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## PERÚ AT 200: THE NEED OF NATIONAL CONSENSUS<sup>1</sup>

In the last 20 years, Perú has been seen internationally as a country of many strengths, including strong economic growth, and free and fair elections – not to mention the quality of its cuisine. Despite this, Perú's 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence has been accompanied by severe political, public health, and corruption crises, an extremely polarised election, and one of the world's lowest levels of citizen's confidence in their country's institutions. The 2021 election revealed that despite its many successes, Perú has not been able to foster a shared national identity for its people or a minimal national consensus on the future of the country.

This absence of a shared national identity is at the root of Perú's weak political capacity (rule of law, corruption, and accountability of politicians to citizens), the limited capacity of state institutions (politicised civil service that cannot deliver public goods effectively), and an economy which is not inclusive because politicians favour 'closed order deals' for enterprises to which they are connected.<sup>2</sup>

This paper argues that a process of dialogue, negotiation, and guided conciliation is needed to underpin a national agreement aimed at bringing about political and economic stability, building a more shared and inclusive national identity, and ushering in consensual reforms for addressing Perú's weak political and state capacity.

These reforms would address key political and judicial challenges (on the weakness of political parties and the corruption of the judiciary), create the political space needed for a more merit-based and citizen-centred civil service, promote inclusive growth that removes unfair advantages for politically connected enterprises (unleashing productivity), and implement consensual social protection, education, and mining strategies.

Perú has had for almost for 20 years, the "Foro del Acuerdo Nacional" a tri-partite institution with participation of political parties with representation in Congress and civil society organisations with national representation. The Foro is chaired by the President of the Republic. Today, the Foro has completed 131 sessions and has the potential to play a central role in ensuring that conciliation and national agreement processes are institutionalised.

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<sup>2</sup> Pritchett, L., Sen, K., and Werker, E., "Deals and Development: The Political Dynamics of Growth Episodes", Oxford Scholarship Online, December 2017.

## PERÚ IN CRISIS?

Perú has an abundance of natural resources, an investor-friendly environment, and a track-record of good macroeconomic management (particularly through the Central Bank). In the past 20 years, Perú has not only seen rapid economic growth, but financial markets have regarded the country as one of the best managed economies in Latin America (as reflected in the decline of the spread of Peruvian sovereign bonds over US Treasuries). All the while, Perú has also enjoyed a consistent series of free and fair elections.

Despite this, the confidence of Peruvian citizens in their institutions is among the lowest in the world. For example, in the Legatum Prosperity Index, Perú's ranking for confidence in the judicial system and courts is 164<sup>th</sup> of 167 countries, 158<sup>th</sup> in terms of the national government, and 155<sup>th</sup> for public trust in politicians. In addition, a significant part of the population is still subject to poor living conditions and lives in fear of crime. This contrasts with the nation's relatively high overall prosperity ranking, which is 61<sup>st</sup>.

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Perú Prosperity Ranking (out of 167 countries)	
Confidence in judicial system and courts	164 <sup>th</sup>
Judicial independence	118 <sup>th</sup>
Confidence in national government	158 <sup>th</sup>
Public trust in politicians	155 <sup>th</sup>
Confidence in local police	153 <sup>rd</sup>
Violent crime	149 <sup>th</sup>
Overall Prosperity Index	61 <sup>st</sup>

Source: Legatum Prosperity Index 2020. <https://li.com/research/legatum-prosperity-index/>

**"On the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its independence, Perú has been hit by three severe crises".**

On the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its independence, Perú has been hit by three severe crises.

1. Political, with three presidents in one week, massive youth-led protests against the political establishment, and six recent presidents indicted or investigated for corruption. This has been compounded by the extreme polarisation of the June 2021 presidential election.
2. Public health, with Perú having a COVID-19 fatality rate of 6,000 per million – the highest in the world.<sup>3</sup>
3. Corruption, exemplified by the Lavo Jato/Odebrecht scandal and the 'White Collars of the Port' case, in which the involvement of organised crime at all levels of the judiciary was uncovered.<sup>4</sup> The Comptroller General estimates that about 15% of total public expenditures is lost to corruption in Perú every year.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "COVID-19 Data Explorer", Our World in Data. Website accessed in September 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Costa, J., "Revealing the networks behind corruption and money laundering schemes: an analysis of the Toledo–Odebrecht case using social network analysis and network ethnography", Basel Institute on Governance, Working Paper 36, July 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Shack, N., Perez, J., and Portugal, L., "Cálculo del Tamano de la Corrupción y La Inconducta Funcional en el Perú: Una Aproximación Exploratoria", CGR, August 2020, p.48.

These crises highlight the urgent need for critical political and judicial reforms. However, the need for these reforms has historically been overridden by a political system that is not responsive to citizens and instead serves the interests of narrow groups. Pervasive corruption in the judiciary has allowed corruption to become an engine of the political system.<sup>6</sup>

The dysfunctional political settlement results in a Peruvian state that continues to lack the requisite capacity to deliver basic public services efficiently, provide security for its citizens, manage large projects, or regulate the economy fairly. It underpins an economy that often privileges 'closed order deals' that benefit enterprises connected to politicians. Regulations have been created by 'power brokers' to discriminate against outsiders and keep profitable domains of non-tradables 'reserved'.<sup>7</sup> Connected enterprises are able to avoid compliance with environmental or water usage regulations (especially in mining and agriculture), abuse market power, and pay less taxes.

## POLARISATION AND THE NEED OF CONSENSUS

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A strong social contract lies at the heart of a prosperous nation.<sup>8</sup> The social contract is best understood as an implicit agreement between the people and the state whereby the people willingly surrender certain rights in return for protection and social provisions from the state. Such an agreement binds together a nation's leaders and its population, creating an environment of stability, opportunity, and shared identity. Political scientist Francis Fukuyama finds that the issue of national identity "has been pivotal to the fortunes of modern states."<sup>9</sup> A shared national identity provides a 'connective tissue' which allows diverse communities to thrive, steering governments away from the dangers of ethnic division. Similarly, economist Lant Pritchett identifies a shared national identity and equal treatment of citizens as a key component of national development transformation.<sup>10</sup>

The polarisation of the 2021 elections have confirmed that Perú, as a multi-ethnic and diverse country with the legacy of an extractive colonial past and high rates of poverty among the original/indigenous populations, has found it difficult to construct a shared, inclusive identity and social contract. Economic and cultural divisions, a contested national identity, and the absence of national consensus are root causes of Perú's weak political and state capacity and the legitimacy-deficit of its governments.

### ECONOMIC DIVISIONS

Perú is a multi-ethnic country, however, successive governments have had a patchy record in recognising the nation's cultural and ethnic diversity.

The wealth disparity between original/indigenous and rural populations on the one hand and elite groups and Lima on the other has exacerbated divisions in the country. This persistent inequality undermines national solidarity and the social contract in Perú and constitutes a roadblock to a more prosperous, dynamic, and inclusive society.

**"The polarisation of the 2021 elections have confirmed that Perú... has found it difficult to construct a shared inclusive identity".**

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6 Good description of corruption networks in Perú in: Costa, J., "Revealing the networks behind corruption and money laundering schemes: an analysis of the Toledo–Odebrecht case using social network analysis and network ethnography", Basel Institute on Governance, Working Paper 36, July 2021.

7 Pritchett, L., Sen, K., and Werker, E., "Deals and Development: The Political Dynamics of Growth Episodes", Oxford Scholarship Online, December 2017.

8 "How Nations Succeed, Analysis of national transformation", Legatum Institute, 2021.

9 Fukuyama, F., "Why National Identity Matters", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 29, No. 4, 2018, p.7.

10 Pritchett, L., "National Development Delivers: and How! And How? Center for International Development at Harvard University, WP 398, May 2021.

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Perú's Poorest Departments <sup>11</sup>	Percentage/Ranking of Population Indigenous, Census 2017
Ayacucho	81% (2 <sup>nd</sup> highest indigenous population)
Huancavelica	81% (rank 3 <sup>rd</sup> )
Puno	57% (rank 5 <sup>th</sup> )
Huánuco	43% (rank 6 <sup>th</sup> )
Pasco	38% (rank 7 <sup>th</sup> )
Cajamarca	6% (rank 18 <sup>th</sup> )
<b>Perú</b>	<b>26% of the population defines itself as indigenous</b>

In 2020, 46% of the rural population was classified as poor, compared to 26% of the urban population.<sup>12</sup> Extreme poverty affects 14% of rural areas and 3% of urban areas. The poor life conditions experienced by Perú's indigenous population is noted in the most recent World Bank country assistance strategy (see box).

#### **World Bank on Poverty in Perú<sup>13</sup>**

Indigenous people represent around one-quarter of Perú's population... They are highly concentrated in two of Perú's poorest areas, comprising a higher share in both the Highlands and the Amazon regions. Indigenous households are on average poorer than non-indigenous (31 vs. 18%), and this difference has widened over the past decade as poverty has fallen relatively less for indigenous as compared to non-indigenous households.

... the stunting rate of children under five years old is three times higher for urban indigenous children than for non-indigenous urban children, and 10 points higher between rural indigenous and rural non-indigenous. At the same time, indigenous children show lower access to education and learning outcomes and are subject to worse job conditions and lower wages. Both deficits in housing quality and access to services are also higher for indigenous households, whether urban or rural. There is evidence that discrimination is a factor that results in fewer opportunities for indigenous people. Studies show that indigenous and female job seekers are discriminated against in the metropolitan Lima labour market. Access to finance is also more limited for the indigenous, as non-indigenous customers are more likely to receive better information and financial services than indigenous customers.

In a July 2021 report, the World Bank also refers to the contrast between mineral wealth and poverty in rural regions, “Apurímac, one of the regions in Perú with the highest potential for mining investment, is expected to produce 20% of Perú's annual production of copper

11 “Pobreza monetaria alcanzó al 30,1% de la población del país durante el año 2020”, INEI, 14 May 2021.

12 Rural population is about 21% of the total population. “Perú: Perfil Sociodemográfico, 2017 – Capítulo 1: Características de la Población” INEI, 2017.

13 “Country Partnership Framework for the Republic of Perú for the Period FY17-FY21”, World Bank, 4 April 2017, p.7.

"...it is not surprising that the most repeated campaign slogan by presidential candidate Castillo was: 'No more poor people in a rich country'".

in the next ten years... Despite having one of Peru's highest rates of economic growth in 2016, Apurímac exhibits alarming levels of poverty."<sup>14</sup> The Ministry of Energy and Mines in Peru estimates investments in mining to total \$56,000 million in the next few years, with Cajamarca (one of the poorest departments) topping the list of locations for these investments.<sup>15</sup> Given this context, it is not surprising that the most repeated campaign slogan by presidential candidate Castillo (from Cajamarca) was: "No more poor people in a rich country".

## PERÚ AT 200: POLITICAL AND ETHNIC POLARISATION

	(%) votes for Perú Libre	(%) of Pop. Indigenous	Highest poverty
Huancavelica	85	81	yes
Cuzco	83	75	
Ayacucho	82	81	yes
Apurímac	81	84	
Puno	89	57	yes
Cajamarca	71	6	yes
Pasco	66	38	yes

Source: ONPE Resultados Presidencial, Censo 2017 and INEI.

"Peruvian departments with the highest proportion of original/indigenous people and highest proportion of people living in poverty voted overwhelmingly for Perú Libre".

President Castillo's election in June 2021 has made the country's political, ethnic, and cultural polarisation difficult to miss. Peruvian departments with the highest proportion of original/indigenous people voted overwhelmingly for Perú Libre (PL – the party of the Left left founded in Junin, in the Highlands). For example, PL won with 85% of the votes in Huancavelica where 81% are indigenous people, 83% in Cuzco where 75% are indigenous people, 82% of the vote in Ayacucho where 81% are indigenous people, and with 81% of the vote in Apurímac where 84% are indigenous people.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, all the departments where the highest proportions of the population live in poverty (between 41%-46%) voted overwhelmingly for PL.<sup>17</sup> These include Puno (89% votes for PL), Huancavelica (85% votes for PL), Ayacucho (82% votes for PL), Cajamarca (71% votes for PL), Huánuco (68% votes for PL), and Pasco (66% votes for PL).<sup>18</sup> While the votes of original/indigenous people and the poor went overwhelmingly for PL in the country as a whole, half of the country supported one of two radically different political and cultural options.

14 "Agriculture and Mining for Shared Development: Ayninaky Agro in Action", Working Paper 16128 World Bank, 27 July 2021.

15 "Perú: País Minero", MINEM accessed September 2021, homepage website.

16 Resultados Presidenciales, ONPE, website accessed September 2021: <https://resultadoshistorico.onpe.gob.pe/SEP2021/EleccionesPresidenciales/RePres/T>

17 "Pobreza monetaria alcanzó al 30,1% de la población del país durante el año 2020", INEI, 14 May 2021.

18 Resultados Presidenciales, ONPE, website accessed September 2021: <https://resultadoshistorico.onpe.gob.pe/SEP2021/EleccionesPresidenciales/RePres/T>

**"President Castillo's symbolic Bicentennial Independence Speech... addressed the ethnic taboo of what he sees as the 500-year long oppression of original cultures".**

President Castillo's symbolic Bicentennial Independence Speech in La Pampa de la Quinoa, Ayacucho, addressed the ethnic 'taboo' of what he sees as the 500-year-long oppression of original/indigenous cultures. He said that he was honoured to become the first Peruvian president in 200 years of independence to represent the original/indigenous ethnic groups oppressed by the Spaniards and republican elites. He presented himself as the president that will restore the influence and cultural status of his people and rural Perú. He also committed himself to revising historical narratives to recognise that Perú is a country of many cultures and not just one – naming all of these in his speech. He also renamed the Ministry of Culture(s) in recognition of this cultural plurality and said that he would not govern from the Palace of Government (Palacio de Pizarro, named for the Spanish conqueror of Perú).

These cultural messages resonate with President Castillo's voters and partly explain his electoral success. However, these messages have little resonance with others who see them as historically inaccurate and antagonistic. The 2021 election confirmed that Peruvians hold a range of very different views of their past, national identity, and their vision of the country's future.

Cultivating a national shared identity is challenging in nations characterised by ethnic diversity and economic divisions. Nevertheless, countries like Indonesia show that the purposeful cultivation of shared identity can improve social cohesion and reduce the risk of conflict.<sup>19</sup> Perú's lack of consensus and shared national identity have affected political and state capacity and constitute a block to its prosperity, therefore, it is important to look at ways to promote dialogue and conciliation.

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<sup>19</sup> "How Nations Succeed, Analysis of national transformation", Legatum Institute, 2021.



## POLITICAL FEARS AND THE CHALLENGE OF NATIONAL CONSENSUS

The polarisation of the 2021 elections demonstrates the significant divergence in views across the Left-Right spectrum in Perú, with many fearful of the harm their opponents might inflict if given the power. These fears make dialogue difficult and exacerbate the potential for conflict.

The table below illustrates some of the fears that may be felt across the Left-Right spectrum in Perú. Dislodging these fears is not easy and may require a guided process of conciliation, to make possible listening and understanding each other's point of view.

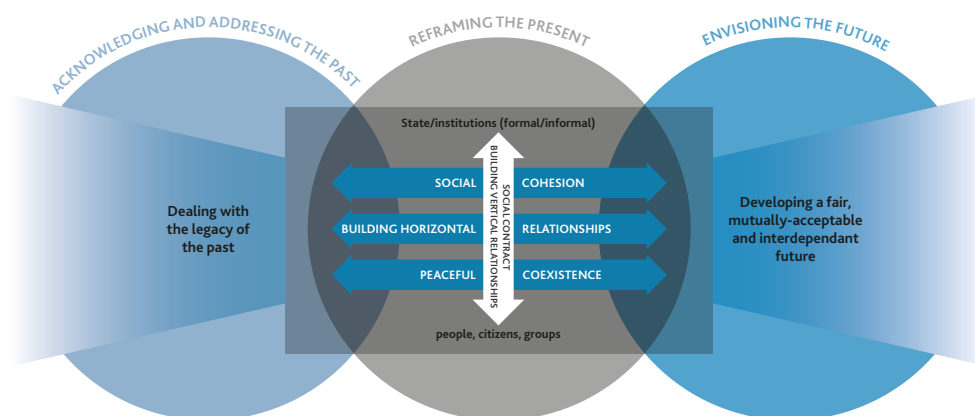
"...demonstrates the significant divergence in views across the Left-Right spectrum, with many fearful of the harm their opponents might inflict if given the power".

	Examples of Fears That Make It More Difficult to Reach Consensus	
	Common Fears on the Left	Common Fears on the Right
<b>Economy</b>	The economic model will continue to be dominated by monopolies and benefit only the elites and Lima.	The current economic model will be replaced by communist model, nationalisations and economic chaos following.
<b>Culture</b>	Society does not offer dignity and respect to original/indigenous people. Oppression of original/indigenous people over the past 500 years will not be recognised and will continue.	Peruvian values will align to the values of the Andean culture, which are anti-modern and damaging to development.
<b>Politics</b>	If the economic interests of the elites are threatened, they will resort to brutal repression.	If the Left gains overall political power they will establish a communist dictatorship like in Cuba or Venezuela. Shining Path terrorists will be released from prison.
<b>Social sectors</b>	State funded health and education services will continue to be of poor quality and underpin inequality.	All health and education services will be provided by the state, private services will be banned.

## HOW WOULD A CONCILIATION PROCESS HELP?

Given Perú's cultural, social, and political polarisation, and the political fears that many Peruvian citizens currently hold, a guided process of conciliation may be the best option for supporting a shared and inclusive national identity and building a stronger national consensus on the future of the country. Conciliation involves building and/or transforming relationships damaged by conflict and oppression. It focusses on improving horizontal relationships between people and groups in society and vertical relationships between people and institutions.<sup>20</sup>

### Working Definition of Conciliation



Source: Conciliation Resources, adapted.<sup>21</sup>

"...a guided process of conciliation may be the best option for supporting an inclusive national identity and building a stronger national consensus".

The diagram above illustrates an effective conciliation framework to manage political conflicts, polarisation and the legacy of the past.

1. **Acknowledging and addressing the past:** This requires an honest and open dialogue between all the parties, listening to understand opponents' perspectives. This is difficult as in situations of conflict, few individuals are willing to talk to opponents.
2. **Reframing the present:** After reaching some understanding on narratives of the past, a space can be created for more positive dialogue.
3. **Envisioning the future:** Developing visions of a fair, mutually acceptable, and interdependent future. For example, parties agree to respect democratic rules, minority rights, and reach a national agreement that includes political, judiciary, and state capacity reforms for a better future for all but also to address past injustices.

One of the key causes of polarisation in Perú is the unequal access to political power, economic resources, and cultural recognition. These are "exacerbated by feelings of hostility, mistrust and fear that become entrenched... These create obstacles to reaching a political settlement and hinder lasting changes beyond negotiations."<sup>22</sup> Therefore, a sustainable

<sup>20</sup> "Reconciliation in focus: Approaching reconciliation in peacebuilding practice", Conciliation Resources, June 2021.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.



conciliation process requires addressing power relations, patterns of marginalisation, and finding ways in which the identities of all Peruvian ethnic groups are integrated in an inclusive national identity.

“The dialogue between different groups, facilitated by a conciliation expert, would start by helping each side to understand each other...”

#### *Typical Activities to Support Conciliation<sup>23</sup>*

- **Building vertical relationships and the social contract:** Strengthening rule of law and representative politics, for example, by setting up listening processes, a map of grievances, and fighting corruption.
- **Developing a fair and inter-dependent future:** Reforming institutions and the economy, creating a space for multiple narratives to co-exist and/or that seek to imagine the future, strengthening activities for handling conflict.
- **Building horizontal relationships:** To achieve greater social cohesion and co-existence, organising activities that challenge stereotypes and build trust, empower victims, enable dialogue, and joint problem solving.
- **Dealing with the legacy of past conflict or violence:** Truth seeking and seeking accountability.

The dialogue between different groups, facilitated by a conciliation expert, would start by helping each side to understand each other’s fears and narratives of the past, as well as their vision for the future. This would encourage mutual empathy and more humanised perceptions of opponents. In time, this will build interpersonal trust. The process may require some atonement for historical injustices and a commitment to introduce policies to rectify historical injustices, for example, by addressing poverty and committing to better social protection and social services for economically disadvantaged groups.

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23 Ibid.



## CONCILIATION, CONSENSUS, AND A NATIONAL AGREEMENT

The conciliation process should address the fears held by those on both the Left and the Right. The table below presents an illustration of compromises to reassure Left and Right.

	Landing Zone to Reassure Both the Left and the Right (illustration)
<b>Economy</b>	An economic model based on markets regulated to ensure a level playing field competition and a focus on consumers. State provides support to increase the productivity of small producers and the most economically disadvantaged. Private property is protected. Fair taxation.
<b>Culture</b>	Dignity and respect for all Peruvian cultures. Recognition of historical injustices to original/indigenous people and plans to re-set this going forward.
<b>Politics</b>	Political reforms to ensure political and economic stability and support to national consensus. Judicial reforms for a competent and less corrupt judiciary.
<b>Social sectors</b>	Strengthen the capacity of the civil service to deliver effective social programmes targeted to original/indigenous people. More economic resources targeted to education and health.

If successful in reducing polarisation and strengthening national consensus, this process of Conciliation for Prosperity, would underpin a National Agreement for political and economic stability and to strengthen political and state capacity. It should support the four areas that economist Lant Pritchett identifies as needed for successful national transformation:<sup>24</sup> shared identity and equal treatment under the law (rule of law); government responsiveness (accountability); State capacity; and economic productivity.

The National Agreement would deliver several benefits:

- **Political reforms** to ensure political stability, including an agreement to respect the rules of the democratic system, minorities, and property rights. Reforms should ensure that politicians are responsive to the electorate rather than financial backers, political parties are strengthened, campaign financing is controlled, and stable relations between the executive and legislature are promoted. Providing political space for a less politicised civil service.
- **Judicial reforms** to ensure the autonomy, competency, and integrity of the judiciary, so that corruption does not undermine political competition and the capacity of the civil service. Without the rule of law being applied consistently, there is no real prospect for addressing the high levels of corruption in the country.

**“The National Agreement delivers several benefits, including political and judicial reforms, stability, inclusive growth, greater state capacity”.**

<sup>24</sup> Pritchett, L., “National Development Delivers: And How! And How?” Center for International Development, Working Papers, 26 April 2021.

### Example of Consensual Political and Judicial Reforms<sup>25</sup>

Parliamentary and Party-Political Reforms	Judicial Reforms
Re-regulate the balance of powers of executive and legislature, in relation to the presidential vacancy, censorship of ministers, and closure of congress.	Ensure the autonomy and professional capacity of the new entity for exercising disciplinary control, the <i>Autoridad Nacional de Control del Poder Judicial</i> . Keep under close review and consider opting for an external disciplinary organ ( <i>Cerajus Plan, 2004</i> ).
Increase the number of parliamentarians, so that voters have a more direct relationship with their representatives.	Give judges and prosecutors official appointments, replacing all temporary appointments.
Stagger elections to parliament, renewing by halves or thirds each time.	Extend mandate of President of the Judiciary to 3 years, renewable.
Sanction defections of parliamentarians from their party.	Establish minimum standards in law faculties, impose strict sanctions for non-compliance.
Ensure the Political Parties Law is fully implemented: strictly monitoring internal democracy and private financing. Close legal loopholes.	Ensure full transparency in all judicial processes and impose drastic penalties for corruption.
Strengthen transparency in political parties: enforce declarations of transparency and monitor strict compliance with tough sanctions.	Establish a simple and transparent process for disqualification and removal of judges and ensure that disciplinary processes are not subject to term limits.
Reform and professionalise the selection of members of the National Electoral Jury (JNE) and consider making some of its functions permanent.	Establish results-based management for judicial investigations to expedite investigations and improve efficiency.

<sup>25</sup> These reforms were subscribed by Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, José Ugaz, Augusto Alvarez Rodrich, Patricio Navia, and Proética (Transparency International Perú) as a follow up to Legatum Institute roundtables. <https://li.com/commentaries/perus-200-years/>

- **Political and economic stability** that provides the basis for increasing local investment and good jobs.
- **An inclusive growth economy** that removes the privileges of politically connected companies and 'power brokers' to unleash the productivity of the entire economy – including small and often informal producers.<sup>26</sup> In this economy, good jobs are produced both by high productivity companies as well as the independent/'informal' sector.
- **Greater state capacity** including a more competent, merit-based and citizen-centred civil service to effectively deliver infrastructure, social services and a public works programmes for social protection (for example, following the digital model of the Mahatma Ghandi Guaranteed Employment Programme in India).
- **Agreement on fair and efficient taxation of mining** funding social services in economically disadvantaged areas. Fair enforcement of environmental laws that will protect Perú's rich biodiversity and environment, and the livelihoods of original/indigenous people.
- **Expand education programmes** to improve state education for all and particularly to the most disadvantaged, providing skills to improve incomes but also to promote a more inclusive national identity and dignity for all cultures in Perú.

**"We are hopeful that the new government, the political opposition, and Peruvian society can find a national consensus that will lay the foundation for prosperity".**

At the beginning of the new administration of President Castillo, it is difficult to imagine that a successful dialogue and conciliation process to reduce conflict and polarisation in Perú is possible. There is much distrust and fear. However, President Castillo's election marks both a moment of change and crisis, and history suggests that it is in these 'unfrozen moments' generated by change and crises that opportunities for positive transformation also arise.

Perú can seize this opportunity to start a process of dialogue and conciliation that leads towards more consensual politics and prosperity. We are hopeful that the new government, the political opposition, and Peruvian society can find a national consensus that will lay the foundation for prosperity.

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<sup>26</sup> Pritchett, L., Sen, K., and Werker, E., "Deals and Development: The Political Dynamics of Growth Episodes", Oxford Scholarship Online, December 2017.