

# Citizenship and International Migration: Transnational Political Participation and the Peruvian Immigrant Vote, 1980-2024\*

[English version]

Ciudadanía y migraciones internacionales: participación política  
transnacional y voto de los inmigrantes peruanos, 1980-2024

Cidadania e migrações internacionais: participação política  
transnacional e voto dos imigrantes peruanos, 1980-2024

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## Abstract

**Objective:** To characterize the political participation of Peruvians abroad based on the review of official statistical data and empirical studies from 1980 to 2024. **Methodology:** The study follows a qualitative approach, supported by official statistical data. **Results:** Electoral participation in the first round of general elections increased until 2016 but significantly declined in 2021, while runoff election participation also saw a slight decrease. Participation in referendums was the lowest. Additionally, absenteeism was high, and voting trends leaned toward conservatism. **Conclusions:**

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Non-electoral participation is diverse, with notable engagement in associations, community organizations in various countries, and digital activism, primarily focused on cultural and social activities. Political participation occurs in relation to both the country of origin and the host country, leading to the development of political transnationalism, transnational citizenship, and an emerging transnational digital citizenship.

**Keywords:** citizenship; international migration; political participation; immigrant voting; Peruvians (from the UNESCO thesaurus).

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** caracterizar la participación política de los peruanos en el extranjero, a partir de la revisión estadística oficial y revisión de estudios empíricos, en el periodo de 1980 a 2024. **Metodología:** el enfoque es cualitativo, apoyado en datos estadísticos oficiales. **Resultados:** se observa que la participación electoral en las elecciones generales de primera vuelta crece hasta al 2016 y desciende significativamente en 2021, mientras que el balotaje también disminuye levemente, en tanto que la participación en los referéndums es más baja. Asimismo, el ausentismo es elevado, y el voto es preferentemente conservador. **Conclusiones:** la participación no electoral es diversificada, destacan las asociaciones, las comunidades en cada país y el activismo digital, y predominan las actividades culturales y sociales. La participación se realiza en relación con dos países: emisor y receptor, que se traduce en un transnacionalismo político, una ciudadanía transnacional y una incipiente ciudadanía digital transnacional.

**Palabras clave:** ciudadanía; migración internacional; participación política; voto inmigrante; peruanos (obtenidos del tesoro Unesco).

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** Caracterizar a participação política dos peruanos no exterior a partir da análise estatística oficial e da revisão de estudos empíricos no período de 1980 a 2024. **Metodologia:** O enfoque é qualitativo, apoiado em dados estatísticos oficiais. **Resultados:** Observa-se que a participação eleitoral nas eleições gerais de primeiro

turno cresce até 2016 e cai significativamente em 2021, enquanto a participação no segundo turno também apresenta uma leve redução. Já nos referendos, a participação é ainda mais baixa. Além disso, o absenteísmo é elevado, e o voto tem uma tendência predominantemente conservadora. **Conclusões:** A participação não eleitoral é diversificada, destacando-se associações, comunidades em cada país e ativismo digital, com predominância de atividades culturais e sociais. A participação ocorre em relação a dois países — de origem e de destino — configurando um transnacionalismo político, uma cidadania transnacional e uma incipiente cidadania digital transnacional.

**Palavras-chave:** cidadania; migração internacional; participação política; voto imigrante; peruanos (extraído do tesouro da UNESCO).

## Introduction

International migrations have transformed the political reality of countries of destination and origin, and there is an increasing presence of immigrants as political actors. As migration movements become more massive and global, they have generated diasporas that significantly impact the lives of the countries involved. Thanks to Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), a more sustained transnationalism has become possible, which reaches the political sphere; however, immigrants also face backlash in the form of restrictive control measures, discrimination, xenophobia, and criminalization.

Recipient countries have promoted immigration policies focused on care and integration, as well as on control, restriction, and expulsion of immigrants. Sender countries develop policies for linking and returning, as well as for voting and electoral participation." Other forms of participation include associations and unconventional forms, whether through direct networks or in cyberspace. Therefore, the participation of Peruvians abroad is analyzed to determine its characteristics and trends, as well as the patterns, networks, and activities they carry out.

The characterization of their political participation is based on official data (ONPE, JNE, INEI) and empirical studies (mainly in Spanish and some in English) conducted from 1980 to 2024, focusing on Peruvian immigrants in Spain, Italy, Chile, Argentina, and the United States. A qualitative approach and content analysis are chosen. The theoretical framework encompasses citizenship, cyber-citizenship, politics, and political participation.

The study addresses this introduction, a brief theoretical framework, and the analysis and discussion of results across four axes: Characterization of the migrant population, electoral participation and consultative councils, non-electoral participation, and participation in cyberspace. The study concludes with findings that synthesize and contrast the results with the theoretical framework.

## International Immigration and Political Participation of Peruvians Abroad

### On International Migration

Migration is defined [...] as the process in which the movement occurs from one country to another, or from one sufficiently distinct and distant region to another, for a prolonged period, implying living in another country and carrying out everyday life activities there. (Tizón-García cited in Micolta, 2005, p. 61).

Residential changes or displacements must "[...] have a relatively permanent character or a certain intention of permanence" (Micolta, 2005, p. 60). All countries are linked to international migration as destinations, origins, or transit points. This phenomenon is related to economic, political, social, technological, and environmental aspects (Chávez et al., 2021) and to the inherent inequalities of these processes, both at regional and global levels.

In the 21st century, the massification of international immigration has raised concerns in receiving countries, leading to both restrictive policies and measures that criminalize immigrants. However, it is also a transformative and disruptive phenomenon that affects the economies of origin, destination, and the global economy. Its impact has intensified with Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), through which immigrants weave support networks, recreate and strengthen identities, and develop social, economic, political, and cultural practices in transnational spaces of communication and participation. In practice, migration and ICT shape a digital transnational citizenship for immigrants (Fernández, 2021). However, they may also facilitate control, monitoring, location tracking, misuse of data, causing job losses among immigrants, and surveillance, in addition to easing administrative processing (IOM, 2022).

Furthermore, it has led to: a) international cooperation and attention from receiving countries to mitigate negative impacts and protect immigrants; b) greater social and ethno-cultural diversity in receiving societies, necessitating the transformation of migration policies, as assimilationist and multicultural approaches have been surpassed; c) the rise of hostility, discrimination, xenophobia, and criminalization against immigrants by host societies and their governments. According to Pickus (1998), international migration is perceived as a threat to societal norms, national identity, democracy, and even national security risks (Quiroz et al., 2023, p. 1854); and d) a necessary reflection on global inequalities,

investment in countries of origin to prevent emigration, and a critique of global policies that restrict human mobility while allowing the free movement of goods and raw materials to sustain a predatory and dehumanizing global capitalism. The IOM (2022) highlights similar characteristics and underscores the challenges of international migration and the need to reflect on the benefits it generates.

In this context, the political participation of immigrants emerges, who seek full integration into the receiving countries. Consequently, immigration becomes a political issue and has been incorporated into "[...] the disciplines dedicated to the analysis of government, and politics is one of the most interesting recent theoretical developments in migration studies" (López, 2002, p. 85). Immigrants transition from being objects and means of production to becoming socio-political subjects and agents of change.

## On Politics

Politics is:

[...] the activity related [...] to intervention, preparation, participation, criticism, opposition, support in adopting measures or making decisions [...] it is, in effect, an activity aimed at reforming or maintaining reality in a certain sense. [...] it is effectively directed towards the common good or the general interest of society (Solozábal, 1984, p. 146).

For Arendt (2018), politics is the capacity to argue and act with others who are equal yet different, to address public matters, which must be done in freedom. In this sense, power is exercised in relation to others, without domination, and requires three fundamental premises:

- a) **Politics is about being together and with each other of the diverse (Arendt, 2018, p. 3), which implies a power relationship among equals and in freedom.**

Politics does not involve exerting power over others by treating them as inferiors or as non-humans, with the aim of imposing order and safeguarding the rights of those who are more homogeneous in culture and lifestyle. Instead, it should be oriented toward egalitarian power relationships, even while being different, in plurality, without xenophobia or domination. In the case of immigrants, it means integrating them politically: granting access to services, rights, and full political participation.

**b) Politics as an activity with «the unavoidable purpose of dignifying individual and social human life».**

Politics is said to be an essential need for human life, both individual and social. Since humans are not self-sufficient and depend on others for their existence, the care of this life should concern everyone; otherwise, coexistence would be impossible. The mission and purpose of politics are to ensure life in the broadest sense (Arendt, 2018, p. 27).

Although Arendt does not subscribe to this idea for all human coexistence, it implies that the purpose of politics is the common good and that of the individual human being at the same time. From this perspective, its core is the human individual and their collectives, including immigrants. Thus, the approach analyzed by Arendt is modified to state that *politics is and must be an unavoidable activity to dignify human life, both individually and socially*. Therefore, states are obligated to transition from considering immigrants as objects of their policies to recognizing them as subjects of these policies and as political agents deserving of quality of life.

**c) Politics as political integration of immigrants and agency capacity.**

It is assumed that immigrants as human beings in a legal-political jurisdiction have fundamental rights, including organizing and participating politically. If politics includes the political system and its subsystems (pressure groups, unions, and military forces when making political decisions), as well as citizens, movements, and social organizations that intervene in public affairs (Sartori, 1987), it consequently includes immigrants as political subjects.

## **Citizenship, Cyber-citizenship, and Political Participation**

Citizenship encompasses four dimensions, although it is a unified and integral process: a) Recognized Citizenship: a set of rights assigned through legal, national, and/or local membership (citizenship rights) and global rights (human rights); b) Substantive or Lived Citizenship: the construction and exercise of rights, duties, and civic commitments to achieve greater autonomy, independence, and fulfillment as individuals and citizens; c) Citizenship Belonging and Identity: a relationship with a territory or community of reference, whether identical or different from what the state recognizes; and d) Symbolic Dimension: symbolic

representations and their socialization; symbols that legitimize the previous dimensions. The last two processes correspond to perceived citizenship (c and d).

When exercised in cyberspace, it gives rise to “cybercitizenship”, which includes participation, deliberation, and other rights such as the “right to be forgotten” (Mosseberger *et al.*, 2008), cyberactivism, e-participation, e-protest, and hacktivism (Fernández, 2012; Burgos, 2020; Avellaneda & Velázquez, 2021). When it takes place between two or more countries, as in the case of international immigrants, it generates digital transnational citizenship (Fernández, 2014; 2021).

For international immigrants, citizenship is transnational because it transcends territorial, legal, and cultural borders by means of: (a) Extraterritorial activities within the receiving country; (b) Cross-border (or transterritorial) interactions between two or more countries; (c) Supranational engagements, as seen in confederations or multinational unions (e.g., the European Union); and integration regions [real or imaginary] such as Latin America; and (d) Deterritorial practices, particularly in cyberspace. This citizenship [...] materializes relations in the political, social, economic, and cultural spheres of both the country of origin and destination [...] (Padilla & Ortiz, 2014, p. 40), from states, global spaces (international treaties, market, etc.), and the immigrants themselves.

Political participation is understood as the activity of citizens to influence political decisions (Van Deth, 2001, p. 4), whether in government, the political process, or civil society, directed at changing social structures and behavior patterns (Norris, 2002). It can be individual or collective, national or local, legal or illegal, violent or peaceful, verbal or written, voluntary or instrumental, with varying intensity (Conge, 1988; Sabucedo, 1996; Sabucedo *et al.*, 1990), electoral or non-electoral, traditional or digital. The most recognized classification is conventional and non-conventional (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Sabucedo, 1989).

“Conventional” participation is based on legislation or an unwritten convention, and is socially accepted; it is carried out in: a) political campaigns, b) community activities, c) contact with the public administration, d) suffrage (Verba and Nie, 1972) and, e) post-electoral activities (Sabucedo 1988; Verba & Nie, 1972). The “non-conventional” participation is heterogeneous, traditional or digital. According to Kaase and Marsh (1979), it includes petitions, demonstrations, boycotts, legal and illegal strikes, occupation of buildings and streets, traffic blockades, and both legal and illegal activities (e.g., guerrilla actions, violence, and others).

## Key Tensions and Ruptures Related to International Immigration in the World

International migration produces three Key Tensions and Ruptures: a) citizenship-territory; b) citizenship-rights; and c) citizenship-culture (López, 2002, p.96):

a) Citizenship and territory: Crossing a state's borders implies [...] a jurisdictional change, breaking the classic link between citizenship and territory (p. 91). The responses have been even more restrictive "policies" [...] of control of migratory flows [...] (p. 85-86). The territory is transposed, legally or illegally, on the one hand; and rights are recognized or denied, immigrants are controlled, criminalized and expelled, on the other.

b) Citizenship and rights: There is a decoupling between [...] citizenship and rights (p. 98). Immigration breaks down legal boundaries: rights are granted to «non-citizens» in the receiving countries: the undocumented immigrants, including partial political rights (p. 99).

c) Citizenship and culture: Host societies and immigrants face cultural confrontations that transform citizen identities and cultures; [...] immigration challenges the classical structure of the cultural barriers of the political community through the incorporation of diversity into host societies and the erosion of traditional cultural barriers (López, 2002, p. 101).

As a result, multiculturalism increases, leading to racism, discrimination, xenophobia, and stigmatization of immigrants, such as what Cociña (2020) finds in Chile against Peruvians; but it also fosters intercultural processes of acceptance, solidarity, and mutual growth.

In this context, new ICTs promote immigrant integration while intensifying Key Tensions and Ruptures in host countries. At the same time, they produce cultural, political and citizen continuities with the countries of origin and destination, fostering digital transnational citizenship (Fernández, 2021), including political participation.

Some factors influence the relationship between international migration and participation: a) pressure groups (immigrant associations, businessmen, and pro-immigrant groups); b) liberal democracy institutions: rights, political parties, bureaucracies, court of justice and constitutions; c) international system mechanisms: human rights, supranational organizations, regional consultative bodies, and integration processes); d) political culture of immigrants and native citizens: socialization of citizenship, civil society, and relationship with states (Amescua & Luque, 2013), as well as citizen trajectory (previous political experience) (Fernández, 2010); e) citizen trajectory (previous political experience) (Fernández, 2010); f) borderline situations experienced by immigrants: this leads

them to organize and participate (Besserer, 1999); and g) political transnationalism of issuing governments.

## **Presentation and Discussion of Results**

### **Characteristics of Peruvian Migration in the World**

As of 2021, the countries of destination for Peruvians in the world are: The United States (30.2%), Spain (15.4%), Argentina (13.5%), Chile (11.8%), Italy (10.2%), Japan (3.7%), Canada (1.9%), Venezuela (1.7%), Brazil (1.7%), France (1.2%) and Germany (1.0%). The cities with the most Peruvians abroad are: Buenos Aires (10%); Santiago de Chile (9.5%), Madrid (7.2%), New Jersey (4.5%), New York (4.1%), Barcelona (3.9%), Miami (3.9%), Milan (3.6%), Los Angeles (3.0%), Virginia (1.8%), other cities (48.6%) (INE, 2022).

In the II global survey of Peruvians abroad, carried out between November 2021 and May 2022 among Peruvians aged 18 years and older, it was found that: 54.5% are women and 45.5% men; between 18-29 years: 14.5%; from 30-59: 67.1%, and from 60 to over: 18.4%; of which 61.7% are couples, 30.3% single, 5.9% divorced and 2.1% widowed; they migrated for economic reasons: 50.7%, studies: 8.0%, family unit: 27.2%, and other reasons: 6.9%. Regarding migratory status in the host country, 38.2% had permanent residency, 27% were citizens of the host country, 7.5% held valid work visas, 5.1% had tourist visas, 2.7% were on student visas, 0.2% had humanitarian visas, 2.9% had other types of visas, and 16.5% were undocumented. In terms of education level, 50.4% had higher education, 25.6% secondary education, 19.2% postgraduate studies, and 4.8% primary education.

The distribution of the Peruvian population by continent is as follows: America (66.4%)—with North America accounting for 33.3%, South America 32.2%, and Central America 1.0%; Europe (28.8%)—mostly in Spain and Italy; Asia (4.2%)—primarily in Japan; and Oceania (0.6%). There are few Peruvians in Africa (INEI, 2018). Most Peruvians reside in Chile, Argentina, the United States, Spain, Italy, and Japan, consistent with the 2022 survey.

Regarding connection with their country of origin, 67.6% reported purchasing Peruvian food products, 37.7% Peruvian beverages, 10.5% clothing, 10.0% handicrafts, 9.1% music, 1.0% other items, and 17.9% did not purchase any Peruvian products. Additionally, 39.9% sent remittances, while only 18.3% expressed a desire to return to Peru permanently. In terms of organizational affiliation, respondents reported belonging to cultural organizations (16.1%),

religious organizations (13.9%), humanitarian support groups (13.1%), sports organizations (10.3%), student groups (8.6%), scientific associations (8.5%), commercial organizations (6.4%), industrial organizations (6.1%), unions (5.4%), and other organizations (11.6%) (INEI, 2022). No reference is made to political organizations, although it may be included in the category of others.

Electoral Participation of Peruvians Abroad

Table 1. Vote of Peruvian emigrants worldwide, 1980 – 2021.

Year	Type of E.	T. Electoral P.	Electoral P. N. T.	Votes Abroad P.	Votes Abroad
2021	CE2				363,640
2021	CE1	25,287,954	24,290,921	997,033	227,902
2020	CCE	24,799,384	23,825,154	974,230	
2018	RE	24,373,821	23,465,982	907,839	216,359
2016	CE2				389,529
2016	CE1	22,901,954	22,017,030	884,924	472,027
2011	CE2				378,792
2011	CE1	19,949,915	19,195,761	754,154	402,563
2010	RE1	19,595,277	18,878,314	716,963	118,565
2006	CE2				282,944
2006	CE1	16,494,906	16,037,015	457,891	290,728
2001	CE2				
2001	CE1	15,161,916	14,906,233	255,683	132,443
2000	CE2				
2000	CE1	14,794,767	14,567,468	227,299	112,967
1995	CE1	12,417,946	12,280,538	137,408	71,245
1993	RE1	11,620,820			
1990	CE2				
1990	CE1	10,013,225	9,923,962	89,263	40,436
1985	CE1	8,333,433	8,282,545	50,888	37,809
1980	CE1	6,471,105	6,431,655	39,450	20,790

Source: Own elaboration based on ONPE data (2006a, 2006b, 2011a, 2011b, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2021a, 2021b), JNE (2024) and Castillo (2018).

Note

*Type of E.:* Type of Election.

*Electoral P.:* Total Electoral Population.

*Electoral P. N. T.:* Electoral Population in National Territory.

*Votes A.:* Votes Abroad.

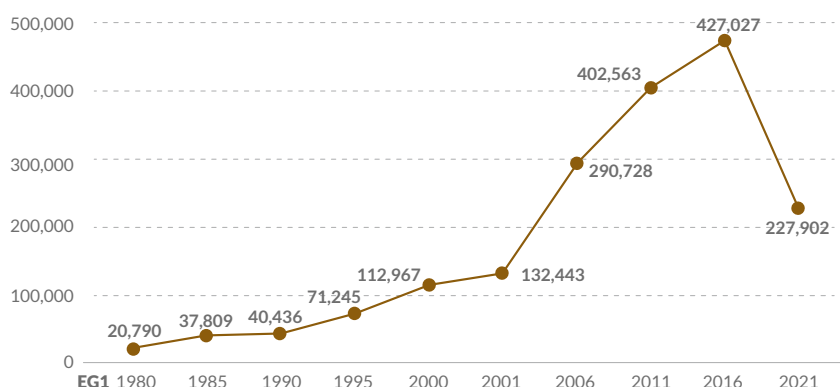
*CCE:* Complementary Congressional Elections.

*RF:* Referendum.

*CE1:* First Round Congressional Elections.

*CE2:* First Round Congressional Elections.

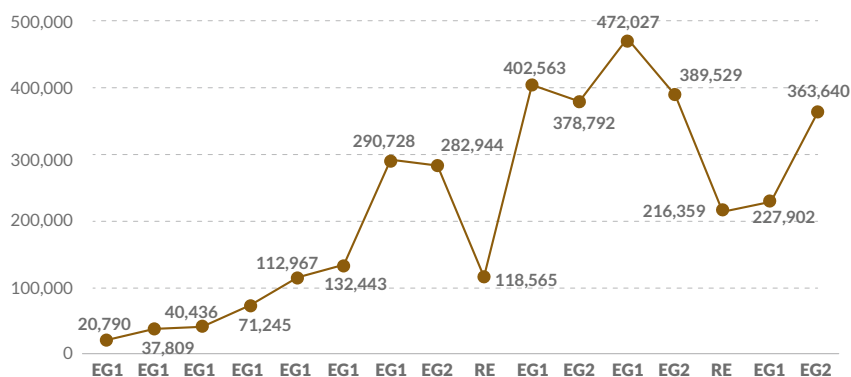
Voting participation among Peruvians abroad steadily increased between 1980 and 2016 (Figure 1). Compared to the eligible electoral population, it remains very low, and significantly decreases in the first round of 2021, even lower than in 2006. The electoral context in 2021 - characterized by an unknown candidate from a Marxist party and the discredited Fujimorist candidate, in a predominantly conservative electorate and with strong opposition to Fujimorism - may help explain this decline.



**Figure 1.** Evolution of voting abroad in CE1 1980 - 2021.

Source: Own elaboration based on data from ONPE (2006a, 2011a, 2016a, 2018a, 2021a) and Castillo (2018).

In runoff elections, voting turnout is lower than in the first round and even lower in referendums. The exception is 2021: In the first round, voter turnout was 227,902 (22.85%), and in the second round, it increased to 363,640 (36.475%) (Table 1 and Figure 2). Absenteeism was high; in the first round of 2021, it reached 769,131 voters (77.14%), and in the second round, 633,393 (63.58%). Fujimori obtained 66.19% of the votes, while Castillo garnered 33.81%.



**Figure 2.** Evolution of the vote abroad in CE1, ECE2, and RE, 1980 – 2021.

Source: Own elaboration based on ONPE data (2006a, 2006b, 2011a, 2011b, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2021a, 2021b), and Castillo (2018).

Voting trends abroad primarily favor right-wing parties and candidates: In 1980, Acción Popular (AP) obtained 40.6%; in 1985, Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana-APRA reached 52.60%, Democratic Convergence (CODE) led by the Christian People's Party - PPC obtained 28.80%, AP 4.50%, and United Left - IU 11.40% (Castillo, 2018), with the historical right-wing totaling 33.3%. Votes were cast for a centrist party, APRA. In 1990, the traditional right-wing alliance, FREDEMO, led by AP, obtained 64.70%; Cambio, 15.60%; APRA, 8.80%; IU, 4.20%; Socialist Left - IS, 3.80%; and other parties, 2.90%; with the left totaling 8%. In 1995, Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría obtained 79.42%; Unión por el Perú (UPP), led by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, received 15.99%; APRA, 1.32%; CODE, 0.86%; Obras, 0.62%; FREPAP, 0.39%; AP, 0.12%; and others, 0.67% (Castillo, 2018). Fujimorism, representing the new right and the moderate right through UPP, concentrated the vote, practically erasing the left from the electoral map.

In 2000, Alberto Fujimori with “Perú 2000” (P2000), received 51.20% of the votes; Perú Posible, 35.10%; APRA, 1.80%; AP, 1.20%; and UPP (center-left), 0.50%. In the first round of 2001, Unidad Nacional (UN) obtained 51.70%; PP, 28.30%; APRA, 13.90%; Independent Moralizing Front – FIM, 3.60%; and others, 2.5% (Castillo, 2018). AP disappeared, the left joined UPP, and the right predominated with UN, PP, and FIM, together totaling 83.6%.

In 2006, in the first round, foreign voting (presidential) was as follows: UN, 58.23%; APRA, 16.90%; Gana Perú, 12.58%; Alianza por el Futuro (AF), 5.22%; and others, 7.05% (ONPE, 2006a); in the runoff, APRA, 68.48%, and UPP, 31.52% (ONPE, 2006b) The right-wing discourse of García Pérez prevailed, despite the

corruption of his first government, defeating Humala, who was supported by the left and promoted an anti-neoliberal message.

In 2011, in the first round, Fujimorism, with Fuerza 2011 (F2011), obtained 28.62%; Alianza para el Gran Cambio (APGC), 28.62%; Perú Posible, 15.08%; Alianza Solidaridad Nacional, 13.44%; Gana Perú, 12.86%; and others, 1.42% (ONPE, 2011a). In the second round, 70.37% voted for F2011, and 29.62% for Gana Perú (ONPE, 2011b).

In 2016, Popular Force (FP) (Fujimorism) obtained 39.86%; Peruvians for Change-PC 21.05%; Broad Front (left): 18.74%; AP: 6.97%; APRA: 5.83%; Direct Democracy: 4%; and others: 3.54% (ONPE, 2016a). The total left-wing vote amounted to 22.74% (Broad Front by Mendoza and Arana, and the 4% from Gregorio Santos); the far right reached 60.91%. In the second round, 50.93% voted for PC and 49.06% for FP (ONPE, 2016b). The left-wing vote supported «Peruvians for Change» (right).

In 2021, in the first round, Renovación Popular (far-right) reached 21.47%; FP: 14.15%; Avanza País-Partido de Integración Social (right): 13.31%; Juntos por el Perú (left): 13.10%; AP: 7.18%; Victoria Nacional (right): 7.15%; Perú Libre (left): 6.58%; Partido Morado (center-right): 3.98%; PC: 1.94%; Podemos Perú (right): 2.57%; Alianza para el Progreso (right): 1.90%; Somos Perú (right): 1.77%; APRA: 1.16%; Perú Patria Segura: 0.80%; Frente Amplio: 0.67%; Unión por el Perú: 0.59%; Democracia Directa: 0.38%; Renacimiento Unidos Nacional: 0.45%. In the Second Electoral Round, Keiko Fujimori, from FP, obtained 66.48% of the votes, while Castillo, from Perú Libre, obtained 33.51%. Voting trends abroad favored the right.

Political participation in elections in host countries has been corroborated in Spain (Iglesias, 2011; Bermúdez & Excrivá, 2016; Moya & Viñas, 2021), Argentina (Moreira, 2013), and Chile (Pujols, 2020), indicating that many Peruvians participate in dual electoral processes. There are no systematized statistics on electoral participation in these countries, and due to time constraints, data from existing electoral registers were not included. However, in cases such as Chile, where participation without naturalization is possible, significant involvement of eligible Peruvians has been observed.

### **Non-electoral Participation Promoted by the Government: Consultation Council in Peruvian Communities**

It is an institutional body that promotes the participation of Peruvians living abroad in support of consular functions. It was established by Ministerial Resolution (MR) No. 1197/RE on 08/11/2002 and its amendment MR No. 0687/

RE on 21/10/2004. In 2010, Law 29495 was issued along with its regulation DS No. 057-210-RE, later amended by DS No. 027-2012-RE, which changed the percentage of registered Peruvians required to validate the Consultation Council election (Presidency of the Republic, 2012).

A "Consultation Council" is defined as: "[...] an expression of the Peruvian civil society residing abroad", whose purpose is "[...] to constitute a space for dialogue and cooperation to combine efforts to contribute and guide the resolution of problems faced by compatriots residing in the respective consular jurisdiction" (Law 29495, Articles 2-3). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (cited in Araujo & Eguiguren, 2009, p. 7), its goal is to serve as a liaison to strengthen consular actions. This aligns with incorporating Peruvians living abroad as part of consular support (Kufoy, 2011). However, in practice, it also serves as a space for civic proposals, such as the legislative representation initiative for Peruvians abroad, promoted by European consultative councils (Fernández, 2010).

The functions, calls, election of the electoral committee, and proclamation of winners are managed by consulates; therefore, it is a consular rather than a civil society body. This is corroborated as they are directed from Lima by the Secretariat of Peruvian Communities Abroad (Lázaro, 2007). Nor is it a "[...] representative associative body of the Peruvian community residing in the consular office's jurisdiction, non-profit, autonomous, independent [...]" as stated by Lázaro (2007, p. 283), since council representatives in their conventions demand autonomy, recognition, and representation (Valdivia, 2008). They lack true independence and representativeness, since their composition is determined more by government appointment than by grassroots democratic processes.

Among its achievements and limitations are:

- - It constitutes an instance with democratic potential to unify Peruvians, address their problems, and collaborate with the consulate.
- - According to the law and Kufoy (2011, p. 50), it can assist in integrating Peruvians into host societies and asserting their rights before consulates. Limitation: due to the number of members, lack of resources, and the large number of immigrants, achieving this is unfeasible.
- - Based on four conventions held up to 2008, there is a link between councils and the holding of annual international conventions, where progress, limitations, and demands were evaluated: greater autonomy, amendment of regulations and functions (as they are restrictive and limited), more resources for better consular functioning and services, consular tax, oversight functions, and timely and complete information

on consular functions and activities (Consultation Councils of Peruvian Communities Abroad, cited in Valdivia-Manchego, 2008, p. 35-36).

Other limitations include elitist constitution (representing upper or middle classes, not lower ones), divergent positions among Peruvians (Berg, 2010), and a lack of institutional capacity to fulfill its functions. However, it is essential to note that, besides the lack of information from consulates, most Peruvians do not participate.

## Conventional and Unconventional Participation of Citizens

### Associations.

Associationism is the most widespread form of participation among Peruvians abroad. Social (conviviality and fraternity) and cultural associations are the most abundant, but political and economic ones, though fewer, play a significant role. Those with specific political objectives and actions have a notable presence in Chile, Argentina, and Spain.

**Tabla 2.** *Asociaciones en América.*

Country	Associations	Source
Chile	Association of Peruvians Living in Santiago de Chile (AFERS); Human Rights Promotion Organizations: Association of Immigrants for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean (APILA); Andean Program Association for Human Dignity (ProAndes); Committee of Peruvian Refugees; Organizations linked to entrepreneurs and economic elites associated with the consulate: Grupo Paracas, Peruvian Club, Peruvian Women's Association; Migrant Workers' Assembly Union; cultural and religious organizations.	Stefoni, 2004a; 2004b. Luque, 2009; 2007; 2006, 2004.
	The National Coordinator of Immigrants (CNDI), created in 2014 from Peruvian organizations, brings together grassroots organizations from different countries and engages in political activism; Peruvian Political Refugee Committee.	Luque and Rojas, 2020; 2021.

Country	Associations	Source
United States	For example, in Atlanta, the list includes the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, the Peruvian Residents Association, and the Huancaayo Residents Association. In Boston, Peruvian American Community, Peruvian Community of Massachusetts, United Peruvians Association, and Inca Runa Association. In North Carolina, Peruvian Association of North Carolina and The United Peruvian Association of Nashville.	González-Lara, 2019.
	Chicago hosts 15 similar organizations, Denver 20, Harvard 18, Los Angeles 22, and Houston 10. Their activities include commercial, cultural, religious, and collective actions, fostering sociocultural and transnational communities, where identity markers are nationality, music, and gastronomy.	
	The Convention of Peruvian Institutions in the USA and Canada (AIPEUC) gathers leaders from approximately 50 associations, including political development projects, and forms a Democratic Network.	Paiva, 2002.
	In 2000, Altamirano identified 200 Peruvian organizations in the United States, mostly cultural and social (90%) and environmental conservation (40%).	Altamirano, 2000.
	The World Federation of Peruvian Institutions Abroad – FE-MIP (2016), headquartered in Florida (USA), was established on 02/24/2000 as a non-profit organization, integrating various Peruvian organizations in the United States, Japan, Canada, and Venezuela to facilitate educational, social, assistance, and aid exchanges with Peru, and to unite Peruvians living abroad.	FEMIP, 2016.
	In Miami, [...] political movements that promote the participation of migrants in the politics of Peru and the United States (Altamirano, 2000, p. 76).	Altamirano, 2000.
	Cabanaconde City Association (CCA)-Washington, an organization of emigrants from Cabanaconde, with a broad relationship with its origin and strong transnational and undocumented migration networks, which contributes to development in Peru; it makes an Andean transnationalism possible, promoting civic and social activities in the destination and development cooperation in the country of origin. Similar work, but with less impact, is carried out by the Bolognesi Social Club (CSB): emigrants (legal migration) from this town (Bolognesi) from Pallasca in Ancash to Hartford.	Paerregaard, 2013 Paerregaard, 2008.
	In New Jersey, The Peterson Association, a sociocultural and community organization, has significant political involvement through its leaders and employs informal organizational methods linked to their country of origin. Muschi refers to these as "alternative social organization practices" typical of Peruvians in the United States.	Muschi, 2021.

Country	Associations	Source
Argentina	One political refugee association, called A, is politically active, while another, called B, focuses on human rights and support for victims of violence. These organizations consist of Peruvians who belong to the refugee movement from Bolivia, Uruguay, and Chile, primarily composed of men and previously supported by the May 19th Movement (M-29).	Cicogna, 2009.
	Unions. Peruvian women: Peruvian domestic workers in Argentina participate in the union SINPECAF.	Mangliano et al., 2017. Velázquez, 2010. IIGG y OIM, 2019.
	The Association of United Peruvian Migrant and Refugee Women (MPUMR) has over 300 members, while the Civil Association of Human Rights for United Migrant and Refugee Women in Argentina (AMUNRA) started with few members but has grown significantly.	
	The Peruvian Ladies Association, present in almost all countries of migration, mainly comprises the wives of officials, entrepreneurs, and traders.	
	The Civil Association ALASS promotes social, cultural, and sports activities, organizing social or cultural events for the Peruvian community and the host country (specifically the Buenos Aires community). Civic initiatives include cooperation with the Peruvian Consulate and the Buenos Aires city government to establish Peru's Cultural Month.	Lapenda, 2022.
	The Network of Migrant and Refugee Women in Argentina, founded by a Peruvian woman, brings together immigrants from different countries and has given rise to the Frente Patria Grande. It is a kind of confederation with more than 30 organizations. Like AMUMRA, she is very active, both using social media to amplify their impact. The work of these two is eminently political, alongside providing support and counseling for immigrants.	

In the United States, although most organizations have social and cultural purposes (Altamirano, 2000), they also play a political role as they function as pressure and support groups in local and federal elections. In the latter, they generally support the Democratic Party; likewise, their organizations are often used for political purposes in Peruvian electoral campaigns (Tamayo cited in Paiva, 2002, p. 134) and in certain significant political causes, such as the overthrow of Alberto Fujimori and the March of the Four Corners (Interview with the Third Secretary of the Cultural Heritage Directorate of the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited in Paiva, 2002, p. 134). Moreover, cultural activities, parades, and religious festivities constitute transformative actions in host societies, contributing to the cultural and civic revitalization of immigrants. These events reflect the tensions between citizenship and rights, and between citizenship and culture.

Organizations in Chile and Argentina have shown significant political activism since the 1990s, although sociocultural activism is more prevalent. AMUMRA and the Network of Migrant and Refugee Women in Argentina are examples of strong political activism that continues to the present day, especially active on social media. Barrera (2024), citing official Chilean records, identifies 62 mixed associations (comprising members from different countries) and 31 Peruvian associations, exceeding the number of Haitian (26) and Colombian (23) associations. It is specified that among the Peruvian associations, 20 are led by men, 10 by women, and one remains unidentified. Additionally, both recent associations (established after 2018) and those dating back to the 1990s and prior to 2018 hold significant social and political centrality. Activism has been sustained between 2010 and 2020 through their organizations, such as the Peruvian Refugee Committee and the National Coordinator of Immigrants, opposing migration policies (Luque & Rojas, 2021; Pujols, 2020) as well as social policies. At the same time, they participate in Chilean elections because the right to vote is recognized for immigrants with five years of residence. In this context, in the 2017 legislative elections, 16.4% of Peruvians from a list of 59.4% qualified voted (Pujols, 2020).

In the United States, associations are mainly focused on social and cultural activities, including civic events that bring together citizens and authorities. These associations are characterized by a translocal or transnational associative model, where the community interacts with clientelism linked to leaders and entrepreneurs who support the Peruvian collective while pursuing their own political interests. An example is the case of Paterson, where more than 20 community organizations existed in 2009, and with some degree of local political involvement from leaders and merchants, they established the Peruvian Parade Inc. in 1986 as the first formal institution.

Since then, the first commission for the National Day parade has also taken place, and what is now known as the first Peruvian neighborhood, "Little Lima" was proposed in 2008. Furthermore, in 2016, Paterson was recognized as the center of the Peruvian diaspora in the United States, a result of informal organization with characteristics brought from their country of origin (Muschi, 2021). Through this associativism, they participate in politics when specific national issues arise or during elections.

## Europe.

Spain and Italy have a greater presence of Peruvian immigrants, although associative activity is also in other European countries.

**Table 3.** *European Associations.*

Country	Associations	Source
Italy	Associations, with their members, trade unions, formal associations united by their nationality, culture and gastronomy, have a participatory political culture. In this way, associationism is an instrument of civic and political participation and links between local institutions and citizens, who vote in local elections when the opportunity to participate opens up.	Santoni, 2013
	National Coordination of Peruvian Associations and Organizations in Italy (CONAPI) and Eurolatina Peruvian association. Tendency of Peruvians to organize.	Grasso, 2009; 2010. Tamagno, 2003a; 2003b.
	Association of Huachuquino Residents in Milan; Tahuantinsuyo Cultural Association. There is a transnationalism of the Huachuquinos and the use of ICTs in this process.	
Spain	Peruvian cooperation association in Aragon-Spain (Zaragoza City Council, 2024).	
	Federation of Peruvians in Catalonia.	
	Human Rights Association (APDH, for its Spanish abbreviation); Committee of Solidarity with the Peruvian People (COSPU, for its Spanish abbreviation).	
	Markapas-Peru in Madrid since 1992, an association of economic immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees that is assumed as a left-wing commitment. It is devoted to assistance, autonomously.	Ferrás & Martín, 2019.
	Inkarri-Peru exists since 1993: Peruvian political refugees, interacts with other organizations in Peru and Spain, promotes political debate, gives help and legal advice to Peruvians; relationship with its bases and other organizations.	Veredas, 1998; 2003.
	Peruvian Cultural Association in Alcobendas: Cultural identity, social cohesion and civic actions among Peruvian immigrants.	
	Grupo Mujer Peruana, since 1995: It helps immigrant women and maintains relationships with organizations at the Centro Hispano-Peruano in Madrid since 1983.	
	Casa de Perú in Madrid, since 1977: Elitist and works in coordination with the Consulate of Peru, it is not democratic, questioned by the misuse of resources. Maintains relations with Peruvian authorities, locals in Spain and other related Peruvian associations.	

Country	Associations	Source
Spain	PUM-Peru (Partido Unificado Mariateguista) of Madrid, with an indigenous nationalist proposal, created in 1973: It offers legal advice and maintains relations with the PUM of Belgium, Germany, Holland and Peru.	
	Association of Peruvian Refugees and Immigrants in Spain – ARI-Peru. It has offices in Madrid, Navarre, Catalonia and the Basque Country.	Oca & Lombardero, 2018; Moraes & Cutillas, 2018; Moraes et al., 2013; Bermúdez et al., 2014.
	Asociación Nueva Casa del Perú in Madrid, Spain: It seeks to develop social good projects and provide services to the Peruvian and Hispanic community.	
	Asociación de Peruanos de Burela (ASPEBU) and Asociación Sociocultural Raíces Peruanas de Burela, organized by women.	
	Federation of Peruvian Associations in Spain (FEDAP) and Peruvian Federation in Catalonia (FEPERCAT): They received support from the Catalan socialist government and the second government of APRA, they have transnational relations. In 2010, an association linked to Christian democracy and the Peruvian right emerged (Moraes et al., 2013).	Aparicio & Tornos, 2010. Cebolla y López, 2015.
	In Spain, as of 2010, there are 35 associations.	
	Peruvian associations studied by Cebolla and López (2015) are formalized associations that transition from being civic organizations to becoming promoters of development, imitating successful Spanish foundations and taking advantage of their links with institutions to create business opportunities or productive ventures, but they are mainly civic.	
	ARIPERU, founded in 1992, transitions from being a defender of Peruvians (1992-1992) and self-managed to a non-governmental organization (NGO) with the capacity to communicate with the government. It achieves a network of links with other organizations and government institutions, and participates in the discussion and representation in the process of reforming the immigration law; with a role, therefore, eminently political.	Veredas, 1998; Merino, 2002.
	Federation of Peruvians without Borders, founded in 1998, which addresses country of origin policy, immigration policy and trans-local policy.	Vancea & Boso, 2017.

In these countries, associationism works in a network, with centrality in cultural, social and religious organizations, but there are also policies whose role is significant in the integration of immigrants and in the political action of origin and destination, such as those specified in the tables. Sisters have great integrating, participatory and civic power, mainly the *Lord of Miracles Sisterhood*. In addition, the organizations serve as support and protection against the majority society (Merino, 2005; 2002). Political organizations are more oriented to the

defense of rights and analysis of reality (local and country of origin), legal advice and political dialogue; cultural, social and religious are also spaces of identity-symbolic support, civic and development cooperation.

The associationism of companies and businesses favors the formation of transnational circuits and communities, and even of transnational citizenship. Thus, the work of the associations can be summarized in: Spaces of coexistence, solidarity, reciprocity and debate of the Peruvian, Chilean and global reality. They are a space for the reconstruction of Peruvian and cultural identity (Peña, 2004). They also carry out co-development activities (Sanmartín, 2011), humanitarianism or solidarity.

However, they are not limited to dialogue with governments, defense of immigrants or help in their integration. They also participated in working groups around migration laws and other events of local and national policy of origin, and destination, together with immigrants from other countries; for example, the case described by Escrivá (2013) in Spain: They participated in events against local governments, with the indignants and in campaigns against Peruvian politics, in a double participation. It is a consistent fact in the United States, Chile, Argentina and Spain, and it is not limited to electoral participation. Thus, in Chile, organizations such as the Warmipura Network, Pasiones peruanas Chile, the Sindicato Nacional Interempresa de Trabajadoras Inmigrantes de Casa Particular (SINANCAP) and the Peruvian Refugee Committee do what the Chilean State has not done, materially and socio-culturally, through its deficient public policies, nor does Chilean society do to integrate the immigrant (Borquez & Salvo, 2015).

This study deals with the electoral period 1980-2021 and, from the 1990s to 2024, with associationism and non-conventionalism. In the 90s, during Fujimorism, within the framework of armed subversion, migration was not only for economic but also political reasons; which gave rise to political actors and organizations, which are significant in Chile, Argentina and Spain. It is also more heterogeneous, because it is not limited to the upper or upper-middle classes, common in the 1950-1980 period, but low. There is also a significant female presence and a significant percentage of qualified people, with a constant participation that is consolidated.

Non-electoral participation, associative or not, occurs in the spaces of marginality of immigrants in the processes of integration in front of society and recipient governments, which do not promote their integration, and of policies that are, first, deficient and of rejection, and, later, of protected assimilation, but also a sector of the middle classes. In Chile and Argentina, grassroots organizations are building more autonomous political participation, which takes advantage of the spaces for relations with other organizations in the destination country.

This strengthens solidarity and collective values, which favors their activism and autonomous integration. It also happens in the United States, although not with political objectives, but social and cultural ones.

In Spain, a similar trend is observed at the beginning, but as it consolidates, a competitive and clientelistic associationism is born, uprooted from ordinary Peruvian citizens, who in this century seek to overcome themselves. A common trend in all countries is the consolidation of organizations, although there are temporary associations, which serve short-range purposes and disappear. The political does not constitute the bulk of organizations, but in times of elections or difficult political situations (for example, the rise to power of Boluarte, the opposition to Keiko Fujimori), non-political organizations assume a political position and activities.

The studies reviewed show that it is immigrants who build and consolidate their organizations over the years. In Chile, there is greater support from Chilean associations for immigrants, but there are insufficient elements to evaluate the degree of support from the State or society to favor associationism or not. The Peruvian government, for its part, has built bridges through consultative councils, with limited results. Likewise, associations have migrated to cyberspace to expand their activity and reach. The majority of immigrants are not interested in political associations, utilitarian-individualist thought-action is imposed on the citizen-community, with the exception of civic and cultural coexistence, where Peruvianness or the regional is reinvented.

### Community.

In these countries studied, there is a tendency among Peruvians to join a local community, establishing direct ties, whose main identity marker is nationality (Peruvian), in addition to its culture, gastronomy and festivities. The community is built as a socio-political space in the host cities. It is the main social, economic, political and cultural space, with micro spaces of coexistence integrated into its organizations, culture, gastronomy, civic and religious festivals. This responds to a reticular structure, strengthened with digital ICTs.

Its culture is inclusive within the community, differentiating-integrating towards the receiving society, and of rupture and integration in the country of destination. Its religious festivities are significant in this sense: The main one, "*El Señor de los Milagros*" [the Lord of Miracles]; and cultural activities such as the Cultural Parade of New Jersey and the National Holiday Parade in New York, which are the result of a network of organizations, leaderships and the Peruvians who participate.

Altamirano (2000) points out for the United States, Luque (2004) and Stefoni (2004a, 2004b) in Chile, that Peruvians have established socially, culturally, religiously and civically cohesive, relatively united and quite homogeneous communities. This also happens in Spain and Argentina. They form a network of social, cultural, religious, solidarity and political organizations and activities, which with ICTs facilitate their consolidation. The community has a symbolic sense of belonging and identity. Political activism has been present since the 1990s (Altamirano 2010; Melella, 2013b; Luque, 2007; Bermúdez et al., 2014; Veredas, 1998). Likewise, transnational ties are strengthened in three ways: a) activities beyond the territory of origin with the country of destination, b) with the country of origin and c) with immigrants of other nationalities.

### **Complaint, Protest and Local Campaigns.**

They are carried out directly and digitally. Forms of participation have been recorded since the 1990s in campaigns against constitutional change in 1993 in Spain (Bermúdez *et al.*, 2014). Escrivá (2013) documented various forms of Peruvian participation, including involvement in the '¡No a Keiko!' campaign -which united collectives from France, Switzerland, and Italy via the 'No a Keiko' platform- protests against political proposals, symbolic acts like flag washing to signal anti-corruption, support for indigenous communities and campaigns against mining companies (marches and digital activism); and local demonstrations and campaigns in Spain: 15M, the indignados and in political-electoral campaigns (directly and the Internet). Veredas (1998) noted the participation of Peruvians in complaints of human rights violations and in cooperation projects with Peru since before 1993; coordination between several associations (Coordination of Solidarity Associations with Peruvians); in the debate on the Peruvian reality, 1993; and protest activities against the new Asylum Law in Spain (Markapasa of Peruvians participated).

Political activism is common with immigrant organizations from other countries that seek political integration and extension of rights to immigrants in receiving countries: In Spain with African and Latin American organizations, in Argentina around the citizen rights of Latin American residents and neighboring countries (Morales, 2012), in Chile around their rights and integration. The issue of rights is integrative for the organization and political action of immigrants. In the USA, they participate in marches and protests for the approval of the "Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act" in different cities in the United States (Luque, 2009). In Miami, "[...] political movements

that promote the participation of immigrants in the politics of Peru and the United States" (Altamirano, 2000, p. 76).

On the Internet, they participate in Facebook, Twitter and YouTube (Melella, 2016, 2013a). In 2006, participation in cyberspace was not significant among Peruvians abroad. Participation in electoral campaigns and cyberactivism against specific causes (the main one, against Fujimorism) began in 2011, intensifying in the electoral periods of 2016 and 2021. In the period 2023-2024, it increased due to the coup d'état against Pedro Castillo and the repression of the government of Dina Boluarte, with the Internet being an information and activism space with the participation of Peruvians abroad and communicators such as: El Jota (Alternative Press - El Jota), from the United States, and Ynti Noticias from Spain.

## Conclusions

Electoral participation among Peruvians abroad steadily increased between 1980 and 2016; participation is higher in the first round compared to runoff elections, and it is lowest for referendums. A first pattern-breaking incident was in 2021: In the first election round the vote was lower than in the second. The voting trend is for rights proposals and very high absenteeism.

Social, cultural and religious associationism is the main form of participation, with an active cultural civic community. Economic and political organizations favor transnationalism (economic and political) and transnational citizenship. Political activities focus on human rights, analysis of the current reality, solidarity and development cooperation.

Electoral activism increases in presidential elections; marches and sit-ins (unconventional participation) are temporary in response to serious events at the origin and destination, or when their rights are threatened, but also for other reasons. In cyberspace, political participation in cyberspace has been growing and taking on new characteristics since 2011. It is increasingly influenced by Peruvian YouTubers living abroad, while digital networks serve as platforms for both communication and activism.

Likewise, social, economic and cultural organizations are spaces for political activities. Religious organizations, in particular that of the "Lord of Miracles", function as community integrators in which economic, social, cultural and civic activities converge. Politics is not the goal of almost all organizations, but in important conjunctural cases or in elections they take a position.

Regarding the three key tensions and ruptures - Territory and citizenship, Citizenship and rights and Citizenship and culture - that López points out, it is found:

- Territory and citizenship. It manifests itself more strongly with the undocumented, which the reviewed studies address little. However, from the documentary analysis, it is found that the policies of the states are oriented to the restriction and control of entry, construction of walls and expulsion, increasingly frequent, which favor the stigmatization and criminalization of immigrants.
- Citizenship and rights. It is a process that everyone goes through when doing their legal, labor, educational and health incorporation procedures. Peruvian organizations assist and help them. The political activities in this case are: a) management before authorities of the receiving and origin countries; b) coordination and management with other Peruvian organizations and other nationalities; c) political participation in the elections of the receiving country as a country of origin, and the analysis of the general problems of each space (origin, destination and global) and of immigrants and their rights; d) solidarity with Peruvians in the destination and origin; and e) cooperation for development.
- Citizenship and culture. It determines the difference with the receiving society, which favors integration because: a) the receiving society values Peruvian culture and gastronomy; and b) it differentiates them from others, socially and culturally, giving them identity, sense of belonging and social support. However, it is also the space of marginalization, stigmatization and criminalization.

Immigrants prefer participation in their respective communities, organizations and networks, which favors continuity in Peru in three directions: 1) building and strengthening relationships with their country of origin, 2) with the country of destination in their organizations and communities (most important socio-political space and with immigrants of other nationalities), and c) with the authorities, their labor and social networks in the receiving society.

The dimensions of citizenship are experienced in their daily lives: They exercise rights; they strengthen, reconfigure and create new identities, and participation with the two countries. They build multiple identities (Ferrás, 2018). Many have nationality of the receiving country (according to the 2022 II survey, 27% of naturalized Peruvians), which enables them to have dual citizenship.

Others do not have it, but participate politically. Their symbolic representations and identity markers (nationality, national symbols, music, dances, gastronomy, etc.) acquire special relevance for them. In this process, ICTs play a fundamental role in their transnational relations and identities due to the omnipresence of their culture on the Internet.

Among Peruvian immigrants in these countries, the following are observed as the most influential factors for their political participation: a) pressure groups (immigrant associations, businessmen and pro-immigrant groups); b) institutions of liberal democracy: inclusive governments and their bureaucracies, in particular local ones; c) mechanisms of the international system (human rights); and d) participatory political culture: citizen trajectory of origin and; e) the political transnationalism of the Peruvian government (suffrage and consultation councils).

Their most important unconventional participation is: Demonstrations and occupation of streets (sit-ins) in front of consular offices or embassies, cyberactivism in presidential electoral campaigns and important conjunctures, information-participation in their social networks and immigrant journalism in digital networks.

These facts, from a perspective of equality and political integration focused on the common good and the immigrant human being, restate and question the forms of political participation of immigrants, the debate on their participation and integration and migration policies. Likewise, it evidences the role of unconventional political participation, particularly of the community, associationism and political action through ICTs in the citizenship of immigrants, taking political participation beyond the electoral and national territory. In turn, a hybrid transnational citizenship is being built, which facilitates the exercise of rights and communication, giving rise to a digital transnational citizenship. At the same time, it leaves open the debate on the full political integration of immigrants.

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