



Support for Electoral Process in Bolivia (PACER) USAID/Bolivia

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I. Executive Summary

In October 2005, the State University of New York Center for International Development (SUNY/CID) initiated work to support electoral processes in Bolivia. Within the life of the proposed project (October 1, 2005 – September 30, 2006), Bolivia was expected to elect a new president and vice president, Congress, Departmental Prefects, and subsequently in another round of elections, Members of the Constitutional Assembly and hold a Referendum on the Proposed New Autonomic Regime.

Given this context, the balloting processes presented opportunities to design, develop, and implement programs to help educate and orient both voters and the media about more nuanced visions of the role of voters, representatives, the media and, in general, about the representative function within Bolivia's political culture. The Support for Electoral Process in Bolivia (PACER) Project provided technical assistance and training to accomplish two major objectives: 1) to clarify and enhance *the role of the represented* in their capacity as registered voters/citizens, and 2) to enhance *media responsibility* in covering balloting processes and in explaining the nature of the representative function to the general public. Both objectives were met. Indeed, the project surpassed its goals. The mass media program reached viewers and listeners more than 15 million times, the train-the-trainer program reached more than 45,000 social and political leaders, and accountability and transparency promoters, and nearly 500 media actors directly participated in activities designed to improve their capacity to inform the public about the issues surrounding electoral processes with more objectivity and integrity.

II. Background

Before the national elections of 2005, most Bolivian citizens acknowledged that despite both successes and failures of representatives elected to serve in the legislative and executive branches since 1985, they did not feel adequately represented. Ordinary citizens, who are supposed to understand and play the role of the represented, mistrusted elected representatives. Citizens felt that their mistrust of elected officials was justified and that their representatives “didn't represent anybody.” However, most citizens misunderstood the representative function and the role they themselves could play.

Since 1985, no Bolivian president had been elected by a simple majority. According to the Bolivian constitution, if no presidential candidate wins a majority of votes, Congress then chooses between the two with the most votes. Therefore, political coalitions formed in order to choose the winner. The coalitions enjoyed a degree of political stability dependent on negotiation, compromise and consensus building among political party representatives elected to Congress. They supported the government during a fixed mandate. Some argue that this resulting system was essentially a semi-parliamentary system.

Over time, however, coalition members were increasingly perceived by the public as “partners in crime.” This was in part because during election campaigns future associates denounced each other's programs, candidates, and intentions and these interactions were extensively covered by the media, and in part because during the exercise of government the coalitions showed a tendency to place personal, regional and political interests above the national interest.

Given the political realities, many Bolivian citizens believed that they had few or no mechanisms to hold candidates accountable for the positions or promises made by parties and coalitions. At every election there seemed to be an inflation of campaign promises that were seldom carried out in the eyes of voters. An oft repeated electoral promise was that if elected, officials would act honestly and transparently. The result was widespread frustration with the political system and an increasing tendency to flaunt the law.

Moreover, citizen expectations had risen at a rate which is greater than the capacity of government to satisfy them. Thus, the last generation of reforms promoting greater citizen participation in government (such as the referendum, the Constitutional Assembly, the proposed new decentralized regime and the end of the monopoly of political parties to present candidates) could have been discredited before they were enacted or soon thereafter.

Expectations and perceptions of the majority of Bolivians about democracy were shaped and reinforced by the media, particularly radio and TV networks. Coincident with the onset of democracy, Bolivia had seen the rise of media conglomerates competing with each other for ratings, circulation, and the capacity to influence government for the benefit of private interests.

Between the influence of private interests and the increasingly strident tone of politics as described above, Bolivian citizens had a difficult time becoming well informed about politics and were unable to exercise their political rights to productive effect. Many people believed that media actors did not often recognize ethical dilemmas basic to the integrity of their work nor were they prepared to resolve moral issues in their professional conduct.

Therefore, USAID perceived an urgent need to provide intensive education on democratic practices and institutions for both citizens and the media before and during the national campaigns and elections of 2005 and 2006. The objectives of the PACER project were: 1) to clarify and enhance the role of the represented in their capacity as registered voters/citizens; and, 2) to enhance media responsibility in covering balloting processes such as elections and referendums and in explaining the nature of the representative function to the general public.

During the span of this project, several significant electoral events took place. On December 18, 2005, elections were held for president and Congress. To the surprise of many political observers, Evo Morales of the Movement for Socialism (MAS) Party was the elected by an absolute majority with 54% of the vote, defeating Jorge Quiroga, leader of the Democratic and Social Power (PODEMOS) Party and former head of the Acción Democrática Nacionalista (ADN) Party and Felipe Quispe, of the Pachakutik Indigenous Movement (MIP). Morales, Bolivia's first indigenous president, and Vice President Alvaro García Linera, were sworn in on January 22, 2006 to begin their five-year terms.

In the Congressional elections, the MAS party garnered nearly 54% of the vote, winning 72 seats in the House of Deputies and 12 in the Senate. PODEMOS won 43 seats in the House and 13 in the Senate; the National Unity Front won 8 House seats and one Senate seats, and the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement won 7 House and 1 Senate seat. For the first time in more

than 20 years, the need to form Congressional party coalitions evaporated and MAS party Congress members were named presidents of their respected houses.

Almost immediately, Morales acted to try to deliver on his campaign promises. His administration focused on two high profile issues from the campaign – rewriting the constitution of Bolivia and addressing issues regarding natural resources, particularly hydrocarbons and water.

On July 2, 2006, Bolivians voted on two issues: 1) to adopt a national referendum on departmental autonomy and, 2) to elect 255 representatives to the Constitutional Assembly that would be entrusted with rewriting Bolivia’s constitution. The referendum was a yes-or-no vote regarding expanding governmental autonomy in each of the nine departments. Four of the nine departments (Beni, Pando, Santa Cruz, and Tarija) voted “yes” for increased autonomy and five of the nine voted “no” (Chuquisaca, Cochababa, La Paz, Oruru, and Potosi).

The results of the Constitutional Assembly elections mirrored the results of the December round. The MAS party won 54% of the delegates, PODEMOS won 24%, and the remaining 22% was split between 14 diverse parties. The Assembly was inaugurated on August 6, and began working to rewrite the constitution. The delegates were given one year to complete the draft document and vote to approve or disapprove. The draft must be approved by two thirds of the Assembly and then will be sent to a national vote where a simple majority will ratify the document.

III. Project Objectives

In response to the anticipated campaigns and elections that were to take place, the objectives of this project were:

- A. *To clarify and enhance the role of the represented in their capacity as registered voters/citizens.* Expected results under this first objectives included:
 - 1. Voters are educated to exercise a responsible choice and to accept electoral results
 - 2. Citizens are trained to present their priorities to candidates and to hold elected representatives accountable for campaign promises and good governance
 - 3. Voters obtain accurate and objective information on specific campaign facts and issues

- B. *To enhance media responsibility in covering balloting processes such as elections and referendums and in explaining the nature of the representative function to the general public.* Expected results under this second objective included:
 - 4. Selected journalists trained in political and institutional reporting
 - 5. Media directors, editors, columnists, reporters, presenters trained in campaign coverage
 - 6. Media directors, editors, columnists, reporters, presenters trained in professional ethics

The PACER Project delivered (as outlined below) on all of these results.

IV. Project Activities

There were three main activity components to this project – a mass media campaign, a training of trainers program, and a media training program.

A. Mass Media Campaign

The PACER project's first task was to carry out a nationwide mass media campaign designed to promote improved understanding and practice of the representative function.

Goal: Reach up to 2 million registered voters (500,000 under Phase I and 1,500,000 under Phase II) through radio jingles, TV spots and newspaper advertisements to improve understanding and practice of representative democracy.

The first phase of the campaign was primarily to focus on the period leading up to and just following the December elections. The aim of this phase was to reach up to .5 million registered voters. The focus was on the elections for president, vice-president, Congress, and nine departmental prefects. The focus of the second phase of the campaign was on the elections for the delegates to the Constitutional Assembly and on the referendum on autonomy that took place in early July 2006. The project planned to reach more than 1.5 million registered voters in Phase II. In total, the goal was to reach more than 60% of all registered voters in Bolivia with messages about how a representative democracy should work. As previously mentioned, often basic elements of representative democracy were questioned by large sectors of the population, so the campaign intended to encourage large numbers of Bolivians to reflect on the conditions that are necessary to exercise a representative democracy.

Project staff developed a detailed scope of work to select an advertising and communications firm that could propose an overall strategy and to design, produce and disseminate multimedia materials and to provide feedback on dissemination. They prepared a request for proposals and conducted a competitive bidding process that resulted in the selection of a qualified firm.

PACER staff and executive staff from the firm discussed the political context, campaign purposes and strategy and decided, given the important political subtleties, to work in close collaboration. The firm, together with the project staff, developed a campaign strategy and the individual products (TV and radio spots, newspaper ads, billboards). Using standard marketing practices, the firm tested concepts, slogans, messages, and symbols.

The campaign was called, "*En Democracia*



Democratic concepts were promoted in print, radio, and television during the media campaign.

Tu Decisión Vale” (In a democracy, your decision counts). Phase I of the campaign included the important concepts such as:

- Representation is necessary in a country of close to 9 million inhabitants;
- The decisions of the majority must be accepted;
- Minority rights must be respected;
- Citizens have a right to quality representation.

More complicated concepts for Phase II of the campaign were developed to address issues related to the referendum on departmental autonomy and regarding the work of the Constitutional Assembly.

- The constitutional assembly is an event through which all Bolivians will agree on new rules of the game for a renewed social compact rather than an arena at which political, social and economic actors should go to seek particular advantages. (This message was transmitted in the form of a simple animated cartoon depicting a soccer game.)
- The fact that some departments may vote for full autonomy at the July 2 referendum while other departments may opt for continued dependence on the central government is not as important as the fact that in either case, Bolivia will be on the road to fuller integration and development. (This message was transmitted through a simple animated cartoon showing a traffic jam out of which a big sign indicated the way under the words “Integration.”)
- The mandate of the constitutional assembly is to draft a new constitution without any restrictions, rather than to take on any attributions of the current government, which would be extremely risky for the peaceful resolution of outstanding regional and social conflicts. (This message was transmitted through a simple animated cartoon depicting an elected member of the constitutional assembly receiving a bomb with a sizzling wick, which another member eventually puts off and averts the expected explosion.)
- The constitutional assembly will not eliminate poverty or unemployment, this is not its mandate nor is it possible for anybody to accomplish in a short time. According to surveys, 80% of Bolivians expected the constitutional assembly to end poverty and unemployment within two years. (This message was transmitted through a simple animated cartoon depicting a magician out of whose hat flew the words “Money” and “Work,” which immediately crumble into bits and fall into the floor, while the voice in the background states in a matter of fact tone that we could not expect members of the constitutional assembly to be magicians.)

Given the potential political sensitivity of the campaign, project staff sought and obtained co-sponsorship. A diversity of nationally recognized and legitimate organizations agreed to co-sponsor the campaign, ranging from the National Press Association to the Foundation for Multi Party Democracy (FUBODEM). Additionally, the civil society organizations that were working on the training the trainers program (see below) also agreed to co-sponsorship.

The two phases of the media campaign sought to impact large numbers of Bolivians with short, emotive messages that afforded them striking moments to reflect on their current views about the nature and value of democracy. The goal of the messages conveyed in the jingles and images was for Bolivians to think about the conditions that are necessary to exercise a representative democracy. All of the concepts were tested with focus groups and interviews. Then a series of television spots, jingles, and printed materials, and billboards were produced.

Results: The campaign involved the following media:

- **Television:** Five national networks reaching all nine departments and one local channel were utilized. According to TV rating estimates, which are used to calculate approximate audience through a standard formula, the mix of TV networks used by the PACER program in several departments reached an average of one million viewers for each week a given TV spot was broadcast. Phase I lasted a total of 6 weeks and Phase II a total of 9 weeks, for an overall total of 15 weeks. On average, in each of these weeks about one million viewers were exposed to the PACER campaign spots, more than 69% of the viewing audience, for a total of 15 million exposures. It is assumed that the composition of the audience was roughly the same for each week.

TV Viewing Audience Reach by City	
La Paz	75.09%
El Alto	79.85%
Quillacollo	71.62%
Oruro	70.22%
Santa Cruz	67.27%
Montero	68.31%
Yacuiba	51.14%
Cochabamba	66.80%
Tarija	73.68%
Challapata	68.29%
NATIONAL	69.33%

- **Newspapers:** Five principal newspapers in each of five departments (but with readership in all nine departments) were utilized. The PACER campaign placed newspaper advertisements on Sundays since circulation is highest on that day. Total number of publications was four (4) during Phase I and five (5) during Phase II, for a total of nine (9) publications. Each of these publications reached a potential average of 145,000 on a given Sunday, for a total of 1,305,000 potential readers. Based on local marketing assumptions, an estimated one in three readers saw the PACER campaign ads, resulting in a total of approximately 435,000 newspaper readers that were exposed to Phase I and Phase II of the PACER campaign.
- **Radio:** A total of 127 stations including 24 local radio stations and three national radio networks were utilized. Accurate radio audience estimates were not available through an independent firm. However, communications experts estimated the rural/urban network mix used by PACER reached at least the same public as the TV networks, resulting in an estimated 15 million individual exposures to radio jingles and ads during Phase I and Phase II. Radio shows and spots were produced in Spanish, Quechua, Guarani, and Aymara.
- **Billboards:** A total of 12 billboard advertisements were placed in key locations in ten cities across the country.

Overall, the PACER campaign exceeded by far the six (6) million impacts expected in the contract, since TV alone reached an estimated 15 million viewers, radio by itself reached 15 million listeners, and newspapers reached about 435,000 readers. The advertising/communication firm conduct a follow-up poll to study the impact of the campaign. The results

showed that of the PACER campaign gained remarkable recognition. The technical quality was given high marks by the TV audience, and slightly lower marks by the radio audience. However, since baseline information was unavailable, the overall impact of the campaign could not be distinguished from the dramatic impact of the unprecedented landslide that elected Evo Morales as President of Bolivia and the subsequent changes that took place.

B. Training of Trainers Program

The project implemented a *training of trainers program* that was carried out for specialized civil society organizations (CSOs) to in turn train key social leaders, political leaders, and accountability and transparency promoters.

Goal: Train to up to 600 trainers who in turn will train up to 3,000 key social and political leaders and 30,000 accountability and transparency promoters. (200 trainers will train 500 leaders and 10,000 promoters under Phase I and 400 trainers will train 2,500 leaders and 20,000 promoters under Phase II)

The project planned to select up to ten CSOs in order to impart training to up to 600 trainers of civic, social and political leaders in five of the nine departments and accountability and transparency promoters in up to 30 single member (uninominal) Congressional districts, a maximum of five of which were to be within the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz.

In fact, requests for applications were sent to large list of potential candidate organizations, and 14 organizations (listed in the chart below) were chosen to undertake the work. Project staff developed the training program curriculum and prepared the didactic training materials that were utilized, including three illustrated training documents covering various aspects of representative democracy in accessible language using simple dramatizations. After pre-testing at three seminars, a cumulative total of 48,000 copies of these training materials were distributed to the training organizations, who in turn have used and distributed these to the people they trained.

Additionally, project staff created a monitoring and evaluation system to measure the number of trainees and training levels and subsequently trained the CSOs to implement the M&E system. As the project progressed, the CSO network became more formalized and formed an alliance called, “The Network for the Right to Be Well-Represented.”

By the end of the project, the training of trainers program far surpassed its initial numerical goals by carrying out more than 1,149 workshops to train a cumulative total of 45,304 persons as follows:

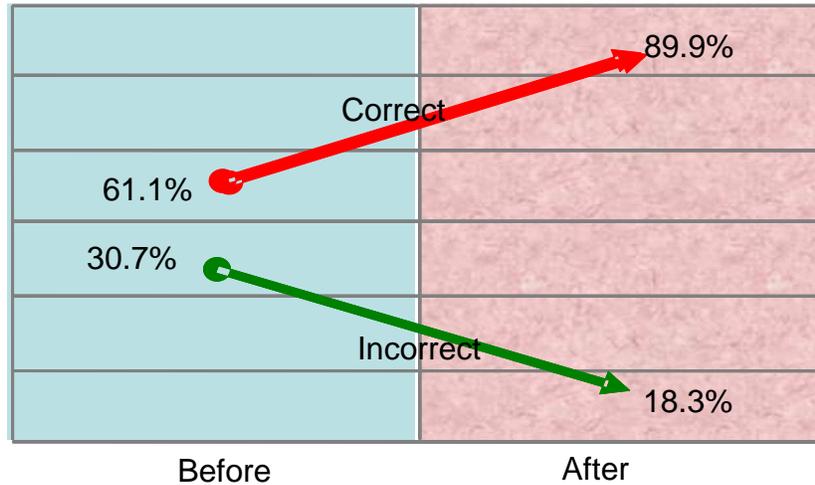
- 430 trainers
- 7,383 intermediate leaders
- 37,491 democracy promotion activists

Nº	INSTITUTION	GEOGRAPHIC COVERAGE	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PROVINCIAL COVERAGE
1	ABC- BF	La Paz (El Alto)	Circ. 13, 14, 15 y 16	Murillo (LA PAZ - El Alto)
2	CASA DE LA MUJER	Santa Cruz	Circ. 50	Andrés Ibañez (STA. CRUZ)
3	ESCUELA DE DIBUJO	Santa Cruz	Circ. 54 y 59	Andrés Ibañez (STA. CRUZ)
4	ESPERANZA POR UNA VIDA MEJOR	Pando	Circ. 66 y 67	Nicolás Suarez (PANDO)
5	GREEN CROSS	Santa Cruz	Circ. 56, 57, 58 y 59	Obispo Santiestevan, Nuflo de Chavez, José Miguel de Velasco y Cordillera (STA. CRUZ)
6	IDE A	La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba		Murillo (LA PAZ), Andrés Ibañez (STA: CRUZ) y Cercado (CBB)
7	INST. INV. CAPAC. PEDAGÓGICA Y SOC.	La Paz y Chuquisaca (Sucre)	Circ. 17,18,19, 20 y 21 (La Paz), 1 (Chuquisaca)	Omasuyos, Los Andes, Inquisivi, Nor Yungas, Eliodoro Camacho (LA PAZ) y Oropeza (CHUQ.)
8	INTIWATAN	La Paz	Circ. 10 y 11 de La Paz	Murillo (La Paz)
9	JUVENTUD PARA EL DESARROLLO	Oruro	Circ. 32, 34 y 36	Cercado, Eduardo Avaroa, Poopó, Pantaleón Dalence y Sebastián Pagador (ORURO)
10	MUJERES EN ACCION	Tarija	Circ. 45 y 46	Cercado (TARIJA)
11	SERVICIOS INTEGRALES PARA EL DESARROLLO	Cochabamba y Potosí	Circ. 12, 25, 26 y 31	Cercado, Quillacollo (CBB), Bolívar (POTOSI)
12	FUND. JULIO TUMIRI	La Paz y Potosí	Circ. 7, 8, 9 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, (Caranavi), y 38 (Potosí)	Murillo, Caranavi (LA PAZ) y Tomas Frías (POTOSI)
13	PROYECTO UNIFRANZ	Cochabamba y Beni	Circ. 12, 23, 24, 25 (CBB) y 61 (Beni)	Cercado (CBB) y Cercado (Beni)
14	CONFIDENCIA S	La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, Potosí, Tarija, Oruro y Provincias		122 PROVINCIAS

Two of the CSOs, *Confidencias* and *Casa de la Mujer*, transmitted radio broadcasts about democracy. In the case of *Confidencias*, a political comedy program, 84 radio sessions of this extremely popular group were broadcast. Brief sketches of the program were transmitted from Monday through Friday, and then on Saturdays and Sundays, the whole week's program was broadcast during one hour. The estimated nationwide public for these broadcasts averaged 800,000 persons per session, though some variations are estimated to exist for weekday versus weekend sessions. Similarly, *Casa de la Mujer* broadcast democratic education programs to an estimated audience of 300,000 persons at each session. Four 90-minute sessions per week were broadcast for 12 weeks. The estimated joint audience of the *Confidencias* and *Casa de la Mujer* radio programs was more than 1.1 million listeners per session.

In sum, the Network for the Right to Be Well-Represented train the trainer program reached nearly 1.145 million citizens through its train the trainer and radio programs. Though the numbers themselves are impressive, more important was the question of whether the objective of educating the citizenry was achieved. In order to measure the degree of acquisition of the basics of representative democracy by the target population, PACER project staff established a monitoring system. To this end, more than 30,000 trainees completed entry and exit questionnaires that contained seven key items. The questions were modified for each stage of implementation. Each question was constructed so that it could be graded as "correct" or "incorrect." In order to ensure that the results were scientifically rigorous, they were verified using the Stats statistical program.

Consolidated Results of Training Effect



The margin of error that resulted was less than 1%, which indicates the results were both reliable and had the precision of more than 99%. Additionally, the database of information was analyzed utilizing SPSS, the specialized and globally accredited social statistical analysis program.

Project staff analyzed 415,995 responses from the questionnaires collected with organizations in the Network for the Right to Be Well Represented. The results showed that citizens that received training on representative democracy in fact improved their knowledge of basic information on democracy in Bolivia. Before the training, 61.1% of answers were correct on the evaluation. After the training, the number of correct responses improved to nearly 90%.

C. *Media Training Program*

Under the objective “To enhance media responsibility in covering balloting processes such as elections and referendums and in explaining the nature of the representative function to the general public,” the project implemented a direct *media training program* delivered by specialized international and national authorities of high standing in the profession.

Goal: Provide training for up to 495 trainees (150 media trainees under Phase I and 345 media trainees under Phase II)

The objective of this portion of the project was to enhance the capacity of the media to inform the public about the issues surrounding electoral processes with objectivity and integrity. To this end, a training program for owners, directors, editors, reporters and other media workers was designed and project staff collaborated with the National Press Association and other partners to work jointly on activities. The program included 1) a series of roundtables held throughout Bolivia, 2) an international seminar on media and democracy, and 3) publishing a book on the proceedings and findings of these events.

1. Departmental Round Tables for Media Actors

PACER project staff organized a series of round tables for media actors. In the first phase, eight roundtables entitled “Reflections on Democracy: The Role of the Media and Ethics in Information Management” were held, one each in eight of nine Departments in Bolivia (Beni, Cochabamba, La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, Santa Cruz, Sucre, and Tarija). Participants numbered 138, and represented media owners, directors, editors, columnists, journalists and presenters as well as a few members of worker unions and journalist unions.

The main subjects of interest were the role of the media in the democratic process; the nature of the representative function and whether the media could assume political representation on behalf of citizens; ethics in the coverage of election campaigns and government action; proposals for government regulation of the media as well as media self-regulation; media agenda for the coming constitutional assembly. These roundtables provided a neutral forum at which these actors could express their expectations and ideals, as well as vent their opinions, complaints and frustrations. In spite of a certain amount of friction, most sessions ended with a set of conclusions approved by consensus. The results of these roundtables were compiled into executive summaries and were subsequently shared with the participants in the International Media Conference discussed below.

In the second phase, three larger, regional round table events were held in La Paz, Santa Cruz, and Sucre. A total of 204 media actors participated, and formed a core group able to promote representative democracy and values.

2. International Seminar on Media, Power and Democracy in Bolivia

A keystone event for the PACER Project took place in May 2006. Project staff planned and implemented the *International Seminar on Media, Power and Democracy*. A two-day, high-profile event, the international seminar engaged the highly respected Colombian organization for journalism, the *Fundación para el Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano* to participate in the event, along with the noted Bolivian media figures listed below. Project staff obtained joint sponsorship from the National Press Association (ANP), the Association of Journalists of La Paz (APLP) and the National Radio Association (ASBORA).

The *Fundación* was founded by famed journalist and Literature Nobel prize winner Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Three well-known and highly respected journalists were designated to lead the seminar, Javier Darío Restrepo and María Jimena Duzán from Colombia and Roberto Zamarripa from Mexico.

The Bolivian media figures who participated in this event were:

- Juan Cristóbal Soruco, former Director of Bolivia’s three main newspapers
- Ronald Grebe, former Director, School of Journalism, Catholic University
- Iván Canelas, Congressional Representative (MAS, Cochabamba), well-known journalist
- José Luís Exeni, UNDP consultant who publishes research on media
- Iván Avilés, former Minister of the Presidency (2005)
- Raúl Peñaranda, well known journalist and commentator

Three simultaneous workshops were organized, each directed by an international visitor and a Bolivian authority. The themes of the workshops were “Media Regulation,” “The Role of the Media in a Democracy,” and “Ethics and Journalism.” The discussions were lively and thought provoking. The event was well received, obtained good press, and subsequently created a ripple effect of discussion and debate about the role of the media in a democracy.

3. Publication of Roundtable Proceedings and Presentations at International Seminar

The proceedings from both the departmental roundtables and from the International Conference were compiled, reviewed and published. One thousand copies of the 647-page book entitled Media, Power, and Democracy in Bolivia: Scenarios of Analysis of the Role of the Media in Democracy were widely distributed to both media representatives as well as to the delegates to the Constitutional Assembly. In addition, Conference proceedings were disseminated through the *Fundación para el Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano* web page (www.fnpi.org).

In sum, there were 492 media actors that directly participated in the departmental round table, regional roundtables and the international seminar. In addition, the diffusion of the information that was discussed was much wider due to the publication of subsequent news stories and the dissemination of the book.

V. Conclusions

The Support for Electoral Process in Bolivia Project provided technical assistance and training to accomplish two major objectives: 1) to clarify and enhance *the role of the represented* in their capacity as registered voters/citizens, and 2) to enhance *media responsibility* in covering balloting processes and in explaining the nature of the representative function to the general public. Both objectives were met. The project surpassed its numerical goals. The mass media program reached viewers and listeners more than 15 million times, the train-the-trainer program reached more than 45,000 social and political leaders, and accountability and transparency promoters, and nearly 500 media actors directly participated in activities that improved their ability to inform the public about the issues surrounding electoral processes with more objectivity and integrity.

Due in part to the Project, Bolivians better understand their role as citizens and voters. More Bolivians have a better understanding of how representative democracy works. Bolivian media are better prepared, due in part to the PACER Project, to report on issues relevant to voters. Media directors, editors, columnists, reporters, and presenters increased their professional skills and ethics regarding coverage of elections and candidates. Bolivian citizens therefore received better information than in past elections on issues.

SUNY/CID’s PACER Project supported and advanced the electoral process in Bolivia. The goals established in the Task Order were exceeded.