things that matter to us. For example, I belong to a brotherhood and I lead a religious group."</p> <p>"We set up and organized a sports club."</p> <p>"After working 12 hours, I watch some TV, movies."</p> <p>"I watch some information programs for a while, but then they re-run them."</p>	<p>~Worry about day to day things and their personal life.</p> <p>Justification.</p>	<p>Selfishness.</p> <p>Cynicism towards public life.</p> <p>Demonstration of alternative altruistic interests.</p>
How to participate?	"We must know who to talk with. Who knows if there are protective agencies? Who knows the INDECOPI ⁷ , that protects consumers."	Attitude of complaint.	Elitism.

⁷INDECOPI = Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Participation as a personal strength.	<p>"You must participate."</p> <p>"We have to encourage those who were left along the way; those who only went to elementary school; those who have three or four kids; those who are our age."</p>	The rationale behind attempts to organize a mobilization are of second importance.	Volunteerism.
Participation programs.	<p>"It is a matter of ensuring that the educational infrastructure works; that the teachers are qualified at an adequate level."</p> <p>[X]⁸</p> <p>"But people don't understand. They don't learn. They don't want to learn." (The discussion began by evaluating family planning projects to reduce fertility.)</p>	Explanation of action programs and controversy about its potential for success.	<p>Volunteerism.</p> <p>Optimism.</p> <p>Lack of hope.</p>
Participation: Temporary horizon.	<p>"Participation is a continuing exercise."</p> <p>"Constantly take part in community decisions."</p> <p>Form organic groups.</p>	<p>Persistence in action in short-run and medium, long-run.</p> <p>Contradictions between options to establish ad-hoc movements and institutional movements of universal reach.</p> <p>Political socialization of the adult sector, not an expression of young generations.</p>	Optimism.

The diagram illustrates some of the arguments that were used concerning political participation leading us to the resulting conclusions, as shown. The degrees of social participation

⁸[X] = Controversy.

are not elevated. In a previous quantitative study by APOYO published in June 1997, it was shown that participation at a societal level was concentrated in the so-called "parents associations" (25 percent of those who answered) and parochial communities (20 percent of those who answered). Other specific options were not included as answers, such as mothers' clubs, milk programs, soup kitchens, and even neighborhood associations, with 9.5 percent of the participants. As expected, in every case, the participation of women was higher. The figure pointed out by APOYO does not indicate high participation, and the qualitative studies performed by APOYO confirm this. Additionally, the degree of mistrust measured by APOYO, which causes the social fiber to be weak, is confirmed.

The studies point out the following:

i) The differences in opinions between young people and adults pertaining to political participation is clear, confirming the quantitative studies. In general, among young people, there was an overwhelming attitude of distancing and exclusion, except for the case of a young women's group in the El Progreso neighborhood, that can be considered "1990's militants." A common response is, "there are other things to do," as most young Peruvians have a greater preoccupation with their personal well-being than with the well-being of the community. There are certain non-anarchist manifestations evident in the disregard for authority. An emerging type of cultural and societal politics is making itself known: a configurative vision whose reference is the present, abandoning the old prefigurative tradition that is based in the past and in the authority of those who are older.

ii) Within the adult population, the strong changes that have brought on uncertainty cause individuals constantly to show contradicting points of view. In general, adults refer to what should be done although it is difficult for them to come up with viable solutions that can be implemented effectively.

iii) As for gender, men tend to be a bit more resigned to the status quo than women, although they also seem to be more realistic.

iv) The following diagram illustrates that the predominating emotional reactions are those related to mistrust. It is precisely the opposite when referring to social capital, necessary to achieve sustainable development.⁹

⁹ Please see Francis Fukuyama, *Trust* (New York: Free Press, 1996). There is a Spanish version under the title: *Confianza*.

2. Politics and political participation

Diagram #3: Politics.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Politics has been demonized.	"This is a nice demon, but it isn't going, or taking you, anywhere."	Illegitimate.	Disillusion with traditional forms. Disinterest.
Participation and decision.	"To participate politically would mean being able to decide; but it is difficult to influence the choices that are made by those who make decisions at the higher levels." Does not take too much time in the participation. It becomes difficult and limited. There are no clear politics.	I act within the framework that I can and what is possible. Segmented attention to participation. "Low productivity" in the participatory efforts. Lack of universal treatments; need to adapt ad hoc and disperse measures.	Accommodation.
Perceptions of politics.	"Politics is synonymous with corruption." "Politics is not trustworthy." "Politics' image worsens every day." "Politics is frowned upon and you should distance yourself from it."	It is automatically assumed; no demonstration needed.	Unhappiness.
What is politics?	"Politics is a necessary evil; we're all immersed in it." "Politics is a right." "It is words to cover things; it's a sham."	Illegitimate activity.	Dislike.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Politics and power.	"Politics is the same as power, and power is the same as personal interests."	Concepts of the basic definition of the political community.	
Politicians and corruption.	<p>"There is always a black hand."</p> <p>"Politicians only look to benefit personally."</p> <p>"Here, they are ambitious, and the first thing they can steal is not enough."</p> <p>"Politics is dirty and corrupt. Politicians want more and more. Power attracts them, and with that they want more."</p> <p>"Politics should be transparent, with a conscience."</p> <p>"Politics will never be good."</p> <p>"Which politician should I trust? None of them."</p> <p>"There will never be an honest politician."</p> <p>"You can start off with good intention, but then, the money will come and everyone will want their own."</p> <p>"Politicians are ignorant: they don't come to the towns, only when there are elections."</p>	Politics is a dirty activity.	Rejection.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Education and other requirements for politicians.	<p>"There are a lot of people who don't know anything about politics."</p> <p>"What is the point of voting? Those who vote and those who run don't meet the criteria of knowing what to do."</p> <p>"Politics is not used how it should be."</p>		Elitism.
Politics and personal interests.	"If I continue having problems with my business, I'll run for mayor."		Selfishness.
Politics and popular sectors.	"Deep inside, money is the owner of politics."	Point of view of those who work long hours every day without any state protection.	"Realist cynicism."
Independent. Outsiders. New <i>Caudillos</i> .	<p>"We already tried independents and it was the same. There are no nonpoliticians. Either you are or you aren't."</p> <p>"There are no differences. In the end, they are all politicians."</p>	In trial and error, when the outsiders finally reach political activity, they act like politicians.	Disenchantment.

Participation in party politics is practically null, virtually nonexistent. The June 1997 APOYO poll, indicates that only 2 percent of those interviewed said they were members of a political party. Additionally, daily political activity is perceived as an "exterior" activity in the every day lives of these individuals. This "exterior" activity is undertaken by specialized individuals who work in that environment — a group of professional politicians that we call the "political class." The qualitative numerical approximation reached by the APOYO study is confirmed. The overwhelming majority of those interviewed qualitatively expressed their points of view very passionately. The results indicate:

i) A high degree of unhappiness with political activity, which is viewed as illegitimate. This visceral attitude strongly conditions the response in this area.

ii) Perceptions indicate that politics has been "demonized," is considered dirty, and is synonymous with corruption.

iii) Those who are classified as independents, the outsiders, and the new *caudillos*, were considered as a "failed reaction" to the traditional politicians. Yet, there are signs indicating that, slowly, they will join forces with the old politicians.

iv) Once again, a generational gap is evident: The subject is of no interest to young people.

We continued probing the subject with a question included in the ad hoc study conducted by APOYO in August 1997.

Chart #5: What is to participate in politics? (Multiple responses allowed, in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
Vote	21	26	17	18	26	24	19	19	20	23
Discuss politics with family/ friends	15	21	22	17	10	14	16	15	22	8
Can participate in decision-making	10	26	15	13	4	10	10	9	11	10
Improve/help the country	5	6	7	8	2	6	5	7	4	6
Inform oneself (read about politics)	5	9	6	7	2	6	4	4	4	7
Belong to a party or movement	3	0	3	4	3	4	2	3	5	2
Others	3	0	5	4	1	4	2	6	1	3
Don't know/ don't respond	46	41	36	37	59	42	50	43	44	50

Source: APOYO, August 1997. From 504 cases in metropolitan Lima.¹⁰

¹⁰ This study was conducted per our request with a base sample of 504 persons, taking into consideration the real distribution of the population by age and sex. It was stratified by districts with a random selection of neighborhood blocks and a systematic selection of homes. The study covered 32 districts of metropolitan Lima in field studies conducted between August 15 and 18, 1997. The final results were examined to obtain a real distribution of the population according to socioeconomic background, from level A, the highest according to education, income, and consumption tendencies, with 4.2 percent; level B

This confirms the findings in the June 1997 poll conducted by the same firm which concluded that membership in political parties is practically null and that participation in politics meant voting (in response to the first question in the qualitative studies). The second answer was to discuss politics among family and friends as a way of sharing ideas and learning. If the answers to the above mentioned questions are added, a total of 20 percent is obtained. There are considerable differences in the answers given by individuals of different social backgrounds. Only 10 percent of those in background "D" said they discussed political topics. Ten percent stated it meant being "able to participate in the decision-making process." This answer varied significantly according to social background. Clearly, those from the lower socioeconomic sector see this to be nearly impossible, with only 4 percent answering positively. Meanwhile, the percentage rose to 26 percent as the social backgrounds reached sector "A."

It is important to note the high percentage of persons who chose not to answer or who claimed they did not know: 46 percent of the total participants; 59 percent of those in sector "D"; 50 percent of women; and 50 percent of those over the age of 40.

The quantitative information points in the same direction as the qualitative. In this case, our intentions were to interview the group with the majority: sector "D." Here, we see a deep lack of interest consistent with those who perceive their chances in participating in any decision-making as scarce.

with 19.3 percent; level C with 36.6 percent and finally level D, the lowest according to the same criteria, with 39.9 percent. The margin of error of the totals was ± 4.5 percent, taking into account a 95 percent confidence rate, assuming the maximum dispersion of results.

2.1 Young people and politics

Diagram #4: Young people and politics.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Young people and politics.	<p>"Politics is boring."</p> <p>"The media make it boring; they don't touch on the points essential to young people so as to find an answer to them..."</p> <p>"For me it's boring because I don't have access to it. I lack knowledge of it. I studied marketing; they didn't talk about that. If they taught me that, why not?"</p> <p>"They make it boring in these times. But actually I don't know the basics; if they taught me, I don't know... maybe you can do a lot of things."</p>	<p>The forms do not attract attention.</p> <p>Demand for a voice.</p> <p>How to dominate politics that have monarchical forms, with certain protocols that are alien to young people, and old ways that are distant from today's world? Problem of communication.</p>	<p>Disenchantment. Lack of attraction.</p> <p>Lack of motivation.</p>
Who is politics for?	<p>"It's for old people."</p> <p>"But that's for those who know what's going on; for those who understand politics; it's not for me."</p>	<p>Associate with what is permitted.</p> <p>Oligarchization (expanded Michels).</p>	<p>Lack of interest.</p> <p>Rupture.</p>

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Recruitment of young people in politics.	<p>"If you're young and you like politics, they'll look for you, they'll call you, but..."</p> <p>"They use you, but they 'mark' you" (they affiliate you with a political party).</p> <p>"They get you, they use you, and later those who supported you don't do anything, or they drop you."</p>	<p>Lack of knowledge of the essence of traditional politics as a way of reaching power.</p> <p>Alternatives are not expressed, but contradictions between the common good, solidarity and effective ways of political practices are observed.</p>	<p>Dislike.</p> <p>Feeling of impotence.</p>

Young people tend to be the most reactionary group with respect to participation in politics. The main idea is that politics is boring and for "old people" or for "people who know." In the first case, there is an evident problem of social communication. The cultural codes of postmodernism have not been captured by the majority of politicians, who continue working within the traditional frameworks inherited from the old social package of the European monarchies, which built the nation-state models that Latin America followed. The esthetics of the short term, expanded by ever-changing images in short lapses and high decibel sounds, guard a new harmony (sometimes, a disharmony) of flexibility and constant change. This does not go well with the old and solemn ways, which might be accepted on special occasions, but not in every day life.

That is where the second argument emerges: "It's for old people," which is synonymous with a lack of a future, of a closed path. It has an important correlation: The political world is a secret. It is closed and inaccessible to those outside of the "political class" or those who follow politics and are "aware of the goings on." The participants in this focus group study expressed this and added to it the expansion of Michels' thesis¹¹ regarding the party domination by oligarches to refer to this case of domination by a nucleus of elites.

¹¹ We are referring to Robert Michels, *The Political Parties* (Buenos Aires: Amorrotu, 1969). Translation is based on the original publication, which was in German, from 1911.

Chart #6: Why do you think there are few young candidates? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
They do not have the opportunity	45	53	48	42	45	43	46	44	48	41
They do not have experience	41	41	35	44	41	41	42	41	38	45
Politics is not for young people.	4	3	6	3	5	3	5	4	7	2
Others	4	3	8	5	2	6	3	4	4	4
Don't know/ don't respond	6	0	3	6	7	7	4	7	3	8

APOYO, August 1997

In the ad hoc quantitative study we conducted, a precoded (multiple choice) question was raised concerning the reasons for the lack of young candidates. The study, which contained preannounced answers, would not be in-line with the arguments expressed in the qualitative studies because the idea that "politics is not for young people" has a very low percentage. Two different answers dominate, however: "they do not have the opportunity" and "they do not have experience." The interesting point is that, taking into consideration the age groups, there are no substantial differences in the answers given by young people and adults. This would indicate that, in a quantitative poll, in which little time is available to establish a more profound relationship, the most preferred answers are those that point toward an "accepted conventional wisdom," and it is hard to obtain the type of answers that are secured in qualitative studies.

2.2 Political participation in central or peripheral locations.

Diagram #5: Political Participation in central or peripheral locations.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Small leaders' position towards the citizenry.	<p>"Only a few participate in the districts..."</p> <p>"Townpeople know little, so they ignore politics."</p> <p>"In those towns, they don't teach or show us."</p> <p>"In the mountains we're manipulated, that's why we elected a good authority to govern us, from local government authorities to President."</p>	Only with knowledge and training can one be included in a process.	Feeling of superiority over neighbors, members of movements, etc. because of their leadership position.
Participation and centralism.	<p>"Politics is done in Lima, and later it extends to the provinces and districts; but we just follow."</p> <p>"They should show us from Lima..."</p>	<p>Identify the difference between center and peripheral.</p> <p>Want decentralization, but still want protection.</p>	Feelings of inferiority.

The possibility of being able to participate at a local level is perceived as adequate by those who make up the qualitative studies; they also distance themselves from talking about participation at a higher level. However, there is a large difference between those who live in Lima and those who live outside the Lima metropolitan area. The common complaint has to do with centralism, but at the same time there is a fear of abandonment.

3. Representation

Diagram #6: Representation.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
What does it mean to represent.	<p>"To represent is to protect those who appointed..."</p> <p>"Politicians never represent. They only serve themselves and their interests."</p>	<p>Obviously, without knowing it, they appeal to the arguments of Michels and the "oligarchic law of steel" of political organizations.</p> <p>According to the conversation, the moderator concludes that by being leaders of the community, they are true representatives as opposed to those who were elected. This view is clearly societal.</p>	Little interest in the subject.
Ideal type of representative.	<p>"You expect things to be handled by those who represent you."</p> <p>"Looking for someone to be active in all aspects."</p>	Exaggerated expectation: the representative as spokesman, manager, facilitator, and the incarnation of ethical values, all at once.	Messianism.
Where to be heard? In Congress or the Presidency?	"The Congress. That is where you go." But the lady who lived in Chile said: "You have to go the presidential palace," indicating that it is the president who can make decisions.	<p>Demand for a voice, to be able to express oneself, be heard by someone of authority.</p> <p>Recognition of the fact that it is not easy to make decisions at a level of direct citizenry. There is no knowledge of how to do it, or the tools needed to do it.</p> <p>Expect politicians not only to increase their voice, but to make it "direct," if originally it was oblique, if not unheard. If they don't do it, they lose support.</p>	<p>Restlessness.</p> <p>Search for self-esteem.</p> <p>Neo-anarchist egalitarianism.</p>

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Representative/ represented.	<p>"I don't feel represented."</p> <p>"The one I voted for was not chosen; if so he would have had to dirty himself. You have to have courage to be there." (Huamanga student)</p>		<p>Illegitimacy. Distancing.</p> <p>Repulsion.</p>

To represent implies that one has the know-how to interpret the *effectio societatis*, the spirit of society. If this is an accepted definition, it is understandable that many of those who make up the focus groups expressed "not feeling represented." Society and the Peruvian political system have transformed themselves immensely. Society has seen changes in the demographics, territorial location, work opportunities and income, and quality and level of life that indicate the emergence of a new leading group and a layer of consumers with high disposable incomes. At the same time, there have been indications of a sinking of old mid-level classes accompanying the emergence of new ones. There is also an impressive transformation of the subalternate sectors. Between them, a fierce competition has developed among those who want to be part of the new society of free markets. There were no plans or sociopolitical engineering that would have driven Peruvian society to this process. It has been part of the normally "unorganized" and "chaotic"¹² process of global postmodern changes.

The changes in the political system have been "reactive," a product of the transformation the country underwent. Its results are precluded by the political violence that took place in the 1980s. This violence was, perhaps, one of the most important developments in Latin America, given the extensive use of terrorist methods and the postpopulist experience of Alan Garcia, which dragged one of the oldest political parties of Latin America, the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*, (APRA) to a deep crisis. Other parties were also adversely affected, although not as directly as APRA. As a result, a new alternative emerged, one of outsiders and "new *caudillos*" who created a new type of regime: a plebiscite presidency. The legitimacy of such a regime is based on the support of the lower socioeconomic sectors and of the dominant groups in alliance, resulting in the figure of the chief of state. Within this framework, it is logical that popular perception shows signs of distancing and illegitimacy, as well as a lack of interest toward the actions of Congress. In a society that has been through so many changes, the state is expected to come up with solutions, and these are centered on one figure: the president. The president is a sort of "messiah," and in some cases he might even have certain characteristics of a savior.

¹² This is a reference to chaos theory. The emergence of a fractal society does not imply disorganization, but rather a way in which the perception is far from the lineal, geometric norms, which were normally used to describe these subjects until just recently.

Looking to improve the relationship between the political system and the ever-changing society in many countries, attempts have been made at decreasing the distance between representatives and their constituents. The idea is that the representatives be close to the voters, their "constituency." Yet, there is no word in Spanish for "constituency." The word "circumscription" has a limited technical definition, and thus does not have the conceptual contents. The idea of a societal community, where whoever wins an electoral race will attend to the needs of the community, regardless of his or her political background, is alien to the practices of the region's political culture. The search has thus been undertaken by way of political engineering. If a circumscription is created, it would be expected that the elected representatives would represent the interests of the citizens who elected them.

Normally, in current electoral regimes, the representatives are elected by a territorial entity with subnational characteristics. In Peru, this is done by departments, but the dominating criterion is that of the political group they represent. It is in that historical context that weight has been given to the formation of nation-states in a centralized fashion with the purpose of ensuring domination by a metropolitan authority extended to local political groups. The second premise is to maintain the proportional representation of the various political forces in Congress, so as to avoid the implementation of a territorially based criterion, especially when the system is not bipartisan.

In two other countries of the region, Bolivia and Venezuela, a system similar to that used in Germany has been adopted: a mixed system that moves to guarantee the preservation of proportional representation. The systems in Bolivia and Venezuela give the opportunity for personalized representation through circumscription, allowing for increased representation. The idea is that part of the legislature be elected through party lists and the other through uninominal districts.

Diagram #7: Representatives elected through circumscription.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
District representatives, or national representative from party lists.	<p>"Yes, maybe it would be good for each district to have its own congressman. But how would it work?"</p> <p>"There is a congressman from Huamanga. But all he does is raise his hand." (indicating he only votes)</p>	<p>No knowledge of the subject.</p> <p>It is useless if they don't have any abilities.</p>	Insecurity.

In the focus group meetings, at first the answers were ones of ignorance in reference to the possible proposal. This was accompanied by an emotional reaction of insecurity. Given that the subject is currently not in the political agenda, there was no sense in digging further into the matter. It is important to keep in mind that circumscription based representation implies a change in the way

politics is conducted. Otherwise, politics would mean a "show of hands," as was described by the participants in our Ayacucho sessions, or a representative may rarely go to his hometown, as was pointed out by those interviewed in Tarapoto. Moreover, in many of the cases in which there were territorial demands, the representative was transformed into a mayor or councilman, or a lobbyist in his department, and not a representative.

At the same time, we refer to the August 1997 poll undertaken by APOYO, which indicated a strong effort by the poll taker in the field because he had to explain the system patiently before being able to get an answer.

Chart #7: What would you prefer: to vote through party lists, or to vote through a mixed system of district circumscriptions? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
Mixed system	41	56	63	43	26	39	42	49	42	32
Local or district circumscriptions	33	29	24	34	37	36	30	24	33	40
Party lists	14	15	7	15	17	16	12	13	17	13
Don't know/ no answer	12	0	6	8	20	9	16	14	8	15

APOYO, August 1997

The answers indicate that Peruvians seem favorably predisposed to change. It would seem that it is feasible to implant a system similar to the German one in Peru, as was done in Bolivia and Venezuela. Yet, the reference to the party lists was rejected, not because of the methodology, but because of its implications about the existence of political parties. In the middle, we find a demand for purely local representation. This last option is preferred by the lowest socio-economic sector, which is also the one with the highest number of people who did not answer, contrary to sectors A and B, among whom there was a notably favorable reaction to a mixed system.

As part of the political engineering that aims at revitalizing the political system, several institutions have been promoted, such as the revocation of mandates or the promotion of legislation that encourages the participation and involvement of citizens in politics. In Peru, legislation has been drafted concerning citizen participation and control, but it is not even widely known by the population. In many cases, the focus groups not only found ignorance of the existence of the law, but also surprise.

Diagram #8: Citizen controls Revocation

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rational	Emotional Reactions
Law on citizen participation and control.	"We don't know about it."	Lack of knowledge.	Surprise.
Revocation.	"We don't know what it is."	Unfamiliarity.	Lack of confidence in its effectiveness.
Limits of the revocation.	"The revocation is a double-edged sword." "They can arm a movement to impede you from getting something done."	Doubts about the virtues of the mechanism.	Insecurity.

As for the revocation of mandates, the majority of those who participated in the qualitative studies did not know what it was, and those who knew a little about it did not know how it worked. Others expressed doubts about its efficiency, and a third opinion had to do with problems in its institution; they referred to it as a "double-edged sword."

In the ad hoc polls conducted by APOYO, we again asked about the subject, explaining to the poll taker what the institution did. In Peru, as in every other country where it exists, the revocation of mandates is limited to the municipal environment. The lack of credibility enjoyed by politicians is so high that extending the revocation to other areas would generate considerable instability in the political system.

Chart #8: Do you agree with the revocation or replacement of elected authorities? (in percent)

Responses	President	Congressmen	Mayors
Yes	74	84	79
No	21	11	15
Don't know / no answer	5	5	6

APOYO, August 1997

4. Elections. To vote.

As we have already pointed out, voting is the principal manifestation of political participation for citizens.

Diagram #9: To vote.

Subject	Debate Argument	Rationale	Emotional Reaction
Importance of the vote. Obligation.	<p>"Voting is a right. Yes. It should be done. It is a way of participating and electing someone to represent us."</p> <p>"Voting is a duty, but... I don't know, if it wasn't mandatory, it depends, I would see what they propose. If it interests me, I'll vote."</p> <p>"No. I wouldn't vote."</p> <p>"Most do it because it's mandatory."</p> <p>"Only those who know should do it. If not, what's the point?"</p>	<p>The rationale varies widely. Some expressed their positions from the notion of citizenship. For others, it should not be mandatory, but fundamentally as a result of the illegitimacy of parties and politicians.</p> <p>Some expressed an elitist position.</p>	<p>Cold topic. Does not interest them.</p>
Voting for president is different than voting for a congressman.	<p>"For president it's different. You have to vote because he's everybody's."</p>	<p>Perception of the president as the only real leader.</p>	<p>Affirmation of identity.</p>

In the qualitative study, many of the participants expressed doubts concerning their inclinations to vote were it not obligatory to go to the polls on election day. They would like to have more say, although it is not really clear what it is that they actually think. Voting is frequently a cold subject, one that does not inspire their interest and is alien to their emotions. In young people it was more evident that they would not accept a mandatory vote. An emerging point was that of voting only "if there is an interesting candidate." The quantitative study seems to indicate that those doubts are fundamentally manifested in the lower socioeconomic sectors, which is the one we interviewed extensively.

In the ad hoc study undertaken by APOYO, we asked if they considered their vote important to lead the country.

Chart #9: Do you consider your vote is important /not important for leading the country?

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
Yes	94	94	93	93	94	93	94	94	93	95
No	5	6	6	5	5	6	5	5	7	5
Don't know	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	2

The answers shown in Chart #9 are "politically correct." The chart also indicates that the vote is relevant to citizens. With the election of a governor, paths are clear. It is the base for representative liberal democracy, and this has apparently hit home with the citizenry.

Chart #10: Would you vote if it was not obligatory? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socio-economic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
Yes	68	79	81	69	60	71	66	62	67	74
No	29	21	16	28	36	25	32	35	31	22
Don't know	3	0	3	3	4	4	2	2	2	4

The quantitative ad hoc study indicates an overwhelming preference for the response "Yes". However, when figures are observed individually, it can be seen that lower socioeconomic levels tend to show higher degrees of doubt. Over one third of sector D answered that they would not agree to voting were it not mandatory.

5. Women and Politics

Diagram #10: Women in politics

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reaction
Role of women in politics.	<p>"If you are a woman in politics, they want you to write slogans on signs and make sandwiches."</p> <p>"They conclude that there are no arguments."</p> <p>"They (women) don't talk because they don't understand."</p>	<p>Discrimination.</p> <p>Conditioned participation.</p>	Impotence.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reaction
The feminine vote.	"Who do women vote for? Generally, for men."	"Cultural <i>machismo</i> ."	
Unorthodox methods of political careers.	"Susy* did good. She used what she had." *(Susy Diaz is a Congresswoman elected in 1965. She had previously been a nightclub dancer and used her physical attribute in her campaign)	Justification. Recognition of capabilities.	Admiration.
Gender and social policy.	(Women) "are the ones that know about social policy."	Experience put them in front.	
Women in public office	"Women are more responsible. They're not bought with a drink. In my neighborhood, there was a coup. Women took over because the men were no good. Now, women are the leaders and even the police force is better."	The overall situation favors women with a new framework for politics.	Pride.

In the qualitative studies there were some mixed groups with a clear polarization between men and women. In others, made up exclusively of one gender, there was clear difference in political recruitment. Although we expected certain characteristics similar to those of the men, this was not the case. The women had little in common with their male counterparts, just as was the case in El Progreso and Carabayllo.

In any case, the inclusion of women in politics indicates that a new framework is in place, with more attention paid to social issues than to the traditional concerns. The emergence of women goes together with that of outsiders. Women's political practices also tend to be somewhat informal. It is true that there have always been women politicians who could work very successfully within that framework. The majority, however, were viewed differently, as the following argument suggests: "They only want us for auxiliary matters." Today, we are facing a time of change, and the studies show this. The incorporation of women in politics will take place within a different framework. Thus, it is important to keep those changes in mind.

Chart #11: Why do you think there are few women candidates? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
They don't have opportunities	52	62	55	51	50	45	59	58	55	45
Lack of experience	26	17	19	23	33	27	25	20	22	33
Society is male oriented	5	6	5	9	2	6	5	7	5	5
Politics is not for women	5	9	9	3	5	8	3	5	7	4
Lack of confidence in women	3	0	4	5	1	3	2	2	3	3
They need more time	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0
Other	2	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	1
No answer	6	3	4	7	7	8	4	7	3	9

APOYO, August 1997

In the ad hoc quantitative study conducted by APOYO, we asked the above question with predetermined, multiple choice answers. The preferred answer was "because they don't have the opportunity." Between men and women, there was a high difference in favor of this answer. The answer "lack of experience" came in second place. This answer was most popular within the elderly population and the lower socioeconomic sectors. More men than women preferred the answer, "Politics is not for women."

It is clear that the answer "they don't have opportunities," was also cited in the case of young people in politics. As we can see, a new type of politics confronts the subject. The inclusion of women and young people in politics is a demand of this group. It is not clear, however, in which way or for what purpose women and young people should be included. Traditional politics does not appear to be on an appropriate playing field.

6. Political parties

Diagram #11: Political parties and classes.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Should there be political parties?	<p>"Participation implies party affiliation."</p> <p>"In Trujillo there are political parties."</p> <p>"There is only one choice, but..."</p> <p>"Political parties should exist, they should work for the good of all and not simply for the interests of one group."</p>	<p>Acknowledgment that this is a particularity of Trujillo.</p> <p>There is no rationale for the crisis suffered by political parties; it is a fact.</p>	Confusion.
Ideology.	<p>"The ideology of APRA is good..."</p> <p>[x]¹³</p> <p>"but it is outdated..."</p>	Controversy among those who do and don't believe it is still valid.	There is no appeal at this level, the subject is indifferent.
The politician.	<p>"Politicians should have social criteria and sensibility."</p> <p>"How can you recognize the one who is truthful, when they all say and present themselves in the same manner?"</p>	There is a demand for a high level of ethical commitment from the politician.	As the incarnation of virtues, the politician should be able to bring out rage and even veneration.

¹³[X] = Controversy.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
What is a politician?	<p>"Politicians are like actors in a theater who cover their faces with a mask to pretend they are something they are not."</p> <p>"It is not about being an artist, it's about following rules and some do a good job and others a bad one, filling their pockets."</p>	Criticism of the political action from an ethical standpoint.	
Why are there no parties?	<p>"Fujimori made parties 'satanic.'"</p> <p>"We were caught off guard, we don't know how to reconstruct parties."</p> <p>"But 'Cambio 90' is a party."</p>	Post hoc arguments for explaining the situation of the parties.	Does not awaken emotions.
The politician as the vendor of hope.	"Politicians always have a solution for everything, but only in words."	Contradiction, they want the politician to give them solutions, but they are conscious of the fact that they have limitations.	Does not awaken emotions.

The parties no longer awaken emotions. In all the groups, the topic was met with indifference, such as one would feel regarding an event that has already occurred and cannot be changed. They presented post hoc arguments to explain the fall of parties, and spoke more of politicians than parties themselves. The participants were not able to determine clearly whether it was necessary to have parties. It seemed that yes, they were necessary, but the low prestige of the political classes has leveled these organizations. Even in the case of new movements, people were quick to consider them parties.

7. *Becoming a Candidate*

Since the topic of parties was not a motivating one, we searched for another qualitative alternative: finding out if the participants were willing to become part of the practical political activity. After having strongly criticized politics, considered it a "dirty" activity, and proven that political parties are the reason, we tried to motivate the participants of these qualitative studies to speak of the possibility of becoming candidates themselves.

In the studies, their stands were divided. One group demonstrated a predisposition to being candidates, while another completely refused the possibility, whereas others pointed out that the possibility of becoming a candidate was linked to the availability of material goods, such as having sufficient money and time to accomplish something.

In different groups, some expressed that they would like for their children to be candidates. The idea of politics as a way of social ascent and of reaching a higher status is strong among the lower and lower middle classes. It is part of the old and desirable "Cinderella" dream, in which a person originating from the lower socioeconomic sector, from a "new slum,"¹⁴ a son or daughter of migrants from provinces is able to become president. It is obvious that they hope for this situation, which is a futuristic projection that emerges from their current situation, to repeat itself. Nonetheless, as they indicated in the discussions on the topic of political representation, they want to continue in agreement with the person who ascends; they do not want to be abandoned.

¹⁴Name for new urban dwellings, of a more or less precarious nature, conformed of migrants from small urban centers or somewhat rural areas of the interior.

Diagram #12: Becoming a Candidate.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Participation as a candidate.	<p>"Yes, of course we would be candidates."</p> <p>"I saw so much filthiness, I was disgusted, I would never do it again."</p> <p>"I would like for my children to be candidates." (employees of an AFP)</p> <p>"A 'pata'¹⁵ was told he could be a candidate on a list. I asked him: it's ten right? He was so excited, but I told him that it wasn't worth it because he would be put last on the list and only three get chosen, that it was a loss of time, and he didn't do it."</p> <p>"In order for me to run for candidate, or to help a candidate, I need to have an ideal... an ideal being, for example, to construct a sports center."</p> <p>"I don't discuss politics with my girlfriend." (youth from Progreso who said he was strongly in favor of women becoming candidates).</p>	<p>Politics as an ideal for service.</p> <p>Politics as a projection of personal ascent for their children.</p> <p>Politics as a way of obtaining personal benefits.</p> <p>Politics as a way of obtaining benefits for the group ("Corporate identity").</p> <p>Contradictory expression of what is politically correct and what is felt.</p>	<p>Idealism. Interest.</p> <p>Ambiguity.</p> <p>Personalism. Selfishness. Cynicism.</p> <p>"Tribalism."</p> <p>Duality.</p>
Why be a candidate?	<p>"To be a candidate one must have time and money."</p> <p>"A lot of time is lost, that is why it only works for those who already have a lot of money."</p> <p>"They are not aiming to win, but to defend the money they already have."</p> <p>"In the end, money is the owner of politics."</p>	<p>"Realistic" version of politics, distanced from ethical positions.</p>	<p>Acceptance.</p> <p>Cynicism.</p>

¹⁵Colloquialism meaning friend.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
A person originating from the lower socioeconomic sectors should be president.	"I wish my child could be president. That someone from a town (referring to a new slum) could achieve that..." (Housewife from El Progreso).	*That the representative be someone close, who feels and has lived like the majority "common people: 'like us.'"	Identification

In trying to define issues of gender and age, the question was also asked in the quantitative study. Surveyors were instructed to remind the interviewees that in congressional elections one can exercise a preferential vote, where one can select two candidates from the global list. We asked respondents to imagine that they had all the information regarding the gender and ages of all the candidates, and to explain which were their preferences. We asked the question with precoded responses.

Chart #12: Suppose next Sunday are the congressional elections and you want to exercise your preferential vote for two candidates. You would vote for...? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
Two men	11	3	12	14	9	14	8	8	8	16
Two women	5	3	7	5	5	2	9	4	6	5
One man and one woman	24	23	19	26	25	21	27	25	26	22
Sex isn't important	51	62	57	49	48	52	50	59	51	46
Don't know / no answer	9	9	5	6	13	11	6	4	9	11

Once the gender issue was taken up, more than half of the persons interviewed said it was not relevant. One-fourth gave a "progressive" response by stating they would vote for a woman and a man. The "orthodox machistas" surpassed the "pure feminists" by placing themselves in third and fourth preferred places. However, if one takes into account those which decided not to respond, then the two above would have remained in the last two places. Except in the case of machistas and feminists where there exists male and female predominance respectively, there is not much of a gender differential, unless when referring to age.

Chart #13: Suppose next Sunday there are congressional elections and you would like to exercise your preferential vote for two candidates. You would vote for...? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
Two older persons	46	41	46	49	45	46	48	53	52	36
One older person and a young one	23	21	25	22	22	23	22	26	21	21
Two youths	8	6	11	9	7	10	6	4	7	13
Not important	16	29	13	16	16	14	17	14	16	17
Don't know / no answer	7	3	5	4	10	7	7	3	4	13

In the case of age, the responses to the quantitative study were also closed from the start, and they were not surprising. The response "prefer to vote for two older persons" was favored by almost half of those interviewed. One-fifth of them opted for a compromise by pointing out that they could form a cross by selecting both, an older person and a young one. One of every six respondents said it was not important, while in the last places, there were those who opted for the response "two youths" or did not respond.

The conclusion indicates that in terms of gender and age, the conduct is predictable and that the substantial point is to revamp the means of becoming a candidate: political parties and movements.

8. Best and worst politicians

Both history and memory are tools for building the group's identity, but practically, they also serve as indicators of the socialization that is transmitted. Having seen the problem with the lack of legitimacy of political parties and the political class in general, the participants were motivated to tell us whom they would consider as models of good and bad politicians in Peru's past.

Diagram #13: Models of good and bad politicians in Peru's past.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Best twentieth century Peruvian politician.	<p>Predominance of names of present politicians, unaware or disinterested in the past (group of youths).</p> <p>VR Haya de la Torre, discussion on whether he was a politician or an ideologist.</p> <p>Mariategui as a dreamer.</p> <p>Belaunde, cited by several adult groups, especially for his work on infrastructure.</p> <p>Velazco, cited by peasants for his agrarian reform.</p> <p>Alan Garcia favored by agricultural workers.</p> <p>Fujimori, for ending terrorism, inflation, and disorder.</p>	<p>Effects of the media.</p> <p>Cofigurative vision of society on the part of the group of youths.</p> <p>Prefigurative vision of society on the part of the adults, especially in older ones.</p>	<p>Disinterest in politics.</p> <p>Nostalgia.</p>
Worst twentieth century Peruvian politician.	<p>"Joint version," references to Fujimori among those who have a negative profile (youths).</p> <p>Alan Garcia, dishonest, bad administrator (dominant position among the adults).</p> <p>Juan Velazco Alvarado who, although he had good intentions, destroyed the economy (divided positions among the adults; B sectors tend to have this vision).</p>		<p>Disinterest.</p> <p>Construct oneself a memory.</p>

The results of this question allow us to conclude why there is a preference for provincial men. For the youths there are no references to the past. Just as we pointed out earlier, there is a rupture in their thinking: it is cografative; their models and representations are situated in the present. The Peru in which they live seems to have no roots; they can speak only of the close present. For the adults, there is a mix of nostalgia, the myth of a better past and the hope for change. There are some characters who, in general, are not very controversial, such as Haya de la Torre, who is seen as an ideologist, a dreamer, but almost never the practical politician. Those who cited Mariategui also followed that line of thinking. Among the current politicians, Belaunde, and in a somewhat of a lesser degree Odria, were cited for their modernizing actions, meaning public works.

Velazco Alvarado brought out feelings of rejection and approval depending on the social sector and age of the person being interviewed. There was continuous naming of provincial men, such as Alan Garcia, who is seen to be above APRA. The majority insulted Garcia, but a few defended him. Then followed the current president, Alberto Fujimori, who just as Velazco, provoked hatred and love, in this case depending on the person; there was no sex or age discrimination. At most, one can point out recent changes in position which do not justify characterizing the President as harsh and authoritarian, even when the circumstances changed. Previously, this form of depicting politics was totally justified.

By citing these persons, one can better understand the Messianism that dominates a large part of public opinion. Keep in mind that the last three presidents were exclusively named. No alternative politicians were mentioned. As the state is still thought of as the motor of society, *and as there is no distinction between state and government*, it is hoped that the leadership is the one that provides a guide for Peru. Having criticized traditional politics and rejected political parties, for most Peruvians the President is still the most influential actor in politics. The "new *caudillo*" continues to be the reference for Peruvians, who are now attempting to convert the mechanisms of liberal democracy into ones that function in a plebiscite regime.

Parties and movements must be rebuilt from this point; to ignore this need could lead to the inefficiency of political action. Key to this is accommodating the fears and wishes of public opinion to begin constructing a new frame of trust in political action, which must rest on a new type of social contract. In other words, to rebuild parties, Peruvians must reach a consensus in society regarding the acceptable means to develop political life. Without building a web of solidarity and trust at the levels of family and institutions, little can be done and people will prefer to trust their personal luck to the protections "provided by high places," which are identified with the chief of state in charge at that particular moment.

9. Conditions for participation

Diagram #14: Conditions for participation — discrimination.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Discrimination.	<p>"I can work with anyone, but I don't have friends in other places...when I fill in an application I state that I live in Carabayllo and then I am not considered, even if I studied at La Molina and I had good grades." (Youth from the neighborhood El Progreso)</p> <p>"There is racial, economic, and social discrimination."</p> <p>Before, you weren't allowed in clubs if you had a rank, now even if you are a 'cholo' (from the low class,) but with money, you are accepted, and if not then you can pay your way in.</p>	Appreciation of an unjust situation.	Frustration, anger.

Diagram #15: Conditions for youth participation — age.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Influence of youths in politics.	<p>"Young people are not taken into consideration, our ideas are not heard."</p> <p>"Young persons are the present and not the future."</p> <p>(Youths) "have to understand their positions and not only the social conditions of all."</p>	<p>Contesting attitude that searches for a rupture to affirm one's role, even if they cannot express what they really want.</p> <p>Sensation of being in a hurry; another way to say they do not think they are taken into consideration.</p> <p>Inconsistency between speeches of solidarity and the personal life.</p>	Rebelliousness.

On various occasions in the course of the qualitative studies there emerged two strong conditions for participation: age and social condition. This did not occur with gender. The large presence and action of women in mother's clubs, soup kitchens, the glass of milk program, and, generally, in all assistance activities promoted by either the state or by NGOs has put "conservatism to good use."¹⁶ Women's actions, which are substantial in the social sector, are seen positively and, therefore, an active role for women has become more acceptable. This is particularly noticeable in local political circles, where there is greater female participation. In our study conducted in Tarapoto, it was very clear that members of a community had actually imposed a woman as a delegate to the mayor's office, given the inefficiency and corruption of men, who had been in charge until then.

With respect to age, young persons expressed that "they were not taken into consideration." They wanted to present their situation as one of exclusion. They attributed this to the "exterior world" and refused to accept that the majority of young persons reinforce this situation through attitudes that favor their isolation. In the market, the promotion of the category of "youth," was not correlated to power in political arenas. They have never been told that the same process which makes the value of "youth" stand out is part of the constant expansion of the market. Yet, this same process does not involve an extension of the political citizenry's actions. In a constantly changing world, in which it is very difficult to "decipher the writings on the wall," an attitude of rebellion, reflected by not playing or participating, is clear.

Only a firm action from the formal education system and from the mass media can correct the situation. The first of these alone is not sufficient. For every 700 hours children spend in the classroom per year, they spend anywhere between 1,000 to 2,000 hours watching television. Although the hours spent watching television are for entertainment purposes, the shows undoubtedly transmit values. It is not easy to influence television programs, especially since very little can be done at the local level. Regardless, one can do something regarding the formal education system while searching for a means to influence social mass communication systems.

The second factor for participation, social status, was a well-known topic among children of provincial parents in Lima. To live in northern cone barrios affected them. It is difficult to have friends in other sectors and to put up with being asked, "What do you want, eighty riffraff (*chusmas*)¹⁷ in Congress?" or "What do the Mamani or Quispe know about laws?" referring to last

¹⁶We take this expression from Carina Perelli's articles entitled "Putting Conservatism to Good Use. Women and Unorthodox Politics in Uruguay, from Breakdown to Transition," in Jane Jaquette, ed., *The Women's Movements in Latin America: Feminism and the Transitions to Democracy* (Boston: Unwin Hyman), pp. 95-123. In this article, the author, argues that women appeal to their traditional role to provoke changes or to resist, thereby leading social movements in new directions.

¹⁷*Chusmas* is a derogatory term used to describe persons from the bottom sectors of the population who are associated with a series of prejudices regarding their ethnicity, culture, social class, and education level; the English

names of "cholo" or mestizo origin common in the popular sectors. The social gap, in addition to the inequalities between the popular sectors and those who are higher¹⁸ on the social scale, is growing. If this distance is reflected in the mistreatment of persons, resentment is bound to surface. It is worth noting that feelings of resentment are the underpinnings of social turmoil. Therefore we conclude, once again, that there is a need to elevate social solidarity.

10. Trust in State Organizations.

Diagram #16: The Congress.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
The capacity of congresspersons.	<p>"Members of Congress are ill-prepared." (in several groups)</p> <p>"There is a problem with education, like in the university, where when you arrive, you must learn to adjust, you are missing something, and then you come out of there with form but little substance."</p>	Scholastic justification from an attitude of defense.	Deception.

equivalent would be "riffraff."

¹⁸According to a 1994 National Survey on Measurements of Life Levels (ENNIVI — Encuesta Nacional sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida), a household belonging to the poorest decile earned 488.4 New Soles, whereas the per capita income of those from the highest decile was 11,233.8 New Soles. For the richest 5 percent the per capita income was 15,568.2 New Soles and for the richest 1 percent it reached 32,496.5 New Soles.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Remuneration of congresspersons.	<p>"Members of Congress earn too much."</p> <p>(The moderator informs the group about the tendency to pay high salaries to members of Congress, government staff in general, and other elected persons in more developed countries and in South East Asia, and then asks them to compare the salary of a member of Congress and a banker.)</p>	<p>It was not possible to ascertain. The conventional and widely accepted idea is inconsistent with the information received.</p>	<p>Surprise; impossibility to adjust preconceptions and new types of information</p>
Duties of the members of Congress.	<p>"The Congress is full of speeches that go nowhere."</p> <p>"Talking of senators, right? I think they are doing nothing in the Congress. People ask for justice and they do nothing, they are just going around...Where are they? Why don't they enforce the laws, I would ask that they please do something."</p>	<p>High expectations regarding what members of Congress can do.</p> <p>Confusion of roles: members of Congress are seen as members of town councils, only at a higher level.</p> <p>No knowledge of the duties of Congress.</p>	<p>Dissatisfaction.</p> <p>Incomprehension.</p>
Corporatism.	<p>"It would be good if organizations such as unions and universities had representation in Congress."</p>	<p>Corporatism.</p>	<p>Does not awaken emotions.</p>

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Who should be a member of Congress?	<p>"It should be educated persons."</p> <p>"We cannot be represented by incapable persons; one has to have a technical education or knowledge." (in several groups)</p> <p>[X]¹⁹</p> <p>"Anyone can be a member of Congress, not only professionals." (in several groups)</p> <p>"The representative must have conditions or a trajectory, not so much academic credentials, but a career, which does not necessarily have to be politics — it can be in clubs, NGOs, business, etc."</p> <p>"There should be common persons in Congress. There is no reason why they should be professionals. Were the Incas professionals? What is important is the university of life. A peasant can be a member of Congress." (Former peasants from the Sierra of Ayacucho)</p>	<p>Distance between the representative and the represented.</p> <p>Elitism.</p> <p>Ambiguity.</p>	Uncertainty.

¹⁹[X] = Controversy.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Conditions for being a member of Congress.	<p>"They must serve the nation, not themselves."</p> <p>"I ask (the candidate) to be honest, and even to steal if it is necessary, as long as he works."</p>	<p>Contradiction: they want the best of both worlds: someone who is educated, but from the lower socioeconomic sectors.</p> <p>Requirement of values.</p>	<p>Elitism.</p> <p>Lack of trust.</p>
Congress and the lower socioeconomic sectors.	<p>What do you want, 80 <i>chusmas</i>* (riffraff) in Congress? (Jf/P)</p> <p>*<i>chusmas</i>: member of the lower sectors of the population and who are associated with a series of prejudices regarding their ethnicity, culture, social class and educational level.</p> <p>What do the Mamani or Quispe* know of laws?</p> <p>*last names of "cholo" or persons of mestizo origin, common in the lower socioeconomic sectors.</p> <p>"The debates in Congress are of no interest to the common person, there is no real dialogue."</p>	<p>They speak of the severity of the situation, but provide no alternatives.</p> <p>There is discrimination.</p> <p>Distance between classes, strata, educational levels, and ethnic and cultural references.</p> <p>Nineteenth century parliamentary forms are of no interest to the population, whose communication codes are at a different level.</p>	<p>Impotence.</p> <p>Lack of interest.</p>

A parliament should sanction laws and give general directions that sketch the political model of a country. The parliament is not an institution that should be involved in details or the micro management of daily issues; it attends to higher profile issues. A second task it must complete is the supervision and administration of the government's activities. This should not be confused with the juridical aspects of political activities.

The definitions in the above paragraph about what Parliament should be, were not what the majority of the persons interviewed in these focus groups believed. To them, the Congress is a place where the country, its persons, problems, vigilance, and fears must be "interpreted." They almost

see it as a theater. The "videocracy"²⁰ has radically changed the idea of representation. The majority of persons want to be heard. The exercise of one's voice²¹ is one of the most common demands in public opinion. The old ways inherited from the nineteenth century are now strangers, as we have shown: "The debates in Congress are of no interest to the common person."

Public opinion regarding the Congress is negative for two reasons: one is the contradiction between the old ways, which were proper in the parliaments of constitutional monarchies and which were replicated in all the Latin American republics; and second, power without responsibility (such as is exercised by the mass media which has no obligation to solve political or social problems), where the goal is not to solve social or political problems, is constantly pointing out failures in politicians.

The survey conducted by APOYO in the beginning of the year, for which a report was published in June, determined levels of trust in the various institutions. One can observe that no organization enjoyed a positive balance. Instead, low levels of trust prevailed, and are especially prevalent in reference to Congress and the judicial branch.

Chart #14: Trust in institutions (in percent)

Institutions	High Trust	Low Trust	Don't know / no answer	Doesn't know about it
JNE (<i>Jurado Nacional de Elecciones</i>) National Jury of Elections	35	48	6	11
ONPE (<i>Organización Nacional Electoral</i>) National Organization of Electoral Processes	33	45	3	19
<i>Defensoría del pueblo</i> (Country's Defender)	30	43	4	23
IDENTIDAD	28	40	5	27
Comptroller General	24	46	5	25
Attorney General's office (<i>Fiscalía de la Nación</i>)	20	54	6	20
Congress	15	79	6	-
Judicial branch	12	84	4	-

APOYO, June 1997

²⁰This is a reference from the well-known article written by Giovanni Sartori, entitled "VideoPower," in *Government and Opposition* (Winter 1988), pp. 39-53.

²¹Reference to Albert Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

One must take into account the fact that Congress and the judicial branch are the only two institutions that were familiar to all the persons interviewed. Many of the other organizations or institutions were unfamiliar to one or two in every ten persons interviewed, and therefore, the institution that has the highest rating of trust receives the trust of only one out of every three persons.

The "wearing down" that members of Congress must endure has been the reason for the constant renewal, at least partially, of congresses in other countries. Of course, many disagree with this measure, since it implies the loss of stability and backing of the executive. In many countries, this renewal can leave the executive with a minority of support in Congress. In parliamentary systems, where the possibility of carrying out a "constructive vote of confidence"²² exists, the subject can be eluded because of the change in composition of the executive. It cannot be accomplished in presidential systems. Putting aside the effects that the system of renewing legislatures can have on executive—congressional relations and political stability, we proceeded to ask in the ad hoc study whether this change should be implemented.

Chart #15: In some countries it is possible to renew the Congress mid-way through the presidential period. Would you be willing to implement this system in Peru? (in percent)

Response	Total Sample	Socioeconomic levels				Sex		Age Groups		
		A	B	C	D	M	F	18-24	25-39	40-70
In favor	74	79	83	74	70	76	73	69	76	76
Against	21	15	14	23	22	21	20	27	21	15
Don't know / no answer	5	6	3	3	8	3	7	4	3	9

APOYO, August 1997

Among those who replied in favor of renewing the Congress, we asked how it should be done:

²²The reference is to the constitutional systems of Germany and Spain, where a government can fall only if there is an alternative to replace. If this does not occur, the chief of state can appoint a chief of government by decree who will be in power until there is a viable government in place that can count upon adequate support from the legislative branch.

Chart #16: Complete or partial renewal (in percent)

Response	Total
Completely renewed	48
Half	17
One third	10
One fourth	13
Don't know / no answer	12

APOYO, August 1997

The responses were overwhelmingly in favor of renewing the Congress prior to the end of a presidential term. This was predictable given the low level of trust toward the Congress, which was also the reason for the predominance of the idea to renew the Congress completely.

11. The Government.

In all the qualitative studies, references to the current government and its leader, President Alberto Fujimori, constantly emerged. This is a feasible subject that can be taken up on the basis of arguments and reason, and the discourse seemed to follow this path. Fujimori brings out admiration and strong loyalty or antipathy. There usually is not a middle ground. The passion directed toward him shadows any reasoning. He was the acclaimed leader who took the country out of extreme hyperinflation and faced subversive groups who used terrorism as their principal weapon. Peruvians never forget this point, which is why many follow him and will continue to do so in the future. Others are changing their attitude; they believe his style is no longer suitable.²³ A third group, those in opposition, reject the actions of the president.

²³Winston Churchill could not count on the favor of the electorate in the aftermath of the great triumph of World War II and George Bush did not receive that of the North Americans after winning the Gulf War and integrating the 15 years of Republican government that undertook blows to the "interior and exterior Soviet Empire," thereby facilitating its implosion.

Diagram #17: Government.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Characterization of the political regime.	<p>"It is a dictatorship disguised as democracy."</p> <p>"The presidency imposes itself, its word is the law."</p> <p>"There is no dictatorship, but there also isn't a balancing power."</p>	It is about an authoritarian style.	Lack of tranquility.
Valuation of Alberto Fujimori's presidency.	<p>"It had its good things, like moving us out of the traditional."</p> <p>When electing Fujimori "we were choosing for a non-extremist."</p> <p>"The president did what had to be done." (starting in the year 1990)</p> <p>"His hand didn't shake, and a strong hand was needed."</p> <p>"He wasn't seen like a dictator ... but now..."</p> <p>"But now we thank him for everything he did."</p>	<p>A president and an authoritarian regime are justified when there is a crisis.</p> <p>With this they wanted to express he was between the various lefts, including the armed one, and the right which was embodied in Vargas Llosa's FREDEMO coalition.</p>	Fujimori brings out admiration and strong loyalty or antipathy. There usually is not a middle ground. The passion directed toward him shadows any reasoning.
Government management.	<p>"Today there are technical persons who know ... they are in their positions for a long time."</p> <p>[X]²⁴</p> <p>"But no channels of expression have been created."</p>	The efficiency and effectiveness of government management is valued. The lack of spaces for expressing one's "voice" is criticized.	Ambiguity.

²⁴[X]= Controversy.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Today's demands.	<p>"(Fujimori) makes schools, schools, schools..., all that is fine, but one can't eat with schools."</p> <p>"We had to go to the president's birthday party because the Pronal tells us how many associates we can take, if not, there is no subsidy. I have to go even if I am not with Fujimori..., because as the president of the committee for the glass of milk..., we need the 500 soles a month..."</p> <p>"There is no work and the children are on the streets."</p> <p>"With employment we only make enough money to cover our transportation costs and then there is hardly anything left."</p> <p>"Children have no future."</p>	<p>Different view of priorities.</p> <p>Accommodating to the circumstances.</p> <p>The new world of informality does not fit in the expectations of earlier generations.</p>	<p>Protest.</p> <p>Lack of hope.</p> <p>Pessimism.</p>
Regarding the rules of the game on the part of the government.	<p>"The constitution exists only in name, it isn't obeyed."</p>	<p>Contesting attitude from the students.</p>	<p>Rebelliousness.</p>

12. Judicial Branch.

As with the Congress, the judicial branch is not well liked by the Peruvians. Even though the majority of the persons interviewed in the qualitative groups had never had any direct contact with the judicial branch, their opinion of it was not good. In one of the groups that included a recently graduated lawyer and a law student, one of the participants stated that the Judicial Branch "is the most corrupt thing there is" and not one of the participants, including those mentioned earlier, denied this statement. It seems that there is a critical need to improve this institution's image, aside

from solving the substantial problems at the root of the situation. Peruvians seem to have an adverse feeling of distrust and contempt toward formal institutions of justice. It will not be possible to consolidate the process of democracy if this situation is not reverted.

Diagram #18: Valuation of the Judicial Branch.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Overall valuation of the subject.	"More justice is needed because equality is difficult."	Use of the concept of dignity as a base, or of neo-contractualism.	Protest.
Judicial branch and corruption.	"It is the most corrupt thing there is." (in the group there was a lawyer and a law student and they did not deny the statement)	Preconceptions and a perception founded on announcements of cases in the media.	Lack of trust. Contempt.
Judges and corruption.	"All the judges are somewhat corrupt."	No legitimacy.	Lack of trust.

13. Public administration, bureaucracy

In one of the groups we studied, the subject of vicious practices in public administration arose. The person who spoke of it practiced it and in some way justified it, as did other participants, as individual benefits that public servants get. But they did not justify it as a collective activity of the state organization. The perception of the administration as a tool of the government and not of the state is also part of the process of ridding the political system of legitimacy.

Supposedly, public administration is an apparatus of the state that serves society and is conducted by the government — which should be neutral. This not the perception of the citizens. Here, an attempt is made to effect a deep rooted change in the image. Just as in the case of the judicial branch, the general public perceives everything as "the government" or "the state," and it does not distinguish among the various organizations. These perverse tasks are part of the process that leads to the delegitimization of politics and politicians.

Diagram #19: Bureaucracy and its behavior.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Customs of the bureaucracy.	<p>"I quit my job as a public servant; I couldn't keep stealing the toilet paper..., I was earning so little." (now a merchant)</p> <p>"But you had alternatives, others didn't..."</p>	The bureaucratic system fell into bankruptcy and the salaries were very low. Consequently, many of the employees adopted corrupt practices.	This account did not involve emotions, only verification.
Bureaucracy and overpricing.	"I would charge the state enterprise 'x' (three times the price for the same product) that I would sell to brewery 'y', even though the last one would charge me more because it is the state." (merchant)	Bad practices.	Confession. Justification. Rejection.

14. Local Government

In all the groups the subject of local government was discussed, but, in general, as an anecdote without going into a full discussion of the subject. According to the lower socioeconomic sectors, in almost every case, the principal task of local governments is to carry out infrastructural works. These projects range from paving roads for "new towns," constructing small bridges over small waters that previously had isolated neighborhoods, and providing lighting, to managing "street vendors" or the informal workers. As long as local officials comply with their duty, it is acceptable for them to steal, to give benefits to the zones where they or their friends live, or to allow local government to be managed by a small group.

Nonetheless, there is always hope among the lower socioeconomic sectors that they can participate at that level. Sometimes they do this from an altruistic standpoint or simply as a way of solving personal problems by being able to access resources available to them.

Diagram #20: The Municipalities.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Municipal management.	<p>"There have to be public works, even if they steal."</p> <p>"They work on roads leading to their towns, not on all of them."</p>	<p>Local government in the hands of a small group of well known persons. Demand equal participation of "direct democracy."</p>	<p>Realist cynicism.</p> <p>Lack of trust.</p> <p>Egalitarianism.</p>
Participation in the municipality.	<p>"It's good to have neighborhood boards or mayors."</p>	<p>Greater participation eliminates the risks of management by small local oligarchies.</p> <p>Limits: forces all to participate until the "big brother" experience of neighborhood committees in socialist states is reached.</p>	<p>Between hope and deception.</p>

15. Electoral and Comptroller Organizations.

In the qualitative groups the new electoral structure is not yet clear. Sometimes they confuse the names and they are not sure of each organization's functions. The subject does not interest them. They are also unclear of what the comptroller and the Constitutional Tribunal are.

The subject of obtaining the new electronic voter identification card arouses limited interest. Some felt that there was a need to wait. Others stated that the cost of the card is higher and that obtaining it meant a loss of time. Some did not know it even existed.

On the other hand, the topic of electoral fraud was recurrent. The majority of the groups discussed how it was done. A person in one of the groups claimed to have once seen it done. The conclusion is obvious: besides improving the electoral system, the state needs to improve its image to stop prejudices regarding fraud.

Diagram #21: Knowledge and valuation of electoral and control organizations.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
ONPE (National Organization of Electoral Processes).	<p>"I think ONPE is what the Jurado is now, no?"</p>	<p>Lack of knowledge.</p>	<p>Little interest.</p>

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
JNE (National Jury of Elections)	"Something improved the system, there are organizations like ONPE and Transparencia, ²⁵ not only the JNE; but you can cheat everywhere as long as you want to commit fraud."	Conducting fraud is more difficult with the multiplication of organizations. Transparencia is included as an equal to the state organizations.	Lack of trust.
RNIEC/IDENTIDAD National Registry of Identity and Citizenry.	RNIEC: "What is it?" IDENTIDAD: "Isn't that what the Registry used to be?" (In several groups)	Lack of familiarity.	Little interest.
LEM: Electronic voting card.	"It costs about 20 soles. Is it mandatory?" "We don't have the LEM." (almost 80 percent of the persons interviewed in several groups) "When you have time, you don't have the money." "It costs 24 soles, plus 5 soles for the picture." "It only works to give you a headache; we already have it (a card)."	Lack of familiarity. The document doesn't have enough value for persons who have little contact with the banking system and advanced market. Their face to face contacts don't require identification.	Not very relevant.
Constitutional Tribunal.	Lack of familiarity with the organization and its function, even if it had been mentioned in more than one group.	Lack of familiarity.	Lack of interest.
Comptroller.	"I am unsure of what the Comptroller is..."	Lack of familiarity.	No interest.

²⁵NGO dedicated to civic education and monitoring of elections

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Fraud.	<p>"But very often there is fraud." (several groups)</p> <p>"They arrange the voting among themselves."</p> <p>"I never saw it, but I heard about it."</p> <p>"The current mayor paid 30 soles so that you wouldn't vote; I know because they offered it to me." [Another participant] "They would pay me 10 soles."</p> <p>"The electoral system is evolving a lot, but speaking frankly, politics is very dirty, which is why people lose trust in it. The problem is not the political system but the politicians."</p>	Asserted preconceptions regarding the operation of the electoral organizations.	Lack of trust.

To complete this view of the electoral organizations we transcribe below the results of a survey conducted by APOYO in metropolitan Lima. The survey asked about the levels of impartiality of certain organizations. The opinion regarding the judicial branch and the Constitutional Tribunal is very bad. The two organizations of the electoral system cited above are at an intermediate level, with the National Jury of Elections reaching a positive one.

Chart #17: Impartiality of Government Institutions (in percent)

Organization	Impartial	Not Impartial	Does not reply
People's Defender	50	37	13
JNE	45	41	14
ONPE	38	43	19
Judicial Branch	26	68	6
Constitutional Tribunal	28	63	9

Data collected by APOYO from 517 cases in Greater Lima, taken from El Comercio of Lima dated August 24, 1997. This chart is read horizontally.

16. The Police.

An important subject in political participation is the relationship of security organizations and the citizenry. In general, in developing countries, the image of the police is not very good. Police officers are not well paid so recruitment is not ideal. The organization structure is not modern, it does not have good equipment, and the training given to the personnel is not good either. The citizenry makes these comments, not like a specialist would, but based on their observations of the results, the negative aspects, and the abuses.

Nonetheless, there is one important point: The citizens generally do not consider police abuses to be intentional or meant to have political effects, but as a result of structural problems.

Diagram #22: View of the police.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Police Abuse.	<p>"Sometimes the police mistreat you, they are authoritarian, they push you or they beat you."</p> <p>"There is a little of everything, and people don't realize that they have rights."</p>	<p>Because it is an authority, it acts like that.</p> <p>Education is necessary to defend oneself.</p>	Impotence.

17. The Army.

In discussing the topic of participation, we spoke of the military service. In all the qualitative groups, except in the one with peasants from the sierra of San Jose de Secce, we did not find a single person who had completed military service. Several had been drafted and taken to military quarters, but finally they "arranged" to pay for a military card, which exempted them or stated they had completed their military service.

Given that military service is not universal, and that only those who cannot afford to pay for a military card serve, we asked the focus group participants if it was good or not to keep the institution of the "Mandatory Military Service".

In all the groups, the discussion was divided.²⁶ Many spoke of how it is a duty, but others, with a higher level of education, favored eliminating it and instituting a professional army. Yet,

²⁶In the end of 1994, we asked the same question in a study conducted by APOYO for the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, and the responses were equally divided.

even among those who were in favor of the current system, there was talk of the need to end the abuses and the draft. Peruvians from the peasant sierra prefer to serve in the peasant patrols than in the army. Many students spoke of fulfilling their military service through military courses in schools.

No one referred to national military service or of any other type of service, be it civil or military, as being a formative step for youths or as a way of increased participation and the country's social assets. Many countries instituted a citizen service as a way to integrate and increase the sense of belonging and identity among citizens of the nation-state; at the same time, a citizen service helps to develop solidarity with and belonging to a community, as well as a sense of justice. A civil service requires more from society than does a military service, for the latter service is fulfilled by one sector of society. Thus, it might be pertinent to discuss new ways to achieve a commitment with society.

Diagram #23: Discussion regarding the military service.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Should or shouldn't one do military service — males' opinions.	<p>"One should do the military service."</p> <p>[X]²⁷</p> <p>"It shouldn't be done, its unnecessary." (controversy in several groups)</p> <p>"Why not only go back to premilitary training in schools?"</p> <p>"It is arbitrary."</p> <p>"They learn to respect their parents, they learn discipline, and they aren't on the streets."</p> <p>"They don't even clothe you and the draft is wrong."</p>	<p>Those who can pay to avoid having to do their military service will do so and this way they get out of it.</p> <p>In practice, the idea of service doesn't exist, it is one of imposition.</p> <p>But for the majority there is an ideal, a duty, which would indicate the need to complete it. The discrepancy arises with the way in which it is done, with the practice.</p>	<p>Distance; the topic is not practical.</p> <p>Abstract idealism and commitment.</p> <p>Refusal from the minority sectors.</p>

²⁷[X] = Controversy.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Should or shouldn't one do military service — females' opinion.	"The men don't want to do the military service because it is a loss of time."		Discontent.
Military Card.	"It is no good; they give it to you for three years." (young and older ayacuchans)	Given the draft system, the card does not adequately reflect the mandatory obligations to the military.	Lack of trust. Impotence.
Alternatives.	"The patrols are better."	In a community in the sierra where there were no Sendero Luminoso activities, peasants preferred to participate in the peasant patrols.	Sensation of self control.

18. Values.

In almost all the focus groups, the demand for an ethical standpoint was constant. The word value popped up in the beginning of each meeting. The discussions that ensued were, at time, very strong. Many indicated that "one doesn't eat from ethics." Peru, which has undergone a profound social change such that families must deal with high levels of tension and institutions do not seem to hold up to the brunt of new demands, people seek refuge in demanding an ethical stance. When "money has become equivalent to God," those who have a tough time obtaining it wish that there were values (at least for the rest).

There is a rupture in the attitude of young persons toward the traditional family. They wish for permissiveness and want to fit in, and they do not want the old patriarchal ways to continue, but at the same time they want to have a frame within which they will know what to do.

Having stated their arguments in the discussion regarding values, an emotional reaction flourishes: The "realists" found refuge in cynicism and acceptance. Those who insisted in adopting strong values were simply hoping. There were no intermediate positions.

The ethical demand also derives from and extends itself to the political sphere. There exists the expectation that those who dedicate their lives to politics should have an elevated ethical stance. It could almost be said that they are looking for saints. Since the majority are not, it should not come as a surprise that "antipolitical" attitudes prevail and that people continue to search for a leader who will save them. This search for a "messiah" implies that people will not accept having to pay

politicians well,²⁸ and it was evident in several groups that the discussion over the topic seemed to be surprising and out of context.

Diagram #24: Ethics and Politics.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Politics and ethics.	<p>"The key to the future is in the affirmation of values."</p> <p>[X]²⁹</p> <p>"One cannot eat from ethics." (controversy in two groups)</p> <p>"A society without economic growth can't hold itself, it will collapse."</p> <p>"We don't have development due to a lack of values, but we don't have them due to a lack of economic growth, how do we break this vicious cycle?"</p> <p>"With a new democratic conscience, they won't steal, there will be people who work for the country, who fulfill their jobs."</p>	<p>In the middle socioeconomic sectors, B and C, the call for ethics was constant.</p> <p>Along with the view of politics as a "dirty and foul" activity, two reactions appear, one of escape and the other which demands the inclusion of ethics as a way to redeem this activity.</p>	Faced with realism vs. ethics: hope or cynicism.

²⁸Several groups were informed that in many countries the members of the political class are well paid as a way to attract well-educated persons in government and as a method of deterring corruption. When they were told how much they could be paid, an amount similar to the salary levels of managers in a private enterprise, the first reaction was surprise and the second was not to accept the information given as a norm for discussion.

²⁹[X]=Controversy.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Family as the basis for participation.	<p>"Participation begins in the family."</p> <p>"We need to help our children in school."</p> <p>"To educate the parents."</p> <p>"To promote formal education."</p>	<p>Idea that participation is democratizing the family.</p> <p>For the new generations, very little from the past will be valuable to receive; on the contrary there will be much to overcome.</p> <p>Search for alternatives.</p>	Attitude of rupture.
New people in governments.	<p>"We need a government that works for the people, so we need to start from scratch. If one person from the past remains, it's no good. If one person remains (meaning if the new government is integrated with people who have experience) then everything is the same because they teach the others (corruption)."</p>	<p>The idea of radical change explains why there is a search for the "anti-politician" who is not "contaminated."</p> <p>Very contradictory position because it is not possible to make it a reality, except if there is a revolution that completely sweeps away an economical, social, and political system.</p>	<p>Rupture. Fed up.</p> <p>Messianism (Justification for new movements with a message of salvation).</p>

19. NGOs and Assistance.

In several sessions, we discussed the subject of assistance and, consequently, the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) or state institutions that practice it. In principle, for the adults the difference between NGOs and political organizations is clear. They comprehend that NGOs are not representative and in some sessions they went as far as to state that these organizations could be irresponsible and that in many cases they do not have clearly defined goals, that they exist to serve the personal interests of the members of their board of directors.

The demand for ethics, which had been previously mentioned, was posed alongside the accusations against assistance programs because of the paralysis and perversion they introduce in many communities. The criticism that was most often heard was that these organizations "make persons get used to receiving" and therefore take away the incentives of helping oneself. Assistance has become a "postmodern clientelism," a horizontal way to practice it. Its main problem was that it promoted a mind set of dependency, of believing that it is a right to be assisted constantly because of a bad situation into which one has fallen, without giving one's fair share.

Regardless of the criticisms, those who are outside of the circuit complain of the lack of attention they receive.

The topic requires attention. *Programs that promote something must not eliminate initiatives nor create dependencies.*

Diagram #25: Assistance and NGOs.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Role of the NGOs.	<p>"There are things fit for NGOs and others for parties."</p> <p>"Why aren't NGOs representative?"</p>	Clear differentiation between the roles of NGOs and parties.	There is none.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Assistance.	<p>"Assistance is bad because people get used to receiving."</p> <p>"Many await the delivery of supplies while they simply sit down and do nothing."</p> <p>"Sometimes they even sell it for alcohol."</p> <p>"There are programs for feeding children and avoiding malnutrition. [But] there are mothers who don't give all the assistance to their children, thereby keeping them undernourished and eligible to receive even more."</p> <p>[X]³⁰</p> <p>"But that food is needed."</p> <p>"The glass of milk and the soup kitchens are important."</p>	Contradiction between ends and unwanted results.	<p>Discontent.</p> <p>Displeasure.</p> <p>Passiveness.</p>
Strong presence of NGOs only in certain zones.	"In other places like Villa Salvador they have programs, but here, what?" (Inhabitants from Carabaylo, in the northern cone of Lima)	Unequal in their treatment. Some zones receive aid, while others with similar problems receive no assistance.	Sensation of desertion.

20. Clientelism.

Political clientelism is a continued practice, albeit sporadically during an election year. This practice also tends to have horizontal characteristics. People are dealt with in groups, not as individuals. Assistance, on the other hand is an everyday practice. In the focus groups we

³⁰[X]=Controversy.

discovered that a new clientelism had replaced the old, decadent, political version. The August 1997 poll undertaken by APOYO at our request clearly shows that there is a tendency toward a return to clientelism. The answer which expressed that to participate was to "be able to expect political favors in return" was insignificant: Zero percent. Only three people out of 504 felt this was a possibility.

Diagram #26: Political clientelism.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Horizontal political clientelism.	"When there are elections, there are parties, but we don't know whom to choose. We do it because they give things away and offer things. We are wrong to accept these gifts. They are only using us."	It should not be accepted, but...	It does not faze them. They're getting something.

21. Liberties

Given that we spoke to more than just one group about authoritarian tendencies, we asked the participants if they had guaranteed liberties in the country. In the context of the conversations, it became clear that there were political prisoners and that, at the same time, there is a high degree of freedom of expression. However, there are several expressions of fear that were rationalized and even argued for. Presumably, there is still a persistent, residual level of insecurity in the country, emerging from the political violence of the 1980s, whose height was reached in the early 1990s. This makes some people feel that they are not completely free, although all indicators seem to point out that in fact there are full liberties. There is some measure of discrepancy in this point.

Diagram #27: Description of the status of basic liberties.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Right to privacy and freedom of expression.	"You don't have an opinion if there is no liberty." "Before this meeting, we joked that there was (indicating that in fact there was not) a lot of wire-tapping in the telephones." (or other types of interference against privacy from the security apparatus)	Acceptance about a fact of how the system works.	Fear.

22. Labor unions

In some of the adult groups we met with, we talked about the lack of protection for workers, especially the lack of "union voice." Today, these old methods of participation have practically no space, and to many of the adults there is really no adequate alternative.

Diagram #28: Labor unions.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Union protection.	<p>"The unions died... now they pay us whatever they want, you have to work from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. for 22-24 <i>nuevos soles</i>. (Electricians in Carabayllo)</p> <p>"There is no union voice to protect you."</p> <p>"And they took away your insurance." (reference to social security)</p>	The protected labor market presented more options to the lower socioeconomic sectors who could go to the industrial sector.	<p>Nostalgia.</p> <p>Wishing to go back to old times — perceived as the golden days.</p>

23. Information and media

In all the meetings, the news media were mentioned, as well as other sources of information. In many meetings, the question of whether there was a free press emerged. Some mentioned the example of a popular television commentator who constantly attacks and criticizes the government. Some dismissed him while others defended him. Although there is a large number of media sources, whether television, radio, or press, there is an underlying suspicion that everything that is said through the mass media is somehow controlled.

As for the confidence and faith in the media, there were no signs that it had eroded or diminished. When more specifics are asked or discussed regarding this point, some are not too sure. Most seem to see the press as an amplifier, but not necessarily as something that has influence.

As far as what is seen on television and people's preferences, young people said that they only care about what affects their everyday life: shows, sports and everything that brings them a little entertainment. They are not at all interested in important developments regarding the country, such as politics.

In other words, without a basic level of socialization there is very little that can be done other than simple image campaigns and the like.

Diagram #29: Media.

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Free press.	"There is free press and freedom of expression...the market functions... but it won't go further, everything is already determined."	They manipulate through ideas.	Unhappiness.
Young people and the media.	"We read entertainment and sports — for politics, we only read the title." (young people from almost every group) "I try to watch the newscasts but sometimes I don't pay attention because they repeat everything too much."	It is not worth knowing about something that does not matter. There are other priorities.	Lack of interest.
Peasant leaders and the media.	"I try to read, listen, and see so that I can answer and know what is going on and work in my organization. This way I can talk to the authorities." (Peasant leader in Ayacucho)	For people with formal instruction, leaders for example, it is important that they have as much information as possible.	Necessity.
Trust in the media.	"In order to form my opinion, I would have to watch several (newscasts)." "Sometimes they exaggerate."	Too much information.	Lack of trust.

24. Country's model

After hearing constant criticism from all the focus groups, we wanted to know if they viewed Peru as an adequate model of a country with an open, free-market economy. Please keep in mind that these criticisms were merely an exercise in expressing their opinions — they wanted to be heard. It was clear that they wanted liberty and a democratic regime, but as for Peru being a model of an open, free-market economy, there were diverging opinions. There is a sector that expressed unhappiness and outright rejection, while another sector showed resignation. There was a feeling of uncertainty, however, in all the groups. Those were the major reactions to the above mentioned subject.

Adults especially reminisced about a time when the state protected the people. Many miss the old populism. Consequently, some of them spoke openly about returning to a protectionist state. Most of these belonged to social strata "D" as mentioned in this study: people who were about to climb the ladder to the next echelon of society, aided by the protectionist measures, but were unable

to. Although many are still not completely sold on the idea, those groups with a higher education accept that there are hard realities with which they have to live.

Among young people, there is a new attitude. To them, there is no clear image or memory of state protectionism. They do, however, share some feelings of uncertainty and wonder where things are headed.

The informal sector is one of the most obvious manifestations of how the country's economy functions. This sector offers an alternative for gaining some type of income in Peru's ever-changing labor climate, which is limited by the transformation that the economy is undergoing. Most of the people in the groups we talked to were unaware of the big changes taking place throughout the world, changes that we can refer to as *globalization*. Comprehension may be partial, but it would be very difficult to provide a clear understanding as to where all of this may be leading.

This is a subject that, for all intents and purposes, is impossible to examine rationally. It is true that an open economy is not only favorable, but adequate as well. But its costs are high, and the lower socioeconomic sectors have a hard time understanding them. Normally, the greatest and most significant technological and organizational advances have not taken place with the participation of all of the population. This is the expected result.

One can not inform the lower socioeconomic sectors that the GNP (gross national product) has increased exceptionally to a rate of 8 percent annually. To them, national economic indicators have no meaning. They have other things to worry about. This is why the government must make it clear that it has to deal with limited resources; not all demands can be met, but that there is a high level of comprehension and sympathy for them. It is not a matter of having a purely technical approach to the matter, but rather to understand and identify the needs of those at the base of society.

Diagram #30: Open or closed economy.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
Controversy between open and protectionist models.	<p>"Foreigners will take it."</p> <p>"Foreign firms recuperated everything. For example, in the telephone company they just had to charge."</p> <p>"So why didn't we do it?"</p> <p>"To be closed, we are behind and don't know."</p> <p>"The competition does not allow mobility. We have to go back to protectionism."</p> <p>"We'd have to stop imports, create domestic firms and jobs. Local labor should be well paid."</p> <p>"You can't deny it was necessary (the measure taken by Fujimori) — and the way to go about it also. Was such a high social cost necessary? Of course, you can't compare to (Alan) Garcia — some things are better."</p> <p>"There will be growth, but there is suffering."</p> <p>"Society is not free. To be free you must have money. It is not equal either."</p>	<p>Nationalist arguments. Ignorance of the facts. Inferiority complex. Self pity & self incrimination.</p> <p>Justification.</p> <p>Acceptance of a change in path.</p> <p>The new generations are doubtful, but they accept the new ways by force.</p>	<p>Unhappiness. Confusion.</p> <p>Resigned acceptance.</p> <p>Unhappiness. Reaction.</p> <p>Uncertainty.</p>
Politicians and promises within the new framework of an open market = inconsistencies.	<p>"Politicians talk and talk — they promise but don't come through. That's why so many people destroy the ballots or draw blank ballots."</p> <p>"They all promise jobs. But of the 100 percent that promise, if 10 percent actually come through it would be too much."</p>	<p>Maintain old ideas of clientelism.</p> <p>Inconsistencies between expectations and the new roles of politics and politicians.</p>	Disenchantment.

Subject	Debate Arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
The functioning of the informal sector.	<p>"Do you see any improvements? There is still unemployment."</p> <p>"But there are young people who don't look (for work)." "Nobody blames the government" (about unemployment).</p> <p>"There must be job creation — that's why there are so many working in the informal sector."</p> <p>"It's good that they clean-up downtown Lima, but it's wrong to leave these people without a job. They don't give them any time to adapt to the new situation."</p> <p>"Myself, as a tailor, sometimes I hire ten or twelve young women. But if there are no orders...Our things are sold in S (name of a popular store in Lima where good quality products are sold) 7 to 8 times more than what they pay us here."</p>	<p>Conditional acceptance of the new conditions required to obtain income from labor.</p> <p>Perception that the government will re-create the populist cycle.</p> <p>Inconsistencies. The costs for different options is not accepted.</p> <p>Familiarity with the mechanisms for the formation of formal and informal markets.</p>	Resigned acceptance.

25. Future of Peru

The last subject to consider, one that is linked to the previous topic, refers to the future of Peru. It is an overwhelming issue. Uncertainty does not allow Peruvians to visualize what the future might bring. Not even within the middle class sectors, which have a higher level of education, was it possible to get an answer. The primary reactions depended heavily on the dominating characteristics of each individual. Some were optimists, others were pessimists. But these were simple answers, without arguments or insights.

Among the younger sectors of the population, there too was an attitude of "live and let live." When asked about the possibility of leaving the country and emigrating elsewhere, it was clear that, for many of them, this was not an option. That was an option of the past. Today, emigration is referred to only in national terms.

Finally, the statist and *caudillista* characteristics were brought to light: The future of the country depends on "who gives orders, the next president..."

Diagram #31: What will happen in Peru in the coming years?

Subject	Debate arguments	Rationale	Emotional Reactions
The president and the future.	<p>"It depends on who runs things — who the next president will be."</p> <p>"Hopefully, whoever runs things, does things, and doesn't just talk about it."</p> <p>"The 'head' (referring to a leader) is the key."</p> <p>"We hope that a leader will show up... maybe someone from a young crowd."</p> <p>"Besides, the media will point toward the (head)."</p>	<p>There is none. Everything is linked to emotions.</p>	<p>Passivity.</p> <p>Waiting for a "messiah"— a savior.</p>
To emigrate/ Not to.	<p>"Before, everyone wanted to leave the country...now I'm different. I think one can live here." (Young person from the country)</p> <p>"The strength is with the young people."</p>		Optimism.
What will Peru be like in five years?	The subject is avoided. What matters is the present.	Impossible to articulate any sort of answer.	Uncertainty.

V. Focus Group Participants

Lima

Carabayllo

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Men	18-30	13
Women	18-30	12
Men	30-50	10
Women	30-50	14

Magdalena

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Mixed	30-50	10

Lince

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Men	18-30	13
Women	18-30	12
Men	30-50	10
Women	30-50	14

Trujillo

Trujillo

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Mixed	18-30	11
Mixed	30-50	11

Ayacucho

Ayacucho

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Mixed	18-30	12
Mixed	30-50	13

San Jose de Cecce

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Mixed	18-30	14

Tarapoto

Tarapoto

Gender	Ages	Number of Participants
Mixed	18-30	13
Mixed	30-50	9

FILES Rial, Juan
LA POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
.P4
IFES
no.1

FILES Rial, Juan
LA POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
.P4
IFES
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