

BACHELOR THESIS

Protest movements in Peru and the role of political
opportunity structures

**What explains the character, the activities, and the impact
of the recent protest movements in Peru ?**

Emily Liz Kaffka

University of Twente Academic year 2022/23
Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Science
Public Governance across Borders
First Supervisor: Dr Guus Meershoek
Second Supervisor: Dr. Ola El-Taliawi
Word count: 11.833
Date: 28.06.2023

Abstract

Since the impeachment of Peru's former president Pedro Castillo on December 7th, 2022, the country has been subject to the emergence of violent anti-governmental protest movements across the nation. Given the actuality of the event, it seems suitable and relevant to investigate the context of the protest movements. The bachelor thesis deals with the research question *What explains the character, the activities and the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?* It is assumed that why people protest and if their demands are successful, is influenced by the political opportunity structures (POS) of a country. The theory of POS by Kitschelt will serve as an orientation to investigate the case. The research question is answered in a case study by applying a qualitative approach due to the exploratory nature of the research question. The data consists of a literature review and 6 in-depth interviews with relevant local stakeholders. The findings show that the protest movements are explained by the inability of the political system to offer citizens access and to address their basic needs. While the theory provides guidance, it lacks in fully reflecting Peru's structural peculiarities.

Table of content

- 1. Introduction 1
- 2. Introduction to Peru’s reality..... 2
- 3. Theory of political opportunity structure..... 3
 - 3.1.Input and output structures 3
 - 3.2.Strategies 4
 - 3.3.Impacts 4
- 4. Research question..... 5
- 5. Variables..... 6
- 6. Methodology 7
- 7. Analysis 9
 - 7.1.Opportunities to influence Peru’s political system..... 9
 - 7.1.1.Peru’s input structures 9
 - 7.1.2 Peru’s output structures 11
- 8. Goals and motives of the recent protest movements 13
- 9. Activities of the recent protest movements 16
- 10. Impact of the recent protest movements..... 17
- 11. Conclusion..... 19
 - 11.1. Findings..... 20
 - 11.2. Discussion 20
 - 11.3. Implications..... 21
- 12. List of references 22
- 13. Appendices 28

List of Figures

Figure 1: POS and criteria for orientation, adapted from Kitschelt, 1986, p. 68.....	5
Figure 2: Fragmented Congress, according to Villegas & O'Boyle, 2023.....	10

List of Abbreviations

POS Political opportunity structures

1. Introduction

The protest movements in Peru are a recent phenomenon and considered extraordinary in the country's history. The impeachment of former president Pedro Castillo, who was accused of a coup d'état, triggered a nationwide emergence, which in its intensity and duration are unprecedented in the country's history (Lynch, 2023). People perceived his impeachment and the succession of former vice president Dina Boluarte as a betrayal of their vote. They demand new elections, the dissolution of Congress and the resignation of president Boluarte. The protests consisted of marches, the stalling of several airports, road blockings and the destruction of police stations (Collins, 2023; Aquino, 2023). The government reacted to the protests with armed forces, in consequence, hundreds of Peruvians were injured and over 60 were killed. Attempts to impeach Boluarte and to bring forward elections failed so far (Deutsche Welle, 2023). What underlies the escalation? How can the events in Peru be explained?

The happenings in Peru offer an interesting case to study the phenomenon of protest movements. The "specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilisation, which facilitate the development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others" (Kitschelt, 1986; p. 58) can be defined as political opportunities. The theory of political opportunity structures (POS) is a popular social movement theory to explain how the political-institutional context of a country influences and shapes the formation, mobilization, strategic choices, and impacts of social movements such as protest movements (Bleile, 2021; Meyer, 2004). It can be distinguished between relatively "open" and "closed" POS referring to patterns of political regimes, that provide more or less access for challengers. According to the theory, movements adapt their strategies to the country's POS to make an impact (Kitschelt, 1986).

This thesis aims to investigate what explains three dimensions of the protest movements through the lens of the POS of Peru. The research question to be answered is:

What explains the character, the activities and the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?

Because the theory assumes that the POS of a country affects a movement's strategy and impacts, the application of this theory seems appropriate to answer the research question and the four sub-questions that build on each other and will be elaborated on later:

SQ 1: Which opportunities does the political system of Peru offer to influence politics?

SQ 2: What are the goals of the protest movements and the motives of the participants?

SQ 3: Which actions were undertaken and why?

SQ 4: What explains the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?

The database on the protest movements in Peru is limited due to its recency. Thus, this research aims to fill this gap by supplementing academic literature and newspaper articles with in-depth interviews with local stakeholders in Peru. This research has a high social and scientific relevance as the protests in Peru are a recent social phenomenon that has not been paid much attention to. As located in the global south, Peru is a less researched country in social and political science. Overall, North American, and Western European countries still dominate the discipline which suggests that political systems and processes in countries such as Peru may be insufficiently described and studied (Wilson & Knutsen, 2022). To investigate the protests in Peru is relevant for Public Administration in several ways. Firstly, because it allows to develop a better understanding of the character of the movements. Identifying the reasons that underly the emergence can be helpful to assess the reaction of the administrators. Furthermore, by studying the protest movements underlying dynamics and spirals of

escalation can be understood. This is important to be able to improve future crisis management and peaceful resolution (Del Tredici, & Zarazaga, 2022). Lastly, the application of the theory of POS in Peru is relevant to test if the theoretical assumptions have explanatory relevance for the particular case as well. This is helpful to support the theory's applicability or to identify limitations.

The research question is addressed through a holistic, single case study by adopting qualitative methods. In the following, a brief introduction to Peru will be delivered and the theory of POS will be outlined and serve as a starting point. This section is followed by an elaboration of the sub-questions and conceptualizations. Subsequently, the methods section outlines the methods of data collection and analysis. Next, the analysis is conducted, and the theoretical assumptions will be examined in the case of Peru. In the discussion and conclusion section, the findings of the analysis will be summarized to answer the research question. The applicability and limitations of the theory will be critically reflected.

2. Introduction to Peru's reality

In the following, a short summary of Peru's reality is provided, an extended version can be found in Appendix C and a timeline of the protests in Appendix D.

Peru is the third largest country in Latin America, covering an area of 1.280.000km² and with a population of 33.7 million people (WB-WDI, 2021). Compared to the Netherlands, Peru covers a significantly larger land area (38 times) but has only double the population (WB-WDI, 2021). The country is divided into 26 regions, which in turn are subdivided into 195 provinces and 1833 districts (Thiery, 2016).

Peru is a democracy and presidential republic. The powers are divided among a president as the executive, Congress as the unicameral legislative and a tribunal judicative power. The president and the Congress are elected every 5 years. The president holds significant powers as the head of state, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and head of government. He or she appoints and dismisses the cabinet, which requires confirmation by the parliament. Current president is Dina Boluarte. The Congress, consisting of 130 seats, holds the legislative power (Thiery, 2016).

Concerning the socio-economic aspect, Peru is classified as an emerging country. In recent years, the country has experienced positive economic growth, driven by the increasing demand for raw materials and food products, of which Peru is a major exporter (Paap & Schmidt-Welle, 2016). About 60% of the exports are generated from extractive activities (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). The resulting profits have contributed to an improved standard of living, especially among the urban middle class. However, economic growth has not benefitted Peruvians equally (Paap & Schmidt-Welle, 2016). Especially the indigenous population, about 25,7 % by auto-identification, have historically been disadvantaged until nowadays (INEI, 2018; Amnesty, 2017). General social and economic challenges such as life expectancy, education, and standard of living remain which is partly reflected in the Human Development Index, which ranks Peru in place 84 out of 180 countries (UNDP, 2022).

Peru's reality nowadays is shaped by its history. In its recent history, the country experienced struggles of political deadlock, corruption, economic crisis and terrorism. From the 1990s until 2000, former president Alberto Fujimori established an autocratic government, initially targeting the political establishment but failing to make significant changes to the political structures. His government left behind a weak separation of powers, a fragile party system, widespread corruption, human rights abuses, unresolved ethnic issues, and an economy where the state surrendered its role to private companies. Successive presidents after Fujimori struggled to address social and political conflicts, prioritizing economic growth that remains until today (Paap & Schmidt-Welle, 2016).

3. Theory of political opportunity structure

Social protests are influenced by social processes and the emergence of social protests is triggered by political crises that weaken the political system's control of the population (McAdams, 1982; Skocpol, 1979, Kriesi, 1991). According to this, the theory of POS assumes that a country's political system exhibits political structures that shape how people participate in the political process, the extent of their participation, and the degree to which their demands are effectively implemented (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1992; Kriesi, 2004; Bleile, 2021).

However, scholars argue that theoretical definitions of POS have become a catch-all definitions (Gamson & Meyer, 1996). Some refer to POS as the external factors social movements can't control (Minkoff, 2004; Wahlström & Peterson, 2006). Another definition characterizes them as the available options for collective action that are associated with chances and risks depending on factors beyond a movement's control (Koopmans, 1999). Others describe POS as the dynamics inherent in a political system that determine the emergence and development of social movements, regardless of the intentional actions of the actors involved (Kriesi, 1991).

The model was firstly introduced by Eisinger in 1973 and later conceptualized in 4 components by Tarrow in 1983 and 1988. The different models identify elements with different weighting. Tarrow's model focuses primarily on political dynamics. He distinguishes degrees of political access, degrees of stability of political alignment, postures of alliance partners and conflict among elites (Tarrow, 1983; Tarrow, 1988). Kriesi on the other hand focuses on power relations. He proposes institutional structures, informal procedures, and prevailing strategies (Kriesi, 1991). Kitschelt's model, which incorporates elements of political dynamics and power relations with a focus on governance, is one of the most frequently cited and popular models. This framework was chosen for this thesis due to its governance-centred approach and its multi-dimensionality as it encompasses aspects related to both the protest movement and the political system. This combination is advantageous for exploring the context of the investigated social phenomenon and addressing the research question. In this research, Kitschelt's primary assumptions about input and output structures, strategies, and impacts will be utilized.

In the following, the framework will be outlined, which focuses on how POS can explain the choice of social movements for certain strategies and their impacts on their political environments. For the review, Kitschelt's original paper that outlines the theory will be used and supplemented with a paper by Kriesi, who analyzed Kitschelt's framework. This is to supplement the original paper with further explanations that are necessary to understand the framework.

3.1. Input and output structures

Kitschelt's approach introduces a distinction between open and closed political input structures and weak and strong output structures. Input structures refer to the degree of access that social movements have to the political system, which allows them to voice their interests and influence decision-making. Output structures refer to the effectiveness with which policies demanded by social movements are implemented and materialize with concrete actions (Kitschelt, 1986, Bleile, 2021).

A state's input structures are considered open when matching certain criteria, such as a high number of different political parties, factions and interest groups that are actively involved. This increases the chance that electoral interests are effectively articulated to the establishment. Unions for instance are argued to be the most relevant actors as possible allies for protest movements and can influence party positions (Kriesi, 1991; Kitschelt, 1986). Secondly, a state's input structure is considered open when the capacity of the legislature to develop and control policies is independent of the executive. Legislation is by nature more accountable to public demands. Moreover, it is argued that political systems with a strong legislature and judiciary offer more access points for movements, which is thus another criterion for an open input structure (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi, 1991). A third criterion is the

intermediation between interest groups and the executives. When pluralist and fluid patterns are dominant, openness increases. This is because they facilitate access for new interests to the centres of decision-making (Kitschelt, 1986). Lastly, mechanisms to aggregate demands are criteria for an open input structure. This is because they increase the processes of coalition building. A closed system is characterized if the criteria are not met. Openness is challenged for example by the centralization of implementation which limits access points on regional and local levels (Kitschelt, 1986).

A state's output system is considered strong or weak depending on its capacity to implement policies. A strong output system is characterized by a centralized and concentrated state. This is because these characteristics are considered to increase the ability to implement national policies more effectively. On the contrary, the output system is considered weak when the effectiveness is challenged, such as in federal and divided states (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi, 1991). Secondly, a strong output system is characterized by the state's greater control of economic resources because it allows to control financial resources. Likewise, the control of decision-makers through political institutions is a criterion for a strong system as it allows one to decide who is included to influence policy effectiveness. Lastly, an authoritarian relationship with the judiciary is a criterion for a strong output system. If the implementation is questioned, it weakens its efficiency (Kitschelt, 1986). In sum, weak states may appear more favourable for challengers in the sense of collective actions whereas strong states appear to have a higher capacity to resist. However, if a weak state is overthrown, the capacity to implement demanded policies likewise is low (Kriesi, 1991).

3.2. Strategies

In terms of social movement strategies, it is assumed that POS influence their choice of the most effective strategies. Assimilative strategies mean that movements work through established structures as they offer multiple points of access. This can be lobbying, petitioning, governmental organizations, shaping public policies through referendum campaigns, and engaging in partisan activities during electoral competitions (Kitschelt, 1986). In contrast, confrontational strategies are demonstrations and acts of disobedience such as occupations (Kitschelt, 1986).

Social movements chose strategies deliberately. In connection to the mentioned above, Kitschelt derives that weak and open political systems invite assimilative strategies. On the contrary, closed and strong political systems invite confrontational strategies outside the established channels (Kitschelt, 1986).

3.3. Impacts

Finally, it is argued that instead of measuring the size of a movement, the impacts depend on the interaction between the movement's mobilization and the regime's reactions. The impacts of social movements can be either procedural, substantive, or structural (Kitschelt 1986).

Procedural impacts refer to changes in the decision-making process, whereas substantive impacts refer to changes in policy outcomes. Structural impacts refer to changes in public discourse and attitudes towards the issue at hand (Kitschelt, 1986). Therefore, structural impacts suggest a transformation of a political opportunity structure (Kriesi, 1991).

In a state with open input structures, procedural impacts are high because there are more access points (Kitschelt, 1986). In states with closed input structures with a political elite, this is less likely. A popular procedural impact for example was the government overturn in Sweden after the initiation of programs that led to an increased popularity of the opposition's agenda (Kitschelt, 1986). Concerning substantive impacts, it is argued that open input structures and processes facilitate substantive gains and have high capacities to implement policies. Therefore, closed input and strong output structures lead to a limited amount of policy reforms as access to processes of decision-

making is hindered (Kitschelt, 1986). States with weak output structures, however, whether open or closed, lead to the least policy reform because there is a limited capacity to implement reforms (Kitschelt, 1986).

Structural impacts concern a transformation of political opportunity (Kriesi, 1991; Kitschelt, 1986). In a short-term perspective, transformation is considered less possible in contrast to a long-term perspective. Transformation can result from an accumulation of protest and lead further to social revolution (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi, 1991). The assumption is that structural impacts may emerge in a political system that is not able to address procedural or substantive change. This will lead to a broadening of a social movement’s demands to bring about change to the existing political system and the emergence of new parties (Kitschelt, 1986).

There has been criticism concerning Kitschelt’s approach. For example, it is argued that Kitschelt’s categorization of a country’s regimes to fit categories of input and output structures is too “trimmed” (Rootes, 1999) and simplified. This is supported by the argument that states should be considered on a continuum rather than determining them to be open and closed states (Flam, 1994). Other non-protesters argue that the input and output structures should not be viewed separately in their impact. For instance, it is argued that the input and output phases are linked and the characteristics of weakness and openness and strength and closedness correlate (Kriesi, 1991). These issues need to be kept in mind when adopting the opportunity structure theory in the following analysis. In the discussion section, the critics will be used to reflect on the explanation the theory provides.

		Political input structures	
		Open	Closed
Political output structures	Strong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilative movement strategies dominant • Significant procedural gains • High substantive policy innovations • Few structural pressures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confrontational movement strategies dominant • Few procedural impacts • Limited substantive elite reform, low-medium innovation • Strong structural pressures
	Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilative movement strategies dominant • Significant procedural impacts • Substantive impacts: tendency towards policy standstill, medium-low innovation • Few structural pressures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confrontational and assimilative movement strategies • few procedural impacts • few substantive impacts: tendency towards policy standstill, very low innovation • strong structural pressures

Figure 1: POS and criteria for orientation, adapted from Kitschelt, 1986, p. 68

4. Research question

The main research question to be answered is

What explains the character, the activities and the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?

This thesis aims to identify what explains the protest movements by using Kitschelt's theory of POS as an orientation. The central case in this study is the protest movement in Peru since December 7th, 2022. The relevant concepts to be analyzed in this thesis are the explanation for the character, the activities and the impact of the central case. The concepts are interlinked and grow into each other. "Character" concerns which goals were pursued, what motivated people to participate, who was mobilized and how the movement was perceived. "Activities" concerns the movement's actions as a collective and what type of actions were executed and to what end. "Impact" concerns if and what results were achieved, both physical and immaterial.

There are 4 SQs building on each other and leading to the answer of the RQ. According to the theory, a country's political systems exhibit political structures that shape how people participate in the political process, the extent of their participation, and the degree to which their demands are effectively implemented (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1992; Kriesi, 2004). Thus, it is helpful to understand which opportunities the Peruvian political system provides. The criteria to classify a country according to its input and output structures will be used as an orientation.

SQ 1: Which opportunities does the political system of Peru offer to influence politics?

To investigate the characteristics of the protest movements in Peru, it is necessary to understand how they emerged. As described above, the character of the protest movement in this investigation concerns the goals that were pursued and the motivation for people to participate. The chance to mobilize in a movement increases with shared grievances and norms among the participants (Kitschelt, 1986).

SQ 2: What are the goals of the recent protest movements in Peru and the motives of the participants?

The protests took on various forms. The theory suggests that political opportunity structures shape how people participate in the political process. Building on SQ2 and SQ3, the actions of the protest movement are analyzed according to the conceptualization above. This will be oriented on the theoretical assumptions of the movement's choice of strategies.

SQ 3: Which actions were undertaken and why?

The ultimate goal of this research is to find out what explains the impact of the protest movements in Peru. The opportunity structure theory argues that a social movement's impact depends on the POS. Therefore, the impacts will be analyzed and reflected in the findings of SQ1. The theoretical assumptions concerning the classification of impacts will be used for orientation.

SQ 4: What explains the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?

5. Variables

The theory at hand suggests that a country's political system exhibits political structures that influence how people participate in the political process, the extent of their participation, and the degree to which their demands are effectively implemented (Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1992; Kriesi, 2004). Therefore, it can be derived that political opportunity structures are an independent factor influencing the characteristics of a social movement, such as goals and motives, and a movement's impact. In consequence, the independent variable of this research is the POS of Peru.

The characteristics of the social movement, as goals and motives, and its impacts are the dependent variable. This is because they are suggested to evolve in the context of the given structures and

dependent on the system, they evolve differently.

6. Methodology

This thesis will adopt the design of a case study. The purpose of case studies arises from the desire to understand complex social phenomena (Schramm, 1971). This methodology allows to study the case of the study subject to be investigated in its natural situation and in a certain time interval (Yin, 2003). The central cases in this study are the ongoing protest movements in Peru from December 7th, 2022, until March 2023. Furthermore, this is a single, holistic case study. The protest movements in Peru can be considered an extreme or unique case because of their nationwide emergence, the intensity and duration unprecedented in the country's history (Lynch, 2023).

Furthermore, this study will adopt an exploratory design. Exploratory designs involve narrowed examinations and investigations to explore and identify previously unknown aspects (Stebbins, 2011). Social science exploration is a purposeful and systematic undertaking to develop generalizations that describe and understand a specific area of social or psychological life (Stebbins, 2011). Researchers engage in the exploration when scientific knowledge about a certain aspect is limited and there is reason to believe that it holds elements worthy of discovery. This process follows Max Weber's model, which focuses on acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the observed human acts (Vogt, 1999; Stebbins, 2011). Since this thesis researches a recent and less-researched social phenomenon, the application of the exploratory design seems appropriate.

The thesis will apply the theory of political opportunity structures (POS). Theoretical concepts are relevant for case studies to guide the investigation, to set a focus and to provide the criteria to judge. It is expected that the influence of the POS of Peru explains the character, the activities and the impacts of the anti-government movements.

This study adopts a qualitative research design to answer the RQ and SQs. The aim of a qualitative study is to explore and understand the factors and the context of a social or human problem (Creswell, 2014). This approach is deployed because this research aims to answer a "what" question to explain the character, the activities, and the impact of violent protest movements (Creswell, 2009). The qualitative design is based on a literature review and interviews. The data triangulation is to ensure this thesis's reliability (Yin, 2003). Since the protests in Peru are a recent social phenomenon, academic literature is scarce. Therefore, international and national newspaper articles in English, German and Spanish will be reviewed as well. These are for example The Guardian, Deutsche Welle and La República. It is worth considering the potential bias concerning media and newspapers. Newspapers have a tendency to report and provide extensive coverage of large or radical protests that deal with issues of media interest (McCarthy et al. 1996). Nevertheless, a research method based on the use of newspapers is still justified because protests can only enter the public discourse and influence decision-makers by attracting media attention (Hutter & Grande, 2014). The data collection process focuses on literature that concerns the protests in Peru since December 2022. Relevant keywords were "Castillo", "Boluarte" and "protests".

To supplement the textual data, 6 in-depth non-protester interviews with Peruvians were conducted. Interviews are the primary data source in case studies (Yin, 2003). This data is particularly relevant to reconstruct group perceptions and the relations between protesters and authorities. The qualitative data is helpful to develop a deeper understanding of the case at hand in the context of the POS theory. The interviews were conducted with 6 Peruvians, 3 of them participated in the protests and 3 Peruvians did not participate in the protests and offered a more observational perspective. The combination of respondents with different involvement in the protests was chosen to reflect the complexity of the situation and the variety of points of view. Diversity is necessary to limit the potential of biased analysis based on one-sided perceptions.

The respondents were contacted through Peruvian contacts that were established during a previous

stay and Facebook groups. Before conducting the interviews, the respondents were sent the informed consent and an additional information sheet, as instructed by the UT Ethics Committee. The participants were informed about the potential risks, such as psychological distress due to topics such as police violence. All participants gave consent to talk about these topics. The respondents were informed about their right to withdraw and to end the interview at any time without consequence. All respondents allowed the use of the information for this thesis. Due to the different positions of the respondents, there were two sets of interview questions concerning the same topics but differently formulated. The questions concerned the perceptions and motivations to participate in the protests, the general political participation, perceptions of the crafting of politics in Lima and the estimation of the impacts. The full interview transcriptions can be found in Appendix E-J. The interviews were semi-structured with some being open-ended and others closed-ended questions. This structure seemed helpful because of its flexibility for the researcher and allows to obtain answers that can be directly matched to theoretical concepts or to deepen answers through follow-up questions (Adams, 2015). The interviews were conducted through web calls and recorded with the consent of the respondents. When relating to the respondents it distinguished between their position such as protesters (REPR), enumerated 1-3, or non-protesting non-protesters (RENP), enumerated 1-3. The names and personal details are anonymized to prevent them from any potential harm through the research.

Internal validity is ensured by the inclusion of respondents with different perceptions of the impacts. Furthermore, all except one interview were conducted in the respondent's native language, which is why almost no language barriers existed. However, there are still limitations. Firstly, it has to be recognized that the multiple narratives in the protests cannot fully be covered by the small number of interviews. Furthermore, it must be recognized that the selection of respondents was influenced by the researcher's social environment in Peru. Moreover, due to the necessity to conduct calls online and by using technical devices, a certain technical setup from the respondents was required. Since many people that demonstrated are from low-resource areas with no or little connection, a threat to internal validity is that these people could not be interviewed. However, this thesis deals with a very current topic on which limited data has been collected so far, which shows the necessity to make the most of the data collected. Secondly, it must be considered that it cannot be excluded that other factors influenced the characteristics of the social movement, its activities, and its impacts. However, the goal of this research is to explain the movement through the lens of the POS framework and the national political context. Lastly, it must be recognized that for all types of interviews, the interviewer has a powerful and inevitable influence on the data collection (Briggs, 1986). However, the data triangulation helps to reduce the effects of some biases, as being from different sources, the biases become apparent and can be treated. (Yin, 2003).

Concerning external validity, the combination of different respondents with different positions is a relevant aspect. However, the small number of interviews, as mentioned above is a threat to the external validity. Nevertheless, the primary goal of interviews was to add to the scarce literature body and the respondents provided different perceptions that helped to answer the general goal of this research. In the process of selecting the respondents, external validity is ensured by deliberate selection (Bleile, 2021). Respondents were first selected depending on their participation in the protests as their personal experience is a relevant aspect. The other part of respondents were selected depending on their position as non-protester, as their spectator position is relevant to determine differences in perception. The latter had experience in positions of public governance, political education and anthropologist research which seemed relevant to include their perceptions.

The interviews were transcribed, translated, and analyzed according to the sub-questions. A coding structure was developed to the end to answer the purpose of the research and to ensure reliability. The coding is a combination of inductive and deductive coding. This combination allows to move from specific observations to underlying patterns in the data and to identify the relevant data for the predetermined theory that is applied. The coding scheme can be found in Appendix A.

7. Analysis

In the following, the theoretical concepts will be applied to answer the research question.

7.1. Opportunities to influence Peru's political system

In the following, Peru's input and output strategies are analyzed according to Kitschelt's criteria from the theory chapter. Additionally, information from the interviews and literature review is included to check if the theoretical assumptions are met. This first part deals with

SQ 1: Which political opportunity structures does Peru exhibit to influence politics?

7.1.1. Peru's input structures

According to the theory, access for a social movement is given with a legislature's ability to autonomously formulate and oversee policies, separate from the executive branch. Under Article 107 of the constitution, the president and members of Congress have equal rights to initiate legislation. The president's powers such as veto over laws or the constitutional decree authority, the central mechanism for undermining horizontal checks on power and accountability, can be rejected with an absolute majority in Congress (Thiery, 2016). In the last years, Congress was the branch presenting most bills for legislative debate (89%) and whose bills were mostly passed (79%) (Busse & Huamán, 2020). The first revised criteria indicates that Congress can be considered an independent body from the executive. This seems to match Kitschelt's criteria of an open system.

Nevertheless, it needs to be considered that historical political crises and cases of the legislature's dissolution have led to an imbalance of the separation of power. In the presidential system, Peru has been faced several times with a situation of deadlock, whereby the executive branch struggled to secure a legislative majority and confronted an antagonistic opposition, such as during the Castillo presidency (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022; R. Vega, 2022). This particularity of power imbalance is not considered in Kitschelt's assumptions.

Furthermore, the interviews revealed a mixed reputation of Congress concerning its independence from economic interests. This was supported by 3 respondents, both protesters and non-protesters. The theory argues that legislation is by nature more accountable to public demands. However, protesters perceive Congress to be "bought" (REPR1, 316) and influenced in the decision-making by economic stakeholders and transnational businesses (REPR1, 316; RENP1, 283; REPR3, 330). In consequence, independence can be viewed as mixed. Economic influence seems to play an equally relevant role that is not considered by the theory.

Another criterion for facilitated access is the existence of many parties. Peru is a multiparty system; the parties vary in ideology. In the last elections in 2021, 20 parties nominated candidates for both the Congress and the presidency (ONPE, 2021), currently there are 13 blocs (Villegas & O'Boyle, 2023). This seems to match Kitschelt's criteria of an open system.

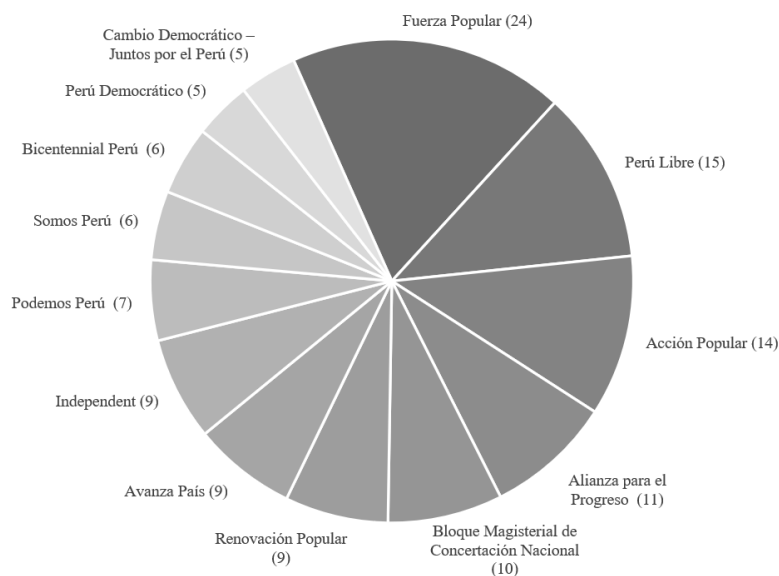


Figure 2: Fragmented Congress, according to Villegas & O’Boyle, 2023

However, party diversity in Peru does not lead to increased communication and representation of different interests. Peru’s party system is weak. Historically, party consolidation has been oppressed and the traditional parties were systematically delegitimized during the times of the civil war of 1980-1992 and the autocratic government of Alberto Fujimori (Thierry, 2016). About 69% of the population in Peru doesn’t feel considered by parties and politicians (IPSOS, 2023). 3 respondents, both protesters and non-protesters supported this (REPR1, 262; RENP1, 281; REPR3, 282).

“All these factions that have emerged and these parties that are in Congress do not seem to me to represent the population at all. I believe they only represent interests. Big interests, but of small groups, not people, especially economic interests [...]” (RENP1, 281)

The communication of interests is furthermore restrained by significant corruption issues. Currently, Peru ranks in place 101 out of 180 on the Corruption Perception Index (Transparency, 2022). 2 respondents, both non-protesters, highlighted corruption concerning party politics (RENP1, 254; RENP3, 253). Peru has a history of political, administrative and systematic corruption due to institutional weaknesses. Even nowadays, former presidents and other important political leaders are being investigated for illegal financing of their election campaigns (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022). The public sees in politics the absence and corruption of power for the benefit of a few at the expense of greater public interests (Quiroz, 2008).

Another obstacle to the effective representation of interests is the high degree of personalization of parties, the focus on an individual leader rather than an ideological program. Elections are won through “Caudillos” (REPR2, 353; RENP3, 279), a term rooted in the time of the Latin American independence wars that refers to charismatic leaders that opposed the colonies' governments (Riz, 2015). Castillo’s candidacy as a Caudillo of the left-wing party “Peru Libre” challenged the established politics in Lima. He gained especially support from those who have been neglected and racially marginalized in Peruvian history because they identified with him because of his “Andean peasant origins” (REPR4, 358). In 90% of districts covering indigenous territory, Castillo was the candidate with the highest number of votes (Castro, 2021). Personalization of the parties furthermore leads to internal power struggles and feuds that weaken the party structures:

“We have too many small differences to consolidate a large group that holds significant power and representation” (RENP1, 259).

In summary, this shows that the high number of parties doesn't facilitate access to social movements. Parties are not consolidated and are not able to effectively represent an agenda or voter's interest. This restricts the input structures. Therefore, the theoretical assumption that a high number of parties leads to increased chances that electoral interests are effectively articulated in the decision-making processes, does not apply to Peru.

Resulting of the lack of stability in the political scene and the high degree of fragmentation in Congress, coalition building to aggregate has become increasingly difficult. The weak party system and the high personalization led to electoral alliances forming and dissolving after an electoral period (Thiery, 2016). In sum, this matches the criteria of a closed system.

Likewise, as political parties, the theory suggests that a variety of interest groups increases the openness of a political system. Interest groups in Peru encompass business and professional associations, social movements, community organizations and unions (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022). Likewise, as political parties, most interest groups are fragmented and unable to aggregate and communicate social interests and demands effectively (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022). Unions have lost their relevance in Peru due to economic liberalization and the substantial presence of informal sector employment (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022; Mücke, 2008). Nevertheless, as mentioned before, particularly business associations representing economic interests are influential. They enjoy exclusive and elite access as they exhibit superior organization and wield greater influence compared to labour unions and other civic entities. In summary, the limited presence of interest groups representing the interest of the public civil society and the exclusivity match the criteria of a closed input system. In connection to the character of and the organizational challenges within the parties, it can be derived that pluralist intermediation is restricted.

Lastly, the theory suggests that depending on the degree of centralization, access points for movements on regional and local levels are facilitated or restricted. Peru's politics and decisions making take place in the capital city Lima, which holds the greatest political and economic power compared to other parts of the country. 2 respondents, both protesters, don't see the opportunity to voice their interests on the local level (REPR1, 334; REPR3, 333). It lacks access points where people's concerns are genuinely heard and addressed (REPR3, 379). In conclusion, movements are restricted in claiming their demands which matches Kitschelt's criteria of a closed system.

Based on the analysis of the criteria, Peru's political input structures can be considered closed. Furthermore, the matches with the criteria of an open input system resulted in not meeting the underlying theoretical assumption. According to the theory, a closed system restricts access for social movements.

7.1.2. Peru's output structures

Concerning output structure, the theory indicates that a strong, centralized state can implement policies effectively. As explained, Peru is a centralized country with the capital Lima holding about 45% of the national GDP (Steinberg & Kuramoto, 2017). This matches the criteria of a strong system.

However, the effectiveness of implemented policies is criticized. All 3 protesters supported this in the interviews. Two protesters from rural areas expressed the policies and laws enacted in Lima do not take into consideration the real needs and concerns of remote communities (REPR1, 264; REPR3, 297). Another protester perceives that implementation primarily succeeds for armed forces and extractive activities:

“Decisions reach Puno¹ in the form of the military, they reach Moquegua² in the form of a mining concession, they reach Iquitos³ in the form of an oil concession, but they don't arrive in the form of education, security, or the promotion of political participation” (REPR2, 446).

This is connected to corruption that doesn't only distort the communication of public interest in the input structures but also undermines the functioning of public service structures. This concerns the misguiding of policies, and lack of implementation due to bribery or misallocation of social funds (World Bank, 2002). And even though there are efforts and public demands, such as impartial prosecution and stringent penalties for misconduct in public office, lack of implementation (Thiery, 2016). Thus, this shows that this particular aspect is relevant as it influences the output structure, however, it is not considered in the theoretical assumptions.

The theory further claims that the degree of independence of the judiciary is a criterion to judge if a system is strong or weak. The judiciary in Peru functions as a separate branch of government and operates relatively independently (Mücke, 2008). The members of the supreme court are selected by the president and confirmed by Congress. Beyond, there are 31 superior courts on the department level, the third level of courts of first instance and courts of peace. Furthermore, there is the constitutional court and the ombudsman, defender of civil rights, who is selected by Congress. In the past years, the Constitutional Court has been a relevant actor to resolve conflicts between the executive and legislative. For example, its recognition of the constitutionality of the dissolution of parliament and impeachment proceedings against a president are respected judgments. Furthermore, the role of the ombudsman has become particularly relevant recently for starting Castillo's investigation concerning the alleged coup d'état. In general, Peru ranks on the regional average of 6 from a maximum of 10 concerning the rule of law (Bertelsmann, 2022). The findings match the criteria of a relatively independent judiciary of a weak state because there is action space to contest the executive's actions.

However, the judiciary's functionality is contested as highlighted by a respondent (REPR3, 358). Fundamental reforms of the judiciary have proved to be extremely difficult, due to a lack of political will, deliberate obstruction and disinterest on the part of large sections of the judiciary itself. The problem results from severe undermining by corruption and weak management. Thus, most people lack access to the judicial system and seek to resolve their disputes informally means, such as through vigilante groups executing law and order by their own means (Thiery, 2022; Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022; Saavedra, 2023). In consequence, the independence of the judiciary can be viewed as mixed. Furthermore, in this case, corruption seems to play an equally relevant role in the independence of the judicial action space which is not considered by the theory.

Lastly, the theory suggests that policy implementation is facilitated by the state's greater control of economic resources. By constitution, Peru is a social market economy, however, in reality, the system exhibits features of a neoliberal system that has a history of privatization. The role of regulations is nonexistent, especially to provide necessary infrastructure (Contreras Carranza, 2016). The economic crisis and inflation in the 1980s and the uprising guerrilla situation led to the migration of a great part of the population from the Andes to the cities. These people however ever since work informally, ignoring the state's authority and given norms (Fischer, 2016). In sum, the economic power in Peru is not centralized. The administration is weak and limited access for the poor parts of the population, particularly in the Andean regions and sparsely populated areas of the Amazon region (Thiery, 2016). For example, more than 30% of indigenous tribes in this region lack permanent drinking water and about 75 % lack access to health services (INEI, 2017). In summary, the Peruvian state is unable to satisfy the basic needs of its citizens, to guarantee security and order (Mücke, 2008). This was supported by 4 respondents, both non-protesters and protesters (REPR2, 393; RENP2, 166; REPR1, 264; REPR3, 299). This matches the criteria of a weak system. People

¹ City in South Peru, population 1,237,997 (INEI, 2020a)

² City in South Peru, population 192,740 (INEI, 2020a)

³ City in North Peru, population 163,502 (INEI, 2020b)

even go as far as describe:

“The underlying issue is that the State is almost an enemy to society. Ultimately, it not only fails to represent but also harms.” (REPR2, 393).

Lastly, the control of decision-makers through political institutions is assumed to facilitate policy implementation. There are means to remove people from office, such as when Boluarte dismissed local authorities that participated in protests (Hidalgo, 2022). However, a significant number of governors have been involved in and convicted of corruption (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022). The control of decision-makers can be viewed as mixed.

From the analysis above, it can be derived that Peru is a weak state.

In summary, the revision of Peru’s input and output structures orientated on Kitschelt’s theoretical assumptions shows that Peru is a closed and weak state. Concerning SQ1, it can be derived that the political opportunity structures of Peru restrict influence on politics. Firstly, because the access for movements to the decision-making process is limited. Secondly, influence is inhibited because policy implementation is ineffective to implement policies demanded by social movements. Lastly, it must be considered that Kitschelt’s theoretical assumptions are not entirely met and need to be addressed in the discussion section.

8. Goals and motives of the recent protest movements

According to the theory, the POS influences the characteristics of a movement. Shared grievances increase the chance of mobilizing in a movement (Kitschelt, 1986). Therefore, the next step will analyze the characteristics of the movement, which are the goals and demands.

SQ 2: What are the goals of the recent protest movements in Peru and the motives of the participants?

One non-protester points out the downward spiral in the region of economic stagnation, social frustration and political decomposition to be the cause (RENP2, 5). Whereas Peru has an annual increase of 1,4% in population, the annual economic growth of about 2,2% is low (Bertelsmann, 2022). This is suggested as a cause leading to frustration, especially for the younger generations. Currently, the unemployment rate among young Peruvians ranges from 20% (Gob.pe, 2023). Furthermore, since the Fujimori era, foreign investment in Peru has increased by approximately 10 times, especially in extractive activities as mentioned before (Worldbank, 2023). 2 respondents perceive this problematic (REPR3, 339; RENP1, 361). However, there are also allegations of economic incentives to participate in the protests, that individuals were paid by South American governments and Peruvian politicians (RENP3,199), also supported by right-wing politicians such as the mayor of Lima (Rincón, 2023).

Apart from that, protesters express three different factors that converged in the protest, best described by a protester:

“[.]in the protests, you had three types of people, from my personal perspective. You had those who took to the streets due to a sense of injustice, from a more political or moral standpoint, let's say. Then you had people who mobilized because of centralism and racism, as their votes had been ignored. And finally, you had a sector that mobilized because attacking Castillo meant attacking the Peruvian peasant.” (REPR2, 359).

Roughly, the reasons can be differentiated into political, ethnical and immediate causes.

Concerning political resentment, the protest expresses rage against the centralism of the Peruvian political system with a focus on the capital region, Lima. This is supported in all interviews. Non-protesters suggest that the protests might be perceived as a new upheaval in Lima, but in reality, conflicts would be always present in the regions (RENP1; 213, REPR2, 323). According to non-protesters, historically, many problems have arisen due to decisions being made primarily in the capital city, while other regions have felt neglected (RENP2, 70). This centralization has created an ideological mindset and generated resentment among people from provinces towards Lima (RENP3, 236).

However, the rightfulness of this argument is perceived differently. One non-protester refers to the ambitions of Peru to decentralize that started in 2002 under the government of Humala (Thiery, 2016; RENP2, 70). Moreover, it is suggested that the anger towards Lima is a misconception since the local governments have been empowered but fail to allocate the financial resources:

“[M]any responsibilities regarding the discontent of these large amounts of groups of citizens lies within the regional governments, which have, in many cases, astonishing amounts of money [...] Especially in the mining regions, but are unable to execute them and provide good health, good education, good nutrition to children and so on and so on [...] we are in a very complicated situation because it's like local governments, regional governments, will always blame Lima.” (RENP2, 386)

Rather than the centralism and the power status in Lima, some non-protesters see the regional government's inability to address basic needs in the rural areas as a driving factor behind the protests. Another non-protester however disagrees with this perception:

“We have never managed to decentralize further, despite attempts to do so. Lately, I feel that it is much more symbolic that everything is dictated by Lima. Not only are the institutions of power located in Lima, but also the states of emergency towards the regions are imposed from Lima. Repression towards the regions has been orchestrated from Lima as well. So, it's also the centralization of violence because the state does something which is abandoning the regions, especially the most remote areas, and only intervening when there are extractive projects or when they need to repress.” (RENP1, 265)

Another cause for the protests in a political context was the rage against the political class, as supported by the three protesters (REPR1, 226; REPR2, 325; REPR3, 242). Peru experiences political decomposition and instability due to frequent impeachment and changes of the president in the last 20 years. Furthermore, the lack of a legislative majority led to a lack of confidence in the political institutions and increased resentment in the civil population (Reid, 2023). The resentment also concerned the contrast between the world of formal politics with high salaries and benefits, and the daily lives of the majority of the population (Reid, 2023.; REPR1, 294). The protesters don't feel represented - parties are not considered as means of communicating voter interests into the political arenas of decision-making but primarily as businesses. (REPR1, 247).

Also, the protests express ethnic resentment in a country where the majority is gradually realizing that there is an unaddressed problem of racism (Reid, 2023) 4 Respondents see a cause in the discrimination, the lack of cultural recognition (RENP2,7) and classism (REPR2, 349; REPR3, 228; RENP1, 347). Protesters describe the regional divide between people from the highlands, coastal areas, and the jungle in Peru. They suggest that people from the coastal area, such as Lima, feel superior due to the existence of regional prejudices and a sense of superiority based on geographical origin (REPR1, 323; REPR3, 228):

“There is racism in all societies because we have lived almost a century with theories that call themselves scientific that differentiate us, but in which there is a context that has to do with how racism developed in Peru was basically to take away agency, to take away humanity from the person, from the, we could say native peoples, but not even native peoples.”

Any person who looks like they come from the Andes is automatically stripped of some humanity.” (REPR2, 470)

Former president Pedro Castillo was a teacher in a rural area and succeeded in identically bonding with a specific segment of the rural population. After Castillo’s impeachment, mobilization for a protest has been the strongest in this particularly historically overlooked area (Reid, 2023; REPR3, 232). Castillo figured as a representative for these people:

“So, when the candidate, now former president Castillo, came out as president, we felt like us the forgotten people were represented, right? In a way, we thought that someone like us, maybe a man from the countryside who works on the land, on the farm, with animals, could represent us in the best way, not like the usual politicians. So, we considered him as someone like us.” (REPR3, 228)

However, one respondent saw this as a misconception,

“[...] when Castillo won and many people said he’s the first person of the province, those people have no idea of Republican history. This country has been ruled by people from Cusco, people from Arequipa [...] if you look throughout the 19th century, right, you’ll see that most of the many of the most powerful people, I mean, in the time of military warlords, if you like, came from the provinces.” (RENP2, 98).

This leads to immediate causes. Castillo’s incapability to govern due to the constant blocking by Congress and his later impeachment led to great rage as people felt their vote was not respected, as highlighted by 2 respondents, both non-protesters and protesters (RENP1, 210; REPR1, 221). Protesters express that they felt “obliged” to participate as

“[t]he popular vote of the people has been trampled by a group of politicians, that didn’t respect the decision, what is preestablished in the constitution, the right to vote.” (REPR1,226).

The impeachment of Castillo has been perceived differently and there are competing versions that ultimately lead to the same result (RENP2, 9). Some suggest that

“[h]e was manipulated to try a coup and then overthrown, which also victimizes him as well” (RENP2, 10), a “conspiracy against Castillo [to] take him out of office”, (RENP2, 12).

The succession of Dina Boluarte lead to uprisings. Firstly, because people felt betrayed as the former vice president didn’t fulfil her promise to resign in case Castillo would be impeached (REPR3, 246). Secondly, Boluarte and her government were perceived as “puppets” controlled by the right-wing powers in Congress (RENP1, 296). Thirdly, because of the government’s response to the protests of the security forces that resulted in 66 killed civilians since December (Reid, 2023; R. Vega, 2023). Fourthly, because of Boluarte’s decision not to hold elections until 2026. 3 respondents perceive Boluarte as illegitimate (REPR3, 248; REPR1, 313; REPR2, 556) and her succession was seen as a consolidation of power between the executive and legislative (REPR3, 289):

“[...] it felt like there was no representation [...] that’s why we took part in the protests.” (REPR3, 290).

The demands of all the mobilized actors are complex and can’t be simplified. This is because different actors with different claims were involved. As contemporary Peru is defined by fragmentation and difficulty in aggregating interests, so are the interests. Each phase of the mobilization was joined by different groups of actors; from NGOs to national committees but also

actors of criminal economies (Coronel, 2023).

Non-protesters criticize the lack of organization and formulation of demands that would have given the protest more legitimacy:

“As far as I know, there wasn’t a group who came to the government with like ten proposals [...]”, (RENP2, 164).

On the other hand, the respondent acknowledges that certain underlying demands were obvious, such as for basic infrastructure such as drinking water services (RENP2, 166).

Among the protesters was the pro-Castillo sector demanding his release and reinstatement (France24, 2022, Coronel, 2023). However, the 2 protesters belonged to the part that didn’t support Castillo but demanded the dissolution of Congress and new elections (REPR3, 292; REPR2, 335). After the attacks in Puno in December, the protest was joined by groups affiliated with the human rights movement, such as the Amazonian Indigenous movement, religious groups, professional associations and NGOs. These sectors had expressed criticism towards Castillo but joined the protest to oppose repression and to demand early elections (Coronel, 2023). Among the protesters is also the United National Committee of Struggle in Peru (Comité Nacional Unificado de Lucha del Perú, CONULP), which integrates several regional movements (REPR3, 565). The movement however reject early general elections as it would not help to solve the problem but only switch the people in charge. The CONULP demands the resignation of Dina Boularte, the closure of the Congress and calls for a popular Constituent Assembly, which is broadly supported (Coronel, 2023). The demand for a Constituent Assembly is perceived symbolically as the end to a lack of recognition (Coronel, 2023).

In summary, the goals and motivations cover a wide spectrum and are heterogeneous. Concerning SQ2, the protests were motivated by a great general resentment such as economic, political, ethnical, and immediate. However, it became apparent that there seem to be a shared dissatisfaction of basic needs that build the basis for the participation and were also an underlying demand. The general demands cover likewise a wide spectrum due to the different actors involved, such as Castillo supporters who demanded his reinstatement and Castillo non-supporters, who demanded political changes. Whereas the release of Castillo, and the demand for elections are not shared by all, there seems to be a consensus concerning the demand for a new constituent assembly (Coronel, 2023).

9. Activities of the recent protest movements

Next, the activities of the protest movement will be reviewed according to

SQ 3: Which activities were undertaken and why?

The theory suggests that POS shape how people participate in the political process. This part will be oriented on the theoretical assumptions of a movement’s choice of strategies. Protest movement activities concern the movement's actions as a collective, the type of actions that were executed and to what end. According to the theory, it is suggested that a closed and weak state like Peru invites both assimilative and confrontational strategies.

The protests in Peru emerged as marches, the stalling of several airports, road blockings and the destruction of police stations (Collins, 2023; Aquino, 2023). One non-protester mentioned that the protests have become increasingly radicalized, particularly in areas with oil and gas resources, with acts of burning camps to draw attention to the problems (RENP1, 340). Some of the protests escalated to the extent that a policeman was burned. Protesters and one non-protester explained that the choice of strategy was deliberate because there wasn’t any other chance to voice discontent:

“I think it is the only means to achieve anything, as there are no other alternatives.” (RENP1, 349)

Protesters have a consensus that voicing interest by using assimilative strategies is ineffective, which explains why people chose this strategy. Petitions would be often ignored and not read by the officials (REPR1, 361; REPR3, 374). Proposals to the benefit of the Peruvian population would likely be disregarded:

“For example, I have been a leader in my community and have travelled to Lima to present petitions for the benefit of my people, for my community. We address issues such as contamination caused by companies operating in our communities, the presence of heavy metals in our water, and the need for investigations. However, in practice, it is the same government officials who grant authorization to these companies to continue their operations. It feels like we make petitions but don't feel heard.” (REPR3, 374).

The respondents express not to feel heard:

“There is no direct complaints office where they really listen to you.” (REPR1, 366).

These activities match the criteria of confrontational strategies (Kitschelt, 1986).

In summary, the theoretical assumption is met that a closed and weak country invites either disruptive or assimilative strategies which also answers SQ3. People chose protest because they saw it as the only option to make their voices heard. Assimilative strategies, such as petitioning, are not considered to be effective.

10. Impact of the recent protest movements

The theory argues that a social movement's impact depends on the political structure. Building on SQ 1 and SQ 2, this will be investigated:

SQ 4: What explains the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?

The theoretical assumption is that in a weak and closed system like Peru with a political elite, impacts are low on all levels. The theory of POS sets the focus on the interaction between the movement's mobilization and the regime's reactions which can be measured in terms of procedural, substantive, and structural impacts.

Concerning, procedural impacts, the vacancy motions against Dina Boluarte are attempts to make an impact on the decision-making process by the protests. This is confirmed by all protesters in the interviews (REPR1, 362; REPR2, 348; REPR3, 387). Secondly, there were efforts to bring forward election which however failed as well. Some demands were unfeasible to transform into impacts. This concerns for example the demand to restore the former president Castillo (RENP2, 176). The reason why the main demand of the movement “everyone must go” (REPR3, 293), the demand for Boluarte to step down and the Congress to dissolve was not turned into an impact, is for non-protesters because it was also perceived to be impossible:

“[...] it was inconceivable. And people didn't even know what they were asking for; they just said, “Let them all go.” So who governs? Anarchy.” (RENP3, 292).

Thus, procedural changes in decision-making processes are low. In a closed system such as Peru with

limited access points, procedural impacts are low and are met.

The substantive impacts which refer to changes in policy outcomes are low as well. This is because access to the decision-making process is restricted and the capacity to implement reforms is limited. The theoretical assumptions are met.

There are divided perceptions concerning the structural impacts. 3 respondents, both protesters and non-protester, perceive the impact as the beginning of a great popular movement (REPR2, 567; RENP1, 359; REPR1, 387): The peasants who mobilized to challenge neoliberalism and work towards the construction of a new Peru (Coronel, 2023). Also, some see that the protests are an expression of a “new wave of democratization” (Coronel, 2023) and a “positive radicalization of democracy” (REPR2, 569). In the southern zone, new leaders would emerge (REPR1, 379). Also, it is predicted that the movement keeps growing and keep the government in check, to remember them of their responsibility not to govern a few but an entire nation (REPR1, 391). Recently, new protests have been announced and demands for Boluarte’s renunciation continue (Y. Vega, 2023; Aquino & Álvarez Guevara, 2023)

Also, new demands have arisen:

“[T]here is something that I think is more important than what we have postponed for too long, and that is the issue that costs lives: police reform [...] According to the latest IEP⁴ survey, 88% of the people are certain that the police killed. We have never had such a high percentage before, even including families of police officers[.]” (REPR2, 575).

However, other perceptions perceive the structural impact as low to transform the POS in the long term:

“[..]we may romanticize it a lot [...] I mean, sometimes revolutions happen, right? But revolutions always imply that the political system is replaced by a new one. Within a legitimate political system, it shouldn't be [...] It can't be that change happens through blackmailing government [...]” (RENP2, 194).

Furthermore, some see the protests as an “assault against the democratic state” (Reid, 2023) and trace it back to organized assaults by leftist parties that supported Castillo. Rather than a protest in favour of democracy, some scholars claim that the protests are a coalition against repression (Coronel, 2023). Furthermore, the protest is perceived in the context of the remnants of the terrorist movement Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), which activities took over in the time of the civil war in the 1980s, see Appendix C. Some scholars see the protests as the movement's reorganization in South Peru (Reid, 2023).

Another impact that will block the structural impacts is the deepening of the division in Peru along political and ethnic conflict lines (RENP1, 384; Coronel, 2023). 2 Respondents, both non-protesters, believe that there is no common ground as the left and the right are “entrenched” in their positions (RENP2, 276; RENP3, 345). Non-protesters suggest that the left and radical factions will use the victims of the protests to emphasize the brutality faced by protesters against those perceived as belonging to Lima and the economic elite (RENP2, 276):

“The left has become more left, the right has become more right. We have moved towards extremes. Instead of what I mentioned earlier about uniting, the protests have polarized Peru” (RENP3, 341)

It is doubted that there will be a significant increase of conscience in society but a persistent denial of long-standing conflicts such as racism and the mistreatment of indigenous populations. One respondent highlighted the recurrence of these issues and express uncertainty about what it will take

⁴ Institute of Peruvian Studies

for society to change:

“It seems like we are once again confronted with a classist and racist divide that appears insurmountable in Peru.” (RENPI, 385)

The radicalization due to one-sided perceptions is suggested (RENPI2, 271) likewise as rising distrust in political parties, which has risen to 93,1% since the succession of Boluarte (INEI, 2023; Coronel, 2023, REPR3, 418).

Apart from that, it has to be noticed that Peru was hugely criticized for the handling of the protest by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the Inter-American Court for Human Rights (OAS, 2023; Rebaza, 2023; Muñoz Acebes, 2023). Some non-protesters however argue that

“One's rights begin where another's rights end. In Peru, there have been instances of looting, violence, and actions that harm the rights of third parties who did not want to participate or were in agreement or disagreement. That is why, at certain times, certain types of protests were suppressed. However, it was never an unfounded repression.”. (RENPI3, 214)

This also shows the divergence in perceptions of the armed forces and their actions.

Furthermore, the protests in Peru have led to a deterioration of the relations with neighbouring countries. Ambassadors of Columbia and Mexico were expelled and only in May, the Mexican president was declared persona non grata. Also, the pacific alliance, which is a relevant interregional economic alliance with Chile, Columbia and Mexico, is stalled as Mexico rejects the delivery of the chair to Peru. Mexico doesn't approve of Boluarte as the rightful president (Deutsche Welle, 2023). On the national level, economic activity and foreign investment have decreased by half as an impact of the protests (CEIC, n.d.). The protests and their consequences are likely to result in years of economic setbacks, including loss of economic output and already led to an increase in the country's risk profile with a negative economic outlook (Fitch Rating, 2023; RENPI3, 330). This, in turn, could aggravate the precarious situation of some protesters and lead to new uprisings.

The perceptions of the structural impacts of the social movement in Peru are split among the respondents. If protests are to be continued, the accumulation can lead to the transformation of the established structures and thus, structural impacts. The assumption that a social movement broadens its demands to bring about change to the existing political system and may lead to the formation of new parties is met. However, if this will materialize in a long-term change of the political system is esteemed differently depending on the position of the respondent and concerning how favourable this transformation of the opportunity structures would be, for protesters and Peru's democracy. The structural impacts that are evident now, such as the deepening of fragmentation in society and the continuation of protests, indicate that the POS may transform not necessarily into an opposite direction, but into a more deadlocked one. The assumption that structural impacts occur when substantial and procedural impacts are low, is debatable in the case of Peru and would need revision in a moment in future.

In summary and concerning SQ4, it became evident that the lack of impacts is explained on one hand because protesters failed to organize to achieve goals effectively and because some of their goals are not feasible, such as the reinstatement of Castillo. On the other hand, the lack of impact is explained by Peru's opportunity structures. The closed and weak structures inhibit impacts as they lack the necessary capacities both on the input and output structure. Lastly, the uncertain change of the opportunity structure in future will be influenced by social conflicts.

11. Conclusion

11.1. Findings

At the beginning of this thesis, the question *What explains the character, the activities and the impact of the recent protest movements in Peru?* was posed. The character, the activities and the impacts are explained by lacking opportunities to voice interests, such as parties that effectively represent their interests, and the inability of the weak, corrupt administration to react to these demands. People were motivated to protest because they feel neglected by a political elite, deprived of their basic rights and because of a historical social and class conflict between the urban rich and the rural, poor and indigenous.

To answer this question the theory of POS based on the elaborations of Kitschelt and Kriesi served as an orientation to analyze how Peru's opportunity structures influence the protest movement at hand. It was expected that the structures, as input and output structures, influence the characteristics of a social movement, such as goals and motives, and a movement's impact. The expectations of the independent and dependent variables are met as Peru's opportunity structures influence the character, the actions, and the impact of the protest movements.

Peru exhibits input structures that restrict access to social movements. Furthermore, the weak output structures result in ineffective policy implementation. Both aspects have explanatory relevance for the character of the protest movement which was characterized by a shared resentment. This concerned firstly the lack of being able to voice interests and to feel represented due to restriction of the input structure. Secondly, people felt neglected in the outcomes of political decisions because the output structures are weak, and implementation is inefficient.

The activities of the protests are explained based on the findings of the character and the opportunity structures. Peru, as a weak and open system invites both assimilative and disruptive strategies. This was confirmed by the findings. Protesters chose disruptive strategies, such as demonstrations and occupations because they do not consider the state to be responsive to their needs and demands.

Lastly, procedural and substantive impacts are low. This is explained by the theoretical assumptions of the theory of POS. Procedural changes in decision-making processes are low due to the limited access points in the closed system. Furthermore, the existence of a political elite hinders change in decision-making. Substantive impacts such as changes in policy outcomes are low because access to the decision-making process is restricted and because of Peru's weak output structures to implement reforms. Moreover, protest movements and actors such as parties are unable to aggregate their interests to influence the process effectively which also explains the low structural impacts. However, some of the goals were not feasible to be transformed into an impact. Peru's opportunity structures explain however why the protests have broadened, cover new demands and form parties as a precondition for change. How and if this will result in long-term structural impacts however is uncertain. Next to the opportunity structures the theory suggests, the historical social and ethnical conflicts must be considered as they influence the structural impacts likewise.

Nevertheless, the explanatory power of the POS according to Kitschelt's criteria for the character, the activities and the impact of the protest movements in Peru is only partial which will be revised next.

11.2. Discussion

It needs to be considered that the application of the theory has shown certain limitations during the analysis. It became evident, that the criteria to identify a system as closed or open and its influence on the choice of strategy and impact were relevant starting points. However, the analysis showed that the criteria were too simplified which supports the mentioned criticism in the theory chapter. Concerning the input structures, it became evident that not only the number of parties should be considered but particularly their functionality which can hinder the effective communication of interests and the access of the electorate. Secondly, the legislative should not only be considered in

its independence from the executive but also concerning economic influences that can distort its functioning. Also, the deadlock of the political powers in the presidential system as it inhibits the functioning of the bodies and increases resentment among the population. Concerning the output structures, Peru has the features of a centralized country, however, this doesn't necessarily facilitate an effective policy implementation due to its weak administration and widespread corruption. The applicability of a model that focuses on the revision of political and administrative structures is contested when the structures are undermined by corruption which leads to a structural problem for the input and output sides. Since Kitschelt's approach was conceptualized according to the examples of Western democracies, this might explain why Peru doesn't match the criteria.

Furthermore, the methodological limitations of this research need to be considered. As explained in the methodology chapter, there are limitations to the data collection. This concerns its size, the influence of the researcher's social environment and the restrictions to interview people with a certain technical setup and digital literacy. Future research could address this limitation by conducting on-site interviews in Peru. Furthermore, research could try to address the obstacle of limited internal and external validity by conducting more interviews and including more respondents. Quantitative studies could be helpful to investigate if the findings are representative on a large scale.

Nevertheless, this research has filled a relevant data gap in the limited database on the protest movements in Peru. The interviews gave exclusive insights to develop an in-depth understanding of the social phenomenon itself and the different perceptions depending on the respondent's position reflected the complexity of the case. Furthermore, it allowed a unique chance to review the applicability of the theoretical assumptions which would not have been possible with a sole literature review. The analysis of Peru helped to generate more knowledge about the political system and the country-specific processes of a less researched country.

11.3. Implications

Future research can explore how Peru compares to other countries in the region to determine if the findings regarding the limited applicability of theoretical assumptions are generalizable or specific to this case. As a practical implication, the identification of the restrictions of the POS in Peru can serve as a starting point for the crafting of measures to overcome these challenges. Supranational institutions such as the UN with the mandate for the promotion of the economic and social progress of all people or political foundations that work in the local context already could cooperatively develop solution approaches to restore stability in the country. Peru is also an important economic partner, which is why its domestic stability, the overcome of corruption and the strengthening of democracy is also of interest to cooperating countries.

12. List of references

- Adams, W. M. (2015). *Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. eBooks (pp. 492–505). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119171386.ch19>
- Amnesty International (2017). Peru: Authorities neglect Indigenous Peoples exposed to contaminated water. Amnesty International <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/09/peru-lasautoridades-desatienden-a-los-pueblos-indigenas-expuestos-a-agua-contaminada/>, accessed on 20.06.2023
- Aquino, L. & Álvarez Guevara, L. (2023) ¡Que se vayan todos! Alcalde del Cusco pide la salida de Dina Boluarte y nuevas elecciones. La República. <https://larepublica.pe/sociedad/2023/06/16/cusco-que-se-vayan-todos-alcalde-del-cusco-pide-la-salida-de-dina-boluarte-y-nuevas-elecciones-lrnd-282016> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Aquino, M (2023) Over 50 injured in Peru as protests cause “nationwide chaos.” Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/peru-grapples-with-nationwide-chaos-protests-spread-2023-01-20/>, accessed on 19.03.2023
- Bertelsmann Stiftung (2020) BTI Country Report — Peru. Gütersloh. https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2020_PER.pdf
- Bertelsmann Stiftung (2022) BTI Country Report — Peru. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022, accessed on 19.05.2023 , https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2022_PER.pdf
- Bleile, R. (2021). " We can't breathe" in these political structures-Political opportunity structures and anti-racism movements (Bachelor's thesis, University of Twente). <https://essay.utwente.nl/view/faculty/BMS.html>
- Briggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*. Cambridge University Press.
- Britannica (n.d.) Shining Path. Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Shining-Path> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Busse, A. B., & Huamán, C. J (2020) Desequilibrio y Disolución de Poderes en Democracias Presidenciales: EL CASO PERUANO. Serie Avances de Investigación (1st ed). ONPE, Lima. (p. 15-16) <https://cdn.www.gob.pe/uploads/document/file/2129018/serie-avances-investigacion-1.pdf>
- Castro, A. (2021) Pedro Castillo obtuvo la votación más alta en el 90% de distritos con territorios indígenas. Ojo Público. Pedro Castillo obtuvo la votación más alta en el 90% de distritos con territorios indígenas | Ojo Público (ojo-publico.com), accessed on 26.06.2023
- CEIC (n.d.) Peru Foreign Direct Investment. CEIC. <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/peru/foreign-direct-investment#:~:text=Related%20information%20about%20Peru%20Foreign%20Direct%20Investment&text=Its%20Foreign%20Portfolio%20Investment%20fell,USD%20bn%20in%20Dec%202022> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Collins, D. (2023) Peru's deadly protests: what is happening and why are people so angry? The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/feb/08/peru-protests-president-election-what-is-happening-explainer> accessed on 19.03.2023

- Contreras Carranza, C. (2016) Die peruanische Wirtschaft zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. edited by Iken Paap and Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle, Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, (pp. 93-115.). <https://doi.org.ezproxy2.utwente.nl/10.31819/9783964561381-00>.
- Coronel, O. (2023). Ni revolución ni barbarie: ¿por qué protestan en Perú?. Nueva Sociedad (304) (pp. 4-13). <https://nuso.org/articulo/304-revolucion-barbarie-protestas-peru/> , accessed on 20.06.2023
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. (4th ed.).Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications.
- Del Tredici, R., González, L., & Zarazaga, R. (2022). Buying stones: Welfare spending and protests in Argentina, 2008–2019. Governance., (p.1– 19) <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12728>
- Deutsche Welle (2023) Congreso de Perú declara persona non grata a AMLO. Deutsche Welle. <https://www.dw.com/es/congreso-de-per%C3%BA-declara-persona-non-grata-al-presidente-de-m%C3%A9xico/a-65738269> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Deutsche Welle (2023) Peru: Motion to remove president filed, protests continue. Deutsche Welle <https://www.dw.com/en/peru-motion-to-remove-president-filed-protests-continue/a-64517280> , accessed on 19.03.2023
- Epple, R. (1988) Friedensbewegung und direkte Demokratie in der Schweiz, Frankfurt, Haag und Herchen.
- Fadul, L. (2023) A timeline of unrest since Peru’s president was removed from power. Analdü Ajansi <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/a-timeline-of-unrest-since-peru-s-president-was-removed-from-power/2787319> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Fischer, T. (2016). Die Geschichte Perus seit Fujimori, edited by Iken Paap and Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle, Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, (pp. 63-92.) <https://doi.org.ezproxy2.utwente.nl/10.31819/9783964561381-00>
- Fitch Ratings (2023) Fitch Affirms Peru at `BBB`; Outlook Negative. FitchRatings. <https://www.fitchratings.com/research/sovereigns/fitch-affirms-peru-at-bbb-outlook-negative-28-04-2023> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Flam, H. (Ed.). (1994). *States and anti-nuclear movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- France24 (2023) Peru: timeline of unrest since 'first poor president' ousted. France24. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20230130-peru-timeline-of-unrest-since-first-poor-president-ousted> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Gamson, W. A., & Meyer, D. A. (1996). Framing political opportunity. Cambridge University Press eBooks (pp. 275–290). <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511803987.014>
- Gob.pe (2021) Población de jóvenes que no estudian ni trabajan en Perú aumentó a 19,1% en el 2021. Gob.pe. Población de jóvenes que no estudian ni trabajan en Perú aumentó a 19,1% en el 2021 - Noticias - Centro Nacional de Planeamiento Estratégico - Plataforma del Estado Peruano (www.gob.pe), accessed on 26.06.2023

- Helbig, R. (2022a) Staatskrise und Amtsenthebung des Präsidenten in Peru. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung <https://www.kas.de/es/laenderberichte/detail/-/content/staatskrise-und-amtsenthebung-des-praesidenten-in-peru> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Helbig, R. (2022b) Peru: Die ersten hundert Tage von Staatspräsident Pedro Castillo. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung <https://www.kas.de/es/laenderberichte/detail/-/content/peru-die-ersten-hundert-tage-von-staatspraesident-pedro-castillo> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Hidalgo (2022) Gobierno desmantela esquema de autoridades políticas de Castillo. La República. <https://larepublica.pe/politica/gobierno/2022/12/25/dina-boluarte-gobierno-desmantela-esquema-de-autoridades-politicas-de-pedro-castillo> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Hutter, S., & Grande, E. (2014). Politicizing Europe in the National Electoral Arena: A Comparative Analysis of Five West European Countries, 1970–2010. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(5), (pp. 1002-1018).
- INEI (2018). Perú Perfil Sociodemográfico, Informe Nacional . Informe Final de la Comisión de Alto Nivel para la Reforma Política - Informes y publicaciones - Presidencia de la República del Perú - Gobierno del Perú https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1539/
- INEI (2020a) Estado de la población peruana 2020. https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1743/Libro.pdf
- INEI (2020b) Perú: Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población por Departamento, Provincia y Distrito, 208-2020. https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1715/libro.pdf
- INEI (2023) Informe Técnico. N°2- Mayo 2023. <https://m.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/boletines/informe-de-gobernabilidad.pdf>
- IPSOS (2023) El sentimiento de sistema fracturado. Una encuesta de Global Advisors en 28 países. Diciembre de 2022. <https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2023-01/Global%20Advisor%20-%20Sentimiento%20de%20sistema%20fracturado%20-%202022%20-%20Informe%20gr%C3%A1fico.pdf>
- Kitschelt, H. P. (1986). Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(1), (pp. 57–85) <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000712340000380X>
- Koopmans, R. (1999). Political. Opportunity. Structure. Some Splitting to Balance the Lumping. *Sociological Forum*, 14(1), (pp. 93–105) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/685018>
- Kriesi, H. (1991). The political opportunity structure of new social movements: Its impact on their mobilization. Discussion Paper FS III, Berlin: WZB. (pp. 91-103).
- Kriesi, H. (2004). *Political Context and Opportunity*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470999103.ch4>
- Kriesi, H., Koopmans, R., Duyvendak, J. W., & Giugni, M. G. (1992). New social movements and political opportunities in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 22(2), (pp. 219–244). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1992.tb00312.x>
- Lynch, N. (2023) Peru: infinite protests and indolent elites. *NACLA*. <https://nacla.org/peru-infinite-protest-and-indolent-elites> , accessed on 19.03.2023

- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press.
- McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C., & Smith, J. (1996). Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991. *American Sociological Review*, 61(3), (pp. 478–499) <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096360>
- Meyer, D. S. (2004). Protest and Political Opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30(1), (pp.125– 145) <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110545>
- Meyer, D. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Conceptualizing Political Opportunity. *Social Forces*, 82(4), 1457–1492. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2004.0082>
- Muñoz, M. G. O. (2022). La democracia indígena en América Latina: experiencias de los Procesos Electorales 2021. *Revista de Derecho Electoral*, (33), (p.11). Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/04/26/deadly-decline/security-force-abuses-and-democratic-crisis-peru> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Muñoz Acebes, C. (2023) *Deadly Decline. Security Force Abuses and Democratic Crisis in Peru*
- OAS (2023) *IACHR Releases Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Peru*. OAS. https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/jsForm/?File=/en/iachr/media_center/preleases/2023/083.asp , accessed on 25.06.2023
- ONPE (2021) *Informativo electoral – elecciones generales 2021*, <https://www.onpe.gob.pe/modEducacion/Publicaciones/informativo-electoral-8.pdf>, accessed on 19.05.2023
- Paap, I., & Schmidt-Welle, F. (2016). *Peru heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, edited by Iken Paap and Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle, Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, (pp. 9-13)
- Quiroz, A. W. (2008). *Corrupt circles: A history of unbound graft in Peru*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Rebaza, C. (2023) *Peru protesters, including children, killed in ‘extrajudicial executions’ by security forces, Amnesty finds*. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/05/25/americas/peru-protests-extrajudicial-executions-amnesty-intl-latam/index.html> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Reid, M. (2023). La política de la destrucción y la destrucción de la política. *Letras libres*, (258), (pp. 6-9). <https://letraslibres.com/revista/la-politica-de-la-destruccion-y-la-destruccion-de-la-politica/> , accessed on 26.06.2023
- Rincón, F. (2023) *Alcalde de Lima exige a Boluarte que despliegue al Ejército en puntos clave y dice que hay manifestantes pagado* . CNN. *Alcalde de Lima: Hay manifestantes pagados en las protestas | Video (cnn.com)*, accessed on 26.06.2023
- Riz, L. De (2015, September 21). *Caudillismo*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/caudillismo> , accessed on 20.06.2023
- Rootes, C. (1999). Political Opportunity Structure POSs-promise, problems and prospects. *La Lettre de la maison Française d'Oxford* (10), (pp. 71-93).
- Saavedra, N. (2023) *¿Qué fue de la campaña "Chapa tu choro" y qué casos polémicos se originaron en el 2015? La República*. *Chapa tu choro: ¿qué fue de esta campaña y qué casos polémicos se originaron en el 2015? | Congreso | delincuencia | Sociedad | La República (larepublica.pe)*, accessed on 26.06.2023

- Schramm, W. (1971): Notes on case studies of instructional media projects. Working paper for the Academy for Educational Development. ERIC report. Washington, DC, USA.
- Skocpol, T. (1979). States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China. Cambridge University Press.
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2023) Peru. Statistisches Länderprofil. Ausgabe 06/2023. Statistisches Bundesamt. https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Laender-Regionen/Internationales/Laenderprofile/peru.pdf?__blob=publicationFile, accessed on 19.06.2023
- Stebbins, R. A. (2001). Exploratory research in the social sciences. Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412984249>
- Steinberg, F. & Kuramoto, J. (2017) Lima, Peru. Partnerships for the Sustainable Development of Cities in the APEC Region, APEC Policy Support Unit April 2017. Edited by Brian H. Roberts, Michael Lindfield and Florian Steinberg, Urban Frontiers Pty Ltd, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. https://www.apec.org/docs/default-source/publications/2017/6/partnerships-for-the-sustainable-development-of-cities-in-the-apec-region/toc/08-lima-peru.pdf?sfvrsn=4f8d2a41_1#:~:text=The%20city%20of%20Lima%20concentrates,45%20per cent%20of%20national%20GDP, accessed on 25.06.2023
- Sulik, J., Bahrami, B., & Deroy, O. (2022). The diversity gap: when diversity matters for knowledge. In: Perspectives on Psychological Science, 17(3), (pp. 752-767).
- Tarrow, S. (1988). National Politics and Collective Action: Recent Theory and Research in Western Europe and the United States. Annual Review of Sociology, 14(1), (pp. 421-440) <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.14.080188.002225>
- Tarrow, S. (1993). Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention. Social Science History, 17(2), (pp. 281-307) <https://doi.org/10.2307/1171283>
- Thiery, P. (2016). Das politische System: Verfassung, Staat und Demokratie". Peru heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur, edited by Iken Paap and Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle, Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, (pp. 143-178)
- Transparency (2023) Our work in Peru. Transparency International. <https://www.transparency.org/en/countries/peru> , accessed on 19.06.2023
- UNDP (2022) Human Development Insights. UNDP Human Development Reports. <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/country-insights#/ranks> , accessed on 20.06.2023
- Vega, R. (2022) Las tres veces que el Congreso de Perú le dijo ‘no’ a Pedro Castillo. El País. Las tres veces que el Congreso de Perú le dijo ‘no’ a Pedro Castillo | Internacional | EL PAÍS (elpais.com), accessed on 26.06.2023
- Vega, R. (2023) Dina Boluarte, cien días en medio de la tormenta. El País. <https://elpais.com/internacional/2023-03-17/dina-boluarte-cien-dias-en-medio-de-la-tormenta.html> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Vega, Y. (2023) Tercera Toma de Lima: convocan asamblea nacional para ultimar detalles para marcha contra Boluarte. La República. <https://larepublica.pe/politica/2023/06/23/tercera-toma-de-lima-convocan-asamblea-nacional-para-ultimar-detalles-para-marcha-contra-dina-boluarte-protestas-pedro-castillo-noticias-lrnd-2065492> , accessed on 25.06.2023

- Villegas A. & O'Boyle, B. (2023) Why are Peruvian politics such a mess? Inside the halls of its Congress. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/why-are-peruvian-politics-such-mess-inside-halls-its-congress-2023-02-04/> , accessed on 20.06.2023
- Vogt, W. P. (1999). Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology: A Non-Technical Guide for the Social Sciences (2nd ed.). London, Sage Publications.
- Wahlström, M., & Peterson, A. (2006). Between the state and the market: Expanding the concept of 'political opportunity structure'. *Acta sociologica*, 49(4), (pp. 363-377)
- WB- WDI (2021) World Development Indicators. The World Bank. <https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators> , accessed on 19.06.2023
- Wilson, Frank L (1987) Interest-group Politics in France. Cambridge: University Press
- Wilson, M., & Knutsen, C. (2022). Geographical Coverage in Political Science Research. *Perspectives on Politics*, 20(3), (pp. 1024-1039) . doi:10.1017/S1537592720002509
- Worldbank (2023) Foreign direct investment, net inflows (BOP, current US\$)-Peru. The World Bank. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.CD.WD?end=2022&locations=PE&start=1970&view=chart> , accessed on 25.06.2023
- Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: design and methods (3rd ed) Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications.