

## GENDER PARTICIPATION STRATEGIES IN THE LOCAL PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS IN PERU

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### Abstract

The article focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the various strategies of participation and influence of *social, institutional and political actors* in the process of local public policies (PPPL) in the Provincial Municipality of Puno; whose methodological approach is qualitative and phenomenological, because it analyzes and interprets the subjectivities and intersubjectivities of the actors. collected through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The strategies for the participation and influence of actors in local public policies are varied and hierarchical by type of actors and by gender, and those who determine the course of policies are *the political and institutional actors*, with the legitimacy of the *social actors*; in this process, gender inequalities are still reproduced. However, important changes are foreseen in the performance of gender public actions aimed at greater complementarity between the two.

**Keywords:** Citizen participation, Local actors, Gender, Local public policies, Peru.

### Introduction

In the context of the economic and political liberalism that predominates the world, after the crisis of representative government, contemporary democratic systems seek to provide greater sustenance and socio-political legitimacy to their actions, by offloading responsibilities and decision-making power to civil society in different fields of public intervention, where the role of citizen participation in the process of local public policies is relevant. In this perspective, Carmona (2012) identifies three positions of citizen participation in the public sphere: the one that emphasizes participatory democracy, the one that seeks the improvement of state management, and the one that postulates the recovery of the public character of the state.

The position that guides the study is the one that *seeks the improvement of state management*, according to which it is committed to increasing the efficiency and transparency of state action. This vision is based on the logic of the relationship between the State and civil society, where both components have different dynamics: the first is based on the logic of centralized and hierarchical power, while the second is based on the principles of autonomy, solidarity and freedom. In this context, citizen participation intervenes as a mechanism of articulation between the two; which in terms of Velásquez and Martínez (2004) it is the mechanism that links citizens to public policies; that is, one that generates greater proximity between the public-state sphere and civil society to generate greater efficiency and impact of social policies. In this process, the participation of women in political decision-making is important (Sotomayor, 2022).

For Morales (2015) the model of participation in the design of local public policies generates greater proximity between the State (local government) and citizens, because it allows the interests of citizens to be channeled towards the municipal government to address the demands and needs of local civil society. This socio-political dynamic gives rise to a new way of addressing social demands, where several and different types of local actors are incorporated; In other words, a new scenario for the management of local public policies of a relational and multi-stakeholder nature is configured, which constitutes the model of local governance, according to which the direction of society is no longer unilateral but multilateral (Aguilar, 2015; Canto, 2008; Castillo, 2017; Fernández and Mota, 2009; Navarro, 2004; Quispe, 2013).

Citizen participation in the decision-making process and the development of public policies is an important pillar of democracy (Alibegović & Slijepčević, 2018), because it allows citizens to set goals and priorities, monitor the actions of politicians and state administrators and hold them accountable for their actions, express their opinions, needs, problems, and monitor and evaluate the results of policy implementation.

Strategies for citizen participation in the public sphere vary according to the interest of citizens and the political will of local authorities, where forms of passive participation are combined –informative and consultative– and forms of active participation –decision-making, executive and decision-making. However, passive participation strategies, according to Alibegović & Slijepčević (2018) they have their disadvantages because they generate expenditure of resources: time, economy and others. In this sense, Vargas (2011) He argues that citizen participation can contribute to strengthening democracy, but not necessarily the efficiency of government policies. The strengthening of democracy through citizen participation occurs in the phase of identifying public problems; while in the policy implementation phase it becomes conflictive because a struggle of interests and power games of the participants is unleashed (Quispe, 2012).

In addition, citizen participation in the PPPL translates into the influence of social actors in the execution of the decisions and agreements adopted in the spaces of participation, taking into account that the responsibility for compliance with these agreements lies, to a large extent, with the institutional actors: municipal and state (Quispe, 2012). Where various factors come into play: political will of the authorities, interest and capacity for participation of the social actors, resources and commitments of the different actors, among others.

On the other hand, historically, there has been a great difference in terms of women's access and participation in public spaces, compared to men, where women have been excluded. Because, according to Somohan (2011) The public sphere was generally understood as a domain of reason and universality, in which only men were able to participate, while women were better accommodated in the private-domestic sphere.

In coherence with the above, Albuja-Echeverría and Enríquez-Rodríguez (2018) They identify variables that allow us to understand the persistence of inequalities between men and women, among them we have: the legal and regulatory system, education, salaries and the labor system, which is reflected in the sectoral distribution, with women employed mainly in the personal services, education and health sectors.

Thus, despite legal equality in some aspects, socio-political inequalities between men and women continue to be reproduced in the daily practice of organizational and institutional management. Faced with this situation, the article analyzes the dynamics of participation of local actors by gender in the PPPL in Puno, seeking to interpret the various strategies of influence of social, institutional and political actors in the management of local policies, developed in the Provincial Municipality of Puno, a municipality that is located in the capital city of the department of Puno. considered one of the intermediate cities in the south of the country that articulates the entire Puna highlands. The local and regional economy is based mainly on agricultural activities and complementarily on trade and services (Quispe Mamani, 2018).

### **Theoretical foundation**

The research is based on the *approaches to participation in the PPPL*, such as pluralism, neopluralism, neocorporatism and public policy networks. According to the *pluralism* there is a fragmentation between society and the State. This fragmentation makes the State, society and policy-making complex, involving a plurality of actors with different and even conflicting demands and interests. In this context, it would be impossible for a single group or organization to dominate (Smith, 1997). Pluralists distinguish between political power and economic power, although they recognize that interest groups do not have the same resources or the same capacity for access and influence.

In terms of Pizzorno (1988) Pluralism is efficient, flexible and inclusive. Efficient, because it operates on the basis of a balanced realism, satisfying interests according to a well-established calculation of its strength. It is flexible, in the sense that the effectiveness of negotiation does not derive from the fact that it satisfies individual expectations, but from the fact that it redefines expectations in the very process of reaching a decision, adjusting it to viable results. And it is inclusive, because it allows the selection of a multiplicity of demands in the process of representing them. Interests must be represented in order to gain access to decision-making centres, and an interest is undoubtedly stronger when it is organised.

In a similar orientation, *Neopluralism* it conceives contemporary society and the State as heterogeneous and complex. However, it differs from classical pluralism to the extent that the government, depending on economic progress, tends to encourage entrepreneurship and grant it advantages and privileges. Because in a market system, public affairs are in the hands of two leading groups: government and businessmen, who have to collaborate, but for the system to work, the leadership of the former must often submit to that of the latter (Lindblom in Smith, 1997). To complement this neo-pluralist position, the approaches of the *Reformed Pluralism*, in the sense that policies are not necessarily determined by economic, social and political groups, but that public officials have their own interests and are willing to defend them against criticism from those groups.

Held (2002) maintains that the *Neo-pluralism* it is characterized by multiple pressure groups with a political agenda biased towards the power of economic corporations; the State and its departments pursue their own sectoral interests; Institutional norms operate in a context of diverse political cultures and a radically unequal economic resource system,

resulting in unequal participation in politics and in the policy process, where government is insufficiently accessible.

Now, the *Neo-corporatism* it is conceived as a system of monopolistic representation of interests in which the units that make it up are organized into a limited number of singular, obligatory, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories authorized by the State. Arrangements and negotiations take place in a close setting, under tripartite relations between companies, unions and the State. In other words, according to neocorporatism, a small group of organizations participates in decisions and the adoption of political measures in exchange for agreements that are advantageous to their members. The negotiation process is led by the State, at the local level through local governments (Held, 2002).

Smith (1997) He argues that there are monopolies of sectoral interests in the process of formulating public policies. This manifests itself in policy-focused networks that are closed but not necessarily tripartite. *Policy-focused networks*, They are seen from two perspectives: from the perspective of public policies, policy networks are the result of the interaction between public, private and social actors, where the administration is no longer the dominant actor in their elaboration and implementation. From the perspective of interest organizations, policy networks imply the interdependence between the public, the private and the social (Evans, 1998). From both perspectives, it is understood that political decisions arise from that network of public, private and social actors, who act in sectoral and multisectoral spheres, and at the local, regional, national and international levels (Chen et al., 2020).

Another of the theoretical approaches that sustains the research is the *Gender Focus in the PPPL*; this approach has been introduced in Latin America since the nineties as a mechanism for the inclusion of women and men in the process of managing public policies. Where, gender-responsive policies recognize that women and men have different needs because they play different roles in society and experience the same problems differently (Chen et al., 2020). They take into account the situation of women and men in their ethnic, generational, cultural, sexual, economic and political diversity. So undervaluation and discrimination can be multiple, depending on the many identities to which we belong (Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations [MIMP], 2012).

Fritz and Valdés (2006) They affirm that the gender equity approach responds to the existing gender order in all societies, which subordinates and undervalues women, and establishes the privilege of the masculine. That is to say, society transforms the biological sex of women into cultural destinies and social arrangements, which reproduce an unequal order, forming male and female spheres of the world, where the private sphere corresponds to women and the public sphere to men (Ruiz & Grande, 2015). In this situation, it is essential to place the voice of women at the center of political life (Falú et al., 2022), especially from the most vulnerable social sectors of society.

Corroborating the above, Pazos (2011) He argues that public policies continue to promote the sexual division of labor, although the new mechanisms are more subtle and have the appearance of neutrality. Thus, gender inequality continues to be reproduced through public policies, because the gender approach (Valle & Bueno, 2006; Falú et al., 2022) It has been conceived as a system of practices, symbols, representations, norms and values that societies build around the biological difference between men and women, according to which the relations between the feminine and the masculine are made in a hierarchical and unequal manner.

However, according to MIMP (2012) the gender approach as a cross-cutting axis of State policies seeks to reach all orders and levels of public policy management, from

planning, problem identification and diagnosis, definition of purposes, objectives and results, monitoring and evaluation; as well as in the different areas and sectors of society. In this sense, in order to Decheco, Muñoz, Ponce, Valdez & Freyre (2017) "The gender approach incorporated into public policies implies developing efforts to thoroughly transform the prevailing models, correct existing imbalances, reduce gender gaps, taking into account the differences between genders and the causes and consequences of inequalities, legitimized by institutional and cultural structures" (p. 44).

To corroborate the above, in the process of implementing public policies, equality between women and men has entered the agenda and is identified as a political objective in numerous speeches. However, different visions persist on what the problem of gender inequality is, as well as what kind of actions are necessary to move forward in this regard (Espinosa, Galvez, Molina & Rodríguez, 2015). Thus, gender inequality is not an objective fact, but responds to a socio-political moment and is the result of competing and constantly changing values, interpretations and interests.

### **Methodological framework**

The research is based on phenomenological design, because emphasis is placed on the analysis of the meanings and senses that individual actors give to their subjective and intersubjective experiences lived daily around the PPPL in Puno. The phenomenological design according to Hernández et al. (2014) it seeks to describe and understand the phenomena from the experience and point of view of each participant, and then assign their possible meanings.

To choose *the actors participating in the research*, the non-probabilistic sample design has been used, triangulating the types of intentional, convenience and quota sampling, which are characterized by a deliberate effort to obtain "socially and politically representative" samples.

The actors that energize the PPPL in the Provincial Municipality of Puno are: *social actors*, composed of representatives of territorial organizations (120 neighborhoods) and functional organizations (7 women's organizations) of the city of Puno, making a total of 127 representatives, from which two representatives of the Central Única de Barrios y Urbanizaciones Populares (CUBUP) and two representatives of the Front of Popular Organizations (FOP) were selected. who bring together all the neighborhoods and urbanizations of the city of Puno; also, the president of the Llavini neighborhood has been selected, because he has promoted the recall of the mayor, and the president of the Machallata neighborhood for her accessibility to more information; likewise, the representatives of the Central Association of Women of the Neighborhoods of Puno (CAMUBP) and the National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Women of Peru (FEMUCARINAP), who represent the most active and representative women's organizations in Puno, have been selected.

The *institutional actors*, composed of 36 actors between managers and deputy managers of the Provincial Municipality of Puno during the periods of municipal management 2015 - 2018, from which three male managers and three female deputy managers were selected, both from the ruling party and from the political opposition.

The *political actors*, composed of 18 actors: a mayor and 11 councilors of the Provincial Municipality of Puno and six mayors of the smaller population centers, from which two opposition councilors were selected who stand out for their constant actions of oversight of municipal management and two councilors of the ruling party; as for the representatives of the smaller population centers, the most important population centers



were taken into account. urbanized: Alto Puno, Salcedo, Jayllihuaya and Uros Chulluni, the latter two with leadership by women mayors.

Thus, the selected sample responds to the identification of "key actors" who have a socio-political representativeness, who have information and shared experience around their participation in the PPPL in the Provincial Municipality of Puno, in the period 2015-2018. Therefore, the key actors who participated in the study are composed of 30 local actors: 15 women (seven social actors, four institutional actors and political actors) and 15 men: seven social actors, four institutional actors and four political actors.

In qualitative studies, the sample size is not probabilistically important, since the researcher's interest is not to generalize the results of his study, but to deepen the experience; therefore, for phenomenological studies, ten participants are suggested as a sample size (Hernández-Sampieri & Mendoza, 2018).

The research techniques applied are: semi-structured interview and direct observation. The interviews conducted have allowed the reading of the subjective experiences of the actors. Participant observation has made it possible to identify the intersubjective social processes of the actors. For the processing and analysis of the data, the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti 8 has been applied, which has made it possible to systematize the qualitative data by identifying and articulating the testimonies of the actors according to the emerging subcategories of analysis, in which the three main categories of analysis have been organized.

## Results and discussion

### *Strategies for the participation and influence of "social actors"*

The empirical data presented in Figure 1 give us an account of the strategies through which social actors by gender participate and influence the PPPL in Puno: a) management of programs and projects in the private sector, b) monitoring and control of municipal management, and c) expression of demands, needs and proposals of citizens.

The first strategy of influence of social actors occurs through the *management of programs and projects in the private sector*, here we identify a significant difference between women and men, because men do not go to the private sector to carry out project management, they are more linked to State institutions; women are the ones who go to NGOs and other private entities for the management of projects aimed at women and women. families, they maintain that in the Municipality they do not achieve results because they are discriminated against by other male representatives.

*"We cannot ask for help from the municipality because they tell us that we are not legal, so we choose to resort to other private entities that can donate calamine and other resources, because going to the municipality is like going to beg, they tell us that we must have our public registry, but it does not tell the presidents for life" (Interview with the President of the Machallata Neighborhood of the city of Puno).*

In the words of Clavero Mira et al. (2024), although both genders understand citizen participation in public intervention in a similar way, women tend to be more involved in non-institutionalized spaces and to have a positive assessment of participation as a tool for citizen empowerment. In addition, the economic management capacity of women in the PPPL from the private sphere would be an indicator of their entrepreneurial capacity. A situation that would make them recipients of greater economic opportunities, both in the formal and informal sectors of the economy (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2017). However, political and economic systems still do not orient their gaze and interest towards women, thus reproducing mentalities and actions of negative discrimination against them.

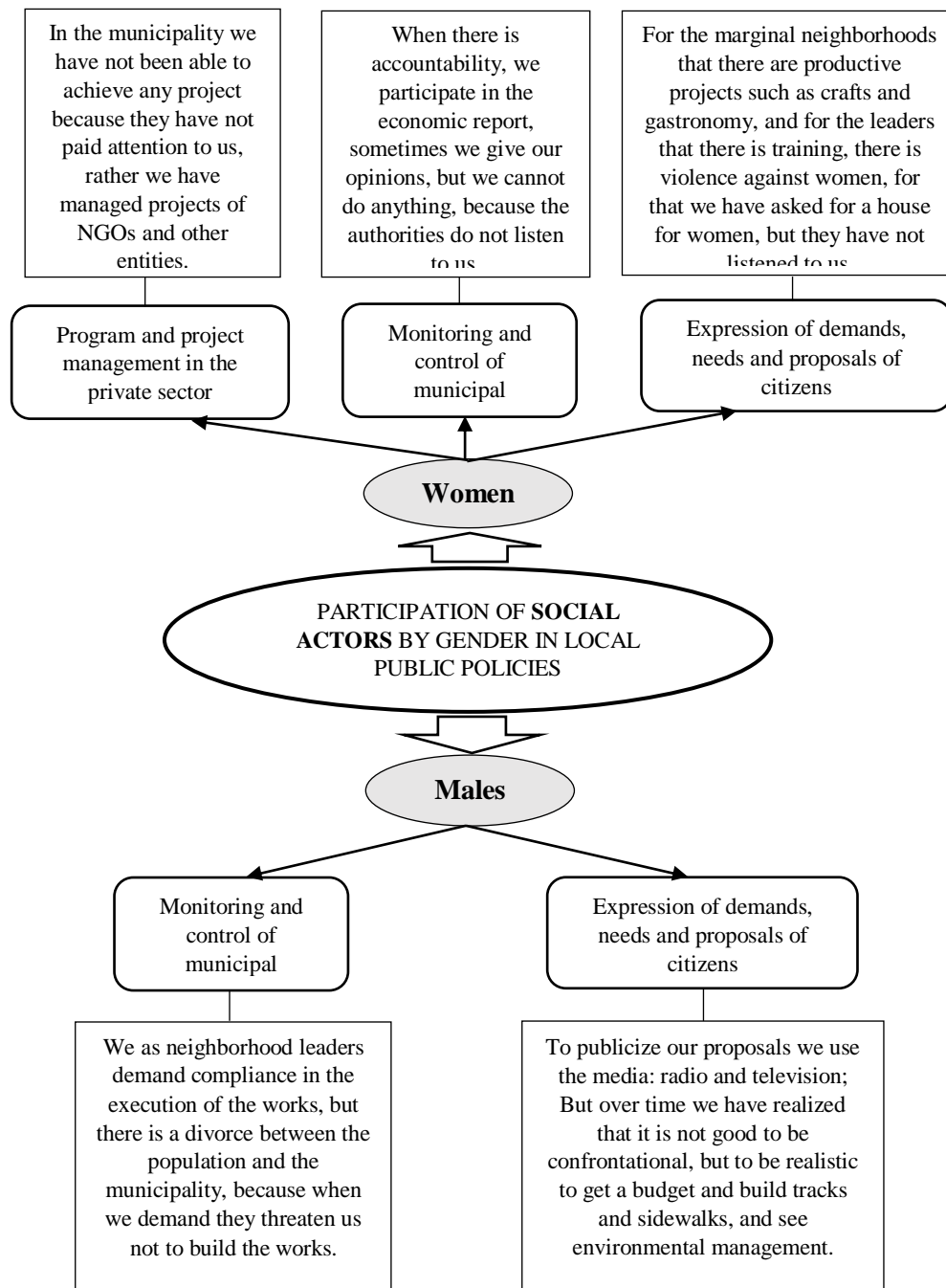


Figure 1: Strategies for the participation of **social actors** by gender in the PPPL in Puno.  
Source: Authors, 2025.

The second strategy of influence of the social actors in the PPPL occurs through the *monitoring and control of municipal management*, where men and women participate in different spaces to have knowledge about municipal management, following up on projects prioritized in the participatory budget, frequently unfulfilled, monitoring other projects for the construction of tracks and sidewalks, sanitation of basic services, and also participate in the economic reports that are convened by the Municipality.

From the above, it is striking that the economic reports convened by the Municipality are prepared only to comply with current regulations, because those who participate in

these sessions are the supporters of the government of the day to provide formal legitimacy; however, organizations that are not part of the political movement of the government in power are prevented from participating in the oversight of municipal management. Among social organizations, divisionism predominates, generating parallelism between representatives of the same social organization representative of the city, a situation that is exacerbated and taken advantage of by the municipal authorities.

*"The neighborhood center where we also have the right to a female secretary is divided, we know that there are two presidents of the neighborhood center and the worst thing is that the Municipality recognizes both, I believe that the Municipality takes advantage of the situation that the social organizations are divided and in conflict" (Interview with the president of the Central of Women's Associations of the Neighborhoods of Puno-CAMUBP).*

The tendency towards the fragility of grassroots social organizations in the different local spheres occurs as a result of the process of perpetuation sought by the leaders of the organizations in their positions, with the purpose of reproducing informal social relations of *Political clientelism*. This socio-political phenomenon according to Arriagada (2013) It is understood as a process of asymmetrical, hierarchical, and vertical transaction, where those who control greater resources distribute goods and provide services to subjects with fewer resources and status, in exchange for loyalty and political support. This situation can also be understood in the sense that the local authorities would have acted according to the theory of the "Caesar syndrome: divide and conquer" (Pérez, 2008), according to which the leader or authority, instead of strengthening organizations and work teams, undoes them, promoting divisionism, individualism, distrust and proxy wars among its members. This socio-political behavior of the authorities generates what social actors perceive as "divorce between the population and the municipality."

The *expression of citizen demands, needs and proposals* is the third strategy through which social actors, both men and women, seek to influence the PPPL, for this they make use of various mechanisms of written, radio and television communication, emphasizing their intervention in the "participatory budget" convened by the Provincial Municipality of Puno. where, in addition to their organizational demands, they express proposals that benefit the different sectors of the city of Puno. In this process, we can identify gender differences in the needs and demands raised, where the issues prioritized by women revolve around family nutrition, generation of family income, development of leadership capacities in women, prevention of political harassment and violence against women; For their part, men prioritize their demands around infrastructure projects such as roads and sidewalks, and environmental pollution, so their proposals are oriented to the territorial dimension.

On the other hand, the participation of social actors in participatory budgeting occurs by mere legal compliance and to generate social legitimacy for municipal actions, thereby producing the exclusion of priority demands and the adoption of demands of new organizations that do not comply with the current rules of the game. This situation is probably occurring due to the logic of socio-political interaction based on political clientelism. In this sense, the women maintain that their proposals are not taken into account by the municipal authorities.

*"Why do I participate, if they do not prioritize me, if everything is already defined what is going to be prioritized, they only call us for signatures, so that they say that this mayor makes and calls for the participatory budget; so, the participatory budget looks good because everything is already fixed, where there are new neighborhoods*



*that do not have their papers in order, however, their streets are asphalted"* (Interview with the President of the Machallata Neighborhood of the city of Puno).

From all that has been stated so far and according to Figure 1, the strategies of participation of social actors in the PPPL account for the fragmentation between local government and local civil society, posed by pluralism (Smith, 1997). Where, although a diverse plurality of actors participate in the policy process, those who influence decisions are those who exercise political power, and social organizations, not having the same resources or the same capacity for access and influence, are relegated or excluded (Moreira-Macias & Vegas-Meléndez, 2024) because, in addition, in the collective imagination, power is still sexist, not only in the quantitative terms, but also qualitative (Mandujano & Castañeda, 2022).

### ***Strategies for the participation and influence of "institutional actors"***

Figure 2 identifies the strategies for participation and influence of institutional actors: intermediate municipal officials, in the PPPL in Puno: a) planning of municipal actions, b) management of municipal programs and projects, and c) monitoring of municipal programs and projects.

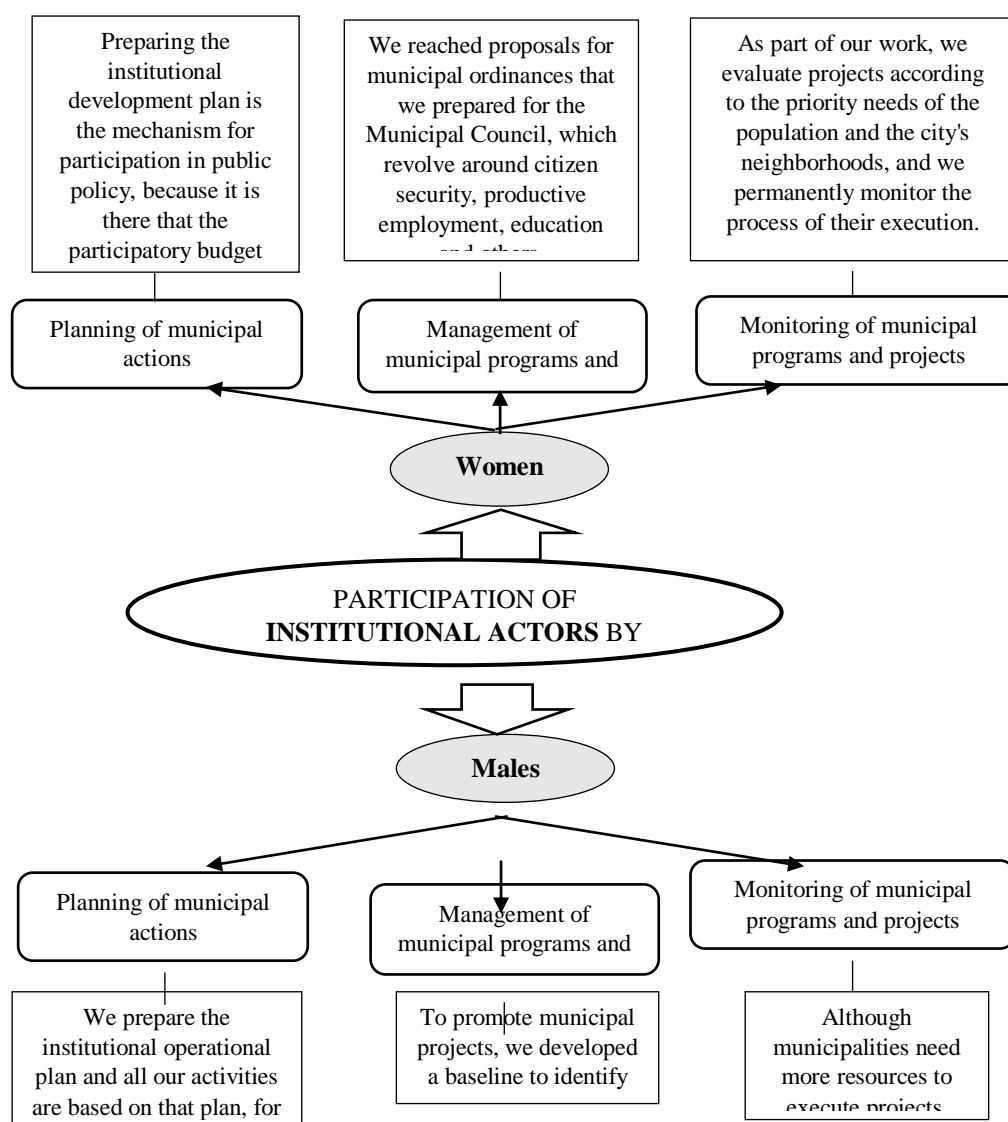


Figure 2: Strategies for the participation of **institutional actors** in the PPPL in Puno.  
Source: Authors, 2025.

The first strategy for the participation of institutional actors in the PPPL is the *Planning of municipal actions*, which, according to the interviewees, is developed in accordance with the institutional development plan, the concerted development plan and the annual operational plan, these plans are established annually, whose assigned budget is reflected in the initial opening budget. These management instruments from the private-business sphere have been incorporated into public management, since the beginning of this century, within the framework of the national policy of citizen participation to make the actions of the State transparent and the Framework Law for the Modernization of State Management, Law No. 27658, according to which the objective was to achieve a State at the service of the citizenry. with effective channels of citizen participation, decentralized, decentralized, concerted and transparent in its management. This process, according to Font (2001) and Blanco & Gomá (2002) at the local level has meant an effort to transition and adapt local public administrations to the logic of the new public management, or in terms of Cravacuore (2005) the innovation of local management technologies, whether originally, by adaptation or by transplantation. However, those processes of innovation and modernization of local public management in Puno have not yet been achieved, but the result is meager.

Once the actions to be developed have been planned, the institutional actors intervene in the *management or execution of municipal programs and projects*, which constitutes the second strategy of influence of these actors in the PPPL. The projects are executed according to the area of intervention of the Municipality and respond to the needs of the population, developing baselines to know the gaps and cover the identified needs. In this regard, the women maintain that they present proposals for municipal ordinances referring to citizen security, productive employment and education, which are reached to the Municipal Council for evaluation. For their part, men say that they manage food security projects for children, pregnant women and others, focusing on traditionally female areas and roles.

This accounts for the openness to change of mentalities, visions and gender roles in local public management in Puno, which according to EMAKUNDE-Basque Institute for Women (2008) it would mean change on the symbolic level, that is, in discourses and to a certain extent on the practical level of public management. This situation would respond to the change of the traditional model of "macho and patriarchal" masculinity, based on hierarchy, authority, reason and power (Téllez & Verdú, 2011). Nevertheless Romão & Martelli (2020) They warn that if women do not participate in the political sphere, they tend to be excluded from the public decision-making process.

The third strategy of influence of institutional actors is developed through the *Monitoring of municipal programs and projects*, where both men and women report that they monitor the projects through the intervention area, finding irregularities in the targeting of these actions, because the beneficiaries do not meet the established requirements. This situation reflects the informal relationships established by the beneficiaries with the coordinators of municipal projects, generating the exclusion of potential beneficiaries, which in terms of Valderrama & Pichihua (2010) It produces two problems: "infiltration" when people who access a social program do not belong to the target population, and "undercoverage" when the target population does not receive the attention of a social program, despite being eligible.

As can be seen, according to the reformed pluralism of Smith (1997) Public policies are not necessarily determined by economic, social and political groups, but institutional

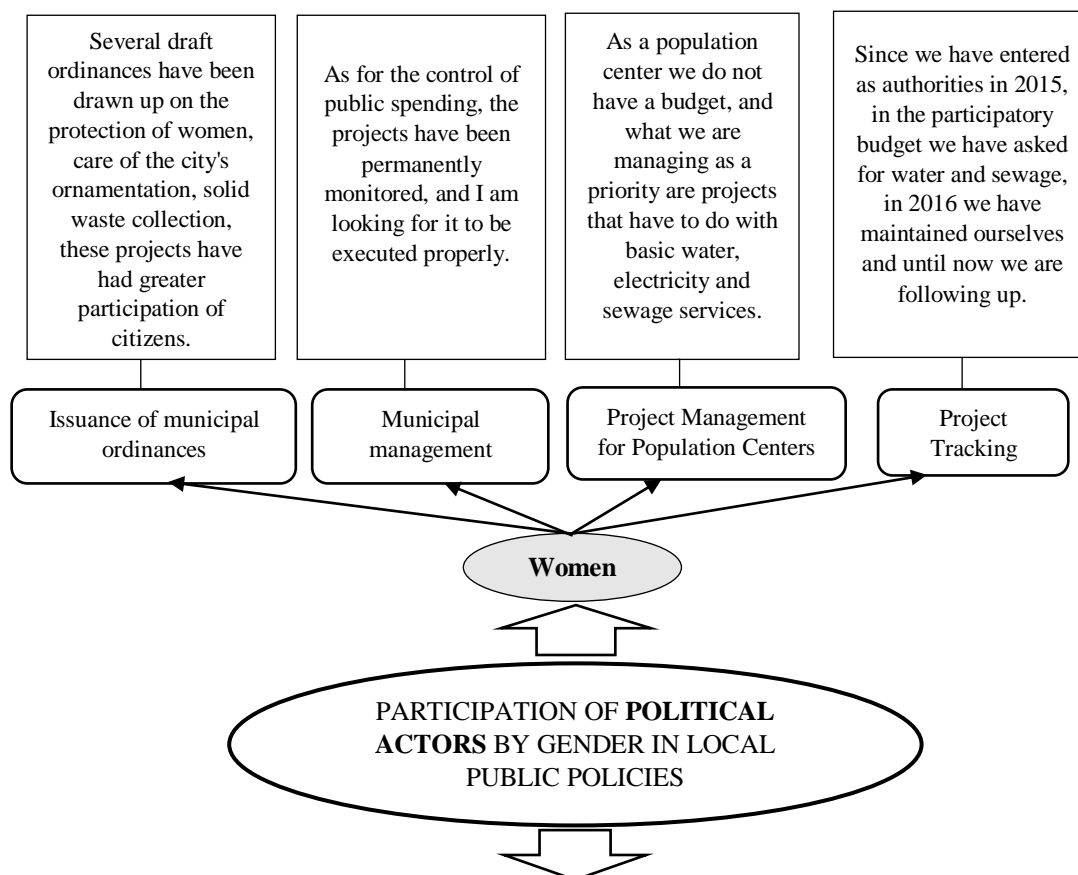
actors have their own interests in this regard and are willing to defend them against criticism from those groups. Thus, the influence of these actors in the PPPL is decisive, in many cases, because the course that those policies are going to take, in practice, depends on them.

### ***Strategies of participation and influence of "political actors"***

Considering that political actors energize local policies, Figure 3 shows that these actors influence, through four strategies, the PPPL in Puno: a) issuance of municipal ordinances, b) oversight of municipal management, c) project management for population centers, and d) monitoring of municipal projects.

The first participation strategy occurs through the *issuance of municipal ordinances*, which would be the phase of condensation and formalization of the policies adopted, for which the political actors are organized in working commissions for a period of one year, which must be assumed according to the professional profile and experience of the actors to adequately channel social demands. the final result of which is reflected in the issuance of municipal ordinances. The interviewees maintain that the working commissions are established according to the rule of the majority, where political power relations are exercised, imposing the official majority on a small number of councilors or councilors of the opposition, and leaving aside the formal procedures and requirements for their constitution.

*"Unfortunately I have to say, those who decide which commission you work on are those of the ruling party, that is, they never ask you which commission you want to assume, they simply come to the session and tell you you are on such a commission. This is how the commissions are being handled politically" (Interview with the Councillor of the Provincial Municipality of Puno).*



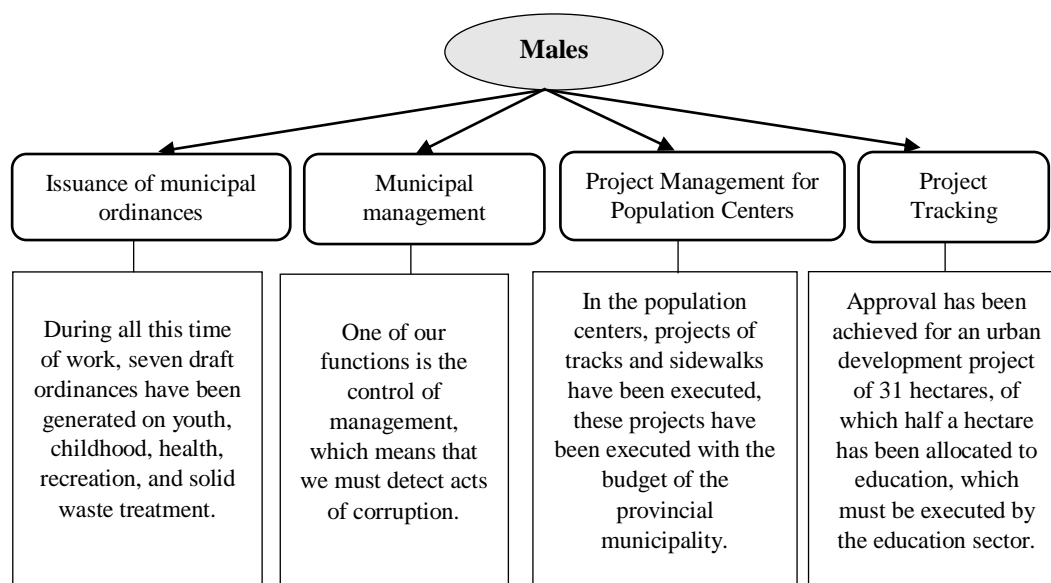


Figure 3: Strategies for the participation of **political actors** at the PPPL in Puno.  
Source: Authors, 2025.

The draft ordinances are managed, individually or between two councilors, whose viability goes through a review process, with a technical opinion of the area of intervention of the Municipality, subsequently, the opinion is made to be referred to the plenary of the Municipal Council, where it is debated for approval or disapproval. In addition, the interviewees maintain that there is a political game, in the sense that in the Municipal Council a certain matter is agreed, however, in the executive (management and deputy management) actions are carried out that are incompatible with what was approved. In the perspective of Weber (2002) it is interpreted as the power of domination of the municipal executive over the Municipal Council. This situation occurs, in turn, in the context of a political structure based on the presidential system, where the executive, having a majority in the legislative (Council), takes its powers to exercise the power of dominance in areas prioritized by the policy of the municipal government. This situation, according to Mérida & Tellería (2021) It can be reversed through the promotion of local governance, which implies the democratization of decision-making and the inclusion of plural actors in local management.

On the other hand, the proposals for municipal ordinances presented by the councilors or councilors of the opposition, to the Municipal Council, are not approved because they do not respond to the interests of the ruling party. This political behavior would not be contributing to the development of the city of Puno.

*"Many times when a proposal is from the opposition it is not taken into account, that is a political issue that does not contribute to Puno, because if someone presents a proposal that is going to benefit Puno it has to be taken, even if it is from the opposition, you are not thinking about yourself, but you are thinking about Puno"*  
(Interview with the Councilor/Councilor of the Provincial Municipality of Puno)

The second strategy for the participation of political actors in the PPPL is the *Municipal management oversight*, through this strategy, political actors defend the interests of the social groups they represent, overseeing the management and adequate allocation of resources to projects that benefit the population, and avoiding acts of corruption as far as possible. A noteworthy aspect here is that female political actors, unlike male ones, have

greater communication and proximity with the population, accounting for municipal management actions through different mechanisms. Thus, women's political behavior is oriented towards the search for transformational leadership (Figuerola, 2011; Cuadrado & Molero, 2002; Cuadrado, 2003; Ruiloba, 2013) based on the human and democratic dimension, whose actions are guided by the principles of inclusion, cooperation, horizontality and proactivity, and transcend particular interests to respond to the interests of the most vulnerable groups in society.

The third strategy through which political actors participate in the PPPL is the *management of projects for population centers*. Those who influence through this strategy are the mayors of the smaller population centers, because they do not have a budget for the execution of projects and go to the provincial Municipality to obtain municipal funds by various means, including the participatory budget, which is convened annually, where they present project profiles for their technical feasibility. economic and programmatic. Here the gender difference is expressed in the fact that women emphasize their management around projects related to basic services; while men do so around infrastructure projects such as tracks and sidewalks, thus reproducing the roles and areas of action traditionally prioritized by both genders.

The fourth strategy of influence of political actors is related to the supervision of municipal management, referring to the *monitoring of projects*, because once the budget has been approved and assigned to certain projects, political actors maintain that they strictly monitor them in order to achieve the expected results. This activity is due to the fact that, many times, projects are prioritized and budgeted for, however, they are not able to be executed according to what is established in time, both in physical execution and in programmatic and financial terms. This has perhaps been and is the greatest difficulty that local governments have, which, in the long run, generates dissatisfaction, disaffection and citizen apathy with respect to local political systems in the country.

However, to the extent that the strategies through which the different local actors participate in the PPPL are varied and hierarchical, as the *Neo-corporatism* of Held (2002), the local government monopolizes the representation of interests. Where arrangements and negotiations take place based on a close scene, under tripartite relations between political, institutional and social actors. Thus, a small group of organizations participate in decisions regarding the solution of citizen problems and needs. This situation, according to the *Neo-pluralism* of Held (2002) it is due to the limited resource base of many interest groups; which in terms of the pluralists, means that the influence of these groups in the PPPL is reduced, because the representation of their interests has not been coherent or strongly organized (Smith, 1997 and Pizzorno, 1988), on the contrary, as the exponents of the public policy network argue (Evans, 1998), those who determine the viability and results of public policies are the elite actors; or the political-institutional actors (Quispe, 2012).

## Conclusions

The strategies for the participation of *social actors* in the PPPL account for the fragmentation between local government and local civil society. In other words, although a diverse plurality of actors participate in the policy process, those who influence decisions are those who exercise political power and technical-institutional power, while local civil society organizations, lacking resources and capacities, are relegated. All this shows us that *social participation in policies is merely instrumental*, that is, to socially legitimize the actions of the local government. However, social actors have developed several strategies to influence the PPPL, among them, the most significant in terms of initiative and



entrepreneurship by gender is that of "project management in the private sector" adopted by women in the face of the negative political will of political and institutional actors.

On the other hand, in the process of adopting and implementing local public policies, not only economic, social and political groups participate, but also institutional *actors*, who express their own interests in this process and are willing to defend them against criticism from those groups. Thus, these institutional actors have a decisive influence on the PPPL: "management of municipal projects", where the change of orientation in public gender actions is highlighted, that is, male officials promote projects that were traditionally assigned to women, such as the socio-family sphere. All this accounts for an important change at the symbolic level: mentalities, visions and discourses of gender, in the process of managing local policies.

Finally, although the strategies of influence of the different local actors in the PPPL are varied and hierarchical, the *local government* as the privileged political actor monopolizes the representation of interests, although the arrangements and negotiations take place based on a narrow scene, under tripartite relations between political, institutional and social actors. Where the participation and influence of a small group of local civil society organizations in decisions regarding the solution of citizen problems and needs, translates into social underrepresentation in the PPPL. However, in terms of gender among local political actors there is a change and a tendency towards complementarity between the public actions of women and men, which is an incentive and incentive in the PPPL, without neglecting that there is still work to be done and a long way to go in the deepening and affirmation of that gender complementarity that characterizes Andean culture.

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