

LLYC
IDEAS

POLITICAL
FRAGMENTATION
AND THE
RECONFIGURATION
OF TERRITORIAL
POWER



PERU
OCTOBER 2026

Regional and Municipal Elections

2026 REGIONAL AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Political fragmentation and reconfiguration of territorial power

The elections on October 4 defined the country's new regional and municipal map for the period 2027 to 2030, with **13,148 elected authorities** across 25 regional governments and 1,892 mayors' offices (196 provincial and 1,696 district), in a day that reorganized political power across much of the territory.

The results also show that **territorial power does not necessarily follow the same logic as Congress**. Groups with little or no parliamentary representation obtained relevant positions in regions and municipalities, while others with greater national weight had a more limited performance. This anticipates a less linear relationship between the next Government and the authorities who will lead the country from the regions and cities.

Lima concentrates another of the main definitions left by the election. Renovación Popular is once again leading the capital, but the eventual return of Rafael López Aliaga to the mayor's office will depend on what the **National Jury of Elections (JNE)** decides regarding his candidacy as first councilor and the prohibition of immediate reelection. The controversy also opens up a discussion that goes beyond Lima and that must be clarified ahead of future processes.

The next challenge will be management. The new authorities will take office with **insecurity as a common concern** and in a period marked by the El Niño phenomenon of 2026 and 2027. Executing works, maintaining services, and responding to emergencies will require coordination with the Executive and will test the capacity for agreement between levels of government with different political priorities and bases.

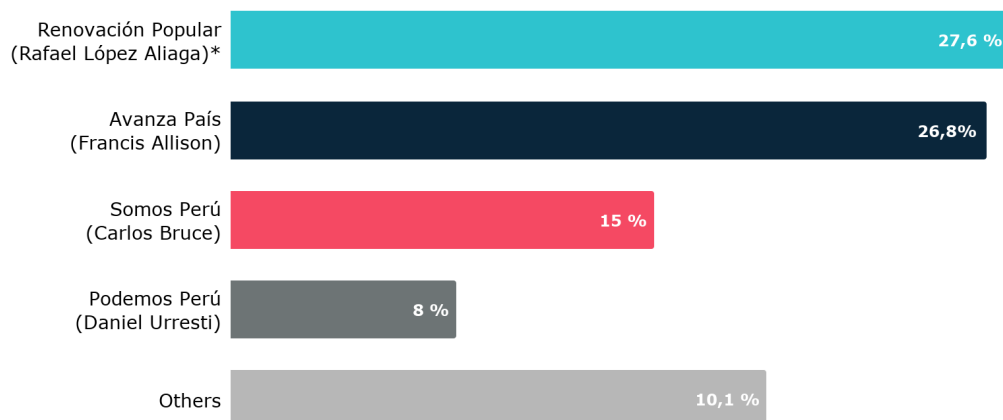


Renovación Popular retains Lima pending the JNE's decision

Rafael López Aliaga won the election in Lima leading the Renovación Popular list, in which he ran as **first councilor**, after Luis Rubio, the group's mayor candidate, resigned his candidacy. According to the official count at the close of this edition, Renovación Popular obtained **27.6%**, ahead of Francis Allison, of Avanza País, with **26.8%**; Carlos Bruce, of Somos Perú, with **15%**; and Daniel Urresti, of Podemos Perú, with **8%**. **The result keeps the party leading the municipality and opens the possibility for López Aliaga to return to the mayor's office.**

The situation of Renovación Popular presents a unique legal aspect. **Rafael López Aliaga ran as first councilor** after Luis Rubio, mayoral candidate for Lima, resigned his candidacy. Following the acceptance of the resignation, López Aliaga remained at the head of the list. In accordance with **Article 24 of the Organic Law of Municipalities**, in the event of a vacancy or absence of the mayor, the position corresponds to the first eligible councilor. His eventual return to the mayor's office will have to be defined by the **National Jury of Elections (JNE)**, given that **Article 194 of the Constitution prohibits the immediate re-election of mayors.**

ONPE Vote Count for Metropolitan Lima at 93% – Valid Votes



*Rafael López Aliaga runs as the first councilor of Renovación Popular for Metropolitan Lima. Following the resignation of his party's mayoral candidate, the National Jury of Elections (JNE) must determine if he can assume the mayoralty, considering he was elected to that position in 2022 and the Constitution prohibits immediate reelection.

Renovación Popular List for Metropolitan Lima



Rafael López Aliaga

Candidate for 1st councilor for Metropolitan Lima

Industrial engineer, businessman, and leader of Renovación Popular. He was a Lima councilor between 2007 and 2010, ran for Congress for Solidaridad Nacional in 2011, and was a presidential candidate in 2021 and 2026. He served as mayor of Lima between 2023 and 2025, when he resigned to run in the general elections. **As first councilor and head of the list, he would assume the mayoralty if the National Jury of Elections (JNE) rules in his favor.**



Jeanette Alonzo Contreras

Candidate for 2nd councilor for Metropolitan Lima

Public accountant from Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, with a Master's degree in Corporate Finance from Universidad Privada del Norte. She has been a Lima councilor since 2023 and is the central finance manager of Renovación Popular. She has worked as an accountant at Promotora Desarrollo, Educación y Cultura since 1996. **Due to her second place on the list, she would assume the mayoralty if the JNE determines that López Aliaga cannot hold office.**

Main Proposals for Lima

Citizen Security and Municipal Intelligence

Renovación Popular proposes allocating **S/ 100 million to municipal intelligence** and installing **10,000 cameras with artificial intelligence**. The proposal includes gantry structures with facial recognition and license plate reading at city entry points, specialized anti-extortion units, and increased lighting on metropolitan avenues. López Aliaga also proposed equipping the municipal security force (serenazgo) with weapons.

Mass Transit and Municipal Jurisdiction

The program envisions **continuing the railway project toward Chosica**, with a first stage between Downtown Lima and that district, and expanding the Metropolitano to Ancón, East Lima, and sectors of Barranco, Surco, and San Juan de Miraflores. It also proposes promoting Metro Lines 3 and 4. In parallel, it proposes **eliminating the Urban Transport Authority for Lima and Callao (ATU)** to return transport authority to the Municipality of Lima.

Road Infrastructure and Connectivity

The agenda includes **completing the Vía Expresa Sur, developing its second stage, and paving 600 kilometers of metropolitan roads**. Added to this are the five-kilometer expansion of the Ramiro Prialé highway, a tunnel in La Herradura to connect the Costa Verde with southern Lima, and grade separations at critical points on Angamos, El Derby, and Panamericana Sur. The party also proposes recovering the city's toll concessions.

Food, Emergency Water, and Health

The social proposal considers **allocating 10% of the municipal budget to communal kitchens and soup kitchens**, maintaining the Zero Hunger program, and expanding emergency water supply in the high areas of Lima. In health, it proposes opening more locations of the Hospital de la Solidaridad and adapting the San Vicente de Paúl shelter into a hospital specialized in care for children with disabilities.

District results

Processing of records at 94% on average

Ancón  Pablo Ramos Renovación Popular Administrator. Former deputy manager at the Municipality of Ancón (2019–2020) and former administrator of SERPAR (2023–2024). Has a served conviction for failure to provide family support and a court-ordered child support obligation set at 20%.	Ate  Manuel Vidal Avanza País Businessman. Father of current Ate mayor Franco Vidal. Convicted of pimping in 2007, serving an effective prison sentence.	Barranco  Manuel Espinoza Renovación Popular Sociologist. Experience as Municipal Manager of Barranco (2023–2026) and Surquillo (2015–2022). Listed as an accused party for intentional embezzlement.
Breña  Ivan Chang Avanza País Educator with a Master's degree in Public Management. Has experience as manager and deputy manager in the Municipality of Villa El Salvador.	Carabaylo  Nandy Córdova Renovación Popular Lawyer. Experience as manager at the Municipality of Santa Rosa and official at the Municipality of Lima. Former mayor of Carabaylo (2018) and former councilwoman (2015–2018).	Chaclacayo  Leonidas Altamirano Avanza País Civil engineer. Has held managerial positions in the municipalities of Huachupampa and Santa Eulalia, in addition to working as a specialist at the Municipality of Pueblo Libre and an expert at the Authority for Rebuilding with Changes (ARCC).
Chorrillos  Roberto Pizarro Renovación Popular Lawyer. Served as district councilor for two terms: 2015–2018 and 2019–2022. Has two upheld lawsuits against him for child support and domestic violence, both with payments fully fulfilled.	Cieneguilla  William Salazar Renovación Popular Administrator. Experience in communications and risk management at the Municipality of La Victoria. Founder of the local movement Renovación y Progreso in Cieneguilla.	Comas  Jean Paul Granados Renovación Popular Businessman with studies in communications. Former consultant at the Ministry of the Interior with experience in the private sector. Ran for mayor of Comas in 2022.
El Agustino  Richard Soria (PR) Podemos Perú Lawyer. Mayor of El Agustino for two terms: 2015–2018 and 2023–2026. Experience in banking and insurance.	Independencia  Alfredo Reynaga (PR) Somos Perú Economist. Mayor of Independencia (2023–2026). Former manager in the Municipality of Los Olivos and budget manager in Jesús María and La Molina. Former congressman. Sued in family court matters.	Jesús María  Luis Reátegui Somos Perú Lawyer. Experience in tax management and oversight at SUNAT and APCI. Served as deputy manager in the municipalities of Miraflores and Jesús María.
La Molina  Juan Carlos Zurek Somos Perú Administrator. Two-time mayor of La Molina (2011–2014 and 2015–2018), Metropolitan Councilman of Lima, and Secretary General of Somos Perú, with private sector experience as General Manager of Commercial Development at Global Factoring.	La Victoria  Susana Saldaña Renovación Popular Garment manufacturer, designer, and businesswoman (Moda & Trazos) with unfinished university studies in Law at Universidad Científica del Sur.	

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Lince



Jose Aliaga
Somos Perú
Communicator. Specialist in corporate marketing and communications, and district general secretary of Somos Perú in Lince. Has work experience in the private sector and as a technician in the Communications Office of Congress.

Los Olivos



Felipe Castillo A.
Avanza País
Surgeon. Two-time mayor of Los Olivos (2011–2014 and 2019–2022). Serves as internal auditor and chief medical officer in the private health sector. Has a 2019 criminal case on record in which he paid civil reparations to the State.

Lurigancho



Olimpio López
País Para Todos
Businessman. Serves as manager in companies in the construction and aggregates sector, and is district secretary of País Para Todos. Has no recorded experience in elected public office or convictions against him.

Lurín



Rosa Torrejón
Renovación Popular
Lawyer. Has served as regional manager of Social Development and subregional manager in the Regional Government of Lima, as well as deputy manager in the Municipality of Lima.

Magdalena del Mar



Carla Robbiano
Avanza País
Advertising technician. Manager at Armonía Producciones SAC. Recorded a 2010 ruling in South Florida (USA) involving 4 days of detention and a fine for failure to declare. Has ownership/business participation in various corporate entities.

Miraflores



Jorge Muñoz
Avanza País
Lawyer. Former mayor of Miraflores (2011–2018) and Metropolitan Lima (2019–2022). Experience as a business advisor and consultant.

Pachacámac



Guillermo Pomez
Somos Perú
Former mayor of Pachacámac (2019–2022) and Metropolitan Lima councilman (2023–2026), concurrently serving in leadership roles within his party, including district general secretary of Pachacámac. Reports private sector participation through business enterprises.

Pucusana



Enrique Manco
Frente de la Esperanza 2021
Systems engineer. Public sector experience as Head of the Information Technology Office at OEFA.

Pueblo Libre



José Casas
Avanza País
Military officer and educator. Served as National Director of Recreation and Sports Promotion at the IPD and has held various managerial positions in citizen security and defense in Surco and Magdalena del Mar.

Puente Piedra



Esteban Monzón
Renovación Popular
Civil engineer. Former district mayor of Puente Piedra (2011–2014) and manager of Urban Development at the Municipality of Los Olivos. Founder of Renacimiento Unido Nacional.

Punta Hermosa



Max Ampuero
Somos Perú
Administrator, with professional experience as a municipal official in Punta Hermosa and Punta Negra. District general secretary of Somos Perú.

Punta Negra



Jose Delgado
Perú Moderno
Bachelor's degree in Law and business administration technician. Former district councilman of Punta Negra (2019–2022) and general manager in the transportation sector. Has a recorded child support lawsuit in the judicial system.

Rímac



Isabel Ayala
Renovación Popular
Administrator. Former manager of Human Development at the Municipality of Lima. Served as municipal manager in Independencia and deputy manager in Comas, in addition to serving as district councilwoman of Rímac (2015–2018).

San Bartolo



Rufino Enciso
Somos Perú
Bachelor's degree in Education and teacher of culture and sports. Former district mayor of San Bartolo (2019–2022). Founder of the political organization Gestión Transparente San Bartolo Lima.

San Borja



Javier Díez
Renovación Popular
Administrator. Former manager of Community Participation at the Municipality of San Borja with work experience as a business manager and consultant in the private sector.

LLORENTE Y CUENCA

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San Isidro



Javier Paino

Renovación Popular
Medical specialist and neurosurgeon. Independent physician and former district councilman of San Isidro (2015–2018).

San Juan de Lurigancho



Jesús Maldonado (PR)

Somos Perú
Bachelor's degree in Political Science, current district mayor of SJL (2023–2026). Former SJL councilman (2011–2014), parliamentary advisor for Somos Perú, and technical consultant for various municipalities in Lima and Callao.

San Juan de Miraflores



Edgar Mejía

Frente de la Esperanza 2021
Specialized in public procurement. Works as an independent consultant and administrative advisor following an extensive career in public entities, including the Ministry of Defense and OEFA.

San Luis



Víctor Alegría

Avanza País
Bachelor's degree in Business Art and Design with completed Master's degree studies in Business Sciences. Has experience in the private sector.

San Martín de Porres



Omar Jaime

Renovación Popular
Lawyer. Specialized in public management, former manager of Legal Advisory in Chacabayo and advisor in the Congress of the Republic.

San Miguel



Marcos Cabrera

Renovación Popular
Journalist. Former district councilman of San Miguel (2019–2022) and current official at the Parks Service of Lima (SERPAR).

Santa Anita



Eduardo Rimachi

Avanza País
Administrator. Manager in the construction sector. Has two suspended criminal sentences for the crimes of usurpation and negligent injury, both with sentences served.

Santa María del Mar



Jorge Vásquez

Partido Popular Cristiano
Independent commercial advisor and real estate agent with a specialized diploma from ESAN.

Santa Rosa



Tanus Barraza

Acción Popular
Lawyer. Independent criminal defense attorney. Running for mayor under Acción Popular after resigning from Somos Perú in 2014.

Surco



Arturo Bobbio

Somos Perú
Lawyer. Mayoral advisor at the Municipality of Surco. Has previous experience as a ministerial advisor at MINAM and Migraciones.

Surquillo



José Huamán

Avanza País
Lawyer and former district mayor of Surquillo (2011–2018). Has served as legal advisor in various municipalities. Has a suspended criminal sentence for aggravated usurpation (usurpación agravada) in which he is listed as rehabilitated.

Villa El Salvador



Marcelino Huamán

Alianza para el Progreso
Lawyer. Former district councilman of Villa El Salvador (2003–2006) and general manager of his consulting firm. Has two criminal convictions for crimes against public trust and an upheld contractual lawsuit in enforcement proceedings.

Villa María del Triunfo



Robert Ludeña

Renovación Popular
Technician in Metallic Construction Mechanics. Has served as coordinator of the Ecological Park at the Municipality of La Molina and as manager of the private school IEP Howard Gardner School.

Regional results that will mark the agenda

The Executive will need agreements with regional authorities capable of executing public works and responding to the El Niño phenomenon

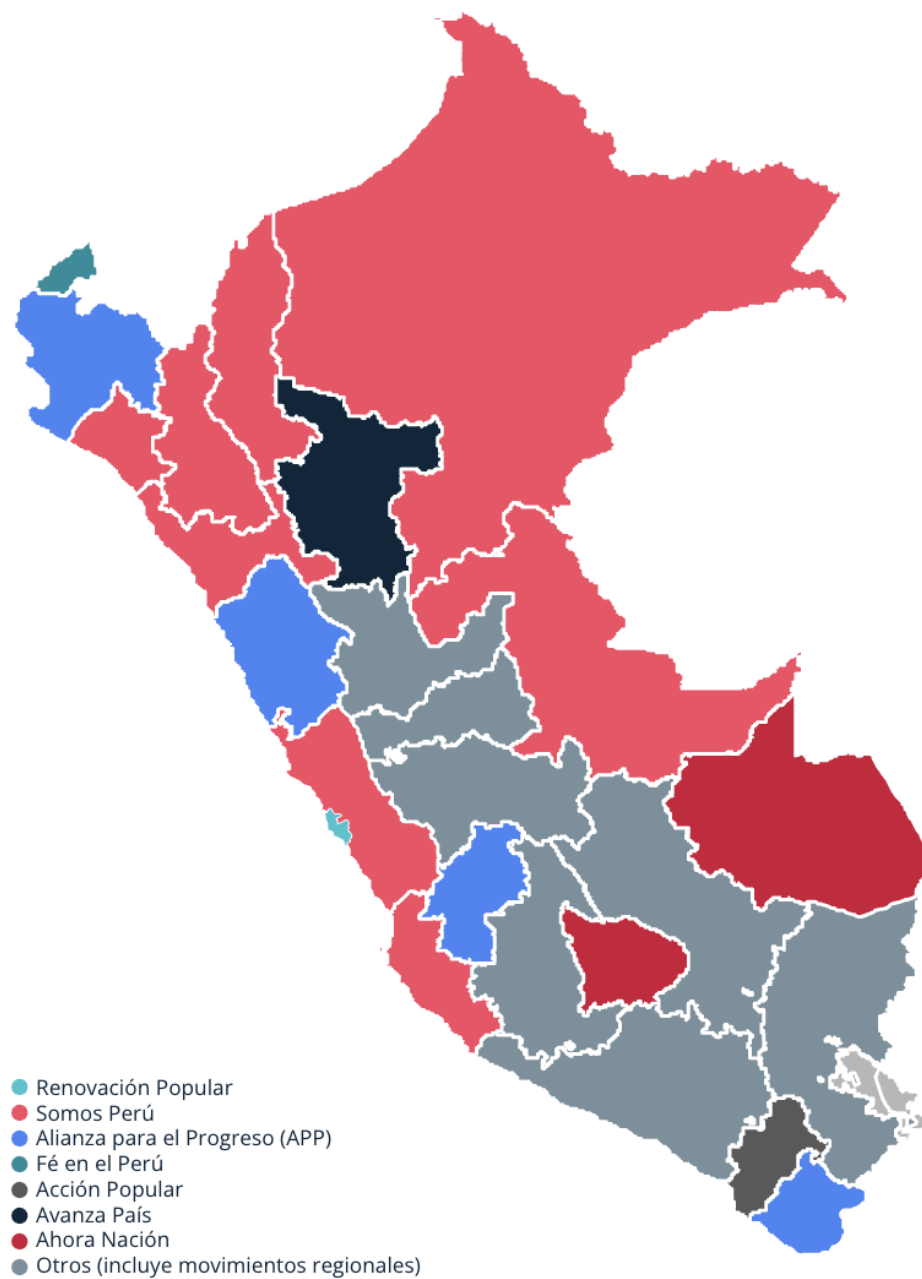
As of the closing of this report, **Somos Perú leads in the largest number of regions**, although it faces the cancellation of its registration in 2027 for failing to clear the electoral threshold in the general elections. Its subnational results do not alter that legal situation. A similar situation occurs with other groups that were left out of Congress, but which today obtain a relevant presence in regions and municipalities. **Ahora Nación appears among the exceptions**, combining parliamentary representation with strong territorial performance. Fuerza Popular does not lead any of the eight regions analyzed, while Renovación Popular leads in Callao.

This new political map will force the Executive to coordinate investments, works, and conflict management with authorities from different political forces, several of them lacking the backing of a congressional caucus. That relationship will be especially important in light of the **2026 and 2027 El Niño phenomenon**, which will require new administrations to execute preventive works, maintain basic services, and respond to emergencies right from the start of their mandate. Their response capacity will also define their relationship with the Government and the visibility they can gain nationwide.



Regional overview

Parties that obtained 1st place



Results in main regions up to 10/06

Arequipa | There will be a second round

Alfredo Zegarra - Fuerza Arequipeña - 26,22 %

Doctor and former provincial mayor of Arequipa. Proposes a **regional road infrastructure plan**, with bypasses, peripheral corridors, and improved access to Matarani, Camaná, and Puno to remove heavy transport from urban areas.

Jenry Huisa · Ahora Nación - 14,45 %

Administrator and former mayor of Majes. Proposes enabling **an additional 10,000 hectares in Majes-Siguas**, reactivating halted works, and constructing reservoirs, channels, and packing centers to strengthen agricultural production.

Callao | First round winner

Pedro Spadaro - Renovación Popular - 51,7 %

Lawyer, former congressman, and former mayor of Ventanilla and the Province of Callao. His **Plan Callao** prioritizes security, infrastructure, health, and education. He proposes integrating district cameras into a regional surveillance system, incorporating artificial intelligence and drones, and coordinating interventions with municipalities.

Cusco | First round winner

Verónica Mendoza - Venceremos - 30,58 %

Psychologist, former congresswoman, and former presidential candidate. Proposes promoting the **renegotiation of the Camisea contracts** and greater state participation in gas. Her agenda includes strengthening Chinchero airport, conserving Machu Picchu, and supporting local cacao supply chains and craftsmanship.

Ica | First round winner

Juan Mendoza Uribe - Somos Perú - 30,94 %

Teacher and former provincial mayor of Pisco. He proposes constructing **four dams in the Pisco river basin and the Tambo dam** to expand water availability. He also plans to strengthen specialized hospital care and manage three grade separations on the Panamericana Sur in Ica.

La Libertad | There will be a second round

Aldo Carlos Mariños - Somos Perú - 24,39 %

Agricultural engineer and former mayor of Pataz. Proposes putting the video surveillance center into operation, expanding the Sub-officers School, and unblocking hospitals. In agriculture, he proposes promoting the **third stage of Chavimochic** and building reservoirs and channels.

Elías Rodríguez - Podemos Perú - 23,93 %

Lawyer and former congressman. Proposes a special intelligence group against crime and a **S/ 90 million command center**, financed through Works for Taxes. He also proposes completing stalled hospitals, including those in Otuzco and Virú.

Moquegua | There will be a second round

Abraham Cárdenas - Acción Popular - 25,84 %

Former mayor of Mariscal Nieto and San Antonio. Proposes creating jobs through **works by direct administration**, co-financing projects with municipalities, and incorporating young professionals into positions according to their training.

Juan Luis Herrera Chejo - Somos Perú - 25,28 %

Doctor and former regional director of Health of Moquegua. Prioritizes improving health services and addressing the effects of **environmental pollution on health**. His proposal includes agricultural development, road infrastructure, and merit-based selection of officials.

Piura | There will be a second round

Reynaldo Hilbck - APP - 21,51 %

Industrial engineer and former governor of Piura. Proposes expanding access to water through **treatment plants and new wells**, completing hospitals, and improving road connectivity between provinces.

Santiago Paz - Somos Perú - 18,71 %

Businessman with experience in agricultural cooperatives. Proposes recovering **550 million cubic meters of water storage** in Poechos and other reservoirs, unblocking the Alto Piura project, and completing four stalled hospitals.

An uneven result outside Parliament

Fuerza Popular once again falls below its national weight when the competition moves to regions and municipalities. **The party obtains 31 mayor's offices and no governorships**, a trend that had already been seen in previous processes: between 2010 and 2022 it only won three regional governments, all in 2014. **Ahora Nación achieves the best result among parties with representation in Congress**, with two governorships and 150 mayor's offices. Renovación Popular adds one governorship and 83 mayor's offices, while Juntos por el Perú reaches 48 mayor's offices, Buen Gobierno obtains one, and Obras none. **Beyond party brands, results continue to depend heavily on the weight of each candidate and the political networks built in each territory.**

In Lima, Renovación Popular prevails again with a vote very similar to that of 2022, although with some internal changes such as the improved support in North and South Lima and a decline in West Lima. Alianza para el Progreso (APP), for its part, loses ground in La Libertad and Trujillo, although it maintains options in other territories, such as Piura. The presence of regional movements is also reduced, after several of their leaders switched to national parties given the risk that Congress would eliminate these organizations. That movement also explains part of the growth of national parties, which today bring together candidates with different trajectories, local bases, and priorities.

PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL GROUPS WITH CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION

As of 10/06

PARTY CAUCUS	SEATS	GOVERNORS	MAYORALTIES	OTHER	TOTAL
Fuerza Popular	41 deputies 22 senators	0	34	209	243
Juntos por el Perú	32 deputies 14 senators	0	50	279	329
Renovación Popular	15 deputies 8 senators	1	96	700	797
Buen Gobierno	18 deputies 7 senators	0	1	14	15
OBRAS	14 deputies 5 senators	0	0	9	9
Ahora Nación	10 deputies 4 senators	2	166	866	1,034

Conclusions

Governance is also defined in the regions

The Government must agree on public works, budgets, and priorities with authorities who have their own agendas. **Verónica Mendoza could leverage her administration in Cusco to regain national projection and exert opposition**, especially regarding her proposals on Camisea. Furthermore, the new authorities will take office in the midst of the 2026–2027 El Niño phenomenon, with the need to maintain prevention works and respond to emergencies from their first days in office. Their ability to execute resources and sustain basic services will mark their relationship with the Executive and their chances of expanding political support.

The ruling party's result reinforces the need for these agreements. **Fuerza Popular obtains, so far, 31 mayor's offices and no governorships**, an outcome that prolongs its historical difficulties in subnational elections. Its weight in the Presidency and Congress lacks an equivalent territorial presence. To advance its agenda, the Executive will also depend on agreements with authorities from other political groups, whose decisions will be conditioned by the demands of their regions.

Lima remains Renovación Popular's main stronghold

Renovación Popular holds on to the capital with a narrow lead over Francis Allison and a vote tally close to that of 2022. López Aliaga's municipal administration and the exposure from his 2026 presidential campaign do not appear to have substantially expanded his support in Lima, which may reflect a certain level of fatigue. Although the party makes gains in Callao, **its main political base remains concentrated in the capital**. Furthermore, the continuity of its leader at the helm of the municipality remains pending: the National Jury of Elections (JNE) must determine whether he can assume office as first councilor, given the constitutional prohibition on immediate reelection, or if the position falls to Jeanette Alonzo, second councilor on the list.

The debate on reelection goes beyond Lima

The election left open a controversy that the **National Jury of Elections (JNE)** will have to resolve. The Constitution prohibits the immediate reelection of mayors, but municipal legislation states that, in the absence of the mayor, the first councilor assumes office. This

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allowed authorities elected in 2022 to run again as first councilors and be in a position to assume the mayoralty again if the main candidate resigned. **The scope of this possibility should have been defined before the vote**, so that voters had clarity on who could ultimately hold office.

Until the closing of this report, **131 mayors elected in 2022 ran as first councilors in their own constituencies, and 19 could assume the mayoralty again through this route**. The case leaves an unresolved definition for future processes: it will be necessary to specify whether the prohibition on immediate reelection also applies to those who return to office through municipal succession or, if reelection is to be permitted, to modify the Constitution. Added to this is a political scenario in which **the Government will have to coordinate with authorities from different forces**, given the ruling party's still limited territorial presence.



Authors

Germán Pariente

South Latam General Director

german.pariente@llyc.global

Yennyfer Freyre

Peru General Director

yfreyre@llyc.global

Juan Ignacio Di Meglio

Corporate Affairs Sr. Director & Lead, Latam South

jdimeglio@llyc.global

Adriano Shimabukuro

Corporate Affairs Consultant

adriano.shimabukuro@llyc.global

GLOBAL MANAGEMENT

Francisco Sánchez-Rivas

President of LLYC
fjsanchezrivas@llyc.global

Alejandro Romero

Partner & Global CEO
aromero@llyc.global

Adolfo Corujo

Partner & Business development, global innovation & AI hub
acorujo@llyc.global

Tiago Vidal

Partner & Global Chief Operating Officer
tvidal@llyc.global

Marta Guisasola

Partner & Global Chief Financial Officer
mguisasola@llyc.global

Arturo Pinedo

Partner & Chief Client Officer
apinedo@llyc.global

Carmen Fernández

Global People & Culture Head
carmen.fernandez@llyc.global

Albert Medrán

Global Brand & ESG Head
amedran@llyc.global

EUROPE

Jorge López Zafra

Partner & General Manager of Europe and Brussels
jlopez@llyc.global

Gemma Gutiérrez

General Manager of Europe and Brussels
gemma.gutierrez@llyc.global

Iñaki Ortega

Managing Director of Madrid
iortega@llyc.global

María Cura

Partner & President of Barcelona
iortega@llyc.global

Ángels Chacón

Managing Director of Barcelona
angels.chacon@llyc.global

Ángel Álvarez Alberdi

Managing Director of Brussels
angel.alberdi@llyc.global

Amparo García

Managing Director of Zeus by LLYC in Valencia
amparo.garcia@llyc.global



Tiago Vidal

Partner & General Manager of Portugal and Brazil
tvidal@llyc.global

Marlene Gaspar

Managing Director of Lisbon
mgaspar@llyc.global

UNITED STATES

Luisa García

Partner of LLYC
lgarcia@llyc.global

Mike Houston

General Manager of the USA and Managing Director of Detroit, Michigan, Miami, New York, Grand Rapids, and Phoenix.
mike.houston@llyc.global

LATIN AMERICA

David González Natal

Partner & General Manager of Mexico
dgonzalez@llyc.global

Blanca Juana Gómez

Managing Director of Mexico
blancajuana.gomez@llyc.global

Andrés Ortíz

Partner, General Manager of Colombia and Managing Director of Bogota
andres.ortiz@llyc.global

María Esteve

Partner & General Manager of the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Ecuador
mesteve@llyc.global

Teresa Rey

Managing Director of Panama
trey@llyc.global

Iban Campo

Managing Director of Santo Domingo
icampo@llyc.global

Andrea Elizabeth Suárez

Managing Director of Quito
asuarez@llyc.global

Germán Pariente

General Manager of Peru, Chile, and Argentina and Managing Director of Chile
german.pariente@llyc.global

María Eugenia Vargas

Managing Director of Buenos Aires
mevargas@llyc.global

Yennyfer Freyre

Managing Director of Lima
yfreyre@llyc.global

Tiago Vidal

Partner & General Manager of Portugal and Brazil
tvidal@llyc.global

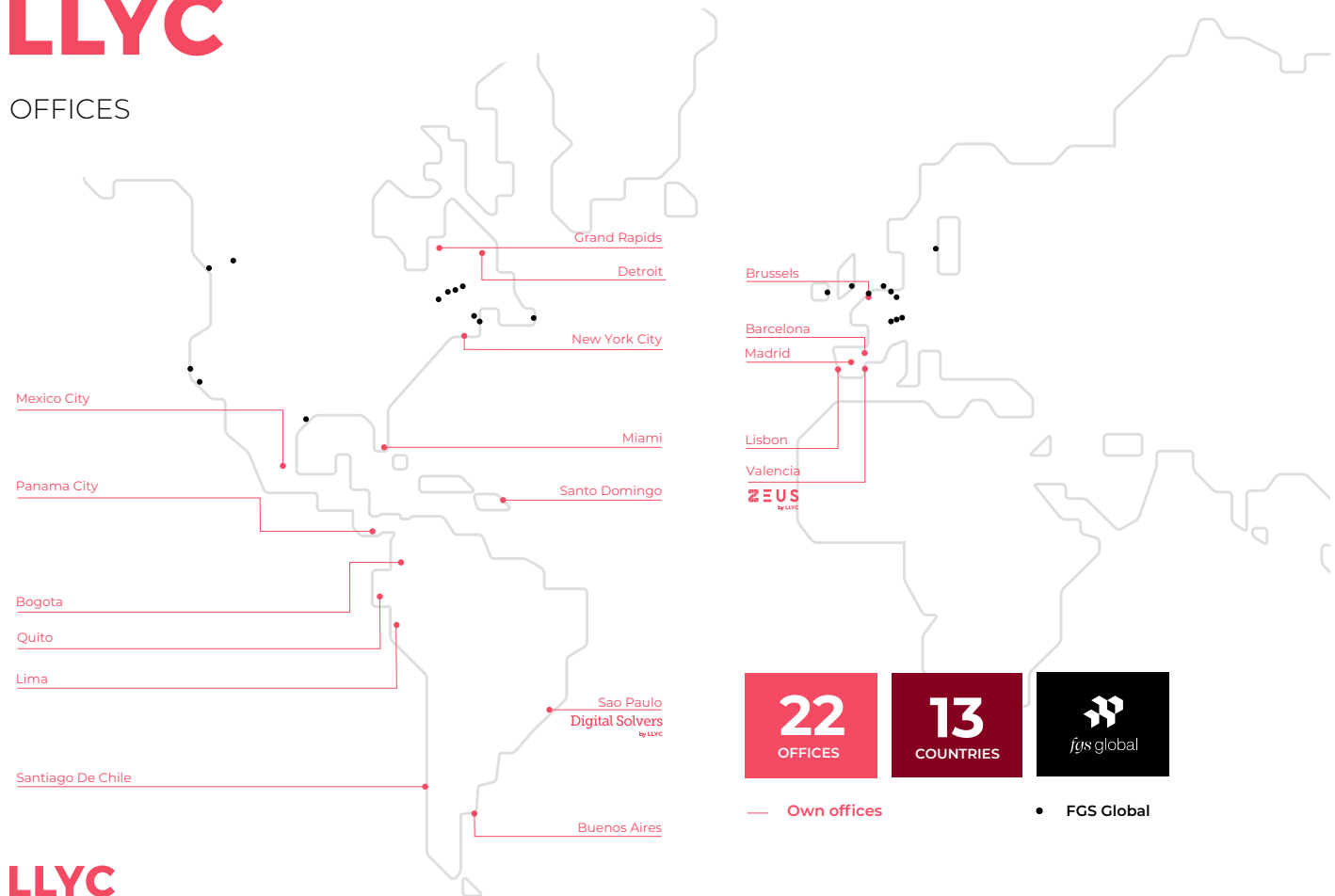
Diego Adolfo Olavarria

Managing Director of Sao Paulo
dolavarria@llyc.global

Guilherme Corrêa Neto

Managing Director of Digital Solvers by LLYC in Sao Paulo
guilherme.correa@llyc.global

Digital Solvers
by LLYC



LLYC

Madrid

Lagasca, 88 - planta 3
28001 Madrid, Spain
Tel. +34 91 563 77 22

C/ Almagro 25
28010, Madrid, Spain
Tel. +34 913 506 508

Barcelona

Muntaner, 240-242, 1º-1ª
08021 Barcelona, Spain
Tel. +34 93 217 22 17

Lisbon

Avenida da Liberdade nº225, 5º Esq.
1250-142 Lisbon, Portugal
Tel. + 351 21 923 97 00

Brussels

Rue Belliard 40, 1040 Brussels,
Belgium
(+32) 488619354

Miami

600 Brickell Avenue, Suite 2125
Miami, FL 33131
United States
Tel. +1 786 590 1000

New York

Tel. +1 786 590 1000

Grand Rapids

47 Commerce Ave SW,
Grand Rapids, MI 49503,
United States
Tel. +1 616 233 0500

Detroit

1420 Broadway, First Floor,
Detroit, Michigan 48226,
United States
Tel. +1 313 309 9500

Phoenix

7201 N Dreamy Draw Dr,
Phoenix, Arizona 85020,
United States
Tel. +1 480 764 1880

MEXICO CITY

Av. Paseo de la Reforma 412
Piso 14. Colonia Juárez
Alcaldía Cuauhtémoc
CP 06600, Mexico City
Tel. +52 55 5257 1084

Av. Santa Fe 505, Piso 15,
Lomas de Santa Fe,
CDMX 01219, Mexico
Tel. +52 55 4000 8100

Panama

Sortis Business Tower
Piso 9, Calle 57
Obarrio - Panama
Tel. +507 206 5200

Santo Domingo

Corporativo 2010, Suite 1101,
de la Avenida Gustavo Mejía Ricart
#102, en Piantini, Santo Domingo.
Tel. +1 809 6161975

Bogotá

Av. Calle 82 # 9-65 Piso 4
Bogotá D.C. - Colombia
Tel. +57 1 7438000
Carrera 9 # 79A -19, piso 3,
Bogotá, Colombia
Tel: (+57) 60 1 651 52 00

Lima

Av. Andrés Reyes 420, piso 7
San Isidro, Peru
Tel. +51 1 2229491

Quito

Edificio IQON - Av. de los Shyris
N34-152 y Suecia (Sector La
Carolina). Oficina 223. Ecuador
Tel. +593 2 2565820

Sao Paulo

Rua Oscar Freire, 379, Cj 111
Cerqueira César SP - 01426-001
Brazil
Tel. +55 11 3060 3390

Buenos Aires

Av. Corrientes 222, piso 8
C1043AAP, Argentina
Tel. +54 11 5556 0700
El Salvador 5635, Buenos Aires
CP. 1414 BQE, Argentina

Santiago de Chile

Avda. Pdte. Kennedy 4.700,
Piso 5, Vitacura
Santiago
Tel. +56 22 207 32 00
Tel. +562 2 245 0924

Base 1 La Marina de, C. de la
Travesía, s/n, Poblados Marítimos,
46024 Valencia
Telf: +34 960 62 73 97

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Rua Oscar Freire, 379, Cj 111
Cerqueira César SP - 01426-001
Brazil
Tel. +55 11 3060 3390

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