

EQUALITY TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY

ANALYSIS OF LGBTI CANDIDACIES
IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESSES FROM
2006 TO 2016

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Peru. National Jury of Elections (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones)

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FOREWORD

The political and legal equality of all citizens is a fundamental value of modern democracy. In the face of this, Peruvian democracy has made great progress in the last fifty years and, in turn, faces new challenges, such as distrust on its main institutions, corruption at all levels of government, persistent clientelistic practices, among other issues. These are challenges that damage the citizenship of all Peruvians and impede the consolidation of democracy and the effective exercise of rights.

For that reason, the powers of the State and its institutions are obliged to take actions to confront and solve the disadvantage in rights and opportunities of all its citizens. They must also make decisions aimed at reducing the inequalities of vulnerable individuals and groups.

This title, *Equality to strengthen democracy: Analysis of LGTBI candidacies in the electoral processes from 2006 to 2016*, pursues, to some extent, the following objectives: i) to make visible the existence of discriminated individuals and groups, in this case lesbian, gay, trans, bisexual and intersex; and ii) recognize their participation in different areas of life, specifically in political life. From this, the existing mechanisms of exclusion are identified, as well as discriminatory behavior, practices and processes that occur, or are likely to occur, in the political electoral area. This recognition opens the possibility of designing and implementing active policies to reduce inequality progressively.

In this way, this investigation, promoted by the National Jury of Elections, through the National Office of Education and Citizen Civic Training (DNEF) and the Observatory of Public Policy for Sexual Diversity

(DISEX) of the Research Group on Public Policy and Public Management of the School of Government and Public Policy of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP), seeks to account for the obstacles faced by LGTBI citizens to influence political decisions of the communities of which they are part and to exercise their political rights as an integral manifestation of human rights. This is undoubtedly a pioneering study that was made possible with the support of the Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights (Promsex) and the Gay & Lesbian Victory Institute.

Equality is one of the pillars of democracy. Any activity that attacks it and generates greater inequalities in the participation of its citizens means a risk for the construction and permanence of a democratic regime. Therefore, we aim at a democracy in which it ensures that citizens have the right to decide on the type of society they want and on the people who have to represent it, as well as on the laws that govern it.

Hence, it is necessary to design and implement measures of diverse order, among other goals; a) guarantee the right to consultation and participation of indigenous peoples and village communities; b) promote the participation of women, LGTBI people, Afro-Peruvians, young people, people with disabilities, villagers and indigenous people in the political sphere and in positions of popular representation; c) to train officials of electoral bodies to guarantee conditions that ensure that every person has the right to vote without discrimination, such as taking the necessary measures to enable people with disabilities and trans persons to exercise their right to vote; d) increase the level of participation in the elections of all Peruvians abroad; and e) promote the use of indigenous languages in the media and increase access to such media by the indigenous population and people with disabilities. All this must be added to the impulse of normative measures for the strengthening of the political organizations and to raise the levels of representation and transparency.

Finally, the construction of a more just, free and equal society, based on the principle of equality and non-discrimination, is a work that involves us all. Electoral bodies, political organizations, the media and all authorities and social actors involved in electoral processes are also responsible for optimizing the existing mechanisms and making available effective, accessible and adequate resources for all citizens and, in this way, make effective the respect for the dignity of every person.

June 2017

Víctor Ticona Postigo

President of the National Jury of Elections

PROLOGUE

In recent years, the agenda for discussion in Latin American democracies has changed. While it is true that the old problems that are inherited from democratic transitions continue to be present, there are new challenges, inherent to its contemporary condition, that are not necessarily circumscribed in the legacies of transition or economic model reforms that derived from the 1990's.

Amongst the challenges that democracy faces, it is necessary to pay attention to the inequality of treatment which, combined with socio-economic inequality, has harmful effects on the exercise of individual freedoms, by limiting political participation and the incidence of citizenship in public affairs.

In that sense, it constitutes a challenge on the agenda of this research to deepen in the necessary mechanisms to make reality the equality of rights of individuals and groups in a situation of vulnerability, being one of these populations affected in the non-recognition and violation of their rights, lesbian, gay, trans, bisexual and intersex people (LGTBI), for which it is necessary to generate evidence in these issues, to enable the formulation of public policies and, with it, the comprehensive recognition of the LGBTBI population. Also, we need to highlight the generation of research to communicate to the society the need for a paradigm shift towards a more diverse and equal society.

In light of this situation, the National Jury of Elections, through the National Office of Education and Citizen Civic Training (DNEF), seeks to contribute to the formation of a democratic citizenship that recognizes the existence of historically excluded individuals and groups, to whom

the standards of the majority or privileged groups must not be imposed. On the contrary, their specific needs must be acknowledged and it must also be recognized that some of their seemingly personal problems and circumstances are structured by laws and policies that can only be solved through political action (Leydet 2014), since public and private spheres “are, and have always been, intrinsically connected” (Okin 1992: 69).

Thus, in 2015, the JNE highlighted the need to include, amongst other approaches, the gender approach, considering women and LGTBI people in government plans (Resolution N° 0305-2015-JNE). In that same year, twenty-one political parties signed the Ethical Electoral Pact, committing, for the first time, to incorporate the mentioned approach in their plans and proposals.

In 2016, the National Plan For Civic Education and Training 2016-2019 (Resolution N° 110-2016-P/JNE) was approved, which recognizes LGTBI organizations as an objective public, together with those groups related to the promotion of political rights of women, young people, villagers, indigenous people, Afrodescendants, people with disabilities, among others. This plan also proposes the Program for Political Equality, a cross-cutting strategic program for all educational intervention that seeks to encourage the exercise and promotion of effective political electoral participation under the principles of equal opportunities and the right to non-discrimination.

On the other hand, from the social sciences seeks to explain the reality and causality between variables or, in some cases, only descriptions of study cases to generate information and learn from experience. In a special way, from the political science and the study of the public policies research is produced and evidence is generated on the social processes and power relations that concern the State and the multiple actors involved in the political process.

In this context, in Latin America and in particular in Peru, many of the studies of the discipline have been characterized by a *methodological mainstream* or dominant methodological current, which emphasizes the causal identification between social processes and independent variables, in order to test deductive theories that, unfortunately, have left in the way the concern to learn much of the reality in the process. This *mainstream* or dominant approach in academia goes hand in hand with a strong concern for standards of what we call *academonormativity* (parallel to *heteronormativity*)¹ that has characterized production in research for overestimating formality and structure, for which “we select possible questions to be addressed with the methodology awarded by the academic community, even knowing that they are questions that probably are not socially relevant” (Luna 2015: 150).

In this context, from the Observatory of Public Policy for Sexual Diversity (DISEX), the Research Group on Public Policy and Public Management of the School of Government and Public Policy of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP) comes the proposal to move from overestimation of the formality and structure towards the search of relevance of the social impact in the investigations in progress, so that these contribute to generate evidence on public problems that cross our societies and try, as much as possible, to discuss them, analyze them and, better yet, make recommendations to solve them.

Currently, the School of Government and Public Policy has varied academic research on the description and explanation of major reforms, modernization and organization of the State, as well as on political parties. However, it is necessary to go a step further to ensure that all this literature contributes to the decision-making processes, generating knowledge about the methods, political, institutional and operational conditions of the reforms, as well as about the challenges and the new agenda that the democracies in the region are facing.

¹ *Heteronormativity*: Understood as the set of expectations, demands and restrictions produced when heterosexuality [as sexual orientation] is taken as a norm within a society (Chambers 2007).

Consequently, we mean that the academy plays a decisive role, as a bridge, in the communication between the State and the citizens, for which we have the enormous responsibility to make visible the concerns of the society to generate information that contributes to its solution. We can not, then, become entangled in the *academonormativity*.

Joining efforts provides the opportunity for the State and the university to work hand in hand, strengthening and institutionalizing their commitment to the realization of the rights of all, without any discrimination, and with equal opportunities. Only in this way it is possible to live in a true democracy.

Thanks to the members of the research team: Alejandra Navarro, Julián Mezarina, Carlos Alza, Denisse Castillo, Mario Ramírez, Laleska Salgado, Gissela Cornejo, María Alejandra Saravia and María del Pilar Grados, members of the Observatory of Public Policy for Sexual Diversity (DISEX) of the School of Government and Public Policy of PUCP; Pilar Rojas, specialist of the National Office of Education and Citizen Civic Training (DNEF) of the National Jury of Elections (JNE); Alberto Hidalgo and Yordan Mañuico, of the advocacy team of the Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights (Promsex).

Lima, June 2017

Milagros Suito Acuña
National Director of Education and Citizen Civic Training of JNE

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We dedicate this book, finally, to all the people who day after day commit themselves to fight for equal rights for all.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS²

GENDER: It refers to the socially constructed identities, functions and attributes of being a female and being male and the social and cultural meaning attributed to these biological differences.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION: It refers to the ability of each person to feel a deep emotional, affective and sexual attraction by people of a different gender, the same gender or more than one gender. Sexual orientation is independent of biological sex or gender identity.

BISEXUAL: A person who is attracted physically, affectively and/or sexually, in a lasting way, by people of the same gender and/or by the opposite gender.

SEXUAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY: Term that refers to the range of orientations and gender identities that is part of the sexuality of people.

GENDER IDENTITY: It is the internal and individual experience of the gender, as each person experiences it deeply, which may or may not correspond to the sex assigned at birth, including the personal experience of the body and other expressions of gender, including dress, way of speaking and manners.

GAY A male who is attracted physically, affectively and/or sexually, in a lasting way, by another male.

² Adapted from the publication *Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in the International Law of Human Rights*. Santiago: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for South America, Regional Office, 2010, 6 p.

HETEROSEXUAL: Person who is attracted physically, affectively and/or sexually, in a lasting way, by people of a different gender.

HOMOSEXUAL: A person who is attracted physically, affectively and/or sexually, in a lasting way, by people of the same gender. The term lesbian is generally used to refer to female homosexuality and gay to refer to male homosexuality.

INTERSEXUAL: It refers to the condition in which a person is born with a reproductive, sexual and/or chromosomal patterns that do not necessarily fit with the typical biological notions of male or female.

LESBIAN: Woman who is attracted physically, affectively and/or sexually, in a lasting way, by another woman.

LGTBI: Acronym used to refer to lesbian, gay, trans, bisexual and inter-sex people.

SEX: It refers to the biological differences between the male and the female, according to genetic, biological, physical and physiological criteria.

TRANS: Term to describe the different variants of gender identity, whose common denominator is the nonconformity between the biological sex of the person and the gender identity that has traditionally been assigned to the person. Generic term that includes transvestites, transsexuals and transgender.

INTRODUCTION

In order to address the political participation of lesbian, gay, trans, bisexual and intersex people —henceforth LGTBI— in Peru and Latin America, it is necessary first to recognize that they have been and are one of the most historically invisible and excluded populations of all areas of life. This invisibility has consisted in the denial of the existence not only of LGTBI people but of their contributions in the political, social, cultural fields, and so on. For that reason, visibility has meant the first action and demand of the LGTBI movement.

The beginnings of the LGTBI movement in Peru does not emerge too far from the history of the LGTBI movement in Latin America, promoted by homosexual men, who were organized in the late 1970s, mainly influenced by leftist currents, forming, in the early 1980s, the first organizations of sexual diversity.³ Years later, the Feminist Lesbian Self-Awareness Group (GALF) emerged, being the first lesbian political organization. However, the actions of these organizations were limited by the climate of insecurity generated by the internal armed conflict, in addition to the possible stigmas that would be created when homosexuality was linked to HIV/AIDS, which, it was supposed, could feed even more the prejudice and, in many cases, even hatred toward these people. During the 1990s, social organizations, in general, face a complex scenario, in which they must resist Fujimori's authoritarian regime (1990-2000). After the transition to democracy, LGTBI organizations emerged in different areas of the country, predominantly on the coastal and jungle regions. It is in this context, during the election campaign of 2006 that a novel fact appears: for

³ Acción para la Liberación Homosexual (ALPHO) (Action for Homosexual Liberation) and Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL) (Homosexual Movement of Lima) (1982).

the first time in Peru four candidacies of openly LGBT4 people were presented.

Visibility as political action

From 2006 until the last General Elections in 2016, the political participation of LGTBI people has been constant in the electoral processes, both national, as well as subnational, as well as in the Andean Parliament, gaining more visibility and protagonism. In fact, between 2006 and 2016, twenty-four visible candidacies were submitted (eleven in subnational elections and thirteen in general elections). Some people like Belissa Andía, Susel Paredes and Carolina Ubillús, have participated more than once.

Table 1.1
Number of LGBTI candidacies
In regional and municipal elections (2006-2016)

Year	Number of LGTBI candidacies	Number of LGTBI elected authorities
2006	0	0
2010	3	0
2014	8	2
Total	11	2

Source: Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL), Promsex and Red Peruana TLGB.

⁴ For the purposes of this research, the visible LGBTI population is one that self-identifies their sexual orientation or gender identity in the public arena. This definition is also handled by Corrales and Pecheny (2010) in *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Table 1.2
NUMBER OF LGBTI CANDIDACIES IN GENERAL ELECTIONS (2006-2016)

Year	Number of LGBTI candidacies	Number of LGBTI elected authorities
2006	4	0
2011	2	0
2016	7	2
Total	13	2

Source: Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL), Promsex and Red Peruana TLGB.

It is also observed that in the last national elections (2016) and subnational elections (2014) four openly LGBTI people were elected: in 2014, Luisa Revilla, as district councillor of La Esperanza in La Libertad, by the Regional Movement for Development with Security And Honesty; Víctor Manuel Nieves, as provincial councillor of San Martín, in the region San Martín, by the political party Alliance for Progress; for the 2016 elections, Carlos Bruce and Alberto de Belaunde, both of the political party Peruvians For the Change (Peruanos por el Kambio, PPK), were elected congressmen for the period 2016-2021.

It is evident, therefore, an increase in the number of candidacies and in the political participation of the LGBTI people. Proof of this is that in the General Elections of 2016 (EG 2016) and in the Regional and Municipal Elections 2014 (ERM 2014), seven and eight visible LGBTI people were nominated, an unprecedented number compared to previous electoral processes. In this regard, it should be remembered that, in recent years, the campaign for the approval of the Civil Union in Peru, as well as other collective mobilizations, such as “Kisses against homophobia”, could have contributed to a greater media visibility. This is complemented by the political influence in regional and local governments for the adoption of non-discrimination ordinances and regional plans that address the LGBTI

theme, such as the Regional Concerted Development Plan of Loreto to 2021, which includes measures against discrimination by sexual orientation and gender identity.

Table 1.3
NUMBER OF VISIBLE CANDIDACIES BY SEXUAL IDENTITY (PERIOD 2006-2016)

Identity	Congress	Andean Parliament	Regional and Municipal	Total
Lesbiana	3	1	5	9
Gay	4	1	4	9
Trans	1	2	2	5
Bisexual	1	0	0	1

Source: Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL), Promsex and Red Peruana TLGB.

It is also worth recalling that it was only in 2006 that, for the first time in Peru, only four openly LGTBI candidacies were presented , who ran not necessarily with the objective of being elected, but to put the rights of the LGTBI population in the public agenda. In the last two electoral processes (2014 and 2016), seventeen candidacies were submitted. The candidates put it this way:

“In 2006 I had few votes. Although my candidacy was assumed as novel, exotic, it also positioned the issue, which has been gaining space over these years. Before that it was not even thought that it was right for people of sexual and gender diversity to participate.” (Interview 1, 2016).

“What we were interested in was not whether that added or subtracted votes, but put the issue of LGTBI rights in the public debate. This allowed a group of people to put the LGTBI issue as a matter of debate.” (Interview 2, 2016).

In addition to this in 2016 there was a greater number of political organizations that included LGTBI proposals in their plans of government, unlike previous elections.

Table 1.4

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

GENERAL ELECTIONS		
YEAR	NUMBER OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS	NUMBER OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT INCLUDE LGBTI PROPOSALS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT PLANS
2006	20	2
2011	13	3
2016	19	8

Source: Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL), Promsex and Red Peruana TLGB.

Indeed, political organizations with proposals for the LGTBI population in their government plans have increased considerably. Added to this is the fact that candidates for the Presidency of the Republic stated that they are in favor of promoting the rights of LGTBI people. In the 2016 General Elections, two out of three leaders of political parties who were leading the polls said they were in favor of either the Civil Union or equal marriage, sanctions for hate crimes against LGBTI people, gender identity, amongst other laws and public policies.

Objectives and research questions

This paper presents the results of a qualitative study on the political participation of LGTBI people in the national and subnational electoral processes carried out between 2006 and 2016. The research seeks to know

and understand the experience of electoral participation of the openly LGTBI population in Peru. It is a question of understanding various aspects related to their political participation, without any pretension of generalization, identification of factors or determinants, but with the objective of *mapping* practices or experiences of candidates that help to hypothesize about the processes and conditions that surround the electoral participation of the LGTBI population.

To do this, through (re)construction of political trajectories it seeks to recognize the experience of candidacies, both elected and non-elected, which, at the same time, will serve to understand the effect of those structural factors that could facilitate or limit the right to representation. It should be remembered that this brief study has an exploratory character, which means that it does not seek to test a specific hypothesis, but, rather, to provide primary inputs to arrive to more detailed investigations and hypotheses.

Methodological approach

From a universe of twenty-four LGTBI candidacies, that were visible, identified through the media and reports of civil organizations such as the Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL) and Promsex, among other sources, eleven candidacies were selected, representing almost 50% of the identified universe.

This choice of cases responds to an intentional non-probabilistic sampling, since it was based on a decision of the research team of the Research Group on Public Policy and Public Management (GIPPGP) of the School of Government of PUCP, validated by DNEF/JNE and based on the following criteria: i) level of accessibility to the source, ii) coverage of the different levels of government —national and subnational—, and iii) inclusion of elected and non-elected candidates. Likewise, since electoral participation and LGTBI visibility is heterogeneous, it is difficult,

for a first exploratory approach, to comply with requirements of other types of sampling, which, however, have been done in other studies with universes of different characteristics⁵. It is worth noting that, within the eleven cases, the four who managed to be elected to public office were considered: two congressmen, one provincial councillor and one district councillor. The other seven have been valuable for contrast exercises.

In relation to the methodological strategy for the collection of information, two blocks were considered: the first one was based on the revision of documentary sources to evaluate the *formal* participation of the candidates, which is registered in Virtual Resumes in the virtual portal INFOgob⁶ of the JNE, which contains basic information, in the second block, semi-structured interviews were carried out. In the instrument, constructed *ad hoc*—the interview guide—, included various items related to the circumstances, opportunities, acceptance, amongst other characteristics that could have influenced both the political career and the electoral results, according to each case.

In the same vein, this research investigates about the individual and contextual factors that allowed —or hindered— the effective election of LGBTBI people.

Referred to the first mentioned factors, it's worth saying, personal motivations and the level of closeness to social organizations were taken into account, among other points.

Within the contextual factors the characteristics of the party system (and with it the type of election and the type of list), the perception about the acceptance of sexual and gender diversity, among other dimensions, were considered. Finally, it must be taken into account that, given the

⁵ See Ryrie, I., et al. (2010). *Experiences of and Barriers to Participation in Public and Political Life for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People*. London: Office for Public Development. Because the LGBTBI universe of candidacies is larger in the United Kingdom, a stratified sampling study with higher levels of reliability could be conducted.

⁶ www.infogob.com.pe/

exploratory nature of this study, it has not been based on a hypothesis, but rather, it has been done to provide inputs that may lead to specialized research, so that the findings do not necessarily respond to a specific theoretical approach.

Thus, since academic production on the political participation of LGBTBI people in Peru is scarce, the Research Group on Public Policy and Public Management (GIPPGP), through the Observatory of Public Policy for Sexual Diversity (DISEX) in conjunction with the National Office of Education and Citizen Civic Training (DNEF) of the National Jury of Elections, present this study, which, although limited, represents an effort to reflect on the various limitations, but also opportunities, that LGBTI people face during their process of incorporation into the political arena.

CHAPTER 1

THE LGTBI POPULATION AND THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION



1.1 *LGTBI Political participation and political representation*

Discussions on what political representation is and how it functions have been varied and have been further complicated by the demands and visibility of new social groups. At first, classical literature related the representation exclusively to access to public offices in countries with democratic regimes, and stated that only with the participation of certain groups in the political sphere it could be ensured that the interests of all groups are recognized by The State (Stuart Mill 1861, Lindsay 1947). However, historical development has shown that this definition is not applicable to more contemporary ways of interacting with the political system and that it is therefore necessary to (re)problematize the relationship between representatives and those represented.

The idea of the representation of a group appeals to the notion of deliberative and communicative democracy. Young (1990) and Mansbridge (1999) point out that by including members of subordinate groups in reflexive and deliberative democratic groupings, the horizons of understanding between groups can be expanded and, in this way, possible disadvantages of segregation and the reproduction of stereotypes could be avoided. This dynamic allows the formation of a citizenship that can claim excluded populations (groups in a situation of vulnerability) and turn them into actors that can demand a more direct attention to historically denied human rights.

In this context, in the last decades many countries have established affirmative measures, such as gender quotas, youth quotas, as well as quotas for representatives of native communities, village communities and

indigenous peoples, in response to the historical disadvantage which they have had in representative democracy systems, with the aim of alleviating disparities (Floke *et al.* 2015). However, this seems to be insufficient. To understand the relationship between representatives, those represented and the system of representation, it is necessary to “dismantle” the more traditional definitions.

For authors such as Childs and Lovenduski (2005), this complexity has resulted in a *taxonomic construction industry*, which in the 1980s found in the work of Hanna Pitkin a good starting point. In her opinion, there are four types of representation: authorized, descriptive, symbolic and substantive.⁷ In current discussions, the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation is perhaps the one that has motivated the greatest amount of academic production. For example, with regard to women’s demands for inclusion, this debate has focused on understanding whether a greater number of women in decision-making positions — descriptive representation—necessarily implies a better representation of interests —substantive representation— (Ríos 2008). Although the *interests of women* have been questioned, for authors such as Jane Mansbridge (2009), this criticism does not consider that the most important thing is not that there is a single and consensual agenda of the social group labeled as *women*, but that there is a possibility to represent it in its multiple variants —of any kind—. Thus, this statement can also, with nuances, be valid for other populations in situations of vulnerability as the LGBTI population.

At this point, it is necessary to emphasize the broad nature of political participation that goes beyond electoral participation (understood as the ability to influence the elections of authorities to public offices). Authors such as Anduiza and Bosch (2004) define political participation as “any action of citizens aimed at influencing the political process and its results

⁷ In her book *The Concept of Representation* (1985), Hanna Pitkin analyzed the idea of political representation and its evolution over time, based on the definition of *authorized* representation, obtained through formal channels; of *descriptive* representation, when “a representative body is distinguished by a precise correspondence or similarity respect to what it represents”; of *symbolic* representation, “in which no likeness or image is required, for which the connection with which it is represented is of a different type” and, finally, of the *substantive* representation, which means that the representative person must “act on behalf of” its represented.

(...) therefore it requires that an observable behavior is carried out by a citizen in a public or collective environment to be considered as such". This definition is shared by the National Jury of Elections, understanding political participation as a process by which citizens make collective decisions regarding public affairs.

In this context, this work seeks to highlight the importance and the advances in the political participation of LGTBI people in positions of popular choice. When the question about why it is important to promote and facilitate their entry into the political arena arises, the authors suggest that because of the distance between traditional political actors, it is necessary to develop mechanisms to ensure their inclusion in deliberation of public affairs (2003: 5).

As the Office of the Ombudsman upholds:

"Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex (LGBTI) people face a number of problems in the exercise of their rights as result of the prejudices, stereotypes and stigmas surrounding their sexual orientation and gender identity. This situation makes them particularly vulnerable and susceptible to suffer attacks to their lives and integrity, discrimination, insults, exclusion and denial of rights not only by the authorities or third parties, but also by their own family and immediate environment." (2016: 10).

Studies such as those by Ryrie *et al.* (2010) affirm that LGTBI people perceive diverse barriers in the democratic participation. This statement coincides with the results of the research by Stonewall (2011), based on a sample of 1658 lesbian, gay and bisexual people. The study states that, despite the significant advances in equitable legislation, gays and lesbians still believe that publicizing their sexual orientation will hurt them in political participation. Hunt and Dick (2008) reported that between 50% and 90% of gays and lesbians expect to be discriminated if they partici-

pate in an election as members of a political party with a long history. As already pointed out, although electing LGBT people does not necessarily imply a substantive representation, studies such as that of Reynolds (2013) have shown that, through multiple modeling, in nineteen of the twenty-seven countries studied there is a greater probability of approving equal marriage and progress in the recognition of rights if there are LGTBI people in the Parliament.

1.2 *The political participation of the LGTBI population in Latin America: Approaches from Political Science*

In political science, research on the evolution of the human rights of LGTBI people in Latin America is still in its infancy. The publication of *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America*, edited by Corrales and Pecheny (2010), is perhaps the milestone that marked the beginning of a thematic area that, although small, is gaining ground. For the authors there are three characteristics on the current state of the LGTBI population, which differentiate it from other social groups:

- The recognition of rights is heterogeneous throughout the Latin American region. Thus, there are countries with a great legislative development —Argentina, Uruguay—, but also the countries where they still criminalize and sanction nonheterosexuality —Belice, Barbados— remain. Likewise, in a same country the gap between a great advance in the normative body and the persistence of the invisibility of the LGTBI population can be present, as is the case in Brazil. In such case, the high level of legal protection of sexual diversity is not an impediment to the country to simultaneously maintain one of the highest records of hate crimes in the world.

- The existence of pro-LGTBI movements is essential but not sufficient for the advance in the recognition of rights. To achieve this, it would be necessary to i) succeed in aligning LGBTBI problems with local aspirations, ii) establish strong connections with national level parties and iii) operate in countries with progressive judicial courts.
- Religiosity and religious groups have broad veto power. The effort to recognize and guarantee rights for sexual and gender diversity leads to a confrontation between the churches and the State, which has been intensified in recent years, due to the advance of claims for sexual and reproductive rights.

Taking into account the three conditions presented above, the authors add that a condition that facilitates the acceptance and protection of the LGBTBI population is found in the level of tolerance of society, which, in part, has been explained by some principles of the theory of modernization (Lodola and Corral 2010). Indeed, the authors point out that countries, regions and cities with higher incomes and educational levels tend to be more tolerant.

In the Peruvian case, a survey conducted in 2014⁸ showed that the population with the highest level of acceptance of the Civil Union Law draft came from A socioeconomic level, with a 60% approval, while the population with lower approval came from the E socioeconomic level, with only 20%. However, the support of groups with greater purchasing power and access to resources has not been sufficient to facilitate the recognition of the rights of the LGBTBI population. Moreover, despite the fact that in recent years economic growth has been relatively rapid, the agenda for sexual and gender diversity faces considerable difficulties in becoming a matter for public action.

⁸ See: <http://www.ipsos.pe/sites/default/files/imagenes%5Canuncios-interes/Uni%C3%B3n%20Civil.pdf>

In this context, for Corrales and Pecheny (2010) one of the weakest points of the LGBTI rights movements in Latin America lies in the fact that they have not given sufficient attention to political representation, since there are very few *visible* LGBTI people in the institutional decision-making spaces, whether these positions are of trust or of popular election. Unlike the women's movements, which have achieved a number of advances in gender equity from the exercise of political representation, the agenda of sexual and gender diversity has not followed the same path. This gap, in addition to its lack of relevance in the priority agenda, is also due to the lack of evidence on the individual and contextual factors that facilitate or impede greater political representation.

Unlike the Latin American landscape, more research has been developed in countries such as the United States or the United Kingdom, which has shown that a greater presence of openly LGBTI decision-makers favors a positive view of sexual and gender diversity. In the same way, this situation influences the personal stand of those who exercise the position of power, although i) they are relieved not to have to hide a characteristic (Reynolds 2013), while , at the same time, they are frightened by the possible attitudes of violence (Ryrie *et al.*, 2010), ii) voters appreciate honesty, iii) some parties view sexual orientation as a component of modernity and inclusion, which increases the likelihood of being called to run and thereby starting a political track record ; and iv) public opinion can be mobilized in favor of equality by listing a LGBTI candidacies. As for voter perceptions, Doan and Haider-Markel (2010) add that women tend to develop more liberal attitudes about voting for gays, although this does not mean, therefore, a more positive attitude towards them. These results are different for lesbians, as women attribute fewer negative characteristics and value their strength, honesty and morality. This means that, beyond the recognition and visibility of sexual orientation, the evaluation of its role of political representation continues to move within a *continuum* that feminizes and masculinizes —and, therefore, dichotomizes— certain expressions of the exercise of power. In addition, the other sexual and

gender identities that are recently becoming visible, are not fully socially and politically explored.

1.3 *Some aspects on the analysis of the Peruvian experience: studies, training networks and background*

In Peru, the most important attempt to systematically monitor the levels and characteristics of LGBTI political representation is found in the latest versions of the *TLGB Annual Report on Human Rights* held by the Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights (Promsex) and the Red Peruana TLGB. In the last three editions, chapters that present a brief theoretical and empirical review that includes the analysis of legislation, interviews, review of government plans, etc have been included, to examine the current process of incorporating diverse sex-gender persons into the public arena. On the other hand, other social organizations⁹ have produced material that, although elaborated for different objectives, provides evidence to identify the gaps that exist in the various forms of expression of political representation and, by extension, participation.

At the same time, organizations such as the MHOL and Promsex have carried out activities to create and strengthen spaces that allow the construction of networks that provide LGBTI people interested in participating in politics. Since 2014, Promsex, in partnership with other organizations and the international community, has sponsored the implementation of the Escuela de Formación Política LGTBI-Empodera (LGTBI-Empower Political Training School),¹⁰ with the aim of offering leaders of the LGBTI population the necessary tools to foster and strengthen their participation in democratic, socio-political processes at the national, regional and local

⁹ Cf. el material producido por el Colectivo #NoTengoMiedo. Disponible en: <http://www.notengomiedo.pe/>

¹⁰ See press release: <http://www.promsex.org/notas-de-prensa/item/2394-convocatoria-a-empodera-escuela-de-formacion-politica-lgtbi/2394-convocatoria-a-empodera-escuela-de-formacion-politica-lgtbi.html>

levels, on an equal footing.¹¹ Likewise, during the same year, the First Meeting of LGTBI Political Leaders in Latin America and the Caribbean¹² was held in Peru, with the participation of 100 participants from seventeen countries, in order to make visible the issues in the exercise of the right to political participation. One of the conclusions reached emphasizes the need to have evidence that allows the dimensioning of a phenomenon that, historically, has been excluded from the decision-making process.

Other initiatives were also promoted by civil society organizations, with the aim of promoting debate and social awareness on the human rights of LGBTI populations in the electoral context, which served as a platform to make visible the political participation of LGTBI people. Among those the following are included:

- The I Diálogo Empodera de Derechos Humanos LGTBI (I Empowerment Dialogue on LGTBI Human Rights), specifically focused on the right to political participation, which brought together nearly two hundred LGTBI leaders and activists from all over the country with the objective of making visible and analyzing, through panels and round tables, the political and social participation of LGTBI people as full citizens in a democratic system. The thematic axes of this forum on the right to political participation were: (1) political and social leadership, (2) electoral participation, (3) militancy in political parties and movements, (4) political advocacy and social awareness (5) Public policies and (6) public management. This was an initiative of Promsex and the European Union.
- The campaigns for *Vote for Equality* 2014 and 2016 (www.votoporlaigualdad.pe), an information campaign that has sought

¹¹ In the first half of 2017, the second edition of the School of LGTBI Political Leadership Empodera was held. This edition was promoted, in addition to Promsex, by the National Office of Civic and Citizenship Education and Training of the JNE, involving forty LGTBI leaders from fifteen regions of the country.

¹² See: <http://www.liderazgolgbt.com/documentos/>

to raise public awareness about the recognition of the rights of LGBTI people and to promote an informed and conscious vote on the values of equality, diversity and non-discrimination. A similar campaign was developed in the Loreto region in 2016. The campaign *Vote for Equality* has been promoted in an articulated way by Promsex, the Red Peruana TLGB, the collective No Tengo Miedo (I Have No Fear), the Campaign for Equal Marriage Peru, FTM Trans Society, Raíz Disidencia Sexual (Sexual Dissidence Root), CHERL (Loreto), Centro Ideas Piura (Piura Idea Center) and OPI Soy como Soy (OPI I am as I am) (Piura).

Even though studies and initiatives of training and information are valuable and provide significant resources to address the challenges faced by LGBTI people in accessing the public sphere, it is still a more complex analysis of how sexual diversity does not only requires a greater state intervention, but that it also characterizes a part of the offer of aspirants to exercise political representation.

1.4 *Perception about the political rights of LGBTI people in Peru*

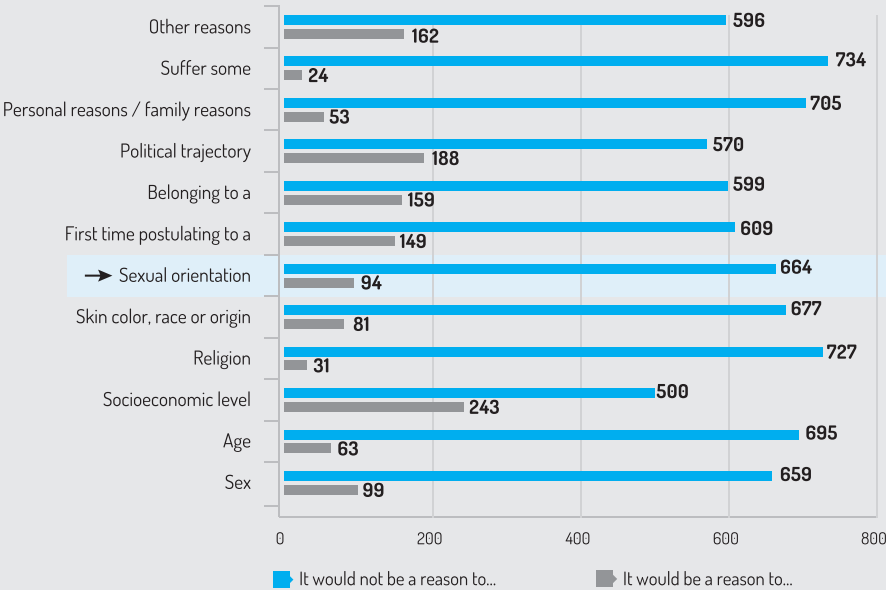
In the General Elections 2016, the DNEF/JNE conducted the Survey of Candidates for the Congress of the Republic (ECCR), with the objective of gathering information on the profiles, trajectories and positions of candidates on different topics. This survey was applied to 816 candidates out of a total of 2248 people, which represents 36% of the applications submitted at the national level.

The ECCR has a questionnaire of twenty-one questions divided into three sections, one of them referred to the “current electoral process”, which collects information about the perception of potential opportunities and limitations when participating in a political campaign.

One of the questions addressed a potential situation: “If you found out that a congressional candidate has been harassed and/or treated unevenly during the election campaign, what do you think the reasons for this would be?” As shown in the following chart, 12% of respondents felt that sexual orientation was a reason for political harassment.

Chart 1

EVALUATION OF REASONS THAT MAY PRODUCE HARASSMENT DURING THE 2016 NATIONAL ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, ACCORDING TO THE TOTAL OF CANDIDATES



Source: Survey of Candidates for the Congress of the Republic (ECCR) in the General Elections 2016. Prepared by the National Office of Education and Citizen Civic Training of the JNE.

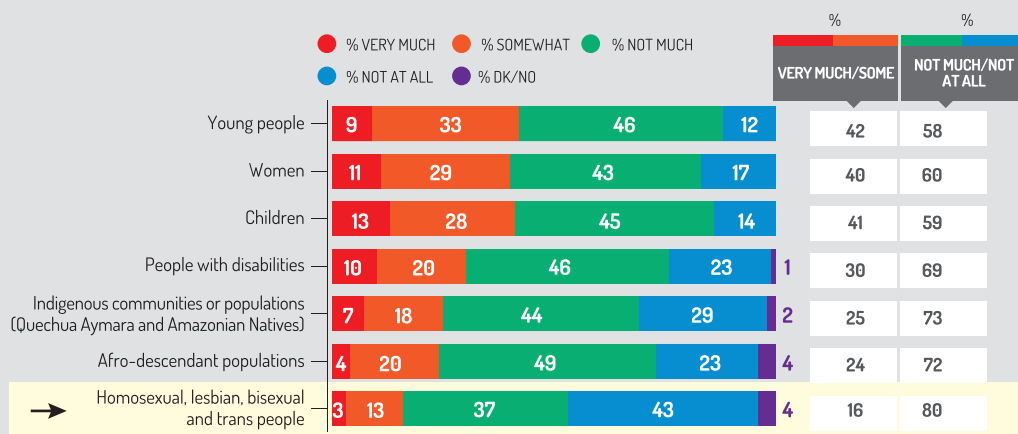
Likewise, the National Survey on the State of Citizenship in Peru 2016, carried out by IPSOS Peru, at the request of the National Jury of Elections/National Office of Civic Education and Training, states that, for

that year, 80% of respondents felt that the rights of LGBTBI people are little, if any respected. The perception of limitations and discrimination is latent in politics in very different areas and levels.¹³

Chart 2

EVALUATION OF PERCEPTIONS REGARDING RIGHTS OF POPULATIONS IN VULNERABILITY SITUATION

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE RIGHTS OF ... RESPECTED?

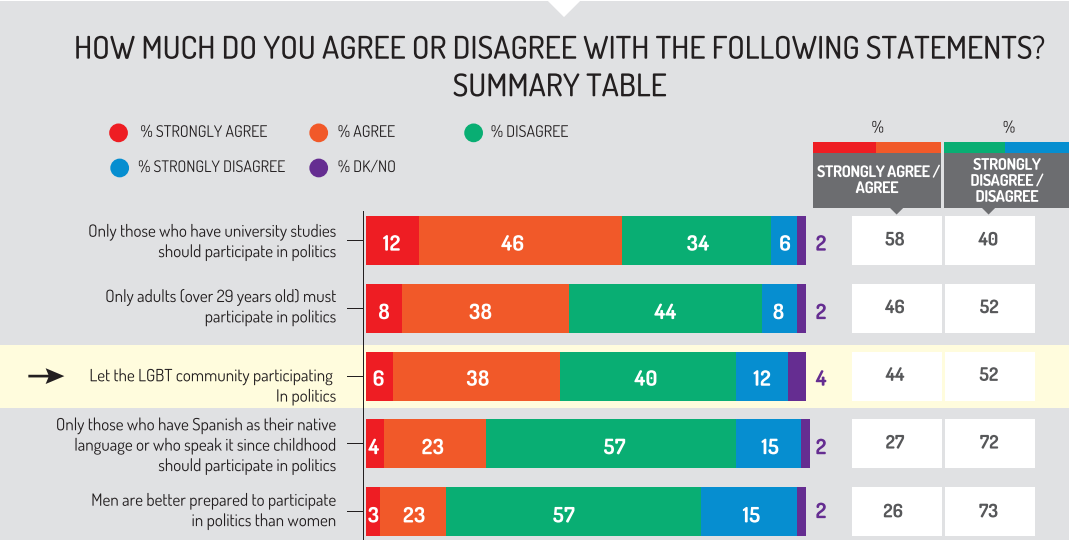


Source: National Survey on the State of Citizenship in Peru 2016 - JNE / National Office of Civic Education and Training.

The same survey indicates that 40% of citizens are “somewhat in disagreement” with LGBTBI people participating in politics, and 12% “strongly disagree”.

¹³ For more details, see Table 2.1, in Annex 2.

Chart 3
OPINION ON THE ENTRY OF CERTAIN GROUPS TO POLITICS

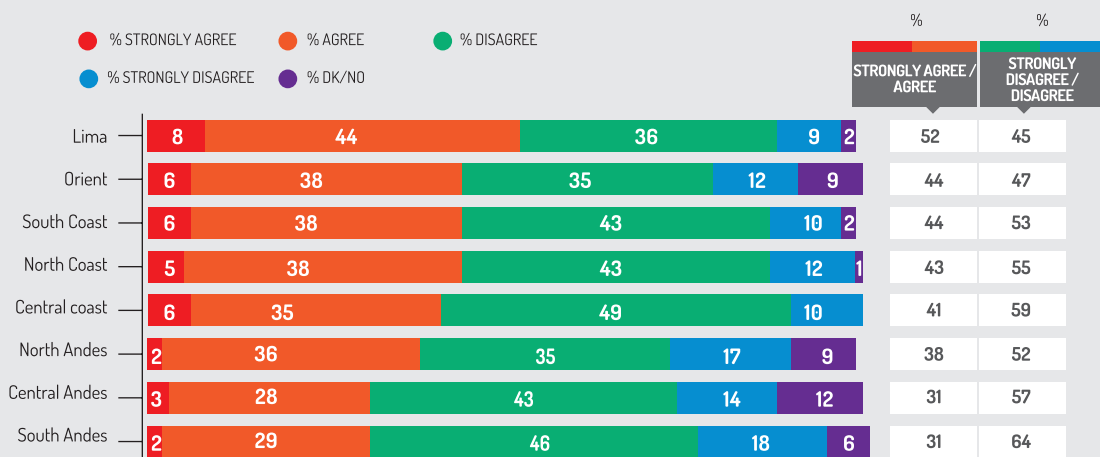


Source: National Survey on the State of Citizenship in Peru 2016 - JNE / DNEF.

In the same way, the survey allows us to visualize, in detail, by regions, the perception regarding the political participation of LGTBI people. It is observed that Lima is the region with the highest acceptance (52%), followed by East (44%); on the other hand, the Andean zones deserve special attention, where the reluctance to LGTBI people participating in politics is quite high. For example, the Central Andes and South Andes indicated that they disagree or strongly disagree, at 57% and 64%, respectively.

Chart 4

TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE THAT LGBTI PEOPLE PARTICIPATE IN POLITICS? (%)



Source: National Survey on the State of Citizenship in Peru 2016 - JNE / DNEF.

According to another survey, conducted by the Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights (Promsex), in 2015, in six capital cities in Peru, 55% of the Peruvian population believed that homosexuals are discriminated in their rights to participate politically. This percentage reached almost 70%, in cities such as Pucallpa and Puerto Maldonado (67%).

This context, which is apparently adverse and no less contradictory, raises some questions that demand us to generate evidence on LGTBI political participation, that make it possible to make visible this issue in the public agenda and to make effective the claim for equal rights. There is a need to investigate the mobilization of the LGTBI community, politics entrepreneurs and the effective political participation through the search for representation positions.

CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE LGBTI PEOPLE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: MAKING DIVERSITY VISIBLE IN DEMOCRACY¹⁴

¹⁴ This chapter was written by Alberto Hidalgo Hermoso and Yordan Mañuico Cáceres. Both are political scientists, members of the advocacy team of the Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights (Promsex).

2.1 *Participation of LGBTBI people in national positions of popular election*

The concept of political participation comprises a set of rights and freedoms related to the exercise of democratic citizenship. In this way, it encompasses diverse actions that citizens perform individually or collectively in an organized way: from the most elementary form of participation, which is produced through voting or suffrage in the election and designation of the authorities, to the ability to intervene in the conduct of public affairs, mainly to influence the formulation and implementation of policies.¹⁵

Political participation under conditions of equality and diversity is a value intrinsically linked to the concept of democracy. The history of democratic systems shows that the quality of democracy has been strengthened by the inclusion and integration of more and more social sectors and the recognition and protection of their rights and freedoms. This happened with the paradigmatic cases of the working class, women and ethnic-cultural minorities. The effective and equal participation of discriminated or vulnerable populations has thus provided a way to guarantee human rights and reaffirm the status of citizenship in democratic systems. However, the effective social and political participation of sectors such as LGBTBI people (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex) still presents many challenges.

In Peru, and in Latin America and the Caribbean, the LGBTBI population continues to be largely excluded from the areas of political representation and public decision-making, in other words, from power spaces, turning

¹⁵ Promsex and the Peruvian TLGB Network. *Annual Report on the Human Rights of TLGB people in Peru 2015-2016*. Lima: 2016.

it into a situation of discrimination, detriment of rights and limitation of democracy. All with the States still not assuming a firm and active commitment to change this reality. Only from some spaces of autonomous constitutional organs, such as the JNE, initiatives are being taken in order to stop this problem. However, more and more LGBTI people, who, not without obstacles, decide to empower themselves, take a step forward and participate in the political scene as a way of making visible the reality of this population, defend their human rights and strengthen the democratic system.

Going through several Latin American countries, we can identify approximately half a hundred openly LGBTI¹⁶ political leaders who have held public positions at various levels of representation and government during the last decades, from councillors or mayors, to ministers. But the greatest barriers and difficulties in exercising passive suffrage (being elected) have been registered in the cases of LGBTI people who have competed to hold positions of popular election at the national level (Member of Parliament), due to a complex problem which intersects with a variety of possible variables: persistence of stigma and discrimination within political organizations, lack of economic resources to finance their election campaigns, recurrence and impunity of harassment and political harassment, et cetera.

Between 1997 and 2017, twenty-two openly LGTBI people have held public representation positions in Latin American and Caribbean parliaments, either as deputies or as senators. The lesbian activist Patria Jiménez (PRD) was a pioneer, being elected as Mexican federal deputy in 1997. Since that year, there have been several LGTBI leaders who have had presence in the legislative chambers of our countries. The Ecuadorian transgender activist Diane Rodríguez, an alternate legislative elected in February 2017, represents the most recent case. In the table below, we list the twenty-two openly LGTBI parliamentarians who have been elected to date, specifying their most recent public office.

¹⁶ We consider openly LGTBI politicians those who have identified themselves as such in the public arena, through statements or interviews in the media, participation in LGTBI organizations of civil society, etcetera.

Table 2.1

OPENLY LGBT LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS 1997-2017

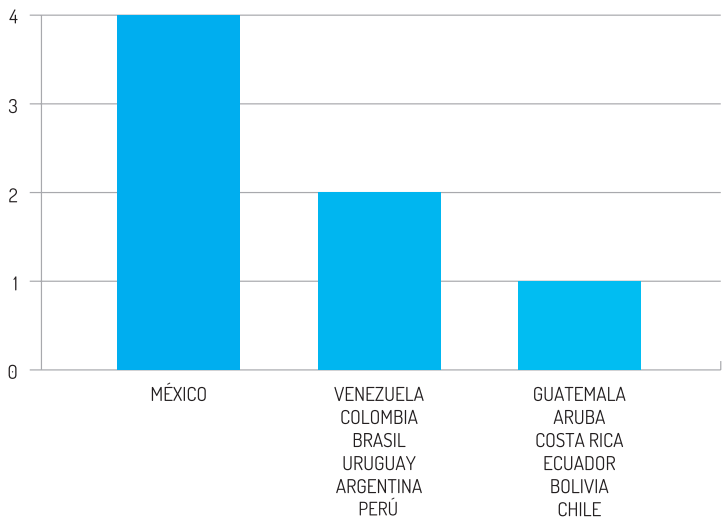
Country	Name and surname	Sexual Orientation / Gender Identity	Year of election	Legislative Chamber	Position	Politic party
México	Patria Jiménez*	Lesbian	2000	Senate (A)	Senator	PRD (i)
México	David Sánchez	Gay	2006	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	PRD (i)
México	Enoé Uranga	Lesbian	2009	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	PRD (i)
México	Benjamín Medrano	Gay	2015	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	PRI (c)
Guatemala	Sandra Morán	Lesbian	2015	Congress of the Republic (U)	Deputy	CRD (i)
Aruba	Desiree Sousa	Lesbian	2011	Senate (A)	Senator	AVP (c)
Costa Rica	Carmen Muñoz	Lesbian	2010	Legislative Assembly (U)	Deputy	PAC (c)
Venezuela	Tamara Adrián	Trans	2015	National Assembly (U)	Deputy	VP (c)
Venezuela	Rosmit Mantilla	Gay	2015	National Assembly (U)	Deputy	VP (c)
Colombia	Claudia López	Lesbian	2014	Senate (A)	Senator	AV (i)
Colombia	Angélica Lozano	Lesbian	2014	House of Representatives (B)	Deputy	AV (i)
Ecuador	Diane Rodríguez	Trans	2017	National Assembly (U)	Member of the assembly	AP (i)
Brasil	Clodovil Hernandes	Gay	2006	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	PTC (d)
Brasil	Jean Wyllys**	Gay	2014	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	PSOL (i)
Perú	Carlos Bruce***	Gay	2016	Congress of the Republic (U)	Congressman	PPK (d)
Perú	Alberto de Belaunde	Gay	2016	Congress of the Republic (U)	Congressman	PPK (d)
Bolivia	Manuel Canelas	Gay	2014	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	MAS (i)
Chile	Claudio Arriagada	Gay	2013	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	PDC (c)
Uruguay	Martín Couto	Gay	2014	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	FA (i)
Uruguay	Michelle Suárez	Trans	2014	Senate (A)	Senator	FA (i)
Argentina	Osvaldo López	Gay	2011	Senate (A)	Senator	ARI (c)
Argentina	Analuz Carol	Lesbian	2015	Chamber of Deputies (B)	Deputy	FPV (i)

Prepared by the authors. Sources: Promsex and Corrales (2014). * Previously a federal deputy, elected in 1997. ** Federal deputy, elected in 2010 and reelected in 2014. *** Congressman since 2006, although he did not make public his sexual orientation until 2014. (A) Upper House, (B) Lower House, (U) Unicameral Parliament, (i) Left-wing, (c) Center-wing, (d) Right-wing.

As shown, the representation of LGTBI people in the national legislative sphere is still reduced to a small group of Latin American countries led by Mexico (4), where there has been a greater number of openly LGBTI parliamentarians to date. The cases of Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay and Argentina have had two representatives, while the other countries have only 1 (Guatemala, Aruba, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile).

Chart 5

NUMBER OF LGBTI PARLIAMENTARIANS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1997-2017



Preparation: DNEF/JNE.

It is important to highlight that there is a low presence of openly LGTBI representatives registered in the parliaments of the Caribbean (only one senator in Aruba) and Central America (only one deputy in Guatemala and another in Costa Rica); two regions where the situation of LGTBI people regarding the lack of protection, discrimination and violence that they still encountered represents a serious problem and increases

the risks and difficulties for candidacies coming from sexual and gender diversity. In this sense, Honduras represents a paradigmatic case, because of the high level of violence, harassment and political harassment experienced by openly LGTBI militants, candidates and leaders, such as Erick Martínez (Libertad y Refundación)¹⁷ and René Martínez (Partido nacional).¹⁸

With regard to the sexual orientation and gender identity of the identified LGTBI parliamentarians, we can see that most of them are gay representatives (eleven out of twenty-two), compared to lesbian (eight) and trans female parliamentarians (three). These data show the greater political visibility that gay leaders have in comparison to the low representation of lesbian and trans female, and the absence of trans male, bisexual and intersex in the public scene, a reality that would merit more detailed and deeper analysis.

As for the date of the elections that converted these LGTBI leaders into parliamentarians by popular vote, it is necessary to highlight a definite trend: the number of openly LGTBI public officials elected increases progressively. In the decade between 1997 and 2006, three LGTBI parliamentarians were elected in the countries of the region, while that figure increased between 2007 and 2017 up to the nineteen LGTBI parliamentarians.

This process of greater visibility and political participation has progressed together with the gradual recognition of the rights of LGTBI people in Latin America. We must not forget that the first two Latin American countries to recognize equal marriage were Argentina in 2010 and Uruguay in 2013. Precisely, in the years after the achievement of this milestone, there has been a significant growth in the number of LGTBI parliamentarians in the region: Out of the twenty-two, more than half (fourteen) were elected in the period corresponding to the last four years.

¹⁷ *Reporters Without Borders. For the freedom of information* [Electronic portal of Reporters Without Borders. Spanish Section]. "Honduras: Asesinado Erick Martínez Ávila y secuestrado el periodista Alfredo Villatoro". Published on 5.9.2012. Reviewed on October 6, 2016. Cf: <http://www.rsf-es.org/news/honduras-asesinado-erick-martinez-avila-y-secuestrado-el-periodista-alfredo-villatoro/>

¹⁸ Newspaper *El Heraldo* [Editorial Note]. "Dirigente Hondureño de la comunidad gay es encontrado sin vida". Published on 6.4.2016. Reviewed on 10.06.2016. Cf: <http://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/966645-466/dirigente-hondure%C3%B1o-de-la-comunidad-gay-es-encontrado-sin-vida>

In relation to their public position, we find that, mostly, the LGTBI parliamentarians have been elected as members of lower houses in the cases of bicameral systems (ten out of twenty-two). The rest of parliamentarians have served as members of unicameral congresses (seven out of twenty-two) and of senates or high chambers (five out of twenty-two). It is interesting to note the small number of openly LGTBI senators elected, probably due to the traditional, aristocratic and elitist character that still remains in many of these chambers and the majority electoral system used to define their composition, which considerably hinders the representation of political and social minorities.

Finally, it is worth reviewing the cases where political parties included LGTBI leaders in their candidacies so they could be elected and win a seat in public institutions. In twelve cases they ran for elections with left-wing or progressive parties, seven with center or moderate parties and three with right or conservative parties. In some cases, these parliamentarians changed their affiliation to a party or parliamentary group once elected.

Generally, these LGTBI leaders ran for elections with national political parties (non-regional), although they were minority in some cases, and opposition (they did not belong to the executive power at the time of the election). These data allow us to define the profile of the party which, so far, has shown a greater willingness to include openly LGTBI candidates in its lists: national political parties, from the opposition and progressive or centrist ideology.

SOUTH AMERICA



Source: Promsex and Corrales (2014)

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



Source: Promsex and Corrales (2014)

After outlining an overview of the LGBTI people who have become elected as parliamentarians in Latin American and Caribbean countries, we will develop a brief profile of each of the identified deputies and senators, with the aim of getting to know more closely their trajectories and political experiences:

MEXICO

Patria Jiménez (1957), well-known lesbian activist of the Mexican LGTBI movement. Her work in the defense of the rights of lesbian women led her to preside “El Clóset de Sor Juana” NGO. She was the first lesbian deputy elected in Mexico and Latin America, being a candidate of the

party of Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) party during the elections of 1997. Later, she was elected senator in the year 2000, also in the ranks of the PRD, becoming the first openly lesbian senator to occupy this position in her country and the region.

David Sánchez (1963), gay politician and promoter of the first proposal of marriage between same-sex couples in Mexico, D.F. He was elected local deputy of the Legislative Assembly of Distrito Federal for the PRD during the elections of 1997. In 2006 he was elected federal deputy, becoming the first gay deputy elected of Mexico and Latin America. As a member of this chamber he managed to declare May 17 as “National Day for the Fight against Homophobia.”

Enoé Uranga (1963), lesbian politician and militant of the PRD. In 2000 she was elected local deputy of the Legislative Assembly of Distrito Federal, where she presided over the Human Rights Commission of this House. She was co-author of the Law of Coexistence Society, approved in 2006. In 2009 she was elected federal deputy being an openly lesbian politician.

Benjamín Medrano (1967), lawyer and politician of wide track record. He has held municipal positions of popular election like councilman and mayor of the Municipality of Fresnillo, in the state of Zacatecas. He was elected local deputy in 2010 for Partido del Trabajo (Labor Party), but did not make public his sexual orientation until 2013, when he became the country’s first openly gay mayor. He was elected federal deputy in 2015 for Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), a position he currently holds.

GUATEMALA

Sandra Morán (1961), openly lesbian politician, singer and feminist, founder of the first lesbian group of Guatemala “Lesbiradas”. She performed a valuable work as deputy coordinator of the National Council of Peace Agreements during the government of the Unidad Nacional de la

Esperanza (UNE) party. She was elected deputy in the elections of 2015 for Convergencia por la Revolución Democrática (CRD) party, becoming the first lesbian deputy in Guatemala. Currently she holds this position.

ARUBA

Desiree de Sousa Croes, a well-known lawyer and openly lesbian senator. She played a prominent role in the presentation and parliamentary debate of the law to legalize civil unions of same-sex couples, which was approved in 2016.

COSTA RICA

Carmen Muñoz (1962), lesbian politician, defender of the human rights of women and LGTBI people. She was elected deputy in 2010 for Partido Acción Ciudadana (PAC) and served as spokeswoman for her parliamentary group, a position from which she promoted legal recognition of same-sex couples. She currently holds the position of Deputy Minister of Interior and Police.

VENEZUELA

Tamara Adrian (1954), well-known trans activist and academic defender of the rights of women and LGTBI people. She is a law professor at Universidad Católica Andrés Bello. She was elected deputy of the National Assembly in the year 2015 for Voluntad Popular party,¹⁹ being the first trans deputy elected in Venezuela and all America.²⁰ Currently she is in charge of this position.

Rosmit Mantilla (1982), activist for the rights of the LGTBI people. He was elected alternate deputy of the National Assembly in 2015 for Voluntad Popular party, being the first openly gay politician chosen in this position. On May 2, 2014 he was arrested and deprived of his liberty, accused

¹⁹ Party led by Leopoldo López and member of the opposition coalition Mesa de la Unidad Democrática (MUD).

²⁰ *El Nacional* (Caracas). "Primera diputada transgénero en toda América", in the edition of del 12.11.2015. See: http://www.el-nacional.com/sociedad/Primera-diputada-transgenero-toda-America_3_754754534.html

of having received money to finance protests against the government of Nicolás Maduro.²¹

COLOMBIA

Claudia López (1970), Colombian openly lesbian politician. Has occupied the Secretaría de Acción Social de Bogotá (Secretariat of Social Action of Bogota). She has also been a consultant to the United Nations and a columnist for El Tiempo newspaper. She was elected senator in 2014 for the Alianza Verde (Green Alliance) party. She currently holds this position.

Angélica Lozano (1975), an openly lesbian politician and activist who defends the human rights of women and LGTBI people. She is linked to the feminist movement and is a promoter of sexual and reproductive rights. She upholds a renowned political track record like mayor of Chapinero and councilman of Bogota, was elected deputy in 2014 for the Alianza Verde (Green Alliance) party. Currently holds this position.

ECUADOR

Diane Rodriguez (1982), well-known trans activist. She is the director of the organization Silueta X (X Silhouette) and president of Federación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones LGBT (Ecuadorian Federation of LGBT Organizations). She ran for a seat in the assembly in the year 2014 for Ruptura 25 party. In the elections of 2017 she was elected alternate member of the assembly for Alianza País (Country Alliance) party, becoming the first trans woman to hold this position in Ecuador.

BRAZIL

Clodovil Hernandez (1937-2009), stylist, designer and television conductor. He was elected federal deputy for the Partido Laborista Cristiano

²¹ Foro Penal Venezolano. Cf. <https://foropenal.com/content/accion-urgente-rosmit-mantilla-amr-5333032016-22-enero-2016-02016>

(PTC), being the first openly gay person to hold this position in Brazil. As political representative, he maintained a conservative position regarding the recognition of the rights of LGBTI people.

Jean Wyllys (1974), renowned Brazilian journalist and former contestant of a popular television contest. Activist and defender of the human rights of LGBTI people. He was elected federal deputy in 2010 for Socialismo y Libertad (PSOL) party and re-elected in 2014, with great approval, in Rio de Janeiro. Currently he holds this position.

PERU

Carlos Bruce (1957), politician of long track record and experience. He has held positions as Minister of the Presidency and Minister of Housing. In 2006 and 2011, he was elected congressman for the Peru Posible party, recording the highest national vote. He made public his sexual orientation in 2014, a year after pushing for the Non-Matrimonial Civil Union Bill, which ultimately failed to be approved by the Congress. In 2016 was reelected congressman and at the moment is spokesman of Peruanos Por el Kambio (PPK) party, current government's party.

Alberto de Belaunde (1986), lawyer and Peruvian politician, defender of the human rights of LGBTI people. His participation in politics is recent, although he held for several years the position of chief of staff in the District Municipality of Miraflores (Lima). He was elected congressman in 2016 for the Peruanos Por el Kambio (PPK) party. Currently holds this position.

BOLIVIA

Manuel Canelas (1982), political scientist by training. He was elected deputy in the year 2014 for Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) party, now the ruling party. He is the first openly gay elected deputy in Bolivia; however, he has stated on several occasions that his participation in politics has a comprehensive vision, which goes beyond claiming the rights of LGBTI people,²² also assuming other agendas.

²² Dosmanzanas. Manuel Canelas, Bolivia's first openly gay deputy. 10/14/2014. Revised October 5th, 2016. <http://www.dosmanzanas.com/2014/10/manuel-canelas-primer-diputado-abiertamente-gay-de-bolivia.html>

CHILE

Claudio Arriagada (1955), Chilean politician of wide trajectory. He has held the position of mayor of La Granja for four consecutive periods from 1992 to 2012, and at the same time, he has served as president of the Asociación Chilena de Municipalidades (Chilean Association of Municipalities). He was elected deputy in 2013 for Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC),²³ becoming the first openly gay deputy in the Chilean Parliament.²⁴ Currently he holds this position.

URUGUAY

Martín Couto (1989), renowned LGTBI activist. He has excelled in the fight for the recognition of the rights of the same sex couples, the decriminalization of abortion and the regulation of the use of marijuana. In the year 2015 he was elected national deputy in the lists of the political force IR (Frente Amplio) and currently occupies this position.

Michelle Suárez (1984), lawyer and trans activist. She is a member of Ovejas Negras organization where she provides professional services in criminal trials in favor of the LGBTI population. She was elected alternate senator in 2014 for Partido Comunista de Uruguay (Frente Amplio), becoming in this way the first trans senator of her country. Currently holds this position.

ARGENTINA

Oswaldo López (1971), well-known Argentinian politician. In 2009, he was elected provincial legislator for Tierra del Fuego. In 2011, he was elected senator for Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI),²⁵ although in 2013 he formed Encuentro Democrático para la Victoria party. In the Senate, he pushed bills on the labor rights of trans people and on the reparatory pension equivalent to the minimum pension for this population.

²³ The PDC is currently part of the Nueva Mayoría government coalition, with other left and centre-left parties.

²⁴ Cooperativa.cl. Claudio Arriagada is the first openly homosexual Chilean parliamentarian. 9/18/2013. Revised 5.10.2016. <http://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/politica/parlamentarias/claudio-arriagada-es-el-primer-parlamentario-chileno-abiertamente-homosexual/2013-11-18/093653.html>

²⁵ Today this party is called Coalición Cívica para la Afirmación de una República Igualitaria (CC-ARI) (Civic Coalition for the Settling-in of an Equal Republic) and is led by the founder and deputy Elisa Carrió.

Analuz Carol (1984), lesbian politician. During the elections of 2015 she was elected national deputy for the province of Tierra del Fuego in the lists of the Frente para la Victoria party, position that she holds to this day. Her political agenda has been oriented to actions in favor of the care of the environment and the recognition of labour rights.

Despite the fact that the political participation of LGTBI people in the region has shown an important growth in terms of candidacies in recent times, as we can see, the presence of elected openly LGTBI politicians in the national level continues to be scarce. Moreover, the degree of real or effective bonds or representation openly LGTBI elected politicians have established with the population of sexual and gender diversity must be analyzed. The performance of each of them is different and diverse on this issue: there are parliamentarians who have a closer relationship with the organized LGTBI civil society and push the human rights agenda of this population from their public seats, while others prefer to position other agendas and not specifically establish a link between their legislative action and the demands of the LGTBI social movement.

2.2 Participation of LGBTI persons in national positions of trust

Aside from national positions by popular election, in this period, several LGTBI political leaders have been able to hold other positions of public responsibility in different countries of the region: mayors and councilors (Blanca Inés Durán, Julián Bedoya, Ronald Céspedes, Jaime Parada, Zuliana Araya, Luisa Revilla, etc.), legislators of subnational level (Enoé Uranga, María Rachid, Maximiliano Ferraro, Liliana Berna, amongst others) or even national ministers. Herein, we have selected a list of openly LGTBI leaders who have held ministerial positions in Latin American governments, specifying their most recent responsibilities.

Table 2.2

VISIBLY LGBT MINISTERS AND VICE MINISTERS

Country	Name and surname	Sexual Orientation / Gender Identity	Year of designation	Ministerial position	Governing party
Costa Rica	Carmen Muñoz	Lesbian	2014	Vice minister of Interior and Police	PAC (c)
Costa Rica	Wilhelm Von Breymann	Gay	2014	Minister of Tourism	PAC (c)
Colombia	Gina Parody	Lesbian	2014	Minister of National Education	PSUN (d)
Colombia	Cecilia Álvarez Correa*	Lesbian	2014	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism	PSUN (d)
Ecuador	Carina Vance	Lesbian	2012	Minister of Public Health	PAIS (i)

Prepared by the authors. Source: Promsex. * Previously Minister of Transport (2012-2014). (i) Left-wing, (c) Center-wing, (d) Right-wing.

Wilhelm Von Breymann, president of the Instituto Costarricense de Turismo (ICT) (Costa Rican Tourism Institute). He served as Minister of Tourism between 2014 and 2015, during the government of President Guillermo Solís. He was the first openly gay prime minister to appear with his couple in the presidential inauguration.²⁶ His brief passage through the Tourism portfolio allowed him to strengthen and promote Costa Rica as one of the most visited tourist destinations in the world.

Gina Parody (1973), Colombian politician of wide track record. She was elected senator in 2006 for Partido Social de Unidad Nacional (PSUN), previously served as deputy in the House of Representatives (2002) for Cambio Radical (CR) party. In 2014, a few days after taking office as Minister of Education, she made public her relationship with Cecilia Álvarez

²⁶ Newspaper *La Nación* (San José de Costa Rica). “Crónica del traspaso: nadie rezó y un ministro gay desfiló con su pareja”, in the edition of 5.9.2014. En: http://www.nacion.com/nacional/elecciones2014/Cronica-traspaso-ministro-desfilo-pareja_0_1413458692.html

Correa, Minister of Tourism. Succumbing to pressure from Government's Opposition groups, she resigned to her office on October 4, 2016.

Cecilia Álvarez Correa (1953), Colombian politician. She was the first woman to take office as Minister of Transport in 2012. She was designated Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism in 2014 and made public her relationship with Gina Parody, Minister of Education of Colombia,²⁷ a few days after taking office at the Ministry.

Carina Vance (1977), renowned professional and activist defender of the human rights of the LGTBI people. She was executive director of the Fundación Causana, an institution that defends the rights of lesbian women. She was named minister of Public Health in the year 2012 and tackling face to face the system of religious clinics that offered treatment for the healing of gays and lesbians, managing to rescue dozens of women who were physically and psychologically tortured in these centers.

The participation of LGTBI people in ministerial positions has implied the recognition of the professional capabilities and political track records of these people to bear important responsibilities of public management, respecting their sexual orientation or their gender identity. As in the case of parliamentarians, it is important that there are openly LGBTI authorities in public institutions.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the political participation of LGTBI people in power spaces is greatly diminished because of the situation of discrimination and affectation of rights that this population still experiences. However, the greater presence and participation of LGTBI people in the public arena is contributing positively to impulse the equality and diversity as values of the democratic system.

²⁷ Newspaper *El Colombiano* (Medellín). "Cecilia Álvarez habló de su relación con Gina Parody". In 8.28.2014: http://www.elcolombiano.com/historico/cecilia_alvarez_hablo_de_su_relacion_de_pareja_con_gina_parody-LGEC_308627

The political participation of LGBTBI people has enhanced the visibility of this population and has contributed to demystify the prejudices and stereotypes socially built around sexual and gender diversity. In addition, several openly LGBTBI authorities at different levels of representation and government of Latin American and Caribbean States have played a prominent role, promoting, with their own voice, the debate and approval of public policies that recognize and protect the equal rights of LGBTBI citizens.

It must not be forgotten that, in many cases, the openly LGBTBI leaders who now participate in politics have previously been part of civil society organizations, and even associations or groups of the social movement in defense of the rights of the LGBTBI population. This link between organized civil society and political activity is also a factor that can bring legitimacy to democratic systems that are still young, such as those of Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Without participation on an equal footing there can be no democracy. Therefore, the effective right to political participation of LGBTBI people as full citizens must be effectively protected and guaranteed by the State, not only as a matter of recognition of fundamental rights, but as a way to strengthen, expand and deepen the quality of the democratic system.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXPERIENCE OF LGTBI POLITICAL-ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION IN PERU (2006-2016)

3.1 *Biographical characterization of candidacies*

In Peru, between 2016 and 2016, there were twenty-four openly LGTBI candidates that ran in the electoral processes. As mentioned in the introduction, eleven applications were selected for this qualitative exploratory research. The cases selection responds to an intentional non-probabilistic sampling, since it was based on a decision made by the research team of the Research Group on Public Policy and Public Management (GIPPGP) of the School of Government and Public Policy of PUCP and validated by DNEF/JNE, based on the following criteria: i) level of accessibility to the source, ii) coverage of the different levels of government —national and subnational— and iii) inclusion of elected and non-elected candidates. Likewise, since electoral participation and LGTBI visibility are heterogeneous, it is difficult for a first exploratory approach to comply with requirements of other types of sampling, which, however, have been done in other studies with universes of different characteristics.²⁸ It is worth mentioning that within the eleven cases, four who managed to be elected to public offices were considered: two congressmen, one provincial councilman and one district councilman. The other seven have been valuable to carry out contrast exercises.

In this context, the task of the research team, as a first step, consisted of doing the biographical characterization of each of the cases of our sample so that, from its analysis, we could identify some variables that would allow us to understand and characterize the political participation of LGTBI people in Peru.

²⁸ See Ryrie *et al.* (2010). *Experiences of and barriers to participation in public and political life for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people*. Londres: Office for Public Development. Because the LGTBI universe of applications is larger in the United Kingdom, a study with stratified sampling and higher levels of reliability could be carried out.

Due to its nature, qualitative research requires thorough documentation and investigation to understand the “complex world of life experience from the point of view of those who experience it, as well as to understand its various social constructions about meaning and knowledge” (Salgado 2007: 71). For this reason, the biographical characterization, understood as the set of events and characteristics that shape and identify the life history of the people along their trajectory, help us to better understand the experiences and proposes us to explore some hypotheses for a future research agenda.

Taking this into account, and as a starting point, the information of the resumes of the eleven selected candidates, registered on the INFOgob portal of the JNE, was reviewed and systematized; then the information was complemented with interviews and reviews of press releases, videos, etc. Thus, from what was reviewed, we considered six dimensions of analysis²⁹ that would allow us to show the affinity and the difference between candidacies:

²⁹ For the dimensions considered in the analysis, see: Jave, I. y D. Uchuypoma (2013). *Quién dijo que sería fácil. Liderazgo político de regidoras jóvenes en Lima*. Lima: IDEH-PUCP and Fundación Konrad Adenauer.

Table 3.1

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS FROM BIOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERIZATION

Analysis Dimensions	
1.	Sexual Orientation and / or Gender Identity
2.	Edad
3.	Circunscripción electoral
4.	Educational level
5.	Political Organization at the time of the candidacy
6.	Political track record
7.	Active track record in the LGBTI community

In principle, **sexual orientation/gender identity** is a key factor for the analysis of LGBTI candidacies, since it corresponds to the candidate's distinguishing characteristic. In our selection, we found six gay candidates, three lesbians and two trans women. Three out of four of the elected candidates are gay, this could be explained due to the greater presence of men in politics and public positions in comparison to their female peers, and this trend seems to be maintained regardless of sexual orientation.

On the other hand, the age of postulation is varied and ranges between 24 and 59 years, at the time of the candidacy.

Regarding to the *constituency*: for the general elections, five out of six candidates ran for Congress representing Lima, two of whom were elected; while in the Regional and Municipal Elections, three out of four ran for districts offices (two in Lima and one in Trujillo) and one ran for office in the province of San Martín, which resulted in two of them obtaining the position. In summary, the majority (six) has presented themselves as candidates for congress; then, for positions as mayors or councilors in municipalities (four); and, finally, one candidate for the Andean Parliament.

Another distinctive characteristic and unanimous feature in all the candidates of our selection is the *educational level*, since all candidates have a higher level of education, which means that we are facing a group with a higher level of education than the average in Peru. Some have completed university and other non-university studies; and only one has a master's degree.

Regarding to *political organizations*, in the last decades it has been left-wing movements those which have been more closely involved in the defense of the human rights of the LGBTI community. Ricardo Baruch states that “parties and governments that are socialist, social-democratic or liberal, are those who have promoted legislation on same-sex marriage and other priority issues on the LGBT agendas since the 1980s” (2014).³⁰

Indeed, in Latin America, as Suarez Cao and Freidenberg point out, “in recent decades new actors who seek to integrate, cooperate or confront the old party elites, have emerged, both in the municipal arena and in the national arena. This accounts for certain transformations in the patterns of competition of Latin American party systems” (2010: 15). However, in Peru, the integration of actors such as the LGTBI community with a new agenda for representation has sometimes resulted without cohesion due to the weakness and political fragmentation that is characterized in Peru (Seifert 2014: 39).

The vast majority of the selected candidates, the most of candidacies ran for elections for public offices as members of leftist parties, amongst them: Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad, partido Socialista del Perú and Partido Descentralista Fuerza Social. However, by dividing the groups between elected and non-elected candidates, certain differences can be observed.

With regard to the first group, we find that they come from political parties with different affiliations and that only half occupied public political

³⁰ <https://alaizquierda.com.mx/2014/12/04/la-izquierda-y-los-derechos-de-las-personas-lgbt-una-relacion-complicada/>

positions when standing for elections for which they were elected individually. We identify that the candidates for the Congress of the Republic that were ultimately elected represent Metropolitan Lima under a party considered as of the right: Peruanos Por el Kambio (PPK). In contrast, as a result of the electoral system, the other two elected candidates occupied their positions by means of a closed list, representing Alianza para el Progreso and Movimiento Regional para el Desarrollo con Seguridad y Honradez (MRDSH), organizations that self-classified as from right party.

On the other hand, regarding candidates who were not elected, the majority belonged to left-wing parties and ran for elections to positions by popular election. It should be mentioned that none of the three candidates identified as lesbians were elected.

Table 3.2
ELECTED CANDIDATES ³¹

Candidate	Personal information			Postulación a cargos públicos		
	Age	Educational level	Sexual Orientation and/or Gender Identity	Position	Political organization	Constituency
Alberto de Belaunde	30	Postgraduate studies	Gay	Congressman	PPK	Lima + Citizens Abroad
Carlos Bruce	59	Upper university level	Gay	Congressman	PPK	Lima + Citizens Abroad
Luisa Revilla Urcia	42	Upper non-university level	Trans woman	Councillor	MRDSH	La Libertad
Victor Manuel Nieves	36	Upper university level	Gay	Provincial councillor	APP	San Martín

Source: INFOGob and information collected in the field work.

³¹ Personal information corresponds to the different times during which they ran for public office.

Table 3.3
NON-ELECTED CANDIDATES

Candidate	PERSONAL INFORMATION			Application to public office		
	Age	Nivel educativo	Sexual Orientation and/or Gender Identity	Position	Political organization	Constituency
Salvador Oré	30	University level	Gay/Cis-gender	Congressman	Frente Amplio	Junín
Susel Paredes	2006: 43 years	Postgraduate studies	Lesbian/	Congresswoman	Partido Socialista (2006)	Lima + Citizens Abroad
					Cisgender	
Alonso Ynga	2011: 48 years	Postgraduate studies (Not completed)		District mayor	PD Fuerza Social	Lima
Jorge Bracamonte	46	Postgraduate studies	Gay/Cis-gender	Representor at the Andean Parliament	Partido Socialista	National
Carolina Ubillús	44	University (Not completed)	Lesbian/Cisgender	District councilor (twice)	PD Fuerza Social (2010)	District
	2010: 24 years				Diálogo Vecinal (2014)	
Belissa Andía		University (Not completed)	Trans woman	Congresswoman	Movimiento Nueva Izquierda (2006)	Lima + Citizens Abroad (2006)
				Representor at the Andean Parliament	Frente Amplio (2016)	National (2016)
María Ysabel Cedano	49	Postgraduate studies	Lesbian/Cisgender	Congresswoman	Frente Amplio	Lima + Citizens Abroad

Source: INFOGob and information collected in the field work.

In this way, it is evident that the candidacies that were chosen belong to political organizations of right or independent, although the majority that ran belonged to lefty organizations.

On the other hand, regarding to the political track record of the candidates, it is interesting to again contrast this variable between the cases of those who were elected with those who were not, since with this comparison it will be possible to begin to outline marked differences between both types.

To begin with, regarding what has already been anticipated about the affiliations of the interviewed people, those who were not elected, in their totality belonged to left-wing groups such as the Partido Socialista, Fuerza Social, Tierra y Libertad, among others. On the other hand, those who won the elections belonged to political organizations such as the Peruanos por el Cambio, Alianza para el Progreso, described by the interviewees as right wing parties.

In this context, previous experience could have been an element of influence at the time of voting. In relation to the exercise of positions of representation and/or public office, those who were elected at the national level had previously held positions of trust. Thus, interviewee #5 is a chief of cabinet at a municipality in the capital of the country, while interviewee #3 is a former minister of state between 2002 and 2005, as well as congressman of the republic between 2006 and 2016. In contrast, almost none of the non-elect stated any previous experience in positions of representation and/or public office, with the exception of the interviewee #4, former General Director of Women at the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations during 2011.

Connecting now the political track record with the active participation in the LGBTI community, marked differences can be found. On the one hand, the people interviewed who won the elections show that not in

all cases they participated actively in any LGBTI group or organization, except in the case of interviewee #8, who was secretary of Public Relations in Association “TGLB por la Igualdad” (TGLB for Equality) during the years 2010 and 2014 and the case of the interviewee #11, who participated in the Asociación Diversidad San Martinense-DISAM (San Martinense Diversity Association-DISAM). However, in both cases their participation is recent. On the contrary, in the case of those who did not win the elections, it is possible to affirm that they all carried out activism activities in different groups.

3.2 *Social participation, party access and partisan life*

The political track records of the interviewees are built within the framework of the context and their participation in political and social spaces. Each of them has different agendas and positions regarding sexual and gender diversity. Depending on what kind of relationship the candidate maintains with both elements, it can help or hinder the entry of LGTBI people into the political arena.

Several reasons led the informants to choose to participate in various organizations: personal interest, an invitation from the organization to have a member of the LGTBI community and even the acceptance to co-fund projects in order to promote public policies in favor of the LGTBI community. It was evidenced that the majority of interviewed candidates who participated in political organizations had been invited without having previously militated in them, which coincides with the findings of other research studies on political participation (Jave and Uchuypoma 2013, Navarro 2015). Thus, for example, Carlos Bruce began his participation in Peru Possible from an invitation, which later would become a more organic presence that led him to occupy high positions in the hierarchy of the party. For the last electoral period of 2016 his integration to Peruanos por el Kambio (PPK) had a similar dynamic. In the same way, in the case of interviewee #8, his participation in Movimiento Regional para el

Desarrollo con Seguridad y Honradez began with an invitation from the leader of the movement, Elidio Espinoza.

In contrast, those interviewed who had a previous experience in social organizations, declared that they began to participate in them due to personal interests with the expectation of building networks to promote a same political project—in some cases specifically linked to sexual diversity, but also to other claims—. This is the case of Interviewee #6, who participated in organizations since High School as result of the interest of making a change or start a social transformation from the left wing, ever since he felt a strong indignation towards inequality, as mentioned in the interview: “Indignation led me to the idea that I had to act. [I should] have a posture.” (Interview #6, 2016).

Organizations address the issue of sexual and gender diversity in different ways. The cases show that there are political organizations with greater closeness to issues related to sexual and gender diversity; however, there are also others with lower affinity due to the heterogeneity of internal positions. In interview #10 the following is stated:

“It has not been easy to enter these spaces [Socialist Party], even though they shared the same ideological topic on sexual diversity; it was not very easy to share this speech with people who had being in politics for quite a while, as they could not completely divorce homophobia/lesbo/transphobia. We definitely had to put the topic in the table.” (Interview #10, 2016).

It must be also taken into account that the social context in which the interviewees were involved influenced their political participation. For example, in 1981, after the democratic transition in the late 1970s, a group called Acción para la Liberación Homosexual (ALPHO) (Action for Homosexual Liberation) was founded and was formed by homosexuals. A year later, the Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL) (Homosexual Movement of Lima) was founded.

As pointed out by activists Manolo Forno and Alejandro Merino, these organizations were constituted by homosexual men and intellectuals who had left-wing political thinking, and had militated in leftist groups, but saw that oppression was not only a subject of classes such as the worker movement and parties of the time, but that it acted in other dimensions as in the sexuality of people. (Mezarina 2015: 47).

This contextualization coincides with the statement of one of the people interviewed, who points out that there was a lot of ignorance about the LGTBI community, and that the discrimination apparently was based on supposed ideological contradictions between being leftist and sexually diverse or diverse because:

“In the 1970’s, in the left-wing environments, (being) homosexual was considered a ‘petty bourgeois degeneration’. It was very difficult to make politics from the left-wing, to include the rights of LGTBI people. Do not even think about it. In 2006, the MNI was very surprised that a trans person was introduced, they expected a gay candidate, correct, masculine candidate, but a transgender person with a female gender expression [...]” (Interview # 1, 2016).

According to the candidate, the visibility of sexual orientation was not only considered a *bourgeois deviation*, but gender identity was perceived in an even more negatively way; it was wrong for the people to not to dress according to the social construction of being a woman or being a man, and the idea that “this type of people” had any kind of political interest was denied. Therefore, despite the emergence of new organizations with homosexual members during the 1980s, in the following decades there is a setback with regard to the visibility of LGBTI groups. In the 1990s, with the authoritarian government of Alberto Fujimori, there was a scenario of political persecution of opponents of the regime, which increased the incentives for mobilization (Panfichi 2007), and opened up new horizons of participation for the historically discriminated populations, espe-

cially women. However, the LGTBI population continued to be rejected because in those same years the rejection of these new groups grew due to the stigma for HIV/AIDS.

Despite this situation, several of the interviewees developed their political career at this time and tell how complicated it was to cope with the difficulties of such years. *Interview # 10* recounts the difficulties:

“The spaces in the 90s were extremely difficult (*sic*). There the opening was given by the PS but we had to fight because there were many people who did not share the idea of sexual diversity or did not understand it. It was required a step by step advance and Javier Diez-Canseco was a figure that opened up the space [...] The work was not easy, the LGTBI term did not exist, nor trans, or sexual diversity, you were gay or lesbian.” (*Interview #10, 2016*)

Interview #4, coincides that the 90's were complicated years for the representation of the LGTBI community; and over the years and the constant struggle, it did gradually increase.

“In the 1990s, Demus had no LGTBI rights defense agenda, but rather feminist, against patriarchy and machismo, for the right to equality and non-discrimination. Only from 2004 we clearly incorporated the LGTBI agenda and we joined platforms to fight for a law to prevent discrimination by SOGI along with MHOL. Then, in alliance with the MHOL-ULB, we obtained a thematic hearing by non-discrimination by SO. We now raise the gender identity law and the right to motherhood of lesbian women.” (*Interview #4, 2016*).

In summary, it is necessary that the interviews allow identifying at least two ways of involvement in public affairs: i) participation in social orga-

nizations and ii) participation in political organizations. About the latter, two mechanisms of access were developed: the invitation without previous militancy and militancy from the party bases. Due to the characteristics of the current Peruvian party system, most of the LGTBI candidates who participated in party politics have followed the path of the invitation, which coincides with what happened with other social groups (Tanaka 2008: 41).

In the same way, those candidates that participated in social organizations took part of them for some type of personal interest in certain political projects. Amongst them, it is remarkable that the majority of those who followed this path were related to leftist parties, which, moreover, tend to be more open to the inclusion of sexual diversity and gender in their agendas. However, this inclusion has not been simple or even progressive, since the LGTBI population has had to make a great effort to achieve recognition. In this context, it is worth noting that, when making a joint analysis, it is evident that the candidates who succeeded in being effectively elected are characterized by not having previous experience in social organizations, militancy in political parties and much less those of the left-wing; on the contrary, the candidates elected come from organizations that are either defined as liberals or do not have an explicit ideological position.

From the interviewees' experience, it can be said that a longer political track record and in parties with an agenda more related to sexual diversity does not necessarily constitute a more favorable basis to be elected. In other words, the political participation of the LGTBI population is similar to that of other social groups at the level of their relationship with the party system: high volatility, political organizations without a political project, little militancy. At the same time, this could indicate that factors such as networks of contacts or the level of funding could contribute more effectively to success.

Also it is worth pointing out the relationship of candidates and the political organization with which they ran to office. Below are shown some

aspects that seek to account for how much this relationship could have facilitated their performance and/or the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in the agendas.

a) Personal motivation to run for election.

The question about motivation is loaded with social desirability; it means, it is a question that invites to respond in a politically correct way. However, it can be seen that not all study participants have an articulated response. The motivation described by them has two variants: i) a motivation to defend LGTBI issues as part of a wide range of issues and ii) to promote a specific LGTBI agenda.

In the first case, the candidates did not initially seek to relieve sexual and gender diversity as an explicit issue, it was considered as part of a speech of equality of the citizens' rights. In these cases, the LGTBI issue is not taken as the core of the discourse, but rather a manifestation of the inequalities against which the participants struggle. For example, *interview #8* points out: "What guides me in politics is that there must be equal rights" and in *interview # 11*: "I like politics, I like to help or articulate, I'm preparing for it."

On the other hand, the second type of motivation is more articulated with the candidates' own experience as activists and highlights the value of the political participation of the LGTBI population in formal spaces and party life. Some say that despite having little chance of winning a position by popular vote, they decided to participate with the aim of positioning the issue of LGTBI rights in the public agenda.

"If you know that you will not get to Congress or the Andean Parliament because you are participating in a party that has no greater chance of obtaining representation, the purpose of your participation is to place a type of agenda [LGTBI] at the center of

the public debate. In that scenario, we had not considered getting a seat in the parliament.” (*Interview #2*, 2016).

“When I was asked, I thought about it a thousand times because I already knew that it was a job to do political campaign, so it’s to dedicate yourself to the campaign. As much as they said it was to try, but it anyways was a responsibility. I was going to be a candidate for sexual diversity and you had to expose yourself, and there were certain glimpses of fear but if you walk in with all. I felt we needed to have a stronger voice, a voice in the party [Fuerza Social].” (*Interview #10*, 2016).

Then, the candidates were encouraged to participate in politics for different reasons, as well as their level of commitment and interest with the agenda of defense of the rights of the LGTBI population. If on the one hand, some reached the political arena with a previously defined and worked *corpus* —especially those who came from spaces of social participation—, in other cases sexual and gender diversity was a topic assumed later, either because they did not consider it representative of their own motivation, or because it was *attributed* to them. This happened, for example, in *interviews #6* and *#8*, who articulated the LGTBI issue to their political project after their orientation and gender identity were visible.

About the last mentioned, it is necessary to ask to what extent to take up the agenda of sexual diversity and gender being an LGTBI person contributes or not to take up a potentially attractive role of representation. Certainly, as in the case of women, the relationship between substantive and descriptive representation can be problematic because the candidate may not want to be politically known for a characteristic considered as personal, and at the same time without this relationship it is more difficult to include LGTBI rights in the public agenda. However, as it will be mentioned in the first part of this research, for many authors this difficulty can be overcome if it is understood that the important thing is not

that there is an intrinsic relationship between the representative and the agenda that they represent, but that multiple interests can be represented in a democratic society (Mandsbridge 2009).

b) Level and type of support of the Political Organization to the candidacy

There are two levels of support for LGBTI candidacies. On the one hand, there is institutional support, which implies that an LGTBI agenda should be included in the government's plan or that the leaders of the political organization should openly speak on the subject. This is the most common support and is the less direct support for specific candidates. For example, it is pointed out:

“Just the fact that they invite me, they knew who they were inviting. It was implicit to defend LGTBI Rights, I was not going to accept it in a group that did not have those rights on the agenda.” (Interview #3, 2016).

Likewise, another interviewee said:

“Various social organizations that are part of the Frente Amplio have incorporated in their ideals and their programs the principles of non-discrimination for Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and proposals for laws and public policies to guarantee LGTBI rights, such as the Partido Socialista of 2005 and Movimiento Sembrar. It is a natural alliance of the LGTBI people who are within these two political organizations like others of Frente Amplio. A couple of voices mentioned that the LGTBI agenda could be better handled so that it is not a boomerang against the candidacy of Verónica Mendoza and ours. But Verónica Mendoza's position as a candidate for the presidency was so strong that she did not give up even under the pressure of the Church.” (Interview #4, 2016).

On the other hand, there is the support of the bases and direct campaign, which involves logistical mobilization to distribute fliers and do grass-roots work. This type is the least common and is found only in three candidates of the left-wing. In this sense, an example is the *interview #2*, which states: “The own people of the party, the TLGBI commission [were the supporters]. They organized meals and meetings because they had to campaign.”

This support is not free of difficulties. Those who have received it consider that there is a lot of heterogeneity within the left-wing parties regarding the pro-LGTBI position. And this is expressed especially in the work of the bases:

“When we campaigned, part of the diversity was present in my campaign [...] I, at a time, when I was making the flyers, I presented issue of the flag [of pride], was not hidden but I did feel that it was not very nice for many although they told you that they were progressive, but no, and it was people of the left from long ago. They did it for a matter of partisan discipline but I do not feel they did it for personal conviction and that was felt very strongly.”
(*Interview #10*, 2016).

The situation is different for the candidates who come from spaces considered as right wing or liberal, because, when paired with greater access to media, due to the type of election —congressal—, it highlights a greater number of networks they have at their disposal to prepare their campaign. In fact, congressmen that were actually elected belonged to Peruanos por el Cambio (PPK), a party formed mainly by technicians and entrepreneurs, who not only facilitated greater access to human and financial resources, but also allowed a massive access to different media, with different communication strategies according to the type of audience. Not all organizations count with these conditions to carry out this kind of segmentation of the electorally attractive population, so it is clear

that those who make these strategies will have a better chance of communicating their message.

Another important point is to recognize that, in a political context such as the Peruvian one, the political weight of the leader is extremely relevant to define the course of a political organization, as well as its political project. Therefore, in some interviews it was stated that figures such as Javier Diez Canseco, Susana Villarán or Pedro Pablo Kuczynski were the ones who, through a personal decision, included issues of sexual and/or gender diversity as strategic priorities. However, it was this same personalistic characteristic that limited a greater success, as a result of internal party fractures that prevented an aligned and coherent action with the leader, candidates, and their social bases.

In summary, there are two levels of support for LGBTI candidacies. On the one hand, there is the most institutional one, which implies that an LGTBI agenda should be included in the government plan or that leaders should be open about the issue. This is the most common and least direct to specific candidates. On the other hand, there is the support of more bases and direct campaign, which implies, for example, the logistical support to carry out electoral proselytism and to do grassroots work. This type of support is the least common and is found only in three candidates on the left-wing party. This could be due to the fact that party bases do not necessarily have the opening to address LGBTI rights.

3.3. *Access to the media*

One of the decisive issues in campaigns is the access to media, since they allow positioning, visibility and account for the existence of LGTBI candidates in the campaigns, in addition, of course, to pay for the success or failure of the election.

Media and resources used to promote campaigns were mainly mass media (TV, radio and print media) and social networks. The differentiation is

clear regarding the congressional candidacies for Lima and the rest of candidacies for municipal and regional elections. Congressional candidates for Lima (*interviews* #3, #5, #7, #4 and #1; 2016) received wide coverage, with invitations to interviews in mass media such as television, radio and newspapers. This means more exposure and, therefore, more recall, without the need to invest funds for it.

“I always had very good media coverage, a good relationship with the press [...]. I had at least seventeen proposals to improve the Congress that drew the attention of the media, for interviews [...]. I found openness in the media on LGTB and Civil Union issues.” (*Interview* #5, 2016).

“[In 2006] [the] press gave a lot of attention, we had a lot of coverage and my presence in the media had greater impact.” (*Interview* #1, 2016).

“I’m lucky to be a media person, so I had a lot of media coverage [...] I rather supported the political organizations because the only one they called on television was me.” (*Interview* #7, 2016)

In their side, candidates for subnational positions or Congress representing a province had appearances in local mass media. However, this has the disadvantage that, according to an interviewee, in some provinces the national media are more consumed than the local ones. Likewise, these candidates used other resources such as visiting places that are important nodes of communication in the constituencies in which they participate and surroundings, which allowed them to be close to the electorate:

“[I]n Trujillo there was a great campaign, the voto atrevido (daring vote). The daring vote was that, yes, indeed Luisa Revilla could become a councillor or alderwoman, but you had to dare to vote for her. [...] [M]y campaign was to visit the AA.HH. (Human

settlements) door to door, giving away souvenirs, passing the message along.” (*Interview #8, 2016*).

“We, the LGTB, also were making campaign in nightclubs, in the parks, at 1 in the morning [...]. We went to Valetodo Downtown because there were a lot of people from Magdalena [...]. We also went to the volleyball matches here in the Chamochoyumbi at 6 pm where the gay guys play more on the weekends. Fulbito (soccer) down on the Costanera, with the lesbian girls [...].” (*Interview #9, 2016*).

On the other hand, social networks —specifically Facebook— were widely used; even in some cases they were the main means for disseminating the contents of their campaigns due to the low investment required and how easy was to create content that keeps the page updated. They were especially relevant for those who ran for municipal and regional elections.

“We did not have money to appear in banners, so we worked our topic on the Internet by making homemade videos. We had to do it that way because there was no money, we used cameras and put the words out, the messages, , where we took advantage of the animal welfare issue. Everything was handled in the social networks, all invitations were made in the social networks. At that time, Willax TV was a social network and they interviewed us. There were guys who also did their microprograms through social network. We began to learn how to take advantage of the Internet through videos, Facebook. We created Facebook page under our name, we put information in it. It was the only way, we had nothing else.” (*Interview #10, 2016*).

“In 2016, the campaign was more difficult, it already registered and we had to put together a campaign, I focused on social networks because it was more accessible [...].” (*Interview #1, 2016*).

In addition, we attended academic activities, as another form of resources, such as debates, conversations and alike, in order to approach to a certain type of voters.

“It was taking advantage of the milestones of the feminist and LGBTI struggle. On February 14th, in Kisses Against Homophobia, on March 8th on International Women’s Day when LGBTI candidates were sought, feminists who could talk. Then, we also worked hard on the profile of the feminist candidate, a lesbian and took advantage of the spaces for debate of the LGBTI and feminist civil society with different approaches. Such spaces that were opened at the academy and Civil Society allowed me to present my proposals and debate them, which we caught by the press [...]. My campaign was based on social networks and media both national and local: press, radio, television, digital channels. I accepted 100% of all the invitations to present my proposals and debate.” (*Interview #4*, 2016).

In order to recount the media access of the openly LGBTI candidates interviewed, it is said that those who run for Congress and represent Lima region had a high level of mass media coverage due to invitations to interviews, regardless of their political ideology, without having to pay for publicity. Candidates for local and regional governments did not have equal mediatic impact, who, in turn had a certain level of exposure in local media, although they had the disadvantage that in many regions the most used means of communication were the national ones and, therefore, their appearances on them did not get greater coverage. The same could be said about social networks, they played a fundamental role due to their low cost and how easy is to create content.. In the case of local and regional candidacies, they tried to bring the candidate in proximity to constituents in two ways: in some cases they searched for LGBTI public at their common venues, and in others, they took part in debates and related academic events.

Box 1

A LITTLE MORE ABOUT ALBERTO DE BELAUNDE

Congressman of the Republic

He was elected congressman for Peruanos por el Kambio (PPK), the party that won the 2016 Presidential Elections. Alberto de Belaunde is 31 years old, was born in Miraflores, a district of the city of Lima. He is a lawyer from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP) and has a master degree in Territorial Planning and Environmental Management from the University of Barcelona. He is a graduate of the Master of Government and Public Policy of the Institute of Government of San Martín de Porres University and holds a diploma in Public Management and Public Policy by the School of Government of PUCP. He received a scholarship at the Global Competitiveness Leadership Program of the School of Business of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. (USA).

De Belaunde participated in politics at the University. He was president of the Federated Center of the Faculty of General Studies and student representative in the Faculty of Law of the PUCP. Currently teaches the course of Constitutional Law in the specialty of Political Science at the same university as well as the course of Professional Responsibility of a Lawyer in the Faculty of Law at the Universidad del Pacifico (UP).

At the age of 20 (2006) he run for election to be councillor in the district of Miraflores. In 2011, at the age of 24, he took up the challenge of being head of the Cabinet of Advisors to the mayor of Miraflores Jorge Muñoz, a position he held until he was elected congressman. He was a member of Partido Democrático Somos Perú from 2014 to 2015, working to coordinate Jorge Muñoz's government plan for his second municipal term.

In the electoral campaign, De Belaunde was a member of the Peruvian Government Plan team of Peruanos por el Kambio, collaborating in the

chapter on human rights. Although his campaign had as its main axis the institutional reforms, throughout it he backed up diverse concepts of promotion of LGTBI rights in the Plan of Government, like Civil Union and the Law Against Hate Crimes. The subject of his sexual orientation was pointed out in some interviews, but he always looked for the proposals to be center of his campaign.

3.4. *Speech and performance in the electoral campaign*

The influence of sexual orientation and/or gender identity on the track record of LGTBI candidates was subject to analysis from the relevance that these provide their sexual identity in their political participation; and, more specifically, in their run for a representation seat..

Among the interviewees, there are two positions regarding sexual identity and its relation to political participation. The first one states that sexual orientation and/or gender identity did not played a major role in their decision to participate in politics, since their interest to participate came from other experiences. As mentioned in the following interview:

“It was much more relevant to the organization to know about my resume and proposals rather than my sexual orientation.” (*Interview #5, 2016*).

On the other hand, other candidates believed that the sexual identity represented a fundamental element to define social and/or political track record, due to the historical discrimination LGTBI people faced in Peru, which was reflected in the absence of laws and public policies addressing this population, as well as the invisibility within the political organizations and the non-inclusion of LGTBI demands in government proposals.

“I am a happy feminist and socialist lesbian, I think my campaign also had a pedagogical political purpose which was to help ensure

there were more political figures for the LGTBI community, for lesbians, so that future generations see that there is no problem in being part of and participating in politics.” (*Entrevista #4*, 2016).

As pointed out in the interview above, these candidates not only pursued the modification of State policies to improve the situation of the LGTBI population, but also considered that their visibility became an important reference point for a greater cultural acceptance.³² For a better understanding of this point, a more detailed analysis will follow.

a) Construction of the political image

There are two types of messages around the structure of the campaign of LGTBI candidates interviewed that were identified. The first one refers to sexual and gender diversity as the main message of the campaign, for which explicit proposals related to this topic were used, and the construction of a personal image that emphasizes identification with the LGTBI community. The second type of messages are linked to the construction of a political image in which the candidate does not use LGTBI as a differential tool and avoids being typecasted in the related topics. This is expressed in the presentation of proposals in a great variety of topics that can include sexual and gender diversity, but not as the main axis; and the reluctance to use one’s sexual orientation as a personal presentation. In addition, it was evidenced that the majority of candidates interviewed that had proposals specifically directed to the LGTBI community affirmed to have a political ideology of progressive left-wing.

In the first type of messages, respondents used the preparation and, above all, the dissemination of proposals in favor of the LGTBI community to captivate a sector of the population:

³² However, until 2016 no LGBT person has been re-elected; in the case of the current congressman Carlos Bruce, who is in his third consecutive term as legislator of the Peruvian Congress, he made public his sexual orientation in 2014, when he was already exercising his second legislative term.

“The sexual diversity was a cautious topic but it was present nevertheless, however it was in line with the protection of the district. You cannot be too aggressive as having a gay candidate was already great deal, despite this fact, putting municipal policies issues in the table was certain matter.” (*Interview #10*, 2016).

“I did not have a particular personal proposal, because at that point we did not contemplate the possibility to be elected. We did not develop an individual platform, instead we developed a programmatic platform of 24 points based on the first plan of human rights, in which LGTBI proposals were presented; it was decided to work on these and make it more integral. We tried to collect proposals from the groups of LGTBI identities and aspects that allow understanding the exclusion of these groups.” (*Interview #2*, 2016).

In principle, there was a number of LGTBI candidates who were recognized for their sexual orientation or gender identity; that is to say that—contrary to the Interview # 10—it was a very self-rated element for the construction of the personal image:

“In the first campaign, the fact that I was the first lesbian candidate in history to run for Congress attracted much attention. In the second, I debated with all possible candidates (Martha Chávez, Luisa María Cuculiza, Fabiola Morales). So, it served me well for the debate [...]. Focused from the radical stand point, I could have had a radical agenda that would have appeared in all communications media [...]. I even asked them to put that ‘I am (...), sanmarquina lesbian lawyer’ or ‘activist lawyer’ in the Lower Third Super that appears on the screen of the TV.” (*Interview #7*, 2016).

“My sexual orientation was a target for the candidates of other parties. I was new in politics and I had to face people, who had been in politics for over 15, 20years [...]. The attacks came from social

networks. To counteract, we put together a TEC team from which we informed about sexual orientation. A small group on Facebook was created. The degree of sympathy we showed made the identification [with my candidacy] stronger.” (*Interview #11, 2016*).

“My sexual orientation was one of the most important flags, without losing sight of the rights of working women, indigenous villagers, afro women [...]. And we also worked a lot on the profile of the feminist lesbian candidate and drew on a lot from the LGBTBI and feminist spaces for debate with different approaches.” (*Interview #4, 2016*).

However, two of the people interviewed in this category indicated that external agents, such as journalists or other candidates from other parties, addressed them by their sexual orientation in a demeaning way, when they have not yet declared publicly and willingly their sexual orientation.

While some of them did not have a problem with being known by their sexual orientation or gender identity, others avoided using their sexual identity explicitly in their personal presentation, although they did not deny it when consulted about it.

“I always made it clear that I did not want to be a candidate who simply aspired to have a vote just for being gay. But what I wanted was that people who were interested in LGTB issues vote for me due to my proposals [...]. I do not know if it was the main element, I do not think so.” (*Interview #5, 2016*).

“I did not really plan to make my gay status visible during my campaign. I had not planned it. In fact, it was not very sustainable because it was not something that I had hidden during my time at the university, or in Frente Amplio, however, I felt that if it was not mentioned, It would not be noticed by the media,

or at least at the beginning It was something I wanted to avoid.”
(*Interview #6*, 2016).

As previously stated, the candidate did not want to make visible his sexual orientation mainly for two reasons: i) in the city where he was running—such a thing “could generate rejection” and “limit his ability to establish alliances, at least at the beginning”; and ii) because the LGTBI movement was not so strong at this electoral constituency and, therefore, he would not obtain an electoral or base support. From a radio interview in which his sexual orientation was forcefully highlighted and was broadcasted in the front page of a widely-circulated newspaper in Junín, the later interviews focused persistently on that matter, despite the fact that the candidate tried to redirect the focus to other points.

The case of the transgender candidates deserves special attention, since their gender identity is visible from the beginning, thus the association of their candidacy to the LGTBI agenda is almost automatic and imposed, even though they have other lines of interest.

“[...] I had to have an appearance or to adopt an appearance like... how could I say ...‘androgynous’ in order avoid the population to be discouraged when voting, because I had a biphomophobic candidate who was running for mayor and I was the candidate for deputy mayor.” (*Interview #8*, 2016).

“I accepted the candidacy as a way to make the [trans] issue visible [...] Although I did not reach a seat in the Parliament, the issue of visibility is the most important thing as well as to change the perception of the transgender person [...]. In 2006 I had few votes, although my candidacy was taking as novel, exotic, the issue was positioned and has been gaining ground over these years. Before, it was thought as wrong that people of sexual and gender diversity could participate.” (*Interview #1*, 2016).

In this way, it is necessary to recognize that there are candidacies that can try to make their sexual identity visible or not with more freedom, whereas in other cases, this characteristic is more visible so this decision is more limited, as could happen with trans people. It is clear that, as the image is constructed with respect to others, contexts such as the media can caricature the image of certain candidates, which is often the case with LGTBI people, who are constantly asked about their sexuality. These are probably the reasons why several candidates prefer not to make explicit their sexual orientation or gender identity, since this does not ensure a positive or favorable image, especially in a conservative country like Peru. In fact, regarding this issue, the study by Cosme et.al. (2007) points out how the Peruvian press has different ways of stigmatizing the LGTBI population, classifying them as “the others”, and thereby distorting their image in the public sphere:

“Differentiation from the exercise of non-hegemonic sexualities and affectivities has as its correlate the exclusionary characterization of that “other” that is different. It is here that the exclusion of the community is crystallized, since the characteristics attributed to the differentiated population are always negative, making it difficult to include them in the city. Registration in the community that sustains the citizen’s exercise.” (Cosme, *et al.*, 2007: 112).

It should be noted that this has been changing progressively in recent years, but this does not yet avoids that the construction of a gay or trans public figure can be detrimental or set path to either have a successful or failed electoral campaign.

For the majority of interviewees, one of the challenges involved in attracting the attention of the electorate to obtain votes, was to extend their proposals to other political, social and economic rights, given the social perception that a candidate would only defend LGTBI rights.

“There was a lack of time, resources and experience to set an agenda for other social movements, unions and village communities, for example. When we had to prioritize in the field work, in the calls that represented an issue and it was also a lesson learned, despite the fact that it was foreseen in the campaign plan, in the proposals.” (*Interview #4, 2016*).

“Not necessarily voting for a female congressional candidate assures you that when she gets to Congress, she will have a gender-sensitive agenda.” (*Interview #5, 2016*).

Regardless of the electoral results achieved, evidence makes it possible to indicate that there are different positions on the weight of sexual identity and whether they have won the elections or not. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that these affirmations are the perceptions of the interviewed ones and that, in several cases, some lack of knowledge or uncertainty was observed that allow them to assure the impact of the sexual identity. In this sense, it is necessary to carry out an in-depth study to make an analysis between the interviewees' testimony and other social, cultural and political contexts that frame the electoral process.

b) Campaign messages

The messages given by political actors in different media are often an important part of the media image they seek to project. This is due to the fact that it is a suitable channel to express their positions on a series of topics with the aim of convincing voters that who is presented is the best option to take up certain position. However, the type of issues or position taken when promoting the campaign will help define the support or rejection of a certain type of population; which makes this process a space of negotiation and relevant dispute to be analyzed.

From the analyzed cases, two types of messages were identified, around which the interviewed candidates structured their campaign strategies.

The first one refers to sexual and gender diversity as the main message of the campaign, which implies the presentation of explicit proposals related to the LGTBI community.

In this type of messages, the interviewed candidates showed a clear political identification with sexual and gender diversity, and they used this to reach the LGTBI population, and also another sector with greater openness to these discourses. Even so, it is necessary to mention that, within these messages, differences can be found according to their type and structure, since some could be cataloged as more radical and others as more moderate, especially those that they tried to be more attractive to a larger audience.

“The sexual diversity was a cautious topic but it was present nevertheless, however it was in line with the protection of the district. You cannot be too aggressive as having a gay candidate was already great deal, despite this fact, putting municipal policies issues in the table was certain matter.” (*Interview # 10, 2016*).

“I did not have a particular personal proposal, because at that point we did not contemplate the possibility to be elected. We did not develop an individual platform, instead we developed a programmatic platform of 24 points based on the first plan of human rights, in which LGTBI proposals were presented; it was decided to work on these and make it more integral. We tried to collect proposals from the groups of LGTBI identities and aspects that allow understanding the exclusion of these groups.” (*Interview #2, 2016*).

The second type of messages is linked to the construction of a political image in which the candidate does not use LGTBI as a differential tool and avoids being typecasted in the related topics. This is expressed in the presentation of proposals in a great variety of subjects that may include the defense of LGTBI rights, but not as the main axis, and the reluctance to use sexual orientation as their personal presentation.

“I think the message of congressional renewal and the idea of being a young and a new face in politics weighed more on the campaign.” (*Interview #5, 2016*).

When putting both political image and the messages of the candidates on the scale, it is observed that the left-wing candidates had a greater predisposition and commitment to wield campaign messages around issues of sexual diversity; however, several of them did not wish to be labeled as LGTBI candidates, so they built their political figure around other issues. This is relevant since the way in which LGTBI candidacies can use sexual identity as a political resource is different from that of activist groups. Regarding this, Mezarina (2015) identified that a group of young activists as LGTBI identity seeks to be visible both at the private and public levels, because after analyzing the testimony of the interviewees:

“(...) we can conclude that although a visible activism is sought in all possible places, there are occasions that are considered more adequate than others. This is why not only the spaces to exercise the right to protest are seen as part of activism, but the different spaces of daily life are also areas of dispute and sense about the legitimacy of non-heterosexual relations.” (Mezarina 2015: 108)

Then, the forms and objectives of the politicization of the sexual identity can be placed within a continuum in between the most radical and the most conservative, generating scales in which different spaces represent different strategies. In that sense, the space of social participation can be conducive for strategies of greater visibility, while the political arena put candidates in scenarios that, in the worst case, would demand the adoption of fully heterosexual models.

It is also important to point out that in the last electoral campaign of the General Elections of 2016, during the first round, non-programmatic information in newspapers, TV and radio reached 81,3% (addressing cir-

cumstantial issues such as the registration of candidacies, disqualifications, appeals, accusations among other issues), while programatic information (government proposals related to citizen security, economics, education, among other topics including proposals on gender and sexual diversity) reached only 18,7% of the total topics of the electoral campaign.³³ It could be inferred from these results that even LGTBI candidates who build their political campaign addressing a wide range of proposals beyond LGTBI rights face the challenge of disseminating their proposals on conjunctural issues in which even unintentionally the candidate's sexuality results exposed.

Box 2

GETTING TO KNOW MORE ABOUT LUISA REVILLA

District Councillor

Luisa Revilla started to get involved in social organizations in the early 1990's, promoting the creation of Caritas parish dining rooms. She was invited to participate in the political organization Movimiento Regional para el Desarrollo con Seguridad y Honradez in La Libertad-MRDSH, in principle as political general secretary of the district of La Esperanza, later to be candidate to councillor for the same district.

She considered that the political organization has been prone to include LGTBI issues in its agenda, nevertheless, during the development of the campaign she was persuaded to adopt an appearance that Revilla denominates androgynous that in practice implied a pressure to conceal her trans gender identity because the candidate for mayor of her own political organization, is a transphobic person, says Revilla. This reflected the possibility that in the party list itself there was no affinity between members.

³³ Quantitative monitoring of media coverage during the General Elections of 2016. Study conducted by the National Jury of Elections and International IDEA, with the support of IP Noticias (IP News).

Regarding the management of her electoral campaign, as mentioned lines above, the involvement of Revilla with the parochial dining rooms represented an attractive number of voters for the MRDSH. In the same way, her personal contacts—including her friends, couple, family—allowed her to finance her campaign and gain greater visibility in the mass media, especially the virtual ones, through videos and low budget propaganda. In this context, the councillor also considers that the support from Promsex NGO, through Escuela Empodera (Empower School), allowed her to acquire greater skills to perform in the public arena; also notes that in 2014 some social organizations launched a campaign in favor of LGTBI candidacies called Voto Atrevido (Daring Vote) mainly diffused on social networks. Its main campaign proposals were related to the fight against corruption and social policies.

Luisa Revilla mentions that in her public office she is in good terms with the current mayor of the district La Esperanza de Trujillo, an evangelical person with whom she has coordinated some activities targeting LGTBI population, thus making possible the “First Macrorregional Encounter of the LGBT Community in the North”. In 2014, the Regional Government of La Libertad approved the Regional ordinance approving the promotion of equality and non-discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (Ordinance No. 006-2014-GR-LL/CR).

Currently, Revilla is the national representative of the trans community in the National Multisectoral Coordinator in Health-CONAMUSA, president of Red Trans-La Libertad and sector coordinator of the Neighborhood Boards for the Citizen Security of Trujillo.

c) Candidate relationship with civil society

The interviewees identified two types of impact on the relationship of LGTBI candidates with civil society during election campaigns. The first

one reflects a positive impact expressed in the support to the candidacy by diverse social actors, as well as the agendas that they represented; the second has a negative impact as a result of discrimination and prejudice towards LGBTBI people. This is relevant because, regardless of how the political actor manages the image of his sexual identity, the identity construction attributed to the candidates from the voters' gaze results unpredictable.

In the first group, the interviewees expressed that their relationship with certain social sectors, organized or not, has been valuable, since their candidacy generated a social debate on the rights of the LGBTBI people that allowed changing the perception and stereotypes.

“Now my relationship with the LGBTBI population has strengthened, since I was able to have a more effective voice that calls on the authority to comply with a community that is discriminated.”
(*Interview #11, 2016*)

“Although the acceptance in the population has not increased a lot, in segments C and D rejection is still higher, but in the middle and upper segments there is a greater tolerance,.Aso in general, [homophobia] now is politically incorrect in the society; this is something that has been achieved.” (*Interview #3, 2016*).

However, it is necessary to keep in mind the different dynamics that take place in a national election regarding a local electoral process (municipal or district).Due to the scope of the campaign, the influence of the mass media regarding certain issues, the degree of homophobia and discrimination.

“On the one hand, I think it was quite positive for me, for the movement in Huancayo, for some young people, I have some concrete cases. Positioning the topic and addressing, without a problem, the questions asked to me and also some attacks that came along. Especially those that did not come from journalists, but

from the calls that were made while on air in the radio and local television. Despite that fact, I replied back. I feel very satisfied with the answers that I managed to articulate.” (*Interview #6*, 2016).

Also, it is necessary to distinguish between gay and lesbian candidacies from trans people candidacies, as the latter face greater exclusion due to lack of social capital, access to media, work, and opportunities, and higher education, plus the limitations coming from the non-recognition of their gender identity in the National Identification Document (DNI).

“There was a greater deal of acceptance, although there are people that are not willing to accept that there is a dissident gender presence. In current politics, there have been dissident voices that advocated for the rights to sexual orientation and gender identity. It is important that there is greater acceptance, balance of favorable forces that implies a cultural change that has already taken place. It still does not translate into the legal sphere which is the most reluctant to set ground for human rights. We have a social and political system that renders your identity invisible; to the government you are functional if you are a man or a woman.” (*Interview #1*, 2016).

Regarding the second group, only two candidates mentioned that their relationship with civil society did not improve rather it worsened. Some candidates pointed out that trust in LGTBI organizations was eroded due to non-compliance of electoral promises once the party took office.

Based on the findings, it is argued that for those interviewed, the presence of LGTBI people being visible in diverse social environments, such as work, academic, cultural and media environment generally would allow for a greater social acceptance of LGTBI people and their rights to take place, as well as the recognition of their capacities and competences breaking stigmas and prejudices.

“The greatest contribution of a LGTBI person is to say it out loud; that the baker, the lady who serves you lunch, the doorman at your building, your dentist, your co-workers, know that you are LGTBI, that democratizes society. That is why a candidacy serves as a testimony of life, the candidacy as a testimony of that cause.”
(Interview #7, 2016).

This need for visibility in different fields pointed out by the interviewees has also been increasing in the political arena, where in the last decade the faces and voices of LGTBI people have been more present, defying traditional politics. As one of the interviewees says: “I believe that every LGTBI person with a public profile helps society to move forward.. Being visible makes people to better understand the problem and break themselves free from prejudice.”

In this regard, some texts by Peruvian LGTBI authors, including Lucero Cuba (2012), which states that “[p]olitize sexuality and sexualize politics are without a doubt key LGBT movement contributions”, by questioning the traditional view of politics, which historically relegates sex-affective relations to an almost hidden realm, unlike to what usually happens in the LGTBI movement, in which the claim of sexuality becomes the main reason to be in politics. Giancarlo Cornejo (2012) emphasizes that “it should not be forgotten that one of the greatest contributions of LGTB activism to culture and politics is its radical critique of the ways in which human relations are sanctioned, monitored, punished and mutilated.” Both authors agree on the contribution of the LGTBI movement to politics and society, in general, with respect to how human relations are formed and interact, which are also, ultimately, relations of power.

3.5. *Types of support for LGBTI candidates at the electoral stage*

In Peru, the financing of political parties is a very controversial issue and has been included in the agenda of public discussion on electoral reform.

Considering the high costs of electoral campaigns in the media, since it can determine the popularity of the candidate and his/her eventual triumph or failure. Likewise, the need for funding may lead to formal or informal practices, as well as to corrupt practices. Within this framework, Peru has two sources of financing: public and private.

Public funding, according to the Law of Political Parties, it only exists for political parties that obtain representation in the Congress of the Republic. It means, the Peruvian Government must put together an amount of money equivalent to 0,1% of UIT (Tax Unit) per each vote to elect Congress representatives. From that amount, 40% the same for all and 60% proportional to the votes obtained by each party. That money is for training, research and ordinary operating expenses. Despite the fact that the law states that this should be in practice since 2007, and will depend on the inclusion of these funds in the Public Budget Law, in reality public direct financing will be made effective starting in 2017, this is the reason why previous elections only counted on the indirect financing made available through free access to state radio and television for the development of party activities.

On the other hand, *private financing* allows contributions from party members, partisan activities, return on equity, loans, monetary benefits in soles (Peruvian Currency) or social benefits, among others. Since some control mechanisms have been established for this type of activity, instances such as the management office of Supervision of Supporters Funds of the National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE), supervises the two types of financing.

In the absence of effective public funding, the majority of the candidates opt to search for private resources. Sometimes they do not even received any kind of support from the political party, so the nomination ends up being personal and self-managed. We found that all the candidates selected in this research funded their campaigns with their own resources.

Many of them received donations from family members, friends and their closest circles to finance campaign activities (posters, flyers, *merchandising*, etc.). They also used their savings or asked for personal loans. Then, the social capital of the candidates becomes important, as long as they depend on the support of their social networks. This collaboration is not only economic, but also includes voluntary work to distribute fliers, write articles, distribute *merchandising*, get interviews, and so on. Let's look at the following statement:

"I accepted the candidacy to make the (trans) issue visible because I do not have the economic capacity to prepare a campaign, but what we had is a lot of enthusiasm from several activists, despite the fact they were people who did not have many resources. The resources were our own, I had support from colleagues who helped on Facebook, preparing information, articles." (*Interview #1*, 2016).

"It was a frugal campaign, built with contributions from my friends. Luckily I am a media person so I had a lot of media coverage, friends who donated their time to get me interviews and that's what I did in my campaign." (*Interview #7*, 2016).

As evidenced in the interviews, it is relevant to consider the possibility that candidates from political organizations thought to be right-wing have had greater access to funding due to their party relations with groups of economic power. However, counting with these funds remains to be a personal task and the party can favor contact with social networks, but it does not provide any particular support to the candidacies.

Support in election campaigns can also provide relevant information on the differences between those who won the election and those who did not. In the case of the elected candidates, in the great majority, the main support to the candidacy came from relatives and friends. In contrast, in the case of those who were not elected, the main support, for the most

part, came from LGTBI and feminist organizations. Many interviewees reported they had two types of support from LGTBI community, both individual and organizational. On the one hand, there was support from the LGTBI electorate expressed in a favorable opinion generated by the proposed sexual and gender diversity agenda, which is perceived by the candidate or candidate:

“I also feel that I had an important number of votes from people who are in favor of Civil Union and wanted that along with the voice of Carlos Bruce there would be another voice to speak up about those topics. I do not know whether this was due to the fact that because I am part of the LGTB community or because of the topics comprised in the agenda which were mostly discussed.” (*Interview #5, 2016*).

“I suppose there was a complacency about seeing someone talking about their sexual orientation that proves shows that a homosexual can be a good public officer, and that was the reason why I ran.” (*Interview #3, 2016*).

The other type of support, the strongest, was the adhesion of the campaign team towards the candidate, or the support of activists and/or LGTBI organizations or allies to promote the campaign.

“LGTBI people were also there. There was a gay guy who helped with social networks and young people. Gay and lesbian people who ‘bought the T-shirt’ (expression that means to participate with great effort) and was there from dawn till dusk.” (*Interview #10, 2016*).

“At this moment, there must be a couple [of LGBT groups] that have the interest to become political actors, although in practice they are not, they are in the process of constitution, but they do

exist. Of course, as there are no political organizations, I could not talk about this type of support, but many of the organizations that leans more towards social, or cultural aspects and are related to certain figures within the [LGTB] movement did support me [...] I also had a lot of support from Lima. In Frente Amplio party there is an LGTB network of activists from various parties who also represented an invaluable support as friends, in matters of information, to help me improve my contents.” (*Interview #6, 2016*).

“I was the candidate of the feminists and the left-wing LGBTI people, or at least one of their candidates. For the LGBTI movement that thought about voting for FA their votes went to Marisa Glave, Indira Huilca, Ángela Villón, Rosario Grados and myself (5 candidates) [...]. I did not hire anyone, it was all volunteer work, activists’ work, who gave their time and money, whose bet was full.” (*Interview #4, 2016*).

Aside from the the LGBTI network of Frente Amplio mentioned by one of the interviewees, the only organization explicitly mentioned in this section was an NGO, Promsex, which was mentioned by two of the interviewees as part of their training processes:

“In Promsex I was trained in politics, in TLGB political leadership, in Lima. We are the first class of this school of political leaders of the TLGB community, that had renowned mentors, well-known in the national and internationally sphere, and I think it was very useful to me in my training in politics.” (*Interview #8, 2016*).

“Directly, I have not [received any support from any LGBT organization]. I have received support from Promsex through *Empodera, School of Political Leaders*, who trained me to strengthen my leadership.” (*Interview #11, 2016*).

Box 3

GETTING TO KNOW VICTOR MANUEL NIEVES

Deputy Mayor

Victor is a gay man who started his participation in cultural organizations in Tarapoto since the year 2000. In those years, his interest in political participation was closer to none. And in 2015, he registered in the Asociación Diversidad San Martinense-DISAM (San Martinense Diversity Association –DISAM), an LGTBI organization of his region, from which he was elected president. Along with this group, he inaugurated a community facility where vulnerable populations, including the sex workers, are now being served.

With regard to his participation in political organizations, in 2014 he enrolled in Alianza para el Progreso (APP), where he was in charge of logistics and coordination issues for the electoral campaign. As he points out in the interview, the reason he ran for provincial councillor was a response to a request made by the candidate for mayor of his own party, to support him in the campaign and also due to his desire to contribute with the LGTBI movement. With regard to the latter, during his training on militancy for the rights of the LGTBI people, he stated that he received the support of Promsex through its program, Escuela de Liderazgos Políticos-Empodera (Empodera School of Political Leaders).

Prior to joining to APP party, Victor talked to the party leader about his sexual orientation so that he and his party would be prepared in case they were victims of homophobic attacks. And, in fact, when promoting his political campaign he received several attacks in social networks alluding his sexual orientation, as a result he created a virtual platform with sole

purpose of informing about sexual diversity. According to him, he has always received the support of the APP.

Regarding to his political track record, Victor points out that because of his defense of LGTBI rights, he had discrepancies with his political organization, when César Acuña, leader of the party, proposed Humberto Lay as vice president, an evangelical pastor with homophobic discourses in the General Elections of 2016. In spite of this, he does not consider that his sexual orientation influenced much of his political career, but rather indicates that his relationship with the LGTBI population has strengthened, since, from his position, he has more effective channels of communication between them and the representatives of the municipality. However, he considers that for heterosexuals the construction of the political track record is less complicated than for the LGTBI people, since the latter must deal with discrimination, prejudices and rejection from certain sectors of the society.

When he was elected provincial councillor, Victor began his work assisting vulnerable populations in general, To date, he is a member of three commissions of the Provincial Municipality of San Martín: Commission for Administration and Legal Affairs, Committee on Economy, Planning and Budget, the Commission for Women and the Family and the Regular Commission for Culture, Tourism and Education.

No other sexual diversity organization that provided support to the interviewees was mentioned during the interviews. The adhesion, above all, came from individual people. This is contrasted with what Alberto Hidalgo, Promsex's political advocacy and training team, said. He says that in our country there have been organizations that have supported openly LGTBI candidacies in the last general elections of 2016:

“There are different types of support [from LGTBI organizations to candidacies]. There are LGBT organizations that prefer to keep absolute neutrality and political impartiality and never ever support a candidate [...]. And, well, there are organizations that do decide to support, that have a much more political role and that they do want to have a position in the electoral field and say “well, we, as an organization, will support this or that candidate not only because of being LGTB, but also because besides being LGTB he/she supports and defends the agenda of proposals that we, as an organization, defend and propose. Obviously there are many more nuances, but it seems that two different models are crossed. I think the first model has always been more related to NGOs in general and not only in Peru, with the NGOs that obviously have a much more impartial profile at the political level, and the second group that has always been associated with more political groups, with the community, grassroots social organizations in which definitely there might be a more political position.”

However, the support of LGTBI organizations means that, if they get a position for which the candidate was running for, these same organizations would carry out citizen monitoring and advocacy actions to raise LGTBI agendas from the acquired power spaces:

“I think the first option, that is to say, organizations which do not take up the fight for a candidate, have their good parts and also their more critical parts; but I think it also gives more independence to the same institutions because they do not grant support to any organization and I believe they have the same level of capacity and commitment to ask for equally for all organizations and candidates. However, I feel the second group will ask for a stronger commitment from that candidate if he/she comes to power. That is to say, if Maria Ysabel Cedano had become a congresswoman, there would have been some organizations that would be much

more demanding with the agenda that she raised in the Congress, because they have supported Maria Ysabel Cedano as a candidate at institutional level, at organizational level and, evidently, these TLGB organizations would have a much higher level of demand.”

Box 4

GETTING TO KNOW CARLOS BRUCE

Congressman

He ran for Congress during 2016 elections, for the Peruano Por el Cambio (PPK) party at the age of 59 years old. Gay man. University graduate and experienced professional and politician. He was Minister of Housing, Construction and Sanitation, in the period of 2001-2002, during the government of Alejandro Toledo. Considering his recent election to office in the 2016 electoral process, this would be his third consecutive run as congressman (2006-2011, 2011-2016, 2016-2021).

He was a militant of Somos Perú party and, after his retirement, continued his militancy in Peru Possible, becoming the party's secretary general. Out of the groups he belonged to, Somos Perú did not have a clear position regarding sexual and gender diversity, whereas, Peru Posible took a favorable position in its campaign of 2006-2011. Currently, Peruanos Por el Cambio and their leader Pedro Pablo Kuczynski have explicit support for some demands of the LGTBI population. Carlos Bruce mentions that he decided to accept the invitation from the PPK party because this political party share common political interests..

His campaign during the 2016 electoral process was developed based on two proposals: the first focused on housing policies; for the increase of social housing, and the second centered on LGTBI rights. With regard to the latter, some of the specific proposals were to pass laws against hate

crimes targeting LGTBI people, civil union for same-sex couples, as well as proposing the creation of an official registry of complaints about acts of discrimination and violence towards LGTBI individuals and training of public officials on human rights. He funded his campaign with his own resources, using all the spaces in the communications media to which he was invited.

Carlos Bruce points out that publicizing his sexual orientation made him lose many voters, but won others instead. "Now, I have half or one-third of the votes, that came from district of large population, but captured almost three times in size of votes in districts of higher social class. This is due to the fact that LGTBI rights are much more accepted in segments A and B of the population, as they are segments of greater access to education and information than C, D, and E".

3.6. *Barriers to political participation of LGTBI people*

The interviewees identified a series of difficulties that, according to them, should be overcome in order to participate in the political field. In the first place, they point out the fact of overcoming difficulties in a personal dimension, to the extent that it is necessary to **overcome the barrier of fear of self acceptance**. This would be relevant in order to make public their sexual orientation or gender identity first, freeing themselves from personal and family prejudices.

"The main barrier is to accept oneself. There are many politicians who fail to strike a balance between their sexual orientation, their personality and their life goals." (*Interview #11, 2016*).

"Your own mind. If you free your own mind and get rid of your mother, you're free. The mother is a very big problem for the

community; I could have faced an entire army, but my mother was a problem. So, I think if an activist can face his mom, he can face the world.” (*Interview #7, 2016*).

On the other hand, while it is true that gay, lesbian and bisexual people have certain limitations, the reality of transgender people is even more complicated as having a permanently exposed identity put them in a vulnerable position and this restricts access to a greater number of rights and further development of their capabilities.

Another of the barriers faced by LGBTBI people is in a more structural dimension such as the **lack of institutionalization of LGBTBI movements**.

“To the extent that we are a country or a civil society with a social movement, with a disorganized popular movement. It is much easier that, in an individual way, prejudices, fears, scandals, and the politics of banalization, consumes us, and involve us; different to if we were organized and participating actively of social and community spaces. If we would have more participation and would be more informed, I believe that all this politics of banalization, polarization, and prejudices, would not weigh so much and we could have stronger positions. And, in particular, the LGTB movement, in fact if it had had in Junín a more organized, more articulated movement; in fact, my ability to present initiatives, or positioning issues or even presenting statistics would have been bigger, I believe. And there would have been more backup.” (*Interview #6, 2016*).

Finally, another barrier on which the interviewees see eye to eye was the political organizations’ concern about **the political cost of including a LGBTBI candidacy**. Whether due to the prejudices of the majority of the population or the lack of sexual rights education, it is still very difficult

to build a tolerant enough environment to strengthen the candidacies of LGTBI people.

Political organizations are very sensitive to public opinion. For this reason we must work hard with the opinion of the citizens.

“Finally, the reason to exist of political organizations is to capture the greatest amount of support from citizens. Until we get the LGTB rights agenda approved by more than the half of the population, the issue will face great opposition from political organizations.” (Interview #1, 2016).

“In political organizations there is also prejudice and fear to face this low sector of the segments, which is against. So, all the groups are very careful when directing their message. You have to address messages to the lower social segments and use other not so massive channels to target the middle sectors and sympathizers.” (Interview #3, 2016).

For *interviewee #11*, in addition, you must be consistent, you can not seek the votes of conservative sectors sacrificing the rights of LGTBI. In a similar vein, *interviewee #10* thinks that the LGTBI community can not be seen just as a decorative figure, there must be commitment to the community in the development of government plans.

“If you are going to prepare a government plan, you have to be there as part of the population in a state of vulnerability, you have to do your work. It is easy to say ‘I consider them’ and you don’t take part of or haven’t done a thing for the government plan. If there is a political commission, be part of that commission, same with the government plan.” (Interview #10, 2016).

The goal is to be treated as part of the party, to be taken into account and to be an active part of it, not only be an image that demonstrates that the political organization is inclusive. It is necessary, then, that candidates as well as party spaces promote and facilitate participation, contributing to greater visibility, empowerment and representation of LGBTBI people.

CONCLUSIONS

Participation is the hallmark of democracy and is fundamental to the full effectiveness of all human rights, as it is in the case of LGTBI people, whose political participation is a right that is associated with the principle of equality and recognition of their citizenship; it is therefore necessary to develop an analysis of structural and institutional conditions (socio-economic inequalities, inequalities in power relations, discrimination and stigmatization, poverty and mistrust against authorities, amongst others) in order for such participation to take place in equality of conditions and in an effective way, and, by this, break the vicious circle: the greater the inequality, the less the participation; the smaller the participation, the greater the inequality.

Therefore, this document seeks to motivate the generation of information on the political participation of LGTBI candidates in electoral processes, to share experiences that will contribute to reconsider the elements that influence the candidate's election process and to helpmaking evident the difficulties of the LGTBI community in the pursuit of their rights, especially the right to representation.

In this same vein, we find some common characteristics between the candidates who got elected by popular election:

1. Short political career

It has been shown that greater partisan work does not necessarily lead to electoral success, because despite militancy and grass-roots work, no greater presence or political leadership has been achieved. At the same time, those political organizations that had more inclusive stands towards participation and advocacy of LGTBI agenda have not had favorable results either. Thus, left-

wing parties, in which institutionalized spaces for sexual and gender diversity have been opened up, still remain minimum. Although in the General Elections of 2016, Frente Amplio obtained one of the highest voting percentages, it has recently been shown that, despite its declared commitment to the LGTBI agenda, there are internal disputes due to disagreements on developing actions in compliance with this line. Even so, it should be noted that members of their group presented the Gender Identity and Equal Marriage bills in December 2016 and February 2017, respectively.

2. Little or none experience in LGTBI organizations

Out of the four candidates actually elected, none has any consolidated previous experience in LGTBI organizations or promoted the LGTBI agenda for a long time. On the contrary, the four had a recently created platform of political organizations and they all received an invitation. It seems, then, that being in a political organization and having a more traditional participation are not decisive factors to be elected. It is necessary to take into account that in the case of the two elected gay congressmen, they participated in the General Elections 2016 under Peruanos Por el Cambio (PPK) party, one of the political organizations that successfully disputed the Presidency of the Republic. This may have had some positive effect on obtaining their votes.

3. Restrain on electoral campaigns discourses

The PPK and Frente Amplio approaches to the recognition of diverse families (proposals such as the Civil Union and Equal Marriage bills) differ in intensity, the first maintain moderate positions, the latter seek a more explicit recognition and are seen as radicals. Even when those who were elected, had a speech in favor of LGTBI rights, their speeches in the electoral campaigns

were moderate in relation to these demands. It is possible that, for the same reason, LGTBI candidates from social movements have not been successful in elections, as their speeches are perceived as radical.

On the other hand, we find that the **LGTBI rights agenda tends to receive more from individual leaders rather than the ones from in the political organization**. For now, it seems clear that some of the restrictions on LGTBI political participation respond to systemic failures that also affect other groups: electoral volatility, little intraparty institutionalization, financing shortfall, and so on. In this context, political organizations can have a leader or political leader open to sexual and gender diversity, but this does not necessarily match with the position of the political organization and/or its bases. Revenue by invitation establishes non-institutional relationships, which are based on the disposition of leaders — or owners— of political organizations.

Also, we find that, **as an electoral strategy, campaigns are heterosexualized**; the organizational environment, people and work teams can promote the *heterosexualization or normalization* of LGTBI candidacies as a campaign *strategy*. Thus, on the perception of LGTBI applications, it was found that there is a dichotomy between maintaining a visible position that defends the agenda of sexual and gender diversity and becoming a politically viable alternative in a conservative country like Peru,³⁴ for which eventually *heteronormativization and disengagement with LGTBI as the only leitmotiv* has been necessary. While the diversification of agendas may be a strategy to strengthen the linkage of representation with non-LGTBI people, at the same time may be a reason to return to invisibility.

There is another factor that is being debated by electoral bodies, political organizations and society as a whole; it is related with **access to funding sources**, as relevant factors that make the difference in an electoral pro-

³⁴ The survey “Sexuality, reproduction and gender inequalities” carried out by Ipsos Apoyo-Opinión y Mercado for Promsex and the Manuela Ramos Movement in 2011, shows that only 46% of the respondents believe that a homosexual person can be a good political authority).

cess. In the case of LGTBI people, access to funding and contact networks are often vital, since apart from needing resources to publicize their proposals, they also need it to carry out awareness-raising actions on the rights of the LGTBI population. Let's take the example of Peruanos Por el Kambio (PPK), the political organization that housed two of the elected candidates, which is the political party that offered greater accessibility to financing sources and networks of contacts, which seems to have allowed a greater slack for the development of the electoral campaign. Paradoxically, this *right-wing and newly created party* achieved the electoral success of two visibly LGTBI candidacies, unlike *left-wing parties, which, despite being more permeable to sexual and gender diversity, are not yet consolidated as viable electoral options.*

Finally, we find some variables around sexual orientation and/or gender that could facilitate or limit the possibilities in the process of participation in public and political life for LGTBI people. As a hypothesis, the cases allow us to observe the following variables:

- a. *Party support to the LGTBI agenda:* Candidates are more likely to continue their participation in the political organization if they find in them a political space committed to their agendas (or, in any case, not adverse, and with some possibility of working the LGTBI agenda in the interior of the party).
- b. *LGTBI social bases:* the support of social networks of LGTBI people exceed only the economic, logistical and/or those related to technical capabilities; and also represent a space for policies of reparation, it means, spaces of emotional strength and persistence in the face of discrimination and harassment to which candidates are exposed by making their sexual orientation and/or gender identity visible (Cornejo 2012: 51).
- c. *Personal motivations to help improve the situation of LGTBI people:* many candidates consider that their personal involvement con-

tributes to a positive change in the construction of a society without discrimination and more democratic.

- d. *Sex&Gender*: Homosexual men have been more politically recognized than lesbian women. From the results, the tendency to masculinize politics in the exercise of public office continues to be observed. A pending research topic is the male image in the exercise of power in the LGBTBI world.

CHALLENGES OF A DEMOCRACY WITH DIVERSITY AND EQUALITY

From this exploratory study, we propose some recommendations that will contribute in facing the challenges to build our democratic principles embodied in the work of the Government.

We have pointed out that the agenda under discussion in the Peruvian democracy has changed over the years. While it is true that we continue to have the old problems that we inherit from our transitions between dictatorships and democracy, we currently face new challenges to rethink new ways of governance and inclusive government.

In this scenario, as reported by Linz and Stepan (1996),³⁵ the most important challenge is to move towards the consolidation of democracy. The effort is no longer to avoid the return of the military to power, but to consolidate all democratic efforts so far, to break with the legacies of authoritarian forms and to generate greater welfare for the citizens, recognizing their rights and attending the particularities of the different social groups that integrate our societies.

In that sense, progress in the formulation of public policies that promote the recognition of the LGTBI population and the respect of their rights change the paradigm towards a more diverse society and respectful of the rights of all in equality and provide us new challenges, for which we allow ourselves to propose some sections:

1. ***Incorporating the Rights approach in the debate on electoral reform,*** in recent years, the Congress of the Republic of Peru has debated a set of normative measures that seek to regulate the electoral sys-

³⁵ Linz, J.J., & A. Stepan (1996). *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe*. JHU Press.

tem, modifying the Law of Parties and promulgating other regulations, in order to give greater legitimacy to the electoral processes, contribute to the strengthening of the parties and improve the representation of citizenship.

As pointed out by Zovatto and Orozco (2008),³⁶ reforms should be aimed at balancing, adjusting and attuning political systems with the demands of citizens and with the changing social realities in favor of greater and better representation and governance. The viability of the reform is therefore limited to generating consistent and coherent policy instruments for the need of representation that is sought. In this sense, incorporating the rights approach into the reform debate recognizes the historically discriminated populations, including LGTBI people, in their citizenship exercise and provides greater representation, in order to solve their main problems and meet their demands.

2. ***Training the operators of all the electoral spaces in the subjects of sexual diversity***, being necessary the change in the set of practices and routines of the group of organizations and people that compose the public administration and those that operate the electoral spaces, since discrimination is increasingly recurrent. To this end it is essential to incorporate training programs that highlight the problems and needs of LGTBI people, with an emphasis on respect for fundamental rights under the principles of equality and dignity.

Efforts such as Grupo de Trabajo para la Documentación de la Población Trans (Working Group for Documentation of Trans Population), promoted by the Reniec, as well as training the polling stations staff on LGTBI rights, carried out by the ONPE and

³⁶ Zovatto, D., y J. Orozco (2008). "Reforma política y electoral en América Latina 1978-2007: Lectura regional comparada", in Zovatto, D., y J. Orozco (coords.) *Reforma política y electoral en América Latina*. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, IDEA Internacional, pp. 3-213.

the work developed by the JNE for good political practices within the framework of respect , transparency and democratic values such as the Electoral Ethical Pact, the Court of Honor, *Empodera* LGTBI Political Training School, among others must be strengthened, replicated and continued.

In this sense, strengthening the work developed by the DNEF/ JNE is of uttermost importance in order to continue developing educational actions with transversal approaches (human rights, gender approach, interculturality and intergenerational) in order to contribute to the formation of a democratic citizenship, that is to say, citizens with knowledge, skills, values and behavioral habits that allow the stability and strengthening of the democratic political regime, who contribute to the improvement of the quality of political representation.

3. ***Ensure the exercise of political rights during electoral processes:*** by generating monitoring and sanction mechanisms to enforce non-discrimination in electoral spaces. In this context, it is recommended that the JNE extend the scope of the *Protocol of attention to the violation of political rights of candidates* applied in the Regional and Municipal Elections 2014 and the General Elections 2016, also contemplating attention in cases of affectation of political rights of other populations, including LGTBI people during electoral processes.
4. ***Encourage LGTBI participation within political organizations, promoting political participation to increase the number of candidates,*** who, when elected, can generate greater representation to the LGTBI community to attend to their demands. In addition, it is important to submit candidacies, since, regardless of the outcome, it helps to put the discussion on sexual and gender diversity on the public agenda and, with it, the eradication of prejudices

and stigmas. This, consequently, generates a greater inclusion of these subjects in the discussions of the plans of government, causing that the political organizations can make commitments in the respect to materialize these proposals. This support must go beyond the support of the leader, but must also be accompanied by training the LGTBI candidates to improve their performance, ensure their presence in public forums such as the media and, of course, to provide equal treatment to all candidates, regardless of their sexual orientation and gender identity.

As well, the creation of structures that recognize LGTBI people as subjects of law and political subjects (eg, to include LGTBI people in the statutes and regulations, to promote LGTBI people for the secretariats, etc.), should be promoted, besides giving visibility and voice to LGTBI militants within the political organization.

Finally, political organizations are urged to eradicate prejudices based on the sexual orientation and gender identity of LGTBI people within their organizations. For example, by transforming language, avoiding discriminatory and/or derogatory comments, developing educational actions on human rights approaches about sexual diversity, and incorporating, into their debates and political training programs, LGTBI subjects, among other actions.

5. ***Promote scientific research for the generation of evidence on the LGTBI population***, orienting the development of scientific research to social impact helps to make visible the public problems that affect the LGTBI community, in order to generate data that can explain the vulnerabilities. This generation of research is useful for the design of evidence-based public policies, aimed at solving problems adequately, with the necessary information for decision-making. The construction of valid evidence helps to structure public problems and contributes to the proper focus of

our decisions. This means a challenge for the academy in its spirit to generate research with incidence and a is also challenge for the task of the States to design public policies based on evidence

6. ***Eradicate prejudices and stereotypes towards LGTBI people in the media.*** Professionals and media professionals daily form the public opinion of millions of Peruvians, playing a fundamental role in the social and cultural transformation that can contribute to the quality of life of all citizens. Hence, the media have the social responsibility to promote democratic values of respect, equality, justice over prejudices and stigmas that affect the life and dignity of LGTBI people and society in general. With this, they contribute to more LGTBI people to be visible and take part in the public affairs of their country.

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ANNEXS



Annex 1

**VISIBLE LGTBI CANDIDACIES IN PERU IN
NATIONAL AND SUBNATIONAL ELECTIONS
ELECTORAL PERIOD 2006-2016 ³⁷**

Table 1.1
GENERAL ELECTIONS 2016

Name	Identity	Region	Party	Nº	Position	Result
Alberto de Belaunde de Cárdenas	Gay	Lima	Peruanos Por el Kambio-PPK	5	Congressman	Electo
Carlos Bruce Montes de Oca	Gay	Lima	Peruanos Por el Kambio-PPK	17	Congressman	Electo
María Ysabel Cedano García	Lesbiana	Lima	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad	5	Congresswoman	No electa
Salvador Oré Guzmán	Gay	Junín	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad	5	Congressman	No electo
Luz Valencia Chávez	Bisexual	Tacna	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad	2	Congresswoman	No electa
Belissa Andía Pérez	Trans femenina	Lima	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad	6	Andean Parliamentarian	No electa
Katia Hurtado Chelquillo	Lesbiana	Lima	Acción Popular	15	Andean Parliamentarian	No electa

Source: Promsex and Red Peruana TLGB.

³⁷ Source: National Jury of Elections and National Office of Electoral Processes / Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights - Promsex / Lima Homosexual Movement / LGTBI media and blogs. Own elaboration.

Table 1.2**REGIONAL AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2014**

Name	Identity	Region	Party	Position	Result
Luisa Revilla Urcia	Trans woman	La Libertad	Movimiento Regional para el Desarrollo con Seguridad y Honradez	District councillor for La Esperanza	Elected
Víctor Manuel Nieves Pinchi	Gay	San Martín	Alianza para el Progreso	Province Councillor for San Martín	Elected
María José Abarca Castellanos	Lesbian	Arequipa	Frente Amplio	Province Councillor for Arequipa	Not elected
Marxy Condori Marín	Lesbian	Arequipa	Frente Amplio	Province Councillor for Arequipa	Not elected
Miluska Luzquiños Tafur	Trans woman	Lambayeque	Democracia Directa	Regional Councillor for Lambayeque	Not elected
Carolina Ubillús Suárez	Lesbian	Lima	Diálogo Vecinal	District Councillor for Magdalena del Mar	Not elected
Gabriela Meza Martínez	Lesbian	Lima	Diálogo Vecinal	District Councillor for San Borja	Not elected
Eduardo Maldonado Pacheco	Gay	Lima	Diálogo Vecinal	District Councillor for Lurigancho	Not elected

Source: Promsex y Red Peruana TLGB.

Table 1.3**GENERAL ELECTIONS 2011**

Name	Identity	Region	Party	Nº	Position	Result
Susel Paredes Piqué	Lesbian	Lima	Partido Descentralista Fuerza Social ³⁸	9	Congresswoman	Not elected
Carlos Vela Vela	Gay	Loreto	Partido Descentralista Fuerza Social	4	Congressman	Not elected

Source: Promsex y Red Peruana TLGB.

³⁸ This political organization didn't participate in the voting, because they withdrew their registration voluntarily.

Table 1.4

REGIONAL AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2010

Name	Identity	Region	Party	Position	Result
Manuel Forno Castro Pozo	Gay	Lima	Partido Descentralista Fuerza Social	Councillor for Miraflores	Not elected
Alonso Ynga Zevallos	Gay	Lima	Partido Descentralista Fuerza Social	Mayor for de Jesús María	Not elected
Carolina Ubillús Suárez	Lesbian	Lima	Partido Descentralista Fuerza Social	Councillor for the municipality of Jesús María	Not elected

Source: Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL).

Table 1.5

GENERAL ELECTIONS 2006

Name	Identity	Region	Party	Nº	Position	Result
Susel Paredes Piqué	Lesbian	Lima	Partido Socialista Peruano	10	Congresswoman	No electa
Belissa Andía Pérez	Trans woman	Lima	Movimiento Nueva Izquierda-MNI	30	Congresswoman	No electa
Jana Villayzán Aguilar	Trans woman	Lima	Partido Socialista Peruano	12	Andean parliamentarian	No electa
Jorge Bracamonte Allain	Gay	Lima	Partido Socialista Peruano	15	Andean parliamentarian	No electo

Source: Homosexual Movement of Lima (MHOL).

ANNEX 2

Table 2.1

THINKING ABOUT THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHO COMPOSE OUR SOCIETY, WOULD YOU SAY THAT, CURRENTLY, THE RIGHTS OF HOMOSEXUAL, LESBIAN, BISEXUALS AND TRANS PEOPLE ARE RESPECTED IN OUR COUNTRY, A LOT, SOME, LITTLE OR NONE?³⁹

	TOTAL		AMBIT					REGION					
	Total	Lima	Interior	Urban	Rural	Lima	North Coast	North Andes	Central Coast	Central Andes	South Coast	South Andes	Orient
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not at all	43%	45%	41%	44%	38%	45%	41%	33%	34%	44%	48%	48%	33%
Not much	37%	38%	37%	37%	35%	38%	37%	41%	47%	34%	36%	32%	39%
Some	13%	13%	13%	13%	14%	13%	16%	16%	16%	13%	10%	7%	15%
Much	3%	3%	4%	3%	4%	3%	4%	2%	3%	2%	2%	4%	7%
DK/NO	4%	1%	5%	3%	9%	1%	2%	8%	-	7%	4%	9%	6%

³⁹ “National Survey on the State of Citizenship in Peru 2016”, carried out by IPSOS Peru, at the request of the Jurado Nacional de Elecciones/National Office of Civic Education and Training.

Table 2.2

THINKING ABOUT HOMOSEXUAL, LESBIAN, GAY,
BISEXUAL AND TRANS PEOPLE. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE THAT
THESE PEOPLE CAN PARTICIPATE IN POLITICS?⁴⁰

	TOTAL	AMBIT					REGION						
	Total	Lima	Interior	Urban	Rural	Lima	North Coast	North Andes	Central Coast	Central Andes	South Coast	South Andes	Orient
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly disagree	12%	9%	14%	11%	16%	9%	12%	17%	10%	14%	10%	18%	12%
Disagree	40%	36%	41%	39%	43%	36%	43%	35%	49%	43%	43%	46%	35%
Agree	38%	44%	35%	41%	30%	44%	39%	36%	35%	28%	38%	29%	38%
Strongly agree	6%	8%	4%	7%	1%	8%	5%	2%	6%	3%	6%	2%	6%
DK/NO	4%	2%	6%	3%	10%	2%	1%	9%	-	12%	2%	6%	9%

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

To address the political participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex (LGBTI) people in Peru and Latin America it is necessary, first, to recognize that they have been and are one of the most historically invisible and excluded populations of all areas of societal life. This invisibility has consisted not only in the denial of its existence, but also in its contributions in the political, social and cultural fields. For that same reason, visibility has meant the first action and demand of the LGBTI movement.

In the current context, the present investigation aims to know and understand the experience of LGBTI people in Peru, Latin America and the Caribbean. It is worth noting that as a result of the electoral processes of the last decade, several of them already occupy positions such as congressmen, mayors and councilmembers.

From this exploratory study we propose, then, the task of communicating the need for a paradigm shift towards a more diverse and egalitarian culture.



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