

**“Ask your Candidate”
UNICEF Paraguay’s Successful Campaign
To put Children at the Center of the National Agenda**

Introductionⁱ

The Republic of Paraguay is located in the heart of South America. It is a middle-income country with a population of 6.7 million, of which 2.5 million (37%) are children and adolescents.ⁱⁱ According to UNICEF Paraguay, despite progress in recent years, this population had not been sufficiently reflected in the country's investments and public policies. The percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) allocated to social investment is among the lowest in Latin America, and investment in children fell from 6% of GDP in 2000 to 4.5% in 2014.ⁱⁱⁱ

UNICEF Paraguay's mission is to place the rights of children and adolescents at the center of the national political agenda, in government policies and programs and in the national budget. To achieve this goal, UNICEF works on advocacy programs at all levels of the Paraguayan government and identifies opportunities to develop advocacy strategies. One of these opportunities came up as the country prepared for its general elections in 2013.

UNICEF joined efforts with a number of civil society organizations to form what would later be called the Front for Children and Adolescents. Together they designed and implemented an advocacy campaign called "Ask your Candidate," an initiative that aimed to put the needs and rights of children and adolescents on the political agenda by inserting them squarely into the presidential election debate. For this, a series of strategic guidelines were designed with the aim of positioning the issue in the public arena and in the minds of the Paraguayan people. The idea was to get the presidential candidates to include in their proposals a series of commitments for children and adolescents, to which they could be held accountable if elected.

The initiative was lauded as a success and yielded strong results, even beyond the electoral campaign. Candidates not only made a series of concrete commitments in their electoral platforms during the campaign, but the campaign also put into place a way of holding the new government accountable to those commitments.

To achieve its goals, UNICEF deployed an entire strategic plan that included building alliances and developing messages, as well as organizing concrete actions aimed at the main objective. This case study is a landmark for any UNICEF advocacy focused on election periods. It highlights

key lessons about how a well-thought out advocacy strategy can take root in an electoral campaign and how that, in turn, can change the way in which a country approaches its commitment to its youngest generation.

II. The Campaign's Objectives

Before jumping into any campaign, it is important to define the objectives to be achieved.

One element of context that favored this initiative, and which is common in all countries, is the willingness of politicians to address social issues during election time, particularly issues related to children and adolescents. In 2013, the Country Representative of the UNICEF office in Paraguay, Rosa Elcarte, recognized this and concluded that it was the perfect moment to raise the profile of these issues and put them on the country's political and public agenda.^{iv}

In that sense, the objective of the campaign "Ask your Candidate" was to put children and adolescents issues at the center of the national elections. Specifically, it was to ensure that parties and candidates understood that there was an urgent need to increase investment in children and adolescents to ensure their rights to health, nutrition, education and protection. To achieve this, they sought to include a question in the presidential debate which would require candidates to directly address related issues in their election platform. Moreover, at the institutional level, the goal was to establish UNICEF as a strong presence in the public arena, strengthening its longer-term institutional position as an advocate for children.

According to a baseline survey conducted by UNICEF before starting the campaign, the investment in children in Paraguay was not associated with the strengthening of economic and social development. Nor was it present in the discourse of politicians, the business sector, social leaders, or the media. Issues relating to children and adolescents were considered minor and related to philanthropic activities. The electoral debate prioritized other issues such as the economy, unemployment, crime and insecurity.

A key element that would help consolidate the objective would be to increase public awareness of the rights of children and adolescents in civil society and with the broader public. UNICEF believed this would then generate a large-scale social demand to increase government investments in children and adolescents , with a focus on the most excluded.

III. The Campaign's Key Audiences

Usually in a campaign there are two types of audiences or target groups: those who have the authority to make decisions and those who have the power to influence those authorities. The campaign "Ask your Candidate" was no an exception, but with a small twist. In this case, it was not seeking to convince any authority to adopt a specific policy or reform. The Paraguay

campaign aimed to convince a group of presidential candidates to sign commitments during the electoral campaign ensuring that they would take concrete steps for children and adolescents once in office. In this regard, the target audience was the presidential candidates on the stage of the electoral debate, together with their technical teams.

According to UNICEF Paraguay's Public Policy Specialist, Andres Osorio, the point of entry to this audience was the presidential candidates themselves.^v Once there was an initial commitment, it was easier to continue working with the political parties and transition teams on how they could incorporate these commitments and demands into their agendas. This was a multifaceted process.

The initiative in Paraguay made a smart move to start the process of advocacy work in the midst of the electoral campaign, when candidates are more attentive and predisposed to address these issues, and therefore to make commitments publicly and openly. In this case it was possible to get the six leading presidential candidates to commit, so that no matter who won the elections, the future president and their administration would be under substantial pressure to follow through on those commitments.

The other key audience is that which has the power to influence those principal actors. In the advocacy campaign, this audience was made up of the political class in general and some civil society institutions, such as the media and business leaders with influence on the political agenda. The idea was to approach these sectors to be spokespersons, replicating and amplifying the basic message of the advocacy campaign.

The general public, or the electorate that the candidates sought to convince, was another target audience. The campaign depended on citizens directly "asking" candidates. In other words, it was citizens, not just UNICEF and its allies, who were to be the mechanism to put pressure on the candidates.

Osorio says the idea was to have an influence by all possible means, to position the issue in the public's mind. "The idea was that wherever they were, the candidates and their teams of advisers felt there was a genuine concern for the welfare of children and adolescents, and there was a need to articulate and offer an electoral political program with the face of a child and an adolescent," said Osorio.^{vi}

IV. Building Alliances

From the beginning, UNICEF had understood that they could not wage a campaign of this nature by themselves. As a first step, they set out to build a common platform including a variety of civil society organizations working on issues around children and adolescents. This platform would expand the diverse 'faces' of the campaign, and the ability to advocate and

disseminate the messages. In a second phase, they expanded their partnerships with broader reach, to include media and celebrities.

Core allies: The Front for Children and Adolescents

In early 2012, efforts began to create what would later be called the Front for Children and Adolescents, a coalition comprised of a variety of national and international organizations active in promoting the rights of children and adolescents in Paraguay. This group became the cornerstone for the development of the different thematic areas of the campaign. These partnerships sought to activate these institutions to contribute to and strengthen the initiative, based around existing activities and channels of outreach.

The Front was composed of a range of organizations, and in that diversity came great strength. UNICEF was joined by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which deepened the international, UN linkage. International NGOs, also with longstanding reputations globally, like Save the Children and the Canadian Christian Children's Fund (CCFC) were bolstered by national organizations with clout for their work in Paraguay, including the Center for Information and Resources for Development (CIRD), the Coordinator for the Rights of Children and Adolescents (CDIA), Plan Paraguay, and Fundación Teletón. Later, additional local organizations joined the Front, including Fundación Dequení, Juntos por la Educación, Paraguay Educa and Asociación Trinidad. While UNICEF led on communication outreach and advocacy interventions, direct contact with the candidates was made jointly by The Front for Children and Adolescents. Those partners also played a key role in amplifying the messaging, adding a deep local platform for advocacy and providing close contact with the public by hosting public forums and meetings with children and adolescents.

Partner meetings of the Front were held regularly and led by UNICEF. Together, the partners designed the campaign, agreed on specific issues, defined strategies, and decided immediate next steps. "Working as a coalition allowed them to have a multiplier effect with the impact of each action and communication, because the organizations that made up the Front went back to their own constituencies and replicated the messages, gaining momentum for the campaign, similar to a snowball effect," explained Osorio. They worked in a coordinated way from the start, always seeking collaboration, joint efforts, and mutual support in the activities of the participants. Each organization included the common actions of the Front in their own work plan based on the jointly-designed strategies.

Once consolidated, the Front began looking for key alliances with other sectors of civil society, such as the private sector, the media, and other NGOs.

Broadening partnerships to media, business and celebrities

UNICEF Paraguay formed a Business Advisory Council with a group of businessmen and women committed to the cause, made up of major industry leaders. With their help, the Front could relate to the business sector and present evidence and messages to business groups that later provided their support to the campaign. This Council facilitated meetings with political leaders and provided advice on various aspects of the communication campaign. The Council also helped form alliances with key think tanks that were working on promoting debates on other issues on the electoral agenda, especially on economic issues.

Alliances with media and journalists were also key. UNICEF and the Front launched an awareness-raising strategy to join the initiative. They organized visits to various media outlets and journalists to explain the objectives of the campaign and the importance of investing in childhood and adolescence. With support from UNFPA and the Global News Agency *Global Infancia*, they had breakfasts and lunches with high-profile journalists. Elcarte, who presided over this process, said that journalists were specifically asked to promote media coverage around children and adolescents, but in political sections rather than just the social ones. The effort yielded results. Soon the news about the issues of childhood and adolescence, UNICEF, the Front and the campaign were featured more centrally in the news, including in the context of politics and economics.

With the aim of reaching the greatest number of people possible, UNICEF and the Front also formed an alliance with a group of Paraguayan celebrities, who lent their faces to campaign advertisements. For instance, Menchi Barriocanal, a popular radio and television host and UNICEF ambassador in Paraguay, actively participated in the campaign "Ask your Candidate." Barriocanal gained visibility for the campaign by explaining it in her own words: "It is important that the issue of child and adolescent rights run through all our lives. One can't depend on state authorities or electoral moments alone."^{vii} It's the voices of diverse personalities and institutions that give life to a campaign, reinforcing the same message from new perspectives.

V. The Campaign's Messages: Putting Children on the Agenda

An effective message in an advocacy campaign consists of two parts: one has to do with the content of the message, and the other with the way in which it is communicated. First, the message content must reflect the importance of the issue. The way in which that message is communicated is often more effective when it has a more human – and less technical – dimension, although the degree to which that is done is also dependent on the target audience. In general, it is critical to communicate not only what the campaign is aiming for, but for the audience to feel the importance of *why* it is so critical to achieve this goal. The campaign "Ask your Candidate" worked both of these angles.

The content of the campaign's messages

UNICEF and the Front worked around a single core message, from which unfolded other supporting, secondary messages.

1. *Paraguay must invest in its children if it is to ensure an equitable and sustainable path of development.*

This principal message made the direct link between the well-being of children and the economic and social development of the country. In February 2013, the platform presented a paper entitled *Investing in Children: a Prerequisite for Equitable and Sustainable Economic and Social Development*. The document laid out the argument for investing in children and adolescents and that it is, in fact, the most profitable investment a country can make to improve its economic growth and development. The failure to do so would be costly. It explained that in order to enable Paraguay's development, it is essential to activate their full human potential, and for this reason, it must invest in its children and adolescents, to ensure they are healthy, nourished, protected and educated.

2. *Candidates cannot address economic development without accounting for the well-being of children.*

UNICEF and the Front shared a human development approach in which people are at the center of development. However, it was strategic to adapt the message with language directly linking it to economic development in order to position it in the electoral debate, where economic issues were usually given priority.

The *Investing in Children* paper became the primary campaign tool for partners to articulate this connection. It emphasized that children are the key to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. It is necessary to transform this vicious circle into a virtuous circle, insofar as all children exercise their fundamental rights. Investing in them is not a matter of charity, it is an economic development strategy. No country that neglects their children and adolescents can achieve sustained economic growth. A nurtured childhood, with good health and a secure environment combats the potential for violence and abuse, and constitutes the most fertile ground for learning the skills that will enable them to be full and productive adults.

This messaging was particularly important for partners when approaching candidates and parties who focused heavily on economic discourses, especially on the 'trickle-down' argument, whose premise is that if the country improves economically, vulnerable populations will also benefit. UNICEF and the Front asked "What is being done in the meantime?" They promoted the view that one could achieve both goals simultaneously.

3. *To ensure real action by the new President, candidates must commit to specific targets on investment in children and institutionalize a way to keep the government accountable to those commitments.*

Based on the paper *Investing in Children*, a document of '20 Commitments to Children,' was created, directed at the presidential candidates, to be publicly signed. Those commitments included specific demands such as increasing investment in children up to 7% of GDP by 2018. It also offered detailed indicators and targets that candidates pledged to fulfill on issues ranging from education to nutrition and civil registration. It also demanded that a formal report be issued by the President every year on Children's Day (August 16) to inform the public on the advances made on the 20 Commitments.

Construction and communication of messages

Once the content of messaging is clear, it is necessary to find the most effective way to communicate those messages. Message development was considered within the communication strategy of the campaign from the beginning. It pinpointed the most sensitive issues for society in relation to children and adolescents. From there, emerged a number of issues such as health, education, and civil registration. A situational analysis was prepared for each sector to provide empirical evidence on each topic. From this, they developed a coherent narrative, in addition to monitoring indicators that could help the campaign follow-up on the commitments they requested of the candidates.

In the crafting of messages, they were careful to avoid talking in highly technical terms, such as "25% of children are not recorded in the civil registry." Instead, they kept those messages more human by saying, "1 in 4 children in Paraguay is not recorded in the civil registry. With no legal identity, children cannot access basic rights such as health care." In doing so, they could appeal to the public's sensibilities, convey something palpable that connected the public to the message. The idea was to put the face of a child on the numbers.

The campaign "Ask your Candidate" created a structure by which these messages would provoke voters to pose questions directly to the candidates. For example, the campaign would ask, "Did you know that in Paraguay, one in four children has no birth certificate? What will your candidate do? Ask them!"

For Elcarte, the essential aspect of all messaging by UNICEF and the Front was to draw the public away from the technical details and ground their communication in real-world language, so that people felt connected to the issue. The public needed to feel genuinely touched by the problem, and at the same time empowered to take action by asking their candidate.

VI. Taking Action

In June 2012, the campaign initiated their work with a baseline survey to fully understand what the public thinks about children's issues, and how much they cared about having those issues as part of the public agenda. The results strongly concluded that the public considered it important that presidential candidates include in their proposals programs to improve the situation of children and adolescents in the country. With that foundation, it was determined that a larger, public campaign would have the support it needed.

The main activities developed during the campaign included:

1. *The communication campaign "Ask your Candidate."*

The central pillar of the overall advocacy strategy was the communications campaign "Ask your Candidate" which was led and financed by UNICEF, with added financial support from members of the Front on specific communication activities and actions. The aim was to raise the awareness of candidates in the general elections and to win support and participation among the public as a whole.

All the work on forming alliances, messages, and publicity was reflected in the communication campaign. This included launching dozens of spots and public service announcements on television, radio and in movie theaters. Billboards were placed in the streets and on buses. There was also extensive work done to spread the message of the campaign across social media networks like Facebook and Twitter. All this outreach was united around the core message of the need to invest in children and adolescents. For this, they employed well-known faces of artists, models and sports celebrities to ask provocative questions to the public. For instance, Justo Villar, the famous goalkeeper in Paraguayan football (soccer) appeared in a short television ad asking "Did you know there are a million children living in poverty in Paraguay? What will your candidate do? Ask them!" Television personality Menchi Barriocanal offered a similar ad, while other popular singers and actors lent their face to the ad campaign with posters on city buses and along major streets.

The campaign asked the public to take direct action by asking their candidate these questions by text on their cellphones. Logistically, this was made possible through the support of a local cell phone company, which offered its platform so that anybody with a cell phone could interact directly with candidates on these issues. The phone user could choose from a menu of questions to ask a candidate how they were going to improve investment around children and adolescents and they would receive an immediate response from that candidate about their proposal.

The official launch of the communication campaign was held on February 14, 2013 with the participation of some of the celebrities who became the faces of the initiative, as well as representatives of organizations that are part of the Front for Children and Adolescents. From that day forward until Election Day – a period of about two months – they consistently broadcast those messages widely.

2. A national soccer game - without names

In March 2013, an opportunity arose for the campaign to reach an even greater audience – leveraging Paraguay’s national love for football (soccer). The moment came right in the middle of the communications campaign for “Ask your Candidate”: a major marketing agency approached UNICEF with an idea that would take the campaign one step further.

They proposed to take advantage of the Uruguayan and Paraguayan qualifying rounds for the Brazil 2014 World Soccer Championship and creatively draw attention, through the help of radio and television broadcasters, to engage the public in the “Ask your Candidate” campaign. The idea was to get the broadcasters, who were going to be covering the match, to not mention the names of the players during the first minutes of the game, just their numbers, to get the viewers' attention. This would lead to a climactic moment when the broadcasters could highlight the issue of civil registration for Paraguayan children.

Before the game, UNICEF and its partners brought in their celebrity ally and national football superstar, Justo Villar, to create a brief ad calling on football fans to pay close attention to the upcoming game, without letting on to what was actually going to happen. Social media picked up on the clue and word spread fast, drawing even more attention to the game and building the anticipation.

Finally, it was the day of the game. During the first minutes the sportscasters only mentioned the numbers of the players, making the audience uncomfortable, and then came an announcement that read: "Just as Paraguay’s football players need their names and nationality, we all need a name and a nationality. In Paraguay, one of every four children is not recognized by the civil registry. What does your candidate plan to do about this? Ask them."

The action made a big splash on social networks and several media outlets even did a story about it highlighting its originality and creativity. Recognition also came from abroad, where the action won eight international advertising awards at the Wave Festival, FIAP, and Cannes Lions.

3. Working with the candidates and the signing of the 20 Commitments

When all UN agencies arranged to make a joint visit to the major presidential candidates, UNICEF saw another opportunity to voice its messages. During these visits, UNICEF introduced the most critical issues, but also offered constructive recommendations for action. UNICEF and

the Front for Children and Adolescents were able to use this as a springboard to later hold meetings with the six major political teams where they could make the case for the presidential candidates to sign the commitments for improving the situation of children and adolescents.

According to Osorio, this careful advocacy targeting the candidates, personally, was important. It made the candidates understand that *not* being a part of this initiative was a political disadvantage. The top six major candidates asked to meet one-on-one with UNICEF, where each one signed the 20 Commitments, ensuring that these points would be included in their agendas if elected as President.

Once the commitments were signed, it was a major milestone that the campaign could then leverage in its publicity in the media and on social networks.

VII. The Results

The campaign "Ask your Candidate" and the strategy carefully constructed by UNICEF and the Front for Children and Adolescents yielded powerful results. The campaign was a success, the objectives were met and the commitments for future accountability surpassed the original goal.

As proposed in the 20 Commitments, on April 16, 2013, the elected President, Horacio Cartes, publicly affirmed his commitment to children and adolescents based on the guidelines of the campaign. Then, in coordination with UNICEF, the government incorporated proposals made by the campaign in its national development plan. Beyond that, starting in 2014, the President also began reporting on what the government was doing to improve the welfare of children – just as it was laid out in the 20 Commitments during the election. As originally envisioned by the campaign with UNICEF and the Front, the government was empowered and took ownership of the results of the campaign. For Joaquin Gonzalez-Aleman, the Regional Adviser on Social Policy at UNICEF's Regional Office for Latin America, the key element of the campaign – and a pointer for how all advocacy should work – was including that commitment to future accountability, not merely getting candidates to sign on to commitments in the middle of an election.^{viii} By slating a follow-up on the 20 Commitments, institutionalizing an accountability mechanism, the campaign ushered in an entirely new attitude toward investment in children.

VIII. The Campaign's Key Lessons

The Paraguay campaign offers up a set of valuable lessons for advocacy in the course of elections, but also for other forms of advocacy.

1. *Make the most of a unique opportunity: advocacy during elections*

Elections offer a unique opportunity for advocacy because they represent a rare moment of political openness, where commitment for change can take root. Advocacy during elections requires moving strategically in the political arena, and at the right moment. One of those moments is the pre-election period, when there is a greater responsiveness on the part of the candidates. However, that responsiveness translates to opportunity only if the legwork has been done to position the issue ahead of time in terms of public support. The idea is to generate a groundswell of public opinion and get the media and public figures talking about it so that candidates feel they must respond and take action.

Mónica Darer, Regional Specialist in Social Policy at UNICEF's regional office for Latin America, argues that the campaign's strategy-- to get all candidates to sign the commitments before the elections --was the foundation needed to gain real ground for further work.^{ix} In other cases, country offices have waited until a new government is in power, at which point they begin their advocacy efforts. At that point, it is often too late. Taking advantage of the electoral environment by getting candidates committed during their campaign period, prior to the elections, was the key.

2. *Build strategic and diverse alliances to create a strong platform for advocacy*

For Elcarte, the success of the campaign is largely due to the strength and breadth of the alliances. The creation of the Front for Children and Adolescents was the central pivot for the core partnerships where a range of institutions that address common issues could work together on a single platform with a single target. The sense of ownership and involvement in that platform, by all partners, was the secret to its cohesion and the depth of the common commitment. Also, there was a sense of complementarity across partners, which made each group feel valued and relevant to the common objective. Jorge Mendez and Rosanna Menchaca of Canadian Christian Fund for Children highlighted that "Sometimes the government pays more attention to international organizations such as UNICEF and not to the local institutions that are working on the issue."^x In this case, all parties, both UNICEF and the other organizations, valued the alliance with the other, a key element for the success of the campaign.

Beyond the Front's partnership, it was also important to form alliances with people and sectors from other fields who could contribute to the campaign from a different viewpoint. The Front strategically diversified its alliances with the media and the business sector, which proved critical in getting the issue positioned more broadly on the political and public agenda. One way of doing that was working with celebrities, which allowed messages to be replicated swiftly and effectively. Their reach through social networking amplified the messaging. And lending

their face to record short TV or radio spots was incredibly effective for taking the message to the public.

The structuring of these partnership points to an important lesson for advocacy: define the difference between core partners and broader allies. It is important not to mix worlds. That is, it is difficult to form a platform with institutions that work on children's issues along with entrepreneurs, the media and others whose primary goals are elsewhere. In the case of Paraguay, the idea was to create a platform with the necessary core actors and then seek alliances with very specific groups around particular issues or actions.

3. Put a child's face on the campaign's messaging – keep it human

Obviously numbers and percentages are important in crafting messages. The technical papers gave substance to the campaign when they were positioning the issue in the electoral environment and in the debate with the candidates' technical teams. However, one cannot put the issue on the public agenda and get the public interested just with messages full of figures and percentages. Messages must be simple and understandable, but powerful and direct. Above all they should bear a child's face. In that way, the message reaches the public not only by appealing to their logic and rationale, but also to their hearts and instincts about why it is important to take action on behalf of children.

The process of testing the public messages, before their release, was an important way to find out if the messages were effective. As Elcarte emphasized, the core partners needed a way to be sure what they were communicating was relevant to the real world and everyday experiences of the broader public.

4. Understand the political and social context and design the strategy to respond to that

It is important to conduct a very sound analysis of the political situation in the country before implementing something like the "Ask your Candidate" advocacy campaign. In the case of the Paraguayan elections, the political situation was ripe for this type of campaign because the contenders had more or less the same conditions and chances of winning. That allowed greater access to candidates, and to insert the issue of children and adolescents into the debate, because all candidates were jockeying to be as responsive as possible to their constituents.^{xi} When it is not clear who will win, the chance to generate debate is much greater.

In parallel to that, the perception of UNICEF, politically, is crucial to ensuring success. Political neutrality is essential. As was clear in the case of Paraguay, UNICEF's neutral position was what allowed them equal access to the candidates, and thus the ability to pressure them to take on the 20 Commitments. Part of the political analysis that shapes any advocacy strategy around

elections must take into account the perception of UNICEF – and its key partners – within the political context.

5. *Move strategically within the political arena*

Elcarte argues that UNICEF must engage in the political arena to have an impact, since it is in the political arena where decisions are made. The Paraguay case points to a key strategy for working in the political sphere: if there is a way to position the initial impact of an advocacy campaign to have greater resonance and sustainability in the political process over the longer-term, then there is a chance to gain ground for future advocacy goals.

The campaign had a chance to do this when it came to positioning the yearly reporting on the 20 Commitments that were ratified by the incoming President. In addition to having the commitments signed by the President in the Congress just following his inauguration, the campaign was also able to ensure that reporting on those commitments is delivered on an annual basis. This became a mechanism of alerting, on a regular basis, the representatives who have the power to decide on budget allocations to take action and increase investment in children and adolescents. The focus was less on the reporting itself and more on getting the issues repeatedly into the public and political space. As Osorio explained, a common phrase used among colleagues at UNICEF is “we know that with no budget, there are no rights.”^{xii} This was a crucial element of success: matching the popular commitments with an institutional requirement of reporting that would ensure the issues of children and adolescents would be consistently brought to the attention of public officials.

Conclusion

Advocacy in the midst of an electoral process offers an astounding level of potential for impact. It is also a context that requires careful and thoughtful strategy due to the short timeframe and complexities of political sensitivities. As the Paraguay case proves, when the right mix of strategy, messaging, and alliances are matched with appropriate timing and political openness, mountains can be moved. It was this advocacy campaign, and the persistent work of UNICEF Paraguay, that launched country into model-status on how to engage political authorities to take concrete action for the rights of children and adolescents. Just as it points to the great potential for engaging in elections, it also bids a warning to the care and analysis required for any intervention in an electoral process.

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ⁱ This case study is one in a series of four case studies commissioned by UNICEF on effective advocacy strategies. A note on methodology: the case studies were based on a review of background documents provided by UNICEF offices as well as information gathered through in-depth interviews with UNICEF staff who worked closely on the advocacy campaign. Where relevant, some case studies drew on interviews from partner organizations.

ⁱⁱ <http://datos.bancomundial.org/pais/paraguay>

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.unicef.org/paraguay/spanish/overview.html>

^{iv} Rosa Elcarte, Interview with the author, April 5 2016. Unless otherwise specified, subsequent quotes throughout the text by Elcarte are attributed to this same interview.

^v Andres Osorio, interview with the author, March 31 2016. Unless otherwise specified, subsequent quotes throughout the text by Osorio are attributed to this same interview.

^{vi} Andres Osorio, interview with the author, March 31 2016.

^{vii} Menchi Barriocanal, interview with the author, April 25 2016.

^{viii} Joaquín Gonzales and Mónica Darer, joint interview with the author, April 1 2016.

^{ix} Ibid.

^x Jorge Mendez and Rosanna Menchaca, joint interview with the author, April 21 2016.

^{xi} Rosa Elcarte, Interview with the author, April 5 2016.

^{xii} Andres Osorio, interview with the author, March 31 2016.