

THE PROCESS FROM DICTATORSHIP TOWARDS DEMOCRACY



– A case-study of Peru and Alberto Fujimori

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Abstract

This thesis aims at clarifying the societal mechanisms behind the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the context of Peru and Alberto Fujimori, who is the first democratically elected ex-president in the world to have been prosecuted and imprisoned for Human Rights violations in his own country. I will discuss and analyse how the societal factors influenced the transition. The factors are divided into the four categories: *economic, social, and politic factors; awareness and public opinion; actors; and external factors*, and together uncover the problem areas, which I have identified in my empirical data. I found that the factors are interconnected and multi-faced, which thus can influence the process both positively and negatively.

To reach an optimal insight, I have on the basis of the principles of my research strategy, historicism, which emphasises general tendencies, the context, and the perspective as a whole, combined three interconnecting data platforms. The first platform is a historical review of Latin America (L.A), shaped around demonstrating the mechanisms which influence major societal changes in a long-term perspective. The second platform consists of fieldwork to bring forth the personal narratives and living stories. The third and last platform presents the specific facts that are relevant to the case of Peru and Fujimori.

By weighing the findings of the three data platforms against my main theory and other academic hypotheses to reach deeper into all the aspects of the process from dictatorship towards democracy, I have in the light of the analysis, reached the following results:

Based on my assumption that certain economic, social, and political factors can influence one another, I have discovered that the presence of stability, order and security is the key to public acceptance and thus to the existence of dictatorship as well as democracy. Public acceptance of authoritarianism can change due to awareness of censorship, corruption, and Human Rights violations, but the determining factor, in this case, is the shift from a low degree of personal involvement, to a high degree of personal involvement in terms of feeling and experiencing fear and oppression.

Actors operate on the basis of their interests and objectives and it is these elements which determine the actors' choice about supporting dictatorship versus democracy. The empirical data points out that The United States of America (USA) is the external actor who had had the most negative influence on the democratic development in L.A., in cases where overseeing own interests meant choosing to cooperate with right-wing authoritarian regimes over democratically elected left-wing governments. In the context of Peru and Fujimori, it was Chile who had the most positive affect by accepting the request to extradite Fujimori and thus making it possible for the State of Peru to prosecute him and to hold him responsible of his crimes.

The findings demonstrate an important tendency the contemporary democratic development in L.A. – previously, the happening of major societal events was mostly triggered by outside mechanisms, where as now, changes happen from within.

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PART I



INTRODUCTION AND PRESENTATION

1. Reader's guide

This chapter has been created with purpose of providing the reader with all necessary information to fully comprehend the objective of this thesis, which is the conclusion of my study programme 'Development and International Relations – Global Refugee Studies'.

This thesis deals with changes in society related to the process from dictatorship towards democracy in a case-study of Peru and the former Head of State, Alberto Fujimori. This is a significant topic because Fujimori is the first former democratically elected president in the world to have been prosecuted and imprisoned for charges related to Human Rights abuse in his own country, a verdict which marked a new milestone in Latin American (L.A.) history in recovering from the dark years of brutal dictatorial ruling and moving towards a society based on greater justice linked to the process of democratisation (Financial Times, 2009: Web. 1). This theme is therefore also very essential to my study programme, because in a time where structures are changing and development is encouraged to happen through self sufficiency and self help rather than by force and dependency, we now see that individual regions are influencing international standards and strategies in which L.A. also play a key role (Community Development Journal, 2005: Web. 2)

I find it interesting how the L.A. society has undergone a development, which makes it possible to hold Head of States responsible of their crimes, and based on what has just been pointed out about Peru and Fujimori, I find this to be an excellent exemplification of this change and have therefore chosen this to be my research case.

1.1. Structure

As for the table of content, the project has been divided into four main parts (introduction and presentation; methodology; transition; and analysis, conclusion, perspective), in total including 12 chapters - 10 of these forming the core of the project and the last two containing information about source references and enclosures. Detailed explanations and purposes of each of the four main parts and the first 10 chapters will be outlined in the following section.

Part one serves as a general introduction to the project, outlines the problem area and the research question, as well as presents relevant definitions and a necessary delimitation.

Part two represents the methodological framework of the project, and is divided into three chapters, which individually elaborates on the theoretical and methodological foundations and approaches of the applied theory of science which also serves as the project's research strategy, the empirical research, and the main theory by Peter H. Smith. In each of these three chapters, I will explain the choice of the selected method and provide the reader with an understanding of the selections, as well as explain how the three applied methods complement each other and thereby provide the reader with a throughout understanding of the multifaceted situation.

Part three is a deductive approach to the case-study of Fujimori. This part is complemented with a foundation in historism, which is the research strategy of the project and will be presented in chapter 3. The section begins with a historical review of L.A. (chapter 6) shaped around a demonstration of general tendencies of the process from dictatorship towards democracy, and end with narrowing down these mechanisms to present the actual facts relevant to the case of Peru and Fujimori (chapter 7). The objective with part three is to locate patterns through a long-term transformation, and to place recent mechanism within an appropriate perspective.

Part four consists of the analysis, the conclusion, and a perspective. In the analysis, the essential points from the data collected in the empirical research (chapter 4), the general historical review (chapter 6), and the case of Peru and Fujimori (chapter 7), will be subject to examination. Based on the concepts of my research strategy, I will use the main theory accompanied by other academic hypotheses to discuss and analyse - a combination of analytical tools which has been chosen to reach deeper into the issues put forth in the problem area. It is the results and discoveries made in the analysis, which will be gathered in the conclusion to answer the research question. Part four will then finish off with a perspective to the conclusions made in this thesis.

2. Problem area

On April 7, 2009, Alberto Fujimori was sentenced 25 years in prison for charges mainly related to crimes against humanity. This sentence was the first of its kind in world history; a former

democratically elected leader had been prosecuted and found guilty of violations of Human Rights in his own country (Financial Times, 2009: Web. 1). Human Rights Watch's (HRW) senior Americas researcher, Maria McFarland Sánchez-Moreno, who at the time of the trial conducted advocacy on behalf of the organization, expressed that the example of Fujimori would *"go down in history as a model of what we want to see in terms of rule of law and justice [...] in Latin America"* (Human Rights Watch, 2013: Web. 3; Financial Times, 2009: Web. 1).

Indeed, since the conviction and imprisonment of Fujimori, there have been other related examples of improvements in terms of rule of law and justice in L.A, e.g. last year in Argentina where the ex-dictators Jorge Rafael Videla (1976-81) and Reynaldo Bignone (1982-83) were on July 5, 2012, sentenced to serve respectively 50 years and 15 years in prison, for systematic kidnapping of babies during their years in power (The Associated Press, 2012: Web. 4; The New York Times, 2012: Web. 5). Videla died in prison on May 17 2013, while serving his sentence (Amnistía Internacional, 2013: Web. 6). A similar trial is taking place at the moment in Guatemala where the ex-president, José Efraín Ríos Montt (1982-13), is facing charges of genocide and crimes against humanity by, i.e., the killing of 1,771 indigenous people (Amnistía Internacional, 2013: Web. 7). On May 10, 2013, Ríos Montt was found guilty and sentenced to 80 years in prison, however only one week after, the Supreme Court annulled all charges based on a complaint about missing technicalities presented by Ríos Montt's defence lawyers, entailing that the trial has now been postponed indefinitely (Amnistía Internacional, 2013: Web. 7; La Republica, 2013: Web. 8).

Over the years numerous attempts have been made to restore and introduce greater justice and accountability in the countries of L.A., but as demonstrated above, it is an extremely delicate and at times almost backwards moving process. With the objective of terminating dictatorial ruling, establishing good governance, and moving forward, the tendency has been that either the dictators themselves have implemented amnesty-laws, or that the dictators have been offered amnesty by their potential successors in return of stepping down from power. Such approach may have the potential for establishing peace, but certainly hinders prosecution of Heads of States for crimes committed during their time in office, and furthermore also suspends the victims' Right to justice (The Jakarta Globe , 2011: Web 9; Human Rights Watch, 2005: Web.

10). With these tendencies of amnesty-laws in mind, it is relevant to consider which significant societal changes made it possible to hold Fujimori responsible for his crimes, and thus becoming the first democratically elected ex-president in history to have been prosecuted and imprisoned for charges related to Human Rights violations in his own country.

On a national level, the society consists of different mechanisms, which across anthropology, political science, and sociology, stretches anywhere from the population and the culture, to the State, the economy, institutions, technology, etc. (Texas A&M University, 2013: Web. 11). Well aware of Peru's peripheral position in the world as a developing country; strongly linked to the Northern American economical and political agenda, as well as having important historical and cultural ties to Europe and other countries in Spanish America (S.A.), it is only reasonable to assume that part of such changes are caused by external mechanism (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 1-38). Looking at internal factors as well, it also seems relevant to explore the economic, political, and social situation in Peru, and also the interconnections between these, based on the point of view that economic transformation influence social changes which in return have political consequences (Ibid).

So far I have listed qualified estimations regarding different factors that are able to influence societal changes related to the process of democratisation and thus the possibility of holding Head of States responsible for their crime - estimations which I expect can be documented by a more profound analysis of the individual related societal factors to discover how these factors interconnect as well as initiate societal changes connected to the case of Peru and Fujimori.

2.1. Research question

By locating such societal mechanisms, I seek to first of all explain the reasons behind the downfall of Fujimori and thus answer the following research question:

How did the societal factors trigger the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the context of Peru and Alberto Fujimori, making it possible to hold him responsible of his crimes?

2.2. Choice of angle

Having considered the possibility to base my study on a comparison between similar cases in order to determine why exactly Fujimori was the first democratically elected ex-president to be prosecuted and imprisoned for violating Human Rights in his own country, and not someone else, I decided to refrain from such approach. One can of course try to develop patterns of similarities and differences between these cases, but there will always be some questions which cannot be answered because such answers will be based on hypothetical scenarios rather than on well documented facts.

To demonstrate: Bolivia's former dictator, Luis García Meza Tejada (1980-81), was the first former Head of State to be arrested and prosecuted overseas for Human Rights violations. He was also the first to be extradited, when he in 1993 was caught and prosecuted in Brazil, and in 1995 sent back to Bolivia where he is now serving 30 years in prison with no possibility of being pardoned (La Republica, 2013: Web 12). However the difference between Meza and Fujimori is that Fujimori was democratically elected, even after the auto-coup in 1992, and thus (to a certain degree) protected under international legitimacy and sovereignty (Skidmore et al. 2005: p. 217-19; University of Virginia, 2013: Web. 13).

A very similar case involves Chile's ex-leader, Augusto Pinochet Ugarte (1973-90), who created a huge Media-show, when he was the first diplomat to be arrested and prosecuted overseas, and also sentenced to extradition, on a warrant alleging that he had committed atrocities against Spanish citizens (The Guardian, 1998: Web. 14). Despite the Chilean government's claim of violation of diplomatic immunity, a British judge ruled on October 8, 1999, that Pinochet was not entitled to absolute immunity arguing that crimes against humanity cannot be regarded as the actions of a Head of State, and that Pinochet therefore indeed could be extradited to Spain (Remember Chile, 2001: Web. 15). However, Pinochet was released on medical grounds and returned to Chile in 2000, and died on December 10, 2006. Despite of the Chilean Supreme Court's attempt to hold Pinochet responsible of his crimes, he died before there was a final ruling on the matter (Remember Chile, 2001: Web. 15). Like Meza, Pinochet took power by a State-coup, but his 17 years of ruling were given a legal framework under the 1980 referendum of both amnesty-law and diplomatic immunity when he peacefully stepped down in 1990, paving the

way for a democratic election, and continued to serve as Commander-in-Chief until 1998, and later as senator-for-life (The Library of Congress, 2010: Web. 16). Pinochet's case also include the twist that he died during trials entailing that it is neither possible to foresee nor, perhaps most importantly, document what would have happened if Pinochet was still alive.

A third example goes for the previously mentioned ex-dictator Videla, whose trials began back in 1980's, which was before Fujimori even became president. However, due to several years of going back and forth between trials, a presidential pardon, an official determination of the illegality of Videla's presidency, and the matter of the differences between tendencies in the 1980's and the 2000s L.A., the sentence was not implemented until July 5, 2012. This matter of differences in tendencies between decades will be further discussed in chapter 6 (BBC, 2006: Web. 17; The New York Times, 1989: Web. 5).

In fact, between all these examples of former Heads of State, Fujimori is the only one who was democratically elected. However, despite the inconsistencies, these cases are both relevant and important, because they exemplify the results of the process from dictatorship towards democracy and the mechanisms which lie behind such transformation.

2.2.1. The process from dictatorship towards democracy

“Transitions have to start somewhere. And as a matter of definition, transition towards democracy begins as transition away from authoritarianism” (Smith, 2005: p. 45). This is how the scholar Peter H. Smith defines the starting point of such process but then continues by emphasising the uncertainty of this transition, which may or may not result in complete democracy: *“They could also lead to the exchange of one kind of authoritarian regime (or ruler) for another, or to the temporary installation of democracies that might soon succumb into dictatorship. There is nothing inevitable about democracy”* (Smith, 2005: p. 48).

However, since the name indicates that the process is moving towards democracy and not towards the beginning of another dictatorship, this term will be used to describe a process reflecting societal changes that are characteristics of democracy. In the context of this project, there are statements related to the conviction of Fujimori which highlight improvements in

justice and Human Rights in terms of rule of law; all important components of democracy (Human Rights Watch, 2013: Web. 3; Financial Times, 2009: Web. 1; Democracy Building, 2004: Web. 18). And so, when using the term ‘the process from dictatorship towards democracy’, I am referring to a process with the time frame starting from the downfall of Fujimori till the day of his conviction, and most importantly, indicating a process of democratisation, yet not a finish point. It is the mechanisms of this democratisation; the societal factors, I will address in the analysis and the conclusion.

PART II



METHODOLOGY

3. Theory of science

The purpose of ‘Methodology’ is to present the selected methodological approaches, and also to account for all of the choices and strategies used to create the framework of these approaches in the context of the theme of the thesis. Part two will begin with chapter 3: the theory of science, historicism, and then move on to chapter 4: the empirical research based on two types of field work; participant observations and interviews, and lastly chapter 5: the main theory by Peter H. Smith. The logic behind this chronological order is that historicism has a major influence on the whole execution of the project, hence the research strategy, and thus on the choice of the empirical- and theoretical approach.

Before providing a presentation of historicism, it is necessary to explain the terminological meaning of this word in order to prevent any confusion. Historicism, as an overall tendency, refers to a revolutionary new way of thinking in the 1800s Europe, which I will return to later on (Collin et al. 2001: p. 171-175). Two important things should be emphasised.

First of all, historicism is both the general name of the theory of science but also the name of one of the two different schools within this way of looking at the world (Ibid). As a research strategy, also referred to as School or tradition, historicism looks to understand happenings from a statutory process, which according to this idea makes it possible to predict the course of history (Ibid). The other research strategy, historism, sees the history as being determined by humans’ values and choices in the context of a given time period, and is the one which will be employed in this thesis (Ibid).

Second of all, Bernard Eric Jensen, the author of ‘*Historisme*’ from the publication ‘*Humanistisk videnskabsteori*’ serving as the academic foundation for this chapter, claims that in English there do not exist the same sub-categories of terms to distinguish between the two schools historism and historicism, as we find in Danish or German (Ibid) However, I have in several contexts found the use of historism on equal terms with the Danish sub-category ‘historisme’, such as in the British ‘Merriam-Webster’ online dictionary, and the German online art and books auction agency, ‘Kettere Kunst’(Merriam-Webster, 2013: Web. 19; Ketter Kunst, 2013: Web. 20). Therefore I argue that historism is not only a valid term, but that the use of this sub-category can prevent a potential mix-up between two very contradicting schools within the same theory of science.

As the chosen research strategy, historicism will not only help to explain the fundamental framework and execution of this project - it will also help the reader to understand the approach and the choice of angle; the selection of methods, literature, empirical research, and theory; the creation of conceptualisation, definitions, and delimitations; and even help to understand the findings in the analysis and the final conclusion of these. The following section will provide an introduction to historicism based on the book *'Humanistisk videnskabsteori'* written by 11 authors, i.a. Finn Collin. When using historicism, I am therefore referring to the authors' understanding of this term.

3.1. Historicism as a research strategy

Historicism argues that all events and conditions are to be considered as parts of a historical sequence, where all happenings in their nature are unique and together represent the history as a development-process (Collin et al. 2001: p.p. 171-175). This means, that in order to understand human beings and their institutions, cultures, societies, populations, and nations as individual sizes, it is essential to examine their origin and development within their specific historical context: *"The study of the past hereby became the key to understand how the conditions are in the present and which possibilities there will be in the future."*¹(Ibid).

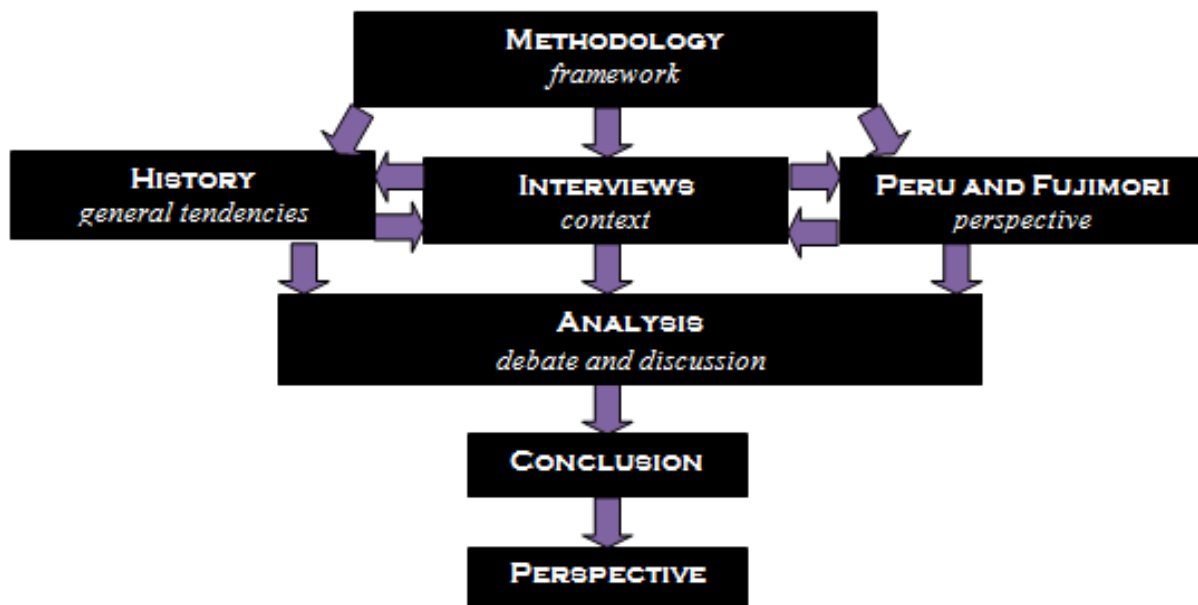
The conceptual framework of historicism is not only based on a definition on how to understand the world but, more importantly, also has its trademarked in breaking with the previous dominating perceptions of science; Philosophy of History and Natural Rights (Collin et al. 2001: pp. 176-180). This rejection unfolds from vital perceptions of the human nature and the society; an acceptance of the world as a fixed system, and the assumption that human beings have a universal and unchanging nature and that this can be identified and formulated through a set of abstract concepts (Ibid). Oppositely, historicism sees science as research with an acceptance of knowledge based on empirical studies and furthermore states that it is impossible to obtain a reliable and valid insight into history without such study of the source material (Ibid). Thus, the conditions to obtain an objective is to place it within its rightful historical context and to

¹ *"Studiet af fortiden blev hermed nøglen til at forstå, hvordan forholdene er i nutiden, og hvilke muligheder der vil være i fremtiden."*

understand it based on its own term in order to eliminate own prejudices and to avoid supercilious views (Ibid).

3.2. Relevance

Even though historicism is mainly categorised as a humanistic science, it can also be used in many connections where it crosses over to social science (Collin et al. 2001: pp. 12-14). I do not distinguish between using historicism as purely a social science or a humanistic science because such clarification is based on the use of technical terms and approaches related to these sciences rather than the study object: *“The society consists of individuals and one cannot examine the society without also dealing with individuals. Vice versa, humans live in societies and one cannot examine humans without also including their societal affiliation”*² (Ibid). It is this inevitable connection between human beings and the society which has had an essential influence on the choice of methods for the project. To reach the best understanding possible of the societal factors connected to the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the case of Peru and Fujimori; by looking both at the society and the people living in it, this thesis combines three interconnecting data-platforms, which for historicism represents the essential mix between the general tendencies, the context, and the perspective. This procedure which will be further illuminated in the following research design (Collin et al. 2001: pp 171-175):



² *”Samfundet består af individer, og man kan ikke undersøge samfundet uden også at beskæftige sig med individer. Omvendt lever mennesker nødvendigvis i samfund, og man kan ikke beskæftige sig med mennesker uden også at komme ind på deres samfundsmæssige tilhørsforhold.”*

That historicism has been thoroughly selected as the applying theory of science and research strategy is based on its aim to not only locate the chronological order in a series of data and reconstructing the effects and the links between these in a historical process – historicism also seeks to interpret the findings and to identify the triggers that have caused a given event (Collin et al. 2001: pp. 11-29). This objective thus falls perfectly into line with my goal of locating the societal factors which initiates the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the case of Peru and Fujimori.

Historicism furthermore fits the inside-out approach of understanding the events from a point of view tied to the society of Peru by investigating the causes of the events from its contextual environment. Another very interesting aspect about using historicism is, when looking at the School's rejection of historicism, the philosopher Karl R. Popper states that believing in laws of nature as a fixed and predictable system is to deny human beings' their freedom of action and thereby to justify totalitarian ideologies, which in Popper's contextual period of time was a critique of the development of society in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany (Hacohen, 2000: p. 397). This contradiction between approaching history as a fixed system of power and hierarchy or a developing process is rather fascinating in the perspective of investigating the transition from dictatorship towards democracy. On one side there is a totalitarian system and on the other side a system representing development and among others human beings' freedom of action. Another essential deviation between these two schools is that historicism tends to lean towards natural science in its philosophy of laws of nature and fixed systems, which in turn can easily become an upside-down approach of the old orders and structures of powers. This is something historicism has been severely criticised for as it speaks against understanding an object from its proper environment, which then also is in contrast to the inside-out approach of the thesis (Collin et al. 2001: p. 172).

4. Empirical research: Anthropology and the legitimacy of fieldwork

A vast amount of general, academic research related to transition from dictatorship towards democracy in L.A. countries has already been conducted; i.e. the one by Smith. However, to properly understand the role of individual citizens and the impact on the local society, historicism

emphasises the importance of personal and local narratives to obtain a reliable and valid insight in the study of Peru and Fujimori, as explained in section 3.2. To capture such narratives, the acknowledged anthropological method of field research, also known as fieldwork, has been employed to study human beings and their culture. Within this world of fieldwork lies recognition of the essentiality of the context of the research-object, which corresponds with the framework of historicism's contextual and inside-out approach (Hastrup et al. 1989: p. 7). When researching the field of anthropology it is very important to accept the necessity of stepping outside one's own comfort-zone and to enter the unknown land; to think, see, feel and live as a member of the unknown culture, but at the same time to be aware of one's role as an anthropologist from another culture: this is the core of fieldwork – involvement and detachment (Robben et al. 2012: p. 1).

The fieldwork has been conducted in two different time periods and based on two different qualitative methods. Firstly, participant observations in the decision-making phase, to gather inspiration for the thesis, to decide upon a direction and to create a framework. Secondly, interviews, to narrow the range of data and collect more specifically applicable information for analytical purposes. Even though participant observations do not play a direct role in the analysis, these two methods are combined in this chapter, as they are mutually complementary. The results of the participant observations came to determine the geographical focal-point for conducting the interviews and thus also influenced the choice of the interviewees, which will be further explained in this chapter.

4.1. Participant observation

Contrary to the classic research situation, where the researcher separates him- or herself from the research-object, participant observation is a method which involves the anthropologist. In this situation the researcher experiences the unknown society from 'within' by living in the foreign society for a given period of time and taking part in its daily life (Hastrup et al. 1989: p. 8; Quinebaug Valley Community College, 2009: Web. 21).

I arrived in Peru the very first time on September 5, 2011 in connection with an internship placement at ‘Centro de la Promoción de la Mujer del Pueblo’³ (CEPROMUP) in Villa El Salvador, which is a district located in the south of Lima. During my first stay, which lasted eight months, I lived with two different Peruvian host families and had very little face-to-face contact with other foreigners as myself, which quickly provided me with a more profound insight into Peruvian society. In the time period of conducting participant observations, I was travelling to various cities in Peru: Cajamarca, Piura, Mancora, Ica, Huancachina, Arequipa, Cuzco, and Lima which represent the country’s three regions of coast, highland and jungle. I was in contact with many different Peruvians and seized any opportunity to engaged myself in conversations with them; asking questions about Alberto Fujimori, his time as president, pros and cons, the trial etc. One of the earliest observations was that geography played a vital role in how much people’s opinions about Fujimori differ. This makes sense based on the fact that Fujimori was leading a central government giving little attention to areas away from the capital. A fact that cause me to choose Lima as the geographical focal-point of conducting interviews as further explained in section 4.2.1. (The Library of Congress, 2010: Web. 22).

Even though the anthropologist most likely will never become fully adapted to the society being studied, the relations which are being created between the anthropologist and the members of the unknown society will automatically assign the anthropologist a place in their everyday life (Hastrup et al. 1989: p. 8). However, this involvement can very often appear to be both confusing and unsettling as the anthropologist must adapt to new customs which may create doubts and questions about even the most fundamental values of life (Ibid). For instance, a question that has always occupied me concerning L.A. is why people support dictatorship. To clarify this matter, I always made an extra effort to guide the conversations in that direction when participating in conversations about Fujimori. This subject will be further elaborated on in the analysis.

On Saturday 21, 2012, I was invited to a barbeque-dinner at my friend Cesar Rios Torres’ house in the capital district of Surco. As a guest from afar, his family asked me about my business in Lima, and it did not take long before everyone was passionately involved in the debate concerning Fujimori. It was a very emotional conversation with stories about their individual

³ A Women’s development centre

experiences, and one of Cesar's uncles, who has been working for the national police for about 40 years, told me about how terrorists were killing police officers and their families, about car bombs in the streets, and the fear they lived through each day. More details about this time period will be presented in chapter 7. However, within this family, there was a disagreement about the legitimacy of the methods of Fujimori's fight against terrorism; the methods by which he was sentenced 25 years in prison. At one point, Cesar's aunt turned towards me and asked "*but what would you have done in his (Fujimori's) place?*" and everyone were suddenly looking at me. It was in that moment I realised that I had been looking at this issue from a rather ideological and westernised perspective; all my arguments were based on the reality I was living in; growing up in a secure and vibrant democracy where, among my birthrights were my Right to exist, my Right to freedom, etc., I did not have to fight for them, because these basic Rights had already been provided for me, but not everyone are as privileged as I am, to live in such reality.

Travelling, observing, and conversing have therefore been an important and necessary process of this thesis because it has provided me clearer overview and aided me in structuring the theme of the thesis. Additionally, it has provided me with greater empathy and also an increased ability to approach this subject without being judgmental and supercilious which, as mentioned in chapter 3 and chapter 4, is an important element in being a researcher but also when using historicism as a research strategy. In order not to colour the outcome it has been a priority to not view the results with my western judgement when conducting the second part of the field research. Thus, the objective of the interviews are not to reveal Fujimori's atrocities but to capture his positive deeds as well to truly understand the effect he had and still has on the population and the society as a leader.

4.2. Interviews.

Conducting interviews is a well-known social research method applied to collect relevant and often personal information; however, it is of vital importance to choose both the right approach and framework in relation to the objectives (Jeremiassen et al., 2010: p. 7). Reflecting upon the Problem Statement and the overall research strategy; the aim of using interviews is to access personal insights to better understand the societal changes related to the downfall of Fujimori and hence the transition from dictatorship to democracy.

By using a qualitative, semi-structured, narrative approach, focus is first and foremost on the importance of the content of the stories provided by the interviewees rather than the amount of interviews. This is important because even though the interviews are employed to identify a general tendency in the specific context of Peru and Fujimori and the transition from dictatorship towards democracy, the diversities and disagreements of the interviewees are just as significant as their similarities and agreements in order to obtain the most realistic results possible (Jeremiassen et al., 2010: pp. 42-52). Moving on to narrative interviews, this approach is normally based on non-structured, non-interconnectional scenery with the goal of collecting subjective information about the interviewees' lives, however the lack of participation from the interviewer prevent the interviewees from entering the 'world of imagination'⁴; the platform on which the context of the interview is created and outlived (Ibid). Important parts of the interviewees' stories will therefore most likely not be revealed as these are not found relevant by the interviewees in the absence of understanding the context. The narrative aspect will therefore be combined with a semi-structured approach, allowing the interviewer to carefully guide the interview in accordance with the interview-guide while still providing the interviewees with the opportunity to bring out the stories that they find the most relevant for the context of the interview (Ibid).

4.2.1 Approaching the interviews

Having considered the possibility to conduct interviews in Peru on a national level and thus to incorporate regional contrasts, I quickly discovered that Fujimori's heavy centralization had resulted in most people living far away from the capital had distanced themselves from taking part in and having opinions about national matters - unless of course these matters directly had affected the local community (The Library of Congress, 2010: Web. 22). This I experienced in Cajamarca, where I met victims of the internal conflict; women who had been forcibly sterilized during the Fujimori-administration's population control campaign. I will return to this theme in chapter 7. Reflecting upon the results of my participant observations, I therefore found it most suitable to carry out the interviews in Lima. I also saw this as a necessary choice to go deeper into a narrower subject instead of a broad product with too many loose ends, but I furthermore

⁴ 'Forestillingsverden'

acknowledge that by doing so, I will limit the outcome to a point of view based on those who live in the capital rather than a broader representation.

I started out by making two important criteria to select the interviewees. This was to make sure that there would be a minimum level of comprehension of the context of the interviews. First of all, they must have lived in Lima during the presidency of Fujimori (1999-2000). Second of all, they must be minimum 30 years old, which then would give the interviewees a minimum age-range of 12-22 years between 1999 and 2000. By making use of my network, and within the two criteria, I chose the four interviewees who responded first. I thus came up with this combination: Interviewee R, working as an English-teacher at 'Britancio'; Interviewee C who is a personal trainer; Interviewee S, a former journalist now working as a professor at 'Instituto San Ignacio de Loyola' (ISIL); and Interviewee JR, the director of Amnesty International (AI) Peru. Because of his position, Interviewee JC announced that he had to speak on behalf of AI Peru which means that in the analysis, I am mostly using the results from the three civilian interviewees as the frame of these interviews is based on personal narratives. Interviewee JC has in return provided a more detailed and professional aspect - a combination which has turned out to work very well. That the group of interviewees consist of three men and one woman has in my opinion not had any significant impact on the results as my objective is not to find differences across gender but rather to unite the interviewees so they represent one group. This is also why I have not included gender in the presentation of the interviewees.

When conducting interviews, there are a number of ethical considerations, which must be taken into consideration and the interviewer should always show ethical reflections regarding the role as a researcher, towards the interviewees, and also in relation to the knowledge that is being produce (Kvale, 1997: pp. 122-123). To do so, I first of all structured the frames of the interviews around openness, trust, and respect by providing the interviewees with basic details about the project. Most importantly, I also emphasised that the objective was not to test whether or not they are experts on the theme or to point out if they are pro- or con-Fujimori, but rather to obtain an insight in their personal knowledge and (Jeremiassen et al., 2010: pp. 42-52). I furthermore provided the interviewees with the opportunity to choose time and place suitable to their daily schedule; they could also choose between being interviewed in English or Spanish;

and then I additionally offered the interviewees anonymity and a copy of the completed transcriptions and report.

4.2.2 Procedures

The interviews took place face to face, which was a clear advantage both regarding the authenticity of the outcome and the communication as a whole. Because two of the interviewees choose to communicate in Spanish, which is not my Mother Tongue, meeting face to face provided me with the advantage to read the interviewees' body language and face expressions and fully understand they way they express themselves. Face to face interviews also produce more reliable knowledge in contrast to written communication, where the interviewees have time to reflect about which answers they think sound more correct and it also eliminate the opportunity to read the interviewees' body language and face expressions (Kvale, 1983: pp.171-196). During the interviews, I recorded the conversations and took only a few notes in order to pay full attention to what was being said.

When transcribing the interviews, I performed some minor revisions to make the text more fluent and thus easier to read with a strong emphasis on the quality of the analysis, while still being as true as possible to the original interviews. The symbol [...] indicates, that I have refrained from repeating words, e.g. in situations where the interviewees repeated the same word twice or more, or in situations where they were uncertain about how to pronounce a certain word, which happened with Interviewee R and Interviewee JC, who I interviewed in English.

I have furthermore translated all quotes used in the analysis to English, to create a more uniformly style, which means that I also had to make some few adjustments in relation to the order of the words as the interviews are characterized by Spanish as the interviewees' native language. Because I have only selected the most relevant parts of the transcriptions to be included in the analysis, I also found it necessary to insert words in parentheses, which are important for the comprehension of the quotes.

In the analysis, I have inserted the interviews' source references in foot notes. This is because the full references are often rather long which can be very disturbing for the reader. Additional references to books, texts, and articles have been carried out according to more traditional

standards with the classical parenthesis is the end. An alternative solution could be to make an appendix with all the quotes and their references used in the analysis; however I found the foot notes to be an excellent solution because the reader then directly can find out, who is saying what, especially in situations where I refer to statements rather than the individual interviewees.

4.2.2 Summary of interviews

In the following section is a joint summary of the transcriptions of the four interviews, gathered in enclosure 1. Starting by asking the interviewees' about their general opinions regarding Fujimori, Interviewee C and Interviewee S state that Fujimori overall was a good president, whereas Interviewee R and Interviewee JC are of the opposite opinion.

However, despite mixed opinions, the four interviewees agree upon the following. On one side, Fujimori turned around the 1980's economic crisis and stimulated economic growth. He also ended the terrorist groups' ravaging, which created a sense of stability, security, and order - economically, socially, as well as politically. On the other side, there were some negative features about the Fujimori-administration, e.g. censorship, corruption, and Human Rights violations. Interviewee C and Interviewee S furthermore highlight that Fujimori's right hand and chief of the national intelligence service, Vladimiro Montesinos, had a very negative influence on Fujimori's policies and methods. Stability, security, and order are an essential, repeating theme in the four interviews, and Interviewee R and Interviewee JC speak directly of this, of Fujimori's positive performance and results, as a way to which people accepted the oppression.

All three civilian interviewees agree that it was the exposition of Montesinos' bribery of a congressman to join the Fujimori-coalition for the 2000-election, which pushed the limit of acceptance, and all four interviewees also state that Fujimori's major crimes were corruption and the Human Rights violations.

When the interviews took place in 2012, there was a major national debate taking place regarding the possibility of Fujimori receiving a presidential pardon, which his family had requested earlier that same year, stating that Fujimori was fighting against terminal cancer and a heavy depression. Interviewee R talked about this debate as an important political strategy,

because on one side, Fujimori still has a great deal of public and political support, and so by keeping the opportunity open, it will be easier for the government to keep the Congress united. However, on the other side, the current president has a brother in prison, so releasing Fujimori would enforce the State to also support the release of the president's brother.

Regardless of different opinions about Fujimori, Interviewee S is the only one who believe that Fujimori should be pardoned due to his old age and explains that the true prison is within, where as Interviewee C, Interviewee R, and Interviewee JC put a strong emphasis on the moral aspects, the level of corruption, and the grave crimes of Human Rights violations

Rounding off the interviews, I asked what the prosecution and imprisonment of Fujimori has meant, to which the interviewees pointed out that due to the Media's intense monitoring, it has become more difficult for the politicians to be corrupt, and that the case of Fujimori also sends an important message that no matter your position, you will not be pardoned your crimes. Interviewee R furthermore added, that the prosecution and imprison of Fujimori has started a slow process, however a process nonetheless, towards more political responsibility.

5. Theory

In this chapter, I will start by introducing the selected main theory; continue to elaborate on the relevance of it and finally provide a presentation of the theoretical components, which will help me reach a conclusion to my research question.

I am using a democratic theory developed by the scholar Peter H. Smith with the objective to identify the factors by which democracies are established and sustained in L.A. in the light of the fall of dictatorships, which was the case of Fujimori (Smith, 2005: p. 7; Human Rights Watch, 2013: Web. 3). Since the actual establishment and retention of democracy is not relevant to this project, I will only focus on Smith's study of the origin of democracy; a pre-face exploring the causes behind the establishment of democracy, which, in this project, is referred to as the process from dictatorship towards democracy used synonymously with the term 'democratisation'.

Smith's approach will serve as the main analytical tool in the theoretical analysis. By identifying the causes which initiated the downfall of Fujimori, my aim is to first of all explain why these changes in the society took place, and then, based on these findings be able to determine which societal factors triggered the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the case of Peru and Alberto Fujimori.

As mentioned, Smith's research was carried out in L.A, which covers the land mass south of USA to the southern tip Cape Horn, including some Caribbean Islands, where the Romance languages French, Spanish and Portuguese, hence those derived from Latin, are mainly spoken (Skidmore et al, 2005: pp. 3-4). Politically, L.A. includes 26 nations, and economically these nations belong to the developing world, which means that historically, the countries of L.A. have undergone a major transformation from being colonies to independent nations; a theme which still affects L.A. this day today (Ibid). However, in academic approaches some nations of L.A. are often excluded from analytic comparison due to cultural or geographical reasons as in the one of Smith, where the English- and Dutch speaking islands of the Caribbean are excluded, as well as Suriname, Guyana, French Guiana, and Belize, and Cuba is not included either due to the lack of experience with electoral democracy (Smith, 2005: p. 23). Thus, the countries submitted to Smith's studies are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Smith, 2005: pp. 347-353).

Smith's theory is based on a multifaceted, interdisciplinary approach, which combines political science with history, sociology, "*and a smattering of other fields*" as he explains it himself (Smith, 2005: pp. 9-14). Thus Smith's work does not only focus on one central point but is founded on the significance and matter of these interconnecting subjects: 1) Defining 'democracy'. 2) History and the significance of the past. 3) Performance and results. 4) Class structure. 5) Institutions. 6) Ideology and public opinion. Defining the meaning of the term democracy is not an analytical component, but is none the less highly relevant to the study of democracy, because democracy comes in many versions and qualities.

To be able to recognise and distinguish between the different dimensions and limitations of democracy, it is essential to determine the presence of democratisation as well in order to fully understand the foundation of Smith's theory (Ibid). Both in theory and practice, democracy represents a form of government which is neither definitely defined nor qualified, indeed this term spans from 'complete' to 'illiberal' and all the variations in between (Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23). According to Smith, the essence of a complete democracy contains the three principles of 1) participation: no exclusion of segments of the population from the pursuit of power. 2) Competition: free, fair, regular and legitimate elections. 3) Accountability: political rulers and elected representatives serve as agents of their constituencies and must justify their actions and decisions in order to remain in office (Ibid). Smith additionally presents professor Robert A. Dahl's eight procedural minimums, which involves freedom to form and join organization; freedom of expression; the right to vote; eligibility for public office; the right of political leaders to compete for support and vote; alternative sources of information; free and fair election; and institutions for making government policies depend on votes and other expression of performance (Ibid).

The big paradox of democracy is, however that not all of the so-called democratic countries meet all of these criteria, and so explained from a theoretical point of view; it is the variation in the combination of these features which creates these different versions of democracy. In fact, Smith refers to a survey from 1996 where more than 550 different adjectives were used to qualify democracies in literature on this same subject (Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23). The problem is not the scholars formulating such terms, Smith explains, it is the autocratic rulers stretching the concept of democracy as they are seeking to legitimate their execution of power, and so one might wonder how a country can even be considered to be democratic when failing to fulfil all the requirements of complete democracy (Ibid). In this context, Smith explores what he highlights to be the two main components of democracy, which are 'elections' - representing the procedural dimension of democracy, and 'Rights' - representing the substantive dimension (Ibid). Smith thereby distinguishes between the two terms 'electoral democracy' and 'liberal democracy', which respectively refer to the presence of free and fair elections; no more and no less, and then there is the complete democracy, which provides extensive guarantees and practise constitutional protection of citizens' rights (Ibid).

On a side note, Fujimori was actually democratically elected, but drastically changed course when he carried out an auto-coup in 1992, which will be further touched upon in chapter y.

On the opposite side of democracy is authoritarianism, which is a form of government in which the ruler is the absolute leader without limitations or restrictions to constitutions, laws, oppositions, etc. (Smith, 2005: pp. 9-10). Examples of such type of governance are dictatorship, totalitarianism, tyranny, autocracy, and police states (Ibid). In this project, dictatorship and authoritarianism are therefore used as equal synonyms.

5.1. Smith's five analytical components

In contrast to most similar studies on L.A., which limit their attention to the last 35 years and thus tend to be short-sighted, Smith focuses on societal patterns of changes, trends, and events within a broad global context of 100 years (1900 and 2000) (Smith, 2005: pp. 12-19). Awareness of history and the past, which is the first component, is vital because they have taught us that democratisation is a complex process. Smith explains that: *"In nations with long-standing and continuous democracy, such as the United States, citizens find it hard to imagine plausible alternatives. In new democracies, however people have no reason to share this assumption: they regard democracy as an experiment, not as a culmination."* (Ibid). Within the 19 L.A. countries submitted to Smith's studies, the numbers of which periods of electoral democracy in the years 1900-2000 have been established and afterwards been replaced by either electoral semi-democracy, oligarchy, or non-democracy, varies between four and one, with Peru alone undergoing four of such periods between the years 1945-1947, 1956-1961, 1964-1967, and 1980-1991 (Smith, 2005: pp. 347-353).

This above mentioned point leads us to the second component of Smith's theory: performance and results. These are, according to Smith, important for the success and the maintenance of liberal democracy because in new democracies or in countries where democracies have failed in the past, people do not necessarily assume that democracy is the best form of government. People want results, so if a government fails to meet the citizens' expectations, segments of society begin longing for eras of law, order, and a clear cut authority - choosing functionality

over dysfunction, even if that means choosing dictatorship over democracy (Smith, 2005: pp. 12-14).

The third component concerns power institutions; however it is not the creation of these Smith finds interesting as institutions in general emerge from processes and negotiations which reflect a specific ideology - institutions are relevant but so are the interests forging them (Ibid).

Speaking of ideology, Smith brings up a fourth component which is the importance of understanding public opinion as this reflects the societal commitment to practice democratic politics. In a region like L.A., which has been troubled with political, economic and social distress for decades, some segments of society are only still getting used to participating in politics due to the many years of elite-ruling, meaning that only 3-5% of the population were included in such activities (Ibid; Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 48-54).

Within the social aspect of society, which is the fifth and final analytical component, Smith highlights the importance of class structure and how social conflicts influence the patterns of conflict in L.A. and thus the process of political changes (Smith, 2005: pp. 12-14). This approach further supports my assumption that certain conditions are interconnected, both to each other but also to the profound changes in society, such as social and political patterns, as estimated in my Problem Area.

When looking at Smith's theory, there is a very strong coherence between this theoretical approach and the other dimensions of my research strategy. Smith's studies were executed in the same region as I am focusing on. Furthermore, Smith and I both use interdisciplinary and multidimensional approaches, and besides also explore conditions which are interconnected to each other as well as to the process from dictatorship towards democracy. Smith also looks at the similarities and the differences between the different democratic cycles in L.A. When studying these cycles in combination, it becomes evident that they represent history as a development process, and looked into individually, they represent happenings which are unique, as in the case of Fujimori, which too is the foundation of my chosen theory of science (Collin et al. 2001: p.p. 171-175).

Even though Smith's research is focusing on the years 1900-2000; nine years before the conviction of Fujimori, it is still very much competent and relevant because, adding to what has just been stated above, it also cover the years of Fujimori's presidency (1990-2000) and therefore offers an aspect to the causes behind the downfall of Fujimori and thus the factors which initiated the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the case of Peru and Fujimori. By using additional academic hypothesis and work papers, I will add to Smith's theory which after all is essence of conducting research; first of all to produce the most correct and liable results as possible, but also to create a more diverse and up-to date angel, and hopefully to bring something new and valuable to the field.

PART III



TRANSITION

6. History matters

Looking closer into the history of Peru is, according to historicism, essential in order to identify and understand the general patterns and trends which are interconnected with transition from dictatorship towards democracy (Collin et al. 2001: p.p. 171-175). However this does not only include a national review - it is important to look at the whole region of S.A. because the countries are interlinked by numerous powerful ties, i.e. geography, culture, language, economics, etc. (Skidmore et al., 2005: p. 6). Thus the countries of S.A. have been undergoing a common pattern of development, and are furthermore to a certain degree influenced by one another. In short this means that an event in one part of this region can influence the course of actions in other parts of S.A. (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 1-5).

Dealing with this phenomenon is the domino theory, which was firstly expressed by the U.S. President, Dwight D. Eisenhower's News Conference on April 7, 1954, in the context of the spread of communism in Indochina (Ninkovich, 1994, p. 223). Eisenhower argued that the strategic importance of Indochina to the free world was first of all based on the specific value of a locality in its production of essential materials (Mount Holyoke College, 2013: Web. 23). Second of all, the possibility that many human beings would pass under autocratic ruling. Asia had already lost some 450 million of its people to the communist dictatorship, he argued, and if Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia were to follow, the world would not only suffer loss of materials but also millions of people (Ibid). And finally, in broader considerations, the possibility of the 'falling domino' principle, from the Islands of Japan, Formosa, and the Philippines, moving south to threatening Australia and New Zealand (Ibid). The impact of the domino effect and its relevance to L.A. and the case of Peru and Fujimori, will be further addressed in the analysis.

With the domino effect in mind, it is of vital importance to emphasise that not all countries of S.A. have developed equally nor according to the exact same standards, which also means that the future of the individual countries of S.A. is not necessarily bound by each other (Skidmore et al., 2005: pp. 1-12). To understand the context of Fujimori, it is necessary to begin by identifying the factors which have triggered major changes in society in order to draw comparative parallels; starting with the beginning of the foundation of contemporary S.A; the colonisation and the independence, and then moving on to other events that have shaped this continent as well.

6.1. The origin of dictatorship in Latin America

Throughout the years scholars have shown a great interest in learning why L.A. to such a particular high degree has been defined by dictatorship and the consequences to the societal structures- and development it has entailed. Many have observed that this form of rule has been a long tradition in L.A. society, and that the progress and takeover of dictators have often been the result of political instability (Ibid). However, numerous of these observations have also been generated by North American and European writers who *“frequently asked what is ‘wrong’ with Latin America. Or with Latin American themselves.”* (Skidmore et al., 2005: pp. 1-12). This same old Western discussions about whether L.A. is capable of establishing democracy or not has its roots in racial superiority, cultural differences, geographical locations, and psychological self-perception. This is worth mentioning because this type of research is in contrast to my own inside-out approach. Additionally, it is rather interesting to bring out in the open because it was the West itself (the Southern European conquistadors) who embedded the tradition of political violence into L.A. (Ibid.) As studies show, antidemocratic politics are not a legacy from the pre-Columbian society but has its roots in the Roman Catholic and Mediterranean worldview stressing the need for harmony, order, and the elimination of conflicts (Ibid).

In the late 15th century when Spain started colonising areas of the New World, the so-called S.A., viceroyalties were appointed to keep these new colonies under firm control by authority of the Spanish throne (Skidmore et al, 2005: pp 17-25). The political structure was based on monarchical, elitist rule founded on Roman Catholic values, which meant that there was a very strong link between the Catholic Church and the State (Ibid). Ideologically, this type of ruling had its roots in divine law, which is God’s own natural will; natural law, a reflection of God’s presence in nature; and human law – mans attempt to impose God’s will within society (Ibid). The objective was therefore to elevate the most prominent candidate to interpret and execute God’s will, and once in power, the most essential task was to rule according to God’s will and not to the will of the people (Ibid). This logic reflects a justification of the supremacy of the Spanish monarchy with a social structure where only 3% had access to power, and furthermore a rationale of an economic structure where wealth was based on gold, silver, land, and indigenous labour (Ibid). Thus Peru, with its richness in natural resources, a geographical location which the diversity of coast, highlands, and mountains, and additionally the home of the outstanding

indigenous group, the Incas , came to play a key role in the Spanish dominance of S.A. which lasted for nearly 300 years (Skidmore et al, 2005: pp 17-25).

6.2. Tracking independence

In the 1600s, Spain began losing significant status throughout the next centuries by defeat to other colonial powers, placing L.A. in the centre of a European power battle (Ibid). This change in the structure of world power rooted in Europe, released a series of conditions and events which in the end came to lead to the independence of S.A. (Ibid).

First there were the social changes of an increasing population within the colonies due to immigration, slave trade, and natural cause (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 22-27). The whites and creoles-segment had increased to a significant size, and as time passed by this group began to assume active roles in key sectors and demand ownership of land, which was a challenge to the Spanish crown's absolute monarchy (Ibid). Seeking to reverse Spain's declining power both in Europe and L.A, the Bourbon monarchs of 1713 imposed new administrative and political reforms, replacing S.A born elites with Spanish-born governors to take over key positions and thereby strengthen the crowns control of its colonies, as these were assumed to be more loyal towards the monarchy (Ibid). The S.A. born elite thus had to look elsewhere for positions of authority and prestige which fell perfectly into line with the Spanish monarchy's establishment of colonial militants to defend the colonies against outside threats and inside rebellions (Ibid). Exactly how the military came to play a major role in the L.A. society will be elaborated in section 6.3.

Another important event that brought along drastic changes was Napoleon Bonaparte's occupation of Spain in 1808. Not only did it create rebellion in Spain itself, but it also made the colonists argue that since Spain no longer had a government, sovereignty should revert to the people (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 28-34). When the Spanish king returned to power in 1814, many S.A. elites nonetheless concluded that there was no need to continue so they stepped back. However, some segments of the elite, such as Simón Bolivar had, from the beginning, taken advantage of the situation to seek independence for L.A (Ibid). It was not an easy task for Bolivar and his men though, because not only did they have to fight against the Spanish

monarchy; they also had to convince the colonists to commit themselves to this cause as most tended to favour the monarchy rather than being a part of the independent movements, but there was especially one event that facilitated this change (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 28-34). When returning to power after defeating France, the Spanish king imposed a liberal constitution which limited the role and power of the monarchy and the Catholic Church, and even though most colonists could accept the limitations on monarchical authority, they strongly opposed such decline in the role of the Church: *“Independence from Spain was no longer a radical or even a liberal cause. Now it was a conservative goal, a means of upholding traditional values and social codes.”* (Ibid). And so began the battles for independence.

6.3. Establishing new nations

The formation of the newly independent nations of S.A. was characterised by the physical violence of both the independence wars and the post-independence conflicts which continued in most parts of S.A.; leading to an enormous loss of people, destruction of property and infrastructure, and thus caused a drastic decline in labour-force and -capital (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 36-37).

On the political front, the S.A. born elite now withdrew to the hacienda-lifestyle at the countryside, building their own local empires while soldiers from either the previous colonial army or the independence movements sought to take over government control (Smith, 2005: pp. 20-22). It was a brutal fight for power with corrupt military leaders stealing national treasures (what was left of it from the plundering of the Spanish monarchy) and constantly changing and overthrowing each other; a situation breeding weak States with little political authority (Ibid). This situation provoked efforts to empower the State, usually through dictatorship, which then became a struggle between provincial power and central authority, and one of the central themes in the political life of the new nations was adapting the most suitable form of governance (Ibid). Some looked at Europe and its glorious history of royal dynasties for inspirations while others insisted that the way forward was to erase all traces of the era of the Spanish monarchy and thus regarded the young democracy of the United States of America (USA) as a fine choice (Ibid).

The solution became half-measures; choosing some aspects of different forms of governments and putting them together to a mix of restricting citizenry to the S.A. elite, excluding the popular masses, adopting constitutions, and also providing the president with extraordinary power in times of emergencies, known as ‘regimes of exceptions’, to deal with internal security and external threats (Smith, 2005: pp. 20-22). With the constitutional authority to suspend Civil Rights and liberties, these so-called ‘constitutional dictatorships’ fostered a political system with no respect for the rule of law, constantly changing, adding, denying, and reconstructing constitutions to force agendas (Ibid).

The creation and expansion of armies in L.A. also had a huge impact on the social order because the military became a channel to climb the social ladder where status was based on ability rather than skin colour and social status, and through the military it was also possible to enter the political scene and obtain further power (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 36-38).

The new L.A. nations did not only struggle with a major loss of people and political conflicts. Though many leaders demanded economic independence, the L.A. countries were dealing with enormous public debts and in order to raise capital, the new nations quickly linked themselves to foreign lenders and thus continued the cycle of foreign debts (Ibid). Even though the economies of most old colonies throughout the world were based on agriculture and mining, L.A. differed from most of Africa, Middle East, and Asia because the latter have been brought into the world trade economy dominated by Europe, whereas L.A. became attached to the Northern American economy (Ibid).

6.4. The greater integration into the world economy

In the late 1800s, L.A. entered a whole new level of growth by exporting raw materials and foodstuffs to the flourishing Northern American and European industries, which initiated a more rapid economic, social, and political change than anything since the Iberian conquests (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 11). North America and Europe pushed hard for leaders willing to make the necessary changes of national unification, expansion and improvement of the infrastructure and transportation network, and to put land into the hands of entrepreneurs who would invest in it which also meant confiscating land from those who had failed to develop it (Skidmore et al.

2005: pp. 40-41). Another central element to strengthen the economy was labour which was boosted through the use of indigenous- and European immigrant workers (Ibid).

This new position in the world economy did however bring several crucial problems and limitations. First of all because L.A. experienced an increasing need of manufactured goods to keep up with their own production, which primarily came from North America and Europe because their products were of a much higher quality (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 40-41). Additionally, no L.A. government was able to fight against the strong advocates of tariff revenues, free trade, and anti-protectionism in order to change this situation (Ibid). A second issue was the lack of significant development of the old socioeconomic structure with only 10% in the top and 90% in the bottom (Ibid). Most workers were kept under wages and working conditions making it impossible for them to move forward and become a useful consumer which a developed economy produces and needs (Ibid). Thus L.A. was pulled stronger into the world economy and further into economic dependency.

The two social scientists, Hans Singer and Raúl Prebisch, published in 1949 each their paper which highlight the issues of the terms of trade between underdeveloped countries, 'the periphery', and the developed countries, 'the centre' (Ansari et al, 1989: p. 17-59). This theory came to be known as the 'Dependency theory'. One of the main problem areas put forth by Singer and Prebisch is that the centre is gaining from the periphery's lack of development, e.g. in terms of cheap production by exploiting developing countries' rates of low salaries and lack of workers' Rights (Ibid). Speculations thus arose about the centre's interests in keeping the periphery from developing (Ibid). A further discussion of this theory and the consequences of L.A.'s dependency will be brought up in the analysis.

6.5. The first cycle of democratisation

L.A.'s peripheral position in the world economy meant that the region's agendas and courses were largely shaped by the political and economic ideologies of the powerful industrial dominators of USA and Europe; namely liberalism (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 44-46). This fundamental belief in progress through a free market, a limited government, individual liberty, and international division of labour did however become a challenge to implement in L.A. Not in

terms of political resistance, on the contrary, but because the elite's political commitment was reinforced by their deep beliefs about racial superiority of their native population (Ibid). The lack of useful consumers, enforced by the massive import of European work-immigration, made it even harder for L.A. to change the social inequalities.

The boosting economy of the early 1900s did however bring some changes within the social ranks. Through new entrepreneurships, such as massive coffee- and sugar production, the professional elite began to pursue political power and thus two new political patterns emerged: oligarchic democracy as seen e.g. in Chile (1900-23) and Argentina (1900-15), and elite rule through dictatorial strongmen e.g. in Mexico (1900-10) and Peru (1914) (Skidmore et al. 2005: p. 46; Smith, 2005: p. 348-252). Both types of ruling emphasised stability and social control, containing the power within a restricted circle, centralising the power, and creating powerful nation-States with the objective of obtaining political order and stability and thus attracting foreign investment to promote further economic development (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 44-47).

Another issue regarding the implementation of liberalism concerns the industrial powers' large-scale investment in various development projects, e.g. transportation networks. On one hand it meant that the L.A. countries did not have to cover such tremendous expenses themselves, however it also meant that the control of the key economic sectors fell into foreign hands (Ibid).

6.6. The import-substituting industrialisation

Once again, events within the centre of the world-system came to shake the society of L.A. when the world capitalist economy collapsed in 1929-30 (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 48-54). The economic crisis put a great deal of pressure on the L.A. political system, which resulted in the military reengaging in its traditional role of creating stability through control: *“It would be an exaggeration to say that the economic efforts of the depression alone caused these political outcomes (the military coups), but they cast into doubt the viability of the export-import model of growth, helped discredit ruling political elites, and made the populace more prepared to accept military regimes”* (Ibid).

And so, in contrast to previous governments' 'import-export' strategies, the new military regimes launched a new plan for industrial development to first of all produce *both* raw materials as well as industrialised goods, hence the name 'the import-substituting industrialisation' (ISI), which they had formerly imported from Europe and North America., (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 48-54). By building its own industry, the countries of L.A. aimed at achieving a greater economic independence, become more integrated in the world economy, obtain a greater self-sufficiency, and to become less vulnerable in terms of economic declines in other parts of the world (Ibid).

A second, important objective of the industrialisation was to create jobs for the still increasing working class, which since the beginning of the massive import of labour force from abroad in the late 1800, had slowly been mobilising, establishing mutual aid societies, and even succeeded in forming labour unions in some countries of L.A. (Ibid). What differed from previous decades in terms of power of the working-class was that before, the elite could afford to ignore them as most due to national or ethnic origin were excluded from political power, where as now, the working-class made out almost entire cities which were growing in both size and importance, and thus the elite began to reconsider labour as a potential political resource, and most governments in L.A. even took a direct interest in stimulating labour organisations (Ibid).

6.7. The second cycle of democratisation

From the late 1930s to the early 1960s, the ISI policies initiated significant economic, social, and political changes throughout L.A. Contrary to the dominant laissez-faire policies of the 19th century; the governments now took an active role in stimulating industrial growth through participation and protection of the national markets (Ibid). The continuation of the co-operative democracy opened up to new pro-labour and pro-industrialist power groups through voting and participation, and also the formation of new political parties (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 54-55). A second political approach was the emergence of multiclass 'populist alliances', such as during the leadership of Perón in Argentina (1946-55; 1973-74). What these two types of ruling had in common was the challenge to the long standing predominance of exclusively, elite representation, and also to the traditional agricultural and landed interest (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 54-55). However, despite the profound changes within the political ideologies, the course of the new regimes merely altered the balance of power; limiting it to the pro-labour and pro-

industrial circles and thus continued the traditional patterns of repressing and excluding other interest-groups (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 54-55). In addition to rising, social conflict among the competing interest-groups; the new populist regimes also experienced conflicts of interest among themselves due to economic diversity among the different classes they represented (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 54-55).

6.8. Crisis and debt

In the 1960s, problems began arising in part from the nature of the ISI-programmes, which lead to massive setbacks within several areas. Economically, the ISI-industrialisation turned out to simply having altered the dependency on the centre of the world economy, which the countries of L.A. had long fought to overcome (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 55-61). The continuation of the uneven conditions and distribution of trade, as well as the limitation of consumers due to the highly unequal distribution of income, had a negative effect on the L.A. markets (Ibid).

Additionally, the high degree of technological development meant that many workers were replaced by machineries, leading to growing unemployment and thus strikes; all which posed a serious threat to stability (Ibid).

As a reaction to the rising social unrests, ruling elites turned to traditional and familiar methods of solutions: imposing law and order through strict and repressive execution of power. The military and civilian elites began oppressing the powers of the working-class by taking over control of important interest such as wages, working conditions, and the Right to organise (Ibid). With this commitment to maintain law and order, L.A. once again attracted high scale foreign investors in the 1970s, especially bankers whom had gained substantial profits from the sky-high oil-prices, which initiated a massive cycle of lending and borrowing and L.A. fell into a down-turning spiral of economic crisis (Ibid).

6.9. The third cycle of democratisation

In the context of the last two decades of economic crisis, the 1980s took a new course towards fundamental economic reforms and relief from debt burdens, initiated by international authorities, private bankers, and especially the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These strict, neo-liberal strategies completely overturned the structures of the ISI-policies, mainly by reducing

the role of the State and opening the borders to foreign trade (Ibid). Faced with no other options, the countries of L.A. one by one adapted to the IMF-programme and its conditions, which initiated major changes.

With the weight of the debt crisis, and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the left-wing suffered heavily from discredit and exclusion. Several military leaders redrew, leading the way for ordinary citizens to demand Civil Rights and participation in the light of centuries of brutal, military repression (Ibid). Most countries turned towards electoral democracy, however important decisions, such as economic policy, remained in the hands of the elites by authorial style, and crucial topics, such as Human Rights violations, continued to be ignored (Ibid). Another challenge was poverty. By the mid 1990s, 40% of the population in L.A. was living in 'absolute' poverty, which by the World Bank (WB) is defined as living on less than US\$2 per day, and ever since data on poverty first became available in the 1950's, L.A. has shown to be the most uneven distribution of income in the world - more so than Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia (The World Bank, 2013: Web. 24; Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 55-61).

Taking into consideration all the conflicts connected with economic, social, and political up-and downturns, which has been reviewed through this chapter, the turn of the 20th century composed a broad, political span with Costa Rica as one of the most democratic countries in the region. Meanwhile, Guatemala and Paraguay had returned to authoritarian regimes, and in the middle – a combination of electoral competition, yet very limited, and a heavy constraint on Citizens Rights, e.g. in Venezuela, and also in Peru, under the leadership of Alberto Fujimori (Ibid).

7. Peru and Alberto Fujimori

When Fujimori took office in 1990, especially two main themes came to form the political agenda throughout his presidency: economic rehabilitation and fighting terrorism.

The debt crisis of the 1980s along side with 'el Niño' (a change of Pacific currents and weather patterns) causing major damage to Peruvian agriculture had a grave effect on the already declining economic growth (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 213-217). The former president, Fernando Belaúnder Terry (1963-68; 1980-86) had turned towards foreign bankers for help. Regrettably, the result was an increase of the already tremendous foreign debt, which in turn caused an

increase in inflation, which both in 1983 and 1984 was at an alarming 110%, and aggravating the gap between the poor underdeveloped highlands and the flourishing coast-areas (Ibid). The situation provoked rising social unrest and rebellion-movements started emerging in the repressed areas of the highlands (Ibid). With the objective of tearing apart the political system to replace it with a communist model, ‘el Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru’ (MRTA)⁵ and ‘el Sendero Luminoso’ (SL)⁶ initiated their ideological indoctrination through physical intimidation, violence, kidnapping, bombs, and assassins, and by the 1990s they controlled entire sections of the country, e.g. the Ayacucho region, where the SL served as the ‘de facto’ government (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 213-217; Latin American History, 2003: Web. 25). Peru was in a state of near civil war.

7.1. Economic progress and democratic setback

By adapting the IMF-policies, Fujimori managed to turn the country towards strong economic growth. This was done by selling State-owned industries, opening up to greater foreign investments, and by introducing a new currency ‘Nuevo Sol’, which has been one of the most stable and reliable currencies in the whole region of L.A. (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 217-219; San José State University, 2013: Web. 26)

However, behind the striking economic development, was a progressive turn towards de-democratisation and a radical change of Peru’s traditional institutions. On April 5, 1992, Fujimori carried out an auto-coup. He closed down the Congress and built a power base founded on the armed forces and the intelligence services, including the paramilitary death squad ‘Grupo Colina’ (GC) led by Fujimori’s right hand, Vladimiro Montesinos (Ibid). Thus Peru became the first L.A. country of the 1990s to fall back into authoritarianism (Ibid).

The coup was a mixed success for Fujimori. On one side, this action was condemned by the international community and several countries broke off diplomatic relations with Peru, at least for a while, e.g. USA (Ibid). On the other side, Fujimori managed to create a more homogeneous Congress, making it possible to work more efficiently (yet illiberally). Through ruthless

⁵ the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement

⁶ the Shining Path

methods, such as public intimidation, self-censorship, violence, torture, and forced disappearance, the Fujimori-administration took a strong stand for law and order, and managed to hit down hard on the terrorist-groups with the arrest of the top leader of the MRTA in June 1992, and the arrest and public display of the leader of the SL in September 1992 (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 217-219). Another case which, despite the controversial and brutal methods, created great admiration both at home and abroad was the end of the 127 days hostage drama at the residence of Japan's ambassador in Lima (Ibid). A group of fourteen MRTA-guerrillas had forced their way through to a gala-reception in December 1996, taking hundreds of hostages; demanding the release of comrades in jail and a safe passage out of the country (Ibid). But Fujimori refused to negotiate and sent in a team of Peruvian commandos, killing all fourteen MRTAs and releasing the hostages, with the casualties of two commandos and one hostage (Ibid).

7.2. The downfall of Fujimori

Around the late 1990s, growing dissatisfaction was emerging among workers and the lower middle classes as they were being excluded from taking part of the economic development, as well as with Fujimori's abuse of power. By the time of the election of 2000, Fujimori's main opponent, Alejandro Toledo, won more than 40% of the votes denying the mandatory majority to Fujimori and forcing a second ballot (Skidmore et al. 2005: pp. 217-219). However, by dominating the Media, controlling electoral institutions, and using public resources to outmanoeuvre opponents, Fujimori made Toledo withdraw from the election and thus took office in July 2000 (Ibid). Shortly after the election in September 2000, a scandal struck the Fujimori-administration with a tape revealing Montesinos bribing an opposition congressman to join the Fujimori-coalition. Two months after, during a visit to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum in Brunei, Fujimori suddenly resigned from the presidency, seeking asylum in Japan with which, due to his Japanese descent, he had a special diplomatic relationship (Ibid).

Toledo was elected president in 2001, and immediately brought charges against Fujimori for corruption, misuse of power, and crimes against humanity, and on several occasions Peru asked for Fujimori to be extradited, but Japan refused to cooperate because they do not extradite their citizens to other countries, and also because Fujimori was well regarded for his actions during

the Japanese ambassador's hostage drama (Latin American History, 2003: Web. 25). In 2005, Fujimori announced that he would run for re-election in Peru in 2006, and despite the allegations against him, Fujimori was still the most popular candidate in the election polls (Ibid).

On November 6, 2005, Fujimori flew to Santiago, Chile. The following morning he was arrested and detained on an arrest warrant issued by a Chilean judge (on personal request from Toledo) considering Peru's request as a part of the 1932 extradition treaty between Chile and Peru (BBC, 2005: Web. 27). The decision of whether or not to extradite Fujimori, however became a rather complicated trial because in addition to treaty, Chilean law suggests that such request must also be based on whether the allegations Fujimori has been charged with in Peru, were just as severe in Chile (The Santiago Times, 2007: Web. 28). After almost two years of trials, on September 21, 2007, The Chilean Supreme Court granted Fujimori's extradition to Peru on charges related to Human Rights violations and corruption (Bloomberg, 2007: Web. 29).

In 2012, Fujimori's family filed an official request for pardon based on the argument that Fujimori was fighting against life-threatening cancer and a severe depression (Peru this Week, 2013: Web. 30). Since then, the case has been daily debated in the Media. Valuing the crimes of corruption and Human Rights violations, Peru's current President, Ollanta Humala, decided on June 7, 2013, to not grant Fujimori a pardon. This decision was based on the recommendation by the Presidential Pardons Commission who concluded that Fujimori did not have a terminal illness or mental disorder (Ibid).

7.3. Investigating Fujimori: the Human Rights violations

The Peruvian Supreme Court convicted Fujimori to 25 years in prison, in addition to his six-year sentence on corruption and abuse of power, on charges of Human Rights abuses; a sentence which Fujimori is serving under house-arrest at a military-base in Lima (Reuters, 2009: Web. 31).

Some of the gravest Human Rights violations, which create the greatest foundation for the prosecution and imprisoning of Fujimori, were the massacres of Barrios Altos and La Cantuta (Financial Times, 2009: Web. 1). In a scavenger hunt for members of the SL and by orders of

Fujimori, the GC raided a private residence in Barrios Altos on November 3, 1991, and the University of La Cantuta on July 18, 1992; killing in total 25 innocent people (Ibid). It was later discovered that the Fujimori-administration had had no proof whatsoever of the presence of the SL on any of these two locations and that none of the victims had any affiliation to this group (Latin American History, 2003: Web. 25)

One of the most brutal cases revealed, yet still not fully brought to closure, is the documentation of forced sterilisations carried out under the Fujimori-administration under cover of a population control campaign. The campaign peaked during the years 1995-2000 and was primarily funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Population Fund Agency (UNFPA), and the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) (The New Atlantis, 2012: Web. 32). When elected president, Toledo asked the Peruvian Congress to authorise an investigation of the population control campaign - an investigation which was carried out by the '*Anticoncepción Quirúrgica Voluntaria*' (AQV)⁷ Commission, as a part of '*la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación del Perú*' (CVR)⁸ (Ibid). Created in 2001, the CVR was given the mandate to establish the circumstances of the violence and abuse against Human Rights committed by the State and the armed opposition groups in the internal armed conflicts (1980-2000) (AI, 2004: Resumen).

The investigations of the population control campaign show that the Fujimori-administration had sterilised more than 314,000 women within the five-year period, and that the mass sterilisations furthermore were targeted against low-income Quechua-speaking Natives of Inca descent, mostly in the rural-areas (The New Atlantis, 2012: Web. 32). Moreover, the sterilisation teams were imposed strict quota systems and punished if not complying with these numbers which resulted in harassment and intimidation of the women into sterilisation, e.g. by denying them access to medical aid or food aid (Ibid). Given the limited time, the unsanitary conditions, and the lack of post-operation care, many women suffered severe complications while others died due to their mutilations (Ibid).

⁷ Voluntary Surgical Contraception

⁸ Peruvian Truth and Conciliation-

However, despite of the piling evidence and furthermore the AVQ-Commission's constitutional indictment against Fujimori and various officials of his government for the alleged commissions of "*crimes against Individual Liberty, against Life, Body, and Health, of Genocide, and of Criminal Conspiracy*", Fujimori has never been charged with any crimes related to the forced sterilisation. (The New Atlantis, 2012: Web. 32); Getgen, 2009: pp 9-14). Credited for economic uprising and for ending terrorism, lastly mentioned which became both Fujimori's greatest achievement yet also most fatal move; Fujimori remains Peru's most controversial president.

PART III



ANALYSIS, CONCLUSION, PERSPECTIVE

8. Analysis

Throughout the previous chapters, I have presented examples expressing major changes in societal patterns, both generally in L.A. and also to those related to the case of Peru and Alberto Fujimori – but *why* did these changes occur? This is an equation which, according to historicism, is best solved by combining general observations with specific contextual and perspective examples; a combination which is represented in my three interconnecting data platforms (Collin et al. 2001: pp 171-175). The approach aims at first of all identifying the societal changes which have triggered the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the case of Peru and Alberto Fujimori, and second of all reconstructing the effects and the links between the societal factors.

Within this framework of historicism and the objective of locating the societal factors, I will, by using Smith's theory accompanied by other academic sources, begin with a discussion about why Fujimori was popular. Subsequently, I will move on to decipher why this changed, in order to point out the strengths giving life and support to dictatorship versus democracy. This will be executed to fully illuminate all the aspects and mechanisms behind the process of democratisation.

8.1. Social, economic, and political factors

The study of the connection between economic, social, and political events and their impact on the progress and the decline of dictatorship in contrast to democracy in L.A. is not recent. In fact the 20th century's 'Modernisation theory' takes its stand on the belief that economic growth generates social changes which in turn will create more democratic politics; encouraging civic relation and participation which democracies require (Rostow, 1990: pp. 4-16).

However, despite a fairly decent economic growth in L.A. in the late 20th century, income distribution became more unequal, the gap in living standards between the city and the rural areas grew, and four L.A. countries (Ecuador, Haiti, Peru, and Venezuela) returned to non-complete democratic ruling – it was growth without development (Smith, 2005: pp. 348-353). Nonetheless, even though the Modernisation theory's westernised outside-in approach has failed to understand and explain why L.A.'s economic and social development has been different from that of North America and Europe and therefore produces different political results, it inspires to

look for a connection between economic, social, and political factors, such as the link between social unrest and the return of dictatorship (Rostow, 1990: pp. 4-16).

The theory also inspires to establish some common denominators, both as of understanding what nourish dictatorships and what nourish democracy (Ibid). Three of such denominators are stability, order, and security, which were pointed out by all of the interviewees in various contexts, starting with Interviewee R:

“[...] one week we had [...] 100 (soles) to buy, I don’t know a yoghurt or a bag of bread, and then I would need a 1000 soles for the same, and then 10.000 soles [...]. And then Fujimori came, changed the currency and his currency is the one we are still using right now, it has not devaluated much in what, it’s been 20-something years since the monetary changed. Uhm, it is a sign right that things are stable at least on that matter, and I think that lots of people value that. We have some stability, which was missing and it gives is a sense of security, of planning forward.”⁹

The importance of economic stability and security must be understood from the context of the 1980’s economic crisis with the inflation reaching 110% creating, i.e., unstable food-prices and salaries, which Fujimori managed to tackle by adapting the IMF-policies and by introducing the new currency ‘Nuevo Sol’. The economic growth was also brought up by Interviewee C:

“Well. Okay, for example, I lived during the era of Fujimori who opened the doors to international trade [...], imports increased a lot, and I lived well because my mom works directly with imports, my mom works at a customs agency so for her it went well and obviously (also) for my family [...]”¹⁰

Besides economic growth, the fights against the national terrorist groups also worked well to Fujimori’s favour, not so much the brutal methods but the results, because not only did he collect massive support; the arrests of the top-leaders of the MRTA and the SL, as well as the outcome

⁹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 1

¹⁰ Enclosure 1, Interviewee C: p. 2

of the hostage-drama at the residence of Japan's ambassador in Lima, had an important influence on the social and political stability, security, and order as well¹¹.

“They occupied the (Japanese) embassy during the era of Fujimori, and Fujimori sent commander Chavín de Huántar [...] there was an confrontation and some of the terrorist died [...] and because of the issue of Human Rights, the commanders of the army of Peru announced the killing of the terrorists but this situation is different (that the one of Barrios Altos) because there was a confrontation, in a confrontation anyone can die [...] this was one of the good things that Fujimori accomplished. Because Fujimori had character, he had temper and he was decisive. He was a pragmatic person [...] who didn't complicated things.”¹²

“I also recognize uhm the possibility and the fight against [...] the terrorists and I think that this is a very big point working for his favour, right? A lot for his favour because we [...] are once again seeing that small terrorist cells are resurging; that if they are not controlled with time we will live during what we were living in the years of the 80's and 90's; that after with this president (Fujimori) it could be controlled.”¹³

Interviewee C and Interviewee S demonstrate the impact that the Fujimori-administration's decisiveness and intensive fight against the terrorist groups had on the society. Fujimori was seen as a pragmatic and strong leader, who generated hope¹⁴. Interviewee S also mentions another positive aspect of the Fujimori-administration:

“I think that Fujimori created some very important organisms in his government like [...] the Ministry of Women and his [work] is noticeable because [...] it has been focusing [...] on themes of poverty that did not existed before during the government of Alana García.”¹⁵

¹¹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee C: p. 9; Interviewee S: p. 2; Interviewee R p. 3; Interviewee JC: p. 2

¹² Enclosure 1, Interviewee C: p. 9

¹³ Enclosure 1, Interviewee S: p. 2

¹⁴ Enclosure 1, Interviewee S: p. 2; Interviewee JC: p. 1; Interviewee R: p. 3

¹⁵ Enclosure 1, Interviewee S: p. 7

In the research paper, *'Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development'*, the American economist and social scientist, Mancur Lloyd Olson Jr, also highlights the vital role of stability, security, and order. Olson states that “[...] *no society can work satisfactory if it does not have a peaceful order [...]*”, in fact these three factors can mean the very difference between supporting authoritarian and democratic governments (Olson, 1993: p. 567). However, despite the presence of stability, order, and security, both chapter 7 and the interviews shows that around Fujimori’s second presidential term in 1995 until he resigned in 2000, there was a developing shift in the way the Fujimori-administration was perceived. One of such indicators, awareness of corruption, was pointed out by respectively Interviewee R and Interviewee S:

“His second government and already during the election there was talk about a fraud (...) I guess that is where things started to go down, right, ehm the corruption became more and more obvious, it became more than you can justify by saying that “but you know power is that, power corrupts”, no it became pretty much too much really.”¹⁶

“Many judges, for example, at the time of Fujimori were purchased. I have a concrete case from a university [showing] that, the prosecutor who is now also in prison, at the time of Fujimori bought the judges, favouring many people [...]. So that's where Fujimori lost much (respect), especially in the legal part.”¹⁷

One of the most essential components of Smith’s theory and the essence of historicism is history and the importance of the past. An important discovery in the study of the history of L.A. dictatorship is its origin from the Roman Catholic and Mediterranean world view stressing the need for harmony, order, and the elimination of conflicts (Skidmore et al., 2005: pp. 1-12. This is vital, because once we understand the ideology of authoritarianism; it is easier to first of all point out the objectives of authoritarian regimes, the ways in which such regimes operate in order to uphold their ideologies, and thus to identify its strengths in contrast to democracy. Whether it has been the left-wing’s deep-cutting nationalisation e.g. through the ISI-model, or the right-wing’s approach to place key industrial ownerships into foreign hands and attract foreign investments,

¹⁶ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 3

¹⁷ Enclosure 1, Interviewee S: p. 7

my data from chapter 6 and chapter 7 has demonstrated that the goal has always been the same - to generate social and political stability in order to obtain economic stability and development. In the following quote from Interviewee R, he mentions two key methods, censorship and fear, which are commonly used by authoritarian regimes to obtain economic, political, and social stability, as also put forward in chapter 6. The establishment of the new independent L.A. nations, during which the Head of States censored and justified their actions through constitutional authority while suppressing the masses with powerful violence:

“[...] there were many things that he did that were really negative, right. Ehm he pretty much kidnapped the Media. [...]The uhm incredible control he had [...]it was more like a mafia control, really I mean, journalists would simply disappear, and appear beaten up and bleeding, in critical condition uhm, one journalist would one day say something and the next day he would simply have been replaced with no questions asked [...] it was really like the public was so confused or somehow [...] even fear of also, you know, being snatched away [...]so we were all [...] very quiet because you never know when you were going to disappear.”¹⁸

Another important aspect of this quote is the role of the Media as a societal actor, which I will further explore in section 8.1.3. Besides censorship and fear, the interviewees also mentioned a third typical feature of authoritarian regimes, Human Rights violations, which in practise and of Smith's definitions also separates the non-democratic, oligarchic, and semi-democratic governments from the complete' democracies¹⁹ (Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23). Interviewee R explains:

“What really shocks me, now that you mention it, is that la Cantuta got really publicized but Barrios Altos not so much and Barrios Altos is here in Lima [...]. One of the things that happened with Peru is that here in Lima, we have the tendency to disregard what happens outside the city, it's a very, very bad habit but you can see for example, uhm nobody was really serious about terrorism until[...] that day in Miraflores and I think that effected how we accepted the government [...] we saw it in a different light cause

¹⁸ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: pp. 1-2

¹⁹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: pp. 4-5; Interviewee JC: p. 2; Interviewee S: p. 3; Interviewee C: pp. 2-3

(before) it was like so okay, you know, “war require sacrifices [...]” which is never a justification for things, but we thought that way [...]”²⁰

When looking at the economic, social, and political factors and comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the results of the Fujimori-administration, it especially raises a question about the level of security, or rather security for whom?! Groups and individuals, who either rebel against an authoritarian leader, mostly due to different political ideologies, such as the SL and the MRTA, or simply because of their ethnicity or geographical location, like the Indigenous Peruvians living in rural areas, are those who suffer the most from oppression, exclusion, and violence²¹. Acceptance of authoritarianism then often becomes a matter of affiliation with societal group and thus the degree of oppression.

Smith also highlights the importance of societal groups and class-structure. In a region like L.A. where there power structure the last 20 years has been of an approx. 20/80 division, it is easier to suppress and manipulate the masses compared to the ones living in complete democracies (World City, 2013: Web. 33; Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23). The majority in L.A. is being cut off from inclusion and participation which according to Smith is exactly two of the principles which can nourish democratisation (Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23). Growing awareness, personal limits, and turning points for supporting dictatorial ruling, will be brought up in the following section.

8.2. Awareness and public opinion

Awareness is the state or ability to perceive, to feel, or to be conscious of events, objects, or sensory patterns, which help people to understand their reality and to act based on this understanding (Communicating Complexity, 2012: Web. 34). The presence of awareness (or the lack of it) is in our modern society linked to the access to information - education, the internet, social- and traditional Media, etc., and thus creating awareness has become a worldwide strategic approach to inform the public about everything from products to more relevantly; Civil Rights, especially in countries where not all the citizens have access to such information (Ibid; Counter Currents, 2011: Web 35). In the context of the process from dictatorship towards democracy, awareness is important; not only to inform but in order to change the old patterns of an

²⁰ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: pp. 4-5

²¹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 2; Interviewee S: p. 3; Interviewee JC: pp. 7-8

authoritarian mentality by incorporating a new, democratic reality, in which the population plays a crucial role (Ibid). As demonstrated in chapter 6, it was not until the 1930s by the initiation of the ISI industrialisation that public opinion became relevant to the L.A. political elites: the working-class had become too important to ignore as this group represented the fundamental element of the industrial production, and so not only the labour unions but also the politicians began raising awareness on workers' Rights to most importantly collect political support. The power of awareness and public opinion is one of Smith's five theoretical components, highlighting the importance of public satisfaction vs. dissatisfaction both concerning the existence of dictatorship and concerning democracy (Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23). This theme has also been captured in chapter 7, as well as in several of the interviews, both in terms of their importance to democratisation but also how the lack of them can empower the rise and continuation of authoritarianism²².

"[...]the situation uhm it's so complex uhm and [...] the real problem is that, the mediocre people tend to see things in a very black and white way [...] that's perhaps why we are having so many problems because we have a very hard time separating the circumstances, right, and the different events that happened, measuring them independently in their own way and tracing them back to where they actually started [...] its either take it or leave it and that's not the way we should do things, I mean, uhm if we are really going to learn the lesson , we need to learn to be more responsible [...]"²³

Reflecting upon Interviewee R's opinion about awareness, I asked him why he thinks it is so difficult for people to see all the facts, and what it is that people are missing in order to put all the pieces together, to which he responded:

"I guess education. Uhm but [...] not like education in terms of years [...] or in terms of sheer quality, I mean there are people with very high education who are very black and white too. What we need is an education that promotes criticism that promotes critical thinking that promotes the critical understanding. We still have too much of "learn this

²² Enclosure 1, Interviewee R, pp. 1-10; Interviewee C: pp. 1-3; Interviewee S: pp. 1-6, Interviewee JC pp. 1-8

²³ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: pp. 9-10

by the letter and repeat exactly”[...]. And if [...] that’s the way that most of us are told to think, how can we make better choices?”²⁴

The common lack of societal understanding and ability to see the bigger picture, as Interviewee R puts it, could very well have helped to strengthen the popularity of Fujimori in addition to stabilising the economy and the outcome of the fight against terrorism. It could furthermore have helped to justify or even disregard his actions. In fact, two of the interviewees are of the opinion that it was Fujimori’s right hand, Vladimiro Montesinos, who mostly was to blame for the negative development of the Fujimori-administration²⁵:

“Look. To me, he (Fujimori) was a good president, okay. He was a good president because he released Peru from terrorism. He released Peru from a government [...] where the country’s economy was terrible. [...] But the problem of Fujimori was that he was badly advised. His advisor [...] (Montesinos) advised him [Fujimori] badly until he (Fujimori) fell into the issue of corruption, right? And today the government of Fujimori is known as the most corrupted government of them [...]”²⁶

“I think that more than him (Fujimori), there was one person who did not possess political responsibility in this moment but who had a hidden power who was [...] this Mr. Montesinos. This hidden power resulted in the government of Fujimori had this [...] darkness in the last period [...]”²⁷

However, despite of censorship and lack of societal education, I have detected awareness of the interviewees about some of the illegal activities carried out by the Fujimori-government, such as corruption and Human Rights violations²⁸. In section 8.1.1, I mentioned a change in the way the Fujimori-administration was perceived; an awareness about the Fujimori-administration’s methods and the extent of the actions. It started as a process around Fujimori’s second presidency and then reached a clear breaking point when it was revealed on tape, that

²⁴ Enclosure 1; Interviewee R: pp. 10-11

²⁵ Enclosure 1, Interviewee C, pp. 1-3; Interviewee S p. 3

²⁶ Enclosure 1, Interviewee C: pp. 1-3

²⁷ Enclosure 1, Interviewee S: p. 3

²⁸ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 3; Interviewee C: p. 2; Interviewee S: p. 7

Montesinos had bribed a congressman to join the Fujimori-coalition in able to win the 2000-election²⁹.

“...Nobody knew there was money under the table until that video came out. And by then there was already a feeling of, uhm acceptances let’s say, [...] that things were going really wrong [...] there was this constant fear of being watched [... I can’t remember exactly when uhm the bodies were discovered but then people knew about la Cantuta [...] and then, uhm, the name ‘Colina’ started to appear [...] and it increased all the feeling of discomfort and the feeling of fear against the government, that we were living under a real dictatorship, something we didn’t feel under the first government [...] we saw corruption and nobody could do anything about it.”³⁰

This quote also highlights another important point. Even though the interviewees were actually aware of the corruption and the violations of Human Rights, it also shows that the three civilian interviewees accepted the reality. This next quote by Interviewee R can help us to understand why:

”[...] because of everything we were like in this fear of reacting, fear of moving, of saying things and also I guess this stability helped to simply quieting people’s opinion, right, it was like uhm yeah you know “he is stealing a lot of money, yeah you know there are people disappearing in the highlands” but at least here in Lima in was like “but you know I can run my business, I have a business salary and money is worth something so I shouldn’t complain so much” right we grew a little complicit maybe”³¹

Again the significance of stability, order, and security is being established, here as a media to rationalise the acceptance of corruption and Human Rights violations. This rationalisation can be seen in Interviewee C and Interviewee S’ justification of the brutal actions of the Fujimori-administrating in the fight against terrorism. They argue that: *“this situation [the hostage drama at the Japanese embassy in Lima] is different [that the one of Barrios Altos] because there was a*

²⁹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 3; Interviewee C: p. 2; Interviewee S: pp. 3-7

³⁰ Enclosure 1; Interviewee R: p. 3

³¹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 2

*confrontation, in a confrontation anyone can die [...] this was one of the good things that Fujimori accomplished” and “I also recognize uhm the possibility and the fight against [...] the terrorists and I think that this is a very big point working for his favour [...]because [...] after with this president [Fujimori], it could be controlled.”*³² Pushing this discussion even further by looking at Smith’s component of performance and results is firstly the importance of economic stability and the outcome of the fight against terrorism, and secondly the acceptance of authoritarianism based on affiliation to societal group and degree of oppression. These observations then help to generate an answer to my question concerning why people support dictatorship.

Another important aspect of these observations is also to establish the limit of acceptance to authoritarianism and thus to understand the change from supporting Fujimori to supporting democratisation. Besides the impact of the unveiling of Montesinos bribery, the interviewees express such limit as to the moment they personally where dragged into the reality of fear, violence, and suppression³³. However, since the interviews took place three years after the imprisonment of Fujimori, it makes me wonder how much the interviewees were actually aware of in those specific moments in contrast to projecting all of their knowledge which they possess now into specific situations.

Nonetheless, despite different opinions about Fujimori, the interviewees support the imprisonment of Fujimori, and all but Interviewee S are of the opinion that Fujimori should not be pardoned³⁴. Reflecting upon the aftermath of the trial, Interviewee JC, R, and C stress that motive is never an excuse of inhuman actions, and in the following quote, Interviewee JC explains about the importance of the sentence of Fujimori³⁵:

“Uhm the condemn is about Human Rights and it’s important that the condemn is in Human Rights so people can understand that nobody [...] has the possibility to commit

³² Enclosure 1, Interviewee C: p. 9; Interviewee S: p. 2

³³ Enclosure 1, Interviewee S: p. 3, Interviewee R: p. 3

³⁴ Enclosure 1, Interviewee JC: p. 3, Interviewee C: p. 3; Interviewee R: p. 6; Interviewee S: pp. 3-4

³⁵ Enclosure 1, Interviewee JC: p. 3, Interviewee R: p. 3-4, Interviewee C: pp. 7-9

violations against Human Rights without a judge. [...] it's good for anybody to know that nobody can commit that (knocking determined in the table), yeah."³⁶

8.3. Actors

Actors, also here referred to as interest- or power groups, operate on different levels and in different sectors of the society based on their interests and objectives (Blanksten, 1959: p 106). In Smith's notion of power groups, he points out the weight of these interests and objects, because they are, according to him, the ones which determine the course and the role of such groups (Smith, 2005: pp. 7-23).

Political groups are a system with interacting directed towards some level of the operation of the government, and during the presidency of Fujimori, the two most powerful players within the political arena, who also had the most negative effect on democratisation, were the State represented by Fujimori himself and Montesinos, and the MRTA and the SL representing the armed opposition groups (Blanksten, 1959: p. 106; AI, 2004: Resumen). The CVR- committee has discovered more than 23,000 cases of deaths and forced disappearance, and other thousands of cases of torture, sexual violence, kidnapped and hostages, etc, committed by the State and the armed opposition groups during the internal armed conflicts (AI, 2004: Resumen). The Committee has furthermore concluded that the SL is responsible for 50% of the killings and forced disappearance, followed by the armed forces, including the GC, by 29% (Ibid). Interviewee JC also mentioned CVR's role in investigating the extend of the Human Rights violations during the internal armed conflicts, including the presidency of Fujimori:

"I would like to [...] highlight that the importance of the Truth-Commission before the trial because the Truth-Commission did a very, very good work in the Media. A lot of people saw the situation of the victims [...] that we had denied in the past [...]. The Truth-Commission [...] put in front of our faces of the people in the coast, the massacres, the situation, the testimonies of the victims [...] a awake of all the racism and the

³⁶ Enclosure 1, Interviewee JC: p. 3

*discrimination [...]. And a lot of people said “well it was a time of war [...] (but they) realized that’s not about war, that’s [...] barbarism [...]”*³⁷

However, despite the CVR’s essential role in the investigations, it has been pointed out, by i.e. Amnesty International that the Committee failed to address one of the major cases of Human Rights violations committed by the Fujimori-administration: the forced sterilisation (Getgen, 2009: pp. 9-14; AI, 2004: p. 19).

Chapter 6 and the interviewees also illuminate two other interest groups, the Media and the Catholic Church, which have had both a positive and a negative effect on the process from dictatorship towards democracy, both generally in L.A., and also in the context of Peru and Fujimori³⁸.

Starting with the Media, which together with community, family, religion, academia, business, and government, is one of the seven major societal institutions; affecting everyone’s life by shaping their thoughts and behaviours by respectively broadcasting important information (The Center for Social Leadership, 2009: Web. 36). It is a common western point of view that the Media has a responsibility to nourish democratic development, e.g. by investigating governments and creating political awareness within the public (Bahador, 2007: pp. 4-14) However, despite such opinions, the reality is that the Media has the power to both support the democratic development and also to increase the supremacy of authoritarian regimes; e.g. through censorship (Ibid). Going back to what Interviewee R mentioned about the Media in section 8.1., he explains that “*he (Fujimori) pretty much kidnapped the Media*” and that those who spoke up “*would simply disappear, and appear beaten up and bleeding, in critical condition uhm [...] with no questions asked. [...] (it) was the uhm incredible control he had and I mean I am not against governments like trying to somehow uhm filter some information because you cannot really say everything, people as a mass tend to panic ehm confronted with certain things.*”³⁹.

³⁷ Enclosure 1, Interviewee JC: pp. 7-9

³⁸ Enclosure 1, Interviewee JC: p. 8; Interviewee R: pp. 1-2

³⁹ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: pp. 1-2

Interviewee R highlights the difficulties of the Media to operate freely under authoritarian regimes, and furthermore mentions another interesting aspect to censorship: filtering of information. However, it is uncertain whether Interviewee R thinks that such task should then be subject to governments or the Media. This issue also brings up a dangerous conversation about which information should then be held back from public knowledge (Bahador, 2007: pp. 4-14). Looking at the positive side, the Media played a vital role in initiating democratisation through awareness when broadcasting the tape revealing Montesinos' bribery; changing the population's perception of the Fujimori-administration from positive to negative⁴⁰.

The Catholic Church, also one of the seven societal institutions through religion, did not only play a crucial role in the colonisation of L.A. The Church came to determine the support for independence as the rebellion against Spain no longer was a radical move, but a matter of upholding traditional values and social codes against the Spanish king's plan to limit the role and the power of the Church. However, as the historical sources from chapter 6 and 7 do not indicate any direct role of the Catholic Church in the L.A. society after the independence wars, and since neither of the interviewees brought this subject up either, it is uncertain whether or not the Catholic Church has had an influence, and in case so to which degree, on recent democratic patterns, or to the case of Peru and Fujimori.

8.4. External factors

In the Problem Area and chapter 6, I bring up the aspect of Peru being connected to other countries and regions which thus can influence societal changes on different levels within one another. Even though none of the interviewees directly mentions any such external mechanisms, historicism dictates that their narratives, together with data from chapter 6 and 7, are a part of a line of events which when united and looked at in a bigger picture; it is possible to detect such external factors (Collin et al. 2001: p. 171-175).

Starting with USA and L.A, there have indeed been many events taking place which have affected decisions and happenings in and between countries of these regions. Going back to the notion of the domino effect, firstly presented in the context of the Cold War and the

⁴⁰ Enclosure 1, Interviewee R: p. 3; Interviewee C: p. 2; Interviewee S: p. 7

contamination of the outspread of communism, this theory has had a great deal of influence on US foreign policy interests in L.A. (Ninkovich,1994: pp. 203-240; Mount Holyoke College, 2013: Web. 23). In a study by the historian, George Gaddis Smith, he links justifications of actions based on the domino theory to the Monroe doctrine of 1823 (Green, 1995 [Smith, 1994]: pp. 323-32). The doctrine was on one side a confirmation of the principles of non-involvement in European wars and colonies but also an establishment of an American zone of interest and influence in the Western Hemisphere and that further European interference in North- and South America, would be viewed as acts of aggression, requiring intervention (Ibid).

In step with the growing power of the USA, the Monroe doctrine transformed many world-wide events to become a matter of national security, especially during the Cold War (Ibid). Examples of such events are the 1950 democratically presidential election in Guatemala, appointing left-wing Jacobo Árbenz Guzman as Head of State (The Cold War Museum, 2013: Web 37). Already in 1952, the Truman-administration had authorised an attack lead by anti-Árbenz rebellions to overthrow him, however, this was not successfully carried out until 1954 supported by the Eisenhower-administration (Ibid). In 1977, President Nixon declared hostility towards the Salvador Allende Marxist regime in Chile, stating that a Communist Chile and Cuba could create a 'red sandwich' entrapping countries between them, and in the 1980s, the Reagan-administration justified intervention in Central America and the Caribbean-region based on the domino effect as well (Green, 1995 [Smith, 1994]: pp. 323-32).

Looking at US interference and impact in the context of Peru and Fujimori, it was one of the countries to condemn the 1992 auto coup. However, as none of my data elaborates on the degree of such condemnation or the impact this action had on Peru, it is difficult to determine whether this was carried out due to an act of actual interest or because of the international community's expectations and norms. In fact, since the US has hardly been associated with criticism of the Fujimori-administration despite of its brutal methods, along with Peru's adoption of the IMF-programme required by the West in order to receive economic aid, and also Fujimori's promotion of foreign investments which was empowered by his strong stand for law and order, it is only natural to assume, that USA had an interest in Fujimori maintaining the power. Such realities are not rare, on the contrary. Going back to President Reagan is just one example of many US presidents who have supported oppressive right-wing authoritarian regimes in L.A to

prevent a left-wing takeover, or supported violent anti-left wing rebellions to overthrow a communist government (Green, 1995 [Smith, 1994]: pp. 323-32).

Another fact backing up the argument about US interests in supporting Fujimori, is the USAID's main sponsorship, together with UNFPA and IPPF, of the Fujimori-administration's population control campaign; a programme which was behind thousands of thousands of forced sterilisations, in some cases leading to complications and even death (The New Atlantis, 2012: Web. 32). That the US, or any other actors for that matter, should have any interest in forced sterilisations and thus committing severe Human Rights violations, is by the author, Robert Zubrin, presented as the ideology of 'antihumanism' - "*the belief that the human race is a horde of vermin whose unconstrained aspirations and appetites endanger the natural order, and that tyrannical measures are necessary to constrain humanity*" (Ibid). Founded on Thomas Malthus' (1766-1834) pseudoscientific idea that human reproduction always outruns available resources, 'antihumanism' rationalises the use of population control programmes, accompanied by forced sterilisation, based on the belief that children from developing countries have a negative economic value and thus by allowing excessive numbers of children to be born, these governments are deepening the poverty of their population (Ibid).). During the Cold War and 'the Red Scare', a group of US presidential advisors even stated that a drastic cut in the world's poor nations was necessary in order to reduce the potential recruitment to the communist cause (Ibid).

Zubrin outlines typical characteristics of such campaigns, describing them as: 1) top-down dictatorial and coercive, claiming that they are providing women with choices regarding childbirth but then setting quotas for sterilisation. They are persuading women with either promises of economic and medical relief or by threat of violence or being cut off governmental aid, which most poor are so dependent on. They also reward sterilisation-terms who meet the expectations and punish those who don't. 2) Dishonest, by claiming "*a woman's right to choose*"; precisely what the campaigns deny her as they exclude the option of having children and furthermore strip entire populations of the ability to reproduce. Women who are subject to the campaigns are also often being told that the sterilisation operations are reversible, which they are not. 3) Medically irresponsible and neglecting, by using defective, unsafe, experimental, or

unapproved gear, which often has been banned in the West. They employ unskilled and inadequately trained personnel to perform potentially life-endangering operations, which contributes to the spread of deadly infections and diseases. 4) Cruel, abusive of human dignity and Human Rights, and racist, by acting without the victims' knowledge or consent and by targeting specific non-white groups in developing countries. Among eight examples of countries and victims of forced sterilisation, are the lower-caste untouchables Hindus and Muslims in India, the Tibetan and Uyghur minorities in China, and the rural Indigenous of Peru (Ibid). Whether 'antihumanism' truly is the foundation of these population control campaigns is debateable. However, it is rather noticeable that while USAID, UNFPA, and IPPF promote themselves as organisations empowering access to life-saving services and programmes, supported by millions of volunteers, thousands of staff, and in numerous governments; results of the AQV and the CVR's investigations confirm Zubrin's accusations of targeted social exclusion and discrimination in relation to the population control campaigns authorized by the Fujimori-administration (Ibid; USAID, 2013: Web. 38; UNFPA, 2013: Web. 39; IPPF, 2013: Web. 40; AI, 2004: pp 15-17)

On a positive note, chapter 7 points out two L.A. countries, Chile and Argentina, which have contributed to democratization, one way or another, in the context of Peru and Alberto Fujimori. Chile chose to honour the 1932 extradition treaty between themselves and Peru, making it possible to bring him to trial facing charges brought forward by his native country. And Argentina, as a notion to the Barrios Alto's ruling on the inconsistency between the two amnesty laws introduced by the Fujimori-administration in 1995 and the American Convention on Human Rights and thus without legal effect, decided to strike down the country's amnesty laws only two months after the conviction of Fujimori (Human Rights Watch, 2005: Web. 10)

Serving as the centre of the world system, both North America (mostly USA), by having claimed supremacy in the Western Hemisphere, and Europe (mostly Spain), through religion and language, and by implementing antidemocratic politics and thus initiating long traditions of dictatorship, have had an essential impact on shaping L.A. This connection has nevertheless mostly been on the premises of the centre (Ansari et al, 1989: p. 17-59). The centre's development policies were between the mid-20th century until late-20th century, based on the

modernization theory's stand that all societies progress through similar stages of development and so the periphery is merely a primitive version of the centre, which then has a responsibility to help the periphery to develop (Rostow, 1990: pp. 4-16). The Dependency theory argues against such statements by criticizing forced implementations of the centre's policies and interests within the periphery, e.g. through economic sections and the use of military force (Ansari et al, 1989: p. 17-59). The theory furthermore points out that developing countries have unique structures and features of their own, which should be promoted and nurtured rather than rejected, in order to fully develop (Ibid.). Then the discussion about the state of poverty of the periphery is no longer a question about whether developing countries are fully integrated or not, as supporters of the modernization theory would argue, but rather about *how* they are being integrated into the world system (Ibid; Rostow, 1990: pp 4-16).

Prebisch and Singer therefore emphasise on the necessity to implement some degree of protectionism if 'the periphery' is to enter a self-sustaining development path and in this connection they point at the ISI-approach as the best strategy to reach such results (Ansari et al, 1989: pp 269-285). Chapter 7 shows, that the ISI-policies *did* in fact have a rather positive effect on L.A. society. Being the foundation of industrialization and a potential political resource, the working-class became an important subject of investment and thus L.A. governments opened up to voting and participation. However, the course of the new policies merely altered the balance of power; limiting it to the pro-labour and pro-industrial circles, workers were replaced by machineries, leading to growing unemployment and thus strikes; all which posed a serious threat to stability, and in the end the ISI simply altered the dependency on the centre from being dependent on imported goods to being dependent on new export markets.

The fact that none of my data show evidence of neither Europe or USA having a positive influence on the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the case of Peru and Fujimori can on one side mean that the centre *does* have an interest in supporting right-wing regimes because they are easier to control and influence in contrast to left-wing regimes and independent democracies This was earlier emphasized by both Prebisch and Singer, and by Zubrin in his notion of 'antihumanism'.

Going back to Smith's point about the power groups' course and role which is determined by their interests and objectives; it is then relevant to point out, that USA on one side believes that it

is their responsibility as the centre to help L.A based on the principles of the modernization theory, and then on the other side, USA has supported right-wing authoritarian regimes to implement own interests. This leads us back to the dependency theory's speculations about the centre's interests in keeping the periphery from developing (Ansari et al, 1989: p. 17-59) The lack of positive influence can also mean, that L.A. is becoming less dependent on the traditional 'centre' based on the argument that USA and Europe (especially Spain), are losing power in terms of economic superiority (NBC News, 2008: Web. 41). So while 'the centre' is struggling with economic crises, L.A. is looking elsewhere for opportunities such as China, Russia, Iran, and regional markets as well (Ibid).

8.5. Summary

After discussing and analysing the findings of my three interconnecting data platforms, I have been able to illustrate the societal factors which have triggered the process from dictatorship towards democracy, both generally in L.A. and in the case of Peru and Fujimori. The analysis demonstrated that the process is interconnected to economic, social, and political factors; awareness and public opinion; actors; and external factors, and that these mechanisms furthermore are interconnected to one another.

9. Conclusion

In this final chapter, I will provide a conclusion for my research question, which is:

How did the societal factors trigger the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the context of Peru and Alberto Fujimori, making it possible to hold him responsible of his crimes?

In order to answer this, I have composed three interconnecting data platforms and weighed the findings against historicism, Smith's theory and other theoretical approaches, to fully highlight all aspects of the transition. The discussion has been structured around looking at the process of democratisation in the light of the fall of dictatorship. This whole is essential when using historicism as a research strategy as well as using Smith's. To make the following conclusions more approachable, I will go through the most important findings more or less in the same order as they

are presented in the analysis, and then in the end bring up what the use of historicism as a research strategy has had of impacts on the results.

Starting with an overall notion of the societal factors, which have influenced major societal changes in L.A. and furthermore triggered to the process from dictatorship towards democracy in the context of Peru and Alberto Fujimori, is most importantly the discovery, that these factors are interconnecting and multi-faceted which thus can influence the process both positively and negatively.

Looking at the connection between economic, social and political factors, is the evidence to the contrary of the modernization theory's statements that all societies progress through similar stages and that economic growth generates social changes which in turn will create more democratic policies. Even though this theory *does* inspire to look for connections between factors influencing major societal changes, the outside-in approach has forced L.A. to adapt policies based on the centre's own interest rather on the actual needs of the periphery. The theory has furthermore failed to explain why then L.A. has undergone a different social and economic development than the ones of the centre, and therefore also produced different political results. The dependency theory speaks of this matter, by looking at L.A.'s different societal development as a unique structure which should be promoted and nurtured rather than rejected, to fully make use of the region's strengths. However, even though the dependency theory's solution to promote protectionism *did* encourage democratic policies in forms of voting and participation, it merely altered the balance of power and the area of dependency; creating no self-sufficient development.

Whether it is regarding dictatorship or democracy, I found that stability, order and security are the key to public support; bringing life and strengths to these types of governments. Fujimori obtained such support by bringing economic- stability and development to the country, and also by taming the armed opposition groups. Stability, order, and security also represent one of the three fundamental pillars determining public acceptance. The second pillar is affiliation with societal group and thus level of oppression, and the last pillar concerns the level of personal involvement, also regarding degree of oppression.

Relevant to the change of public acceptance of authoritarianism, is awareness. The data showed that the most crucial aspects of Fujimori's declining popularity leading to his downfall, was firstly the unveiling of corruption and secondly the knowledge of Human Rights violations. The data furthermore revealed, that more important than awareness is the shift from a low degree of personal involvement to a high degree of personal involvement in terms of feeling and experiencing fear and oppression – people might be aware of the reality but choose not to react e.g. out of fear or simply because they see no need to do so.

Interest groups, a theme which crosses over between actors and external factors, have proven to be of extreme significance to the process from dictatorship towards democracy. Driven by their ideology and objectives, interest groups' choice of supporting democratization versus authoritarianism is determined by their personal interests. The strongest example of such actor is USA who has not always found it in best interests to support democracy. During the presidency of Fujimori, it was the State and the armed opposition group who had the most negative effect on the transition, and Chile who had the most positive effect by honouring the extradition treaty and thus making it possible for the State of Peru to bring Fujimori to trial and holding him responsible of his crimes. Another important aspect of interest groups is that the connection between the centre and L.A. is mostly a one-way power relation based on the centre's own interests. However, events taking place in L.A. have also influenced the centre as well, e.g. when appointing left-wing candidates as Head of States; threatening especially US interests. Inside the region of L.A. was more positively Argentina's elimination of amnesty laws as a reaction to the ruling on illegalising the two amnesty laws introduced by the Fujimori-administration.

As a last remark, I will point out how historicism has influenced the findings and the conclusions of these by briefly examine the approach of combining general tendencies with the context and the perspective. The first method taught us that authoritarianism has a strong foothold in L.A. society because it aims at imposing stability, order and security which is the key to public support, regardless of the type of government, and thus also important to democratisation. The context brought living stories through interviews, but I also discovered a limitation to collecting narratives regarding the quality of the narrators' knowledge. In the analysis, it was pointed out that it is unclear how much the interviewees were actually aware of in the specific situations as

opposed to reflecting all of their current knowledge back to these happenings. This then influence the results of the data, the analysis, and the conclusion. Nonetheless, the interviewees *did* help to unclear the perspective of the case of Peru and Fujimori and why there was a change in Fujimori's popularity, leading to his downfall. Together these three data have pointed out, that the determining factor of making it possible to hold Fujimori responsible of his crimes, was the extradition from Chile, which leads us to a last point of historism and also Smith's theory - when looking at the data as a development process, I found that previously the occurrence of major societal events in L.A. was mostly triggered by outside mechanisms whereas now, changes happen from within.

10. Perspective: What's new?

When looking at the democratic development in L.A. it becomes clear that it is a vibrant process which both entails massive progress and major setback.

Besides the conviction of Heads of State who have committed grave Human Rights violations, another positive development in L.A. has been the annulment of amnesty-laws, and how one country can inspire other countries to follow suit. In Peru, the importance of the conviction of Fujimori, in relation to the democratically principles of rejection of impunity, was reinforced by president Humala's decision to not pardon Fujimori (Financial Times, 2009: Web. 1). Decisions and milestones are however not always permanent, which was pointed out in the case of Ríos Montt, who in 2013 first was found guilty and sentenced to 80 years in prison, where after the Guatemalan Supreme Court annulled all charges.

Methods for promoting development and democracy, has throughout time been linked to different, and at time contradicting approaches, such as the modernization theory and the development theory. Today popular standards are first and foremost based on the international community's realisation of the magnitude and the potentials of internal powers in contrast to external imposing (Outlook [Ian Buruma], 2004: Web 42). This concept, often is referred to as 'democracy from within', is gaining increasingly support in step with the enfolding of the Arabic Spring – a form of self-imposed domino effect, which is claiming democracy all over the Arabic world.

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12. Enclosures

12.1 Enclosure 1: CD ROM: “*Transcription of interviews*”