

**THE POWER OF COMMUNICATION:
ANALYSIS OF PEDRO PABLO KUCZYNSKI GODARD 'S
COMMUNICATION POLICY DURING THE CRISIS AND RESIGNATION
OF HIS MANDATE**

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Abstract:

Effective communication plays a crucial role in facilitating governance. Therefore, it is enlightening to examine the political, social, and institutional crises that unfolded in Peru during Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard's presidency. If we posit that political actions require communication for validation and legitimacy within society, and further acknowledge that contemporary society is dynamic and responsive to its evolving needs, it follows that the grant and withdrawal of power are contingent upon effective communication. Consequently, this dynamic can leave a legitimately elected president without support, creating a more uncertain scenario.

The deficiencies in Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard's communication strategy and his failure to anticipate crisis scenarios, some of which manifested during the second round of the 2016 presidential election campaign, could have had severe repercussions for his government. It is plausible to consider that inadequate and poorly-timed messaging contributed to his resignation from the presidency of Peru. As a result, this article posits the hypothesis that ineffective communication management prevented him from reaching consensus with the Congress and failed to garner support from society, ultimately hindering his ability to navigate and overcome contingencies.

Palavras-chave: Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard, PPK, government communication, crisis communication and governance.

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1. Introduction

Peru has witnessed a tumultuous period marked by political, social, and institutional upheaval, culminating in the conclusion of the PPK government. Initially hailed for its seemingly opulent leadership and promising cabinet, the administration under PPK sparked optimism and aspirations for prosperity. Consequently, a closer examination of contemporary Peru becomes both intriguing and imperative, especially when considering the societal response and the political dynamics in light of leaders' communication strategies.

Within the Peruvian political landscape, a paradox unfolds, where certain presidents manage to secure reelection despite enduring periods of hyperinflation, misgovernance, corruption allegations, and, in some cases, even charges related to crimes against humanity. Remarkably, they succeed in establishing and sustaining robust political parties. However, in contrast, Kuczynski, despite facing challenges that were less extreme and tumultuous than those described, failed to garner the support of the civilian population or key political factions. This can be attributed to the inadequacies of his communication approach, which proved to be feeble and poorly timed, failing to resonate with the broader public.

This article delves into how the mishandling of a crisis during Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard's tenure played a pivotal role in his resignation from the presidency of Peru. It underscores the contemporary significance of communication—a facet almost as crucial as the actions taken during the exercise of presidential authority.

2. Political communication and its relevance for governance

The relevance of political communication not only manifests itself during electoral periods but is crucial for the governance of a country. According to Riorda (2011), "governability is understood as actions that lead to transversal nodes which, as recommendations, permeate all dimensions of a government, aiming to obtain institutional capacity and governance conditions that provide consensus to administrations." Thus, governance relies on consensus among power groups, and such consensus is closely linked to what is communicated. Governance allows for conflict resolution and the reduction of tension to unite the entire nation under a common set of objectives. Therefore, governmental communication has a clear objective, which is to generate consensus. If it fails in its function, there is no consensus, and without consensus, there is no effective governance (Riorda, 2008).

In this context, it is essential to highlight that communication is vital as it contributes to the construction and meaningful interpretation of actions. Following the tenets of constructionism, communication assigns meaning to reality, either enhancing or diminishing the significance of certain situations. Consequently, governmental communication serves as the resonant voice in society. Therefore, a president, starting from the moment of winning elections through popular vote, must have a comprehensive governmental communication plan in place from the outset. As per Riorda (2008), "everything that has been said, done, or has significance before a mandate will have an impact on the mandate itself."

Constructionism enables the delivery of a message throughout a term of office that can evolve and reinforce the government's image. Moreover, through this construction, the desired political culture can be cultivated. As noted by Riorda (2008), "the desired role of the attributes of citizenship is cultivated, and, complementarily, material and non-material conditions are created to sustain this citizenship, through the development of symbols and myths that configure elements of identity." This, in turn, aids government actions in setting the tone as envisioned by society.

However, what transpires if governmental communication is weak or is perceived as such by the majority of the population? What unfolds if the polarization and open wounds experienced during elections persist and continue to affect the government? What occurs when two branches of government, essential pillars of

a country, are in a state of extreme disharmony? All these scenarios unfolded during the tenure of former President Pablo Kuczynski, and from a communicational standpoint, this article will analyze these occurrences.

3. Crisis communication

Crisis situations are inherently unpredictable, and no institution, government, or public figure is impervious to them. Such situations can be highly adverse and even destructive for those affected, as it is during crises that the vulnerability of the institutional image becomes most apparent (Luna, 2014). Consequently, having a crisis communication manual is crucial, particularly because information is now disseminated globally almost simultaneously with the occurrence of the event. Therefore, it is not sufficient to undertake actions to mitigate the impact of a crisis; these solutions must also be communicated promptly.

In this context, a noteworthy and advantageous aspect of crisis communication is that, unlike ongoing communication efforts, it is not necessarily costly. As Riorda (2008) suggests, "many times it is not even an investment at all, as they are rather direct communication actions or through the press." This is because media outlets are keenly interested in seeking responses from governments, individuals, or institutions in the wake of a crisis.

Consequently, every government and leader must be prepared to address a crisis through effective communication, recognizing that "reputation is a crucial intangible asset for any organization" (Xifra, 2020). This emphasis on reputation is pivotal, as it serves as a clear indicator of actions and power relations, which are essential for leading a nation.

Building on this premise, it becomes evident that a government must have a communication plan in place to navigate a crisis. However, merely having pre-formulated messages for specific circumstances is insufficient; there must also be resources available to promptly and effectively address and resolve a crisis. It is crucial to acknowledge that when a crisis unfolds, other forms of communication, such as governmental and institutional communication, experience a state of shock and are relegated to the background. Hence, it is imperative for public managers and communication office members to recognize the unique aspects and specificities of crisis communication, distinct from more common forms like institutional or governmental communication (Crespo, Garrido & Medina, 2017).

It is essential to emphasize that crisis communication involves specific and temporary messaging aimed at addressing a catastrophe, scandal, or other disruptions to normality. Hence, all government communication should temporarily shift focus to crisis communication.

Yet, it is equally crucial to consider the repercussions if a government becomes besieged by crises. What if the election of a candidate triggers social crises, reopening historical wounds that become a battleground within the government? What if simultaneous crises arise from devastating natural disasters and corruption scandals at the highest echelons of a country's power? Moreover, if crisis communication demands significant effort and attention, can a succession of crises fundamentally weaken a government? In this context, it is noteworthy that all these challenges unfolded during Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's term in office. Therefore, this article aims to address the hypothesis suggesting that it was the inadequate management of these widespread crises that ultimately led to the president's resignation.

4. Political coalitions: individual leadership and party coalitions

Political scientist Mauricio Zavaleta conducted a comprehensive examination of politics in Latin America, with a particular focus on Peru and the breakdown of the political party system. According to Encinas (2015), Zavaleta concluded that although this phenomenon had initiated in Peru, it had not reached its conclusion by 2014. Zavaleta describes a Peruvian reality characterized by the absence of robust political parties, where short-term groups and individual figures take precedence. Encinas (2015) succinctly captures Zavaleta's perspective on the party collapse in Peru, noting it as the "emergence of 'coalitions of

independents,' denoting the temporary alignment of politicians seeking to maximize opportunities during electoral campaigns while avoiding the discomfiting costs associated with party membership." Zavaleta further contends that these coalitions of independents permeate all levels of government, making it challenging for strong political parties to emerge from the grassroots.

Zavaleta's study of the Peruvian reality holds significant importance. Whether at the local, regional, or national levels, the political scientist asserts that political parties lack consolidation and often form coalitions temporarily or for specific purposes. Consequently, this reflects a new configuration of Peruvian national politics.

5. Power relations: parties and society

Why can a political party that has maintained strength for decades suddenly falter, or why might a political party that ascended to govern lose popular support virtually overnight? These questions have become increasingly prevalent in recent times, prompting Professor Lupu to delve into providing answers.

Within the scope of this research article, it becomes crucial to address the current dynamics of power relationships between parties, candidates, and society. In contemporary democracies, the role of society is becoming progressively more active and influential in response to specific circumstances. Understanding these shifts is imperative in comprehending the intricacies of modern political landscapes.

In his research, Lupu (2014) highlights that traditional parties may see a decline in popularity and support, particularly due to factors such as corruption scandals or mismanagement during their time in power. Lupu illustrates this phenomenon with the example of the 1980s in Peru, citing the government of Alan García. As a member of a traditional Peruvian party, García's administration witnessed a loss of support following an economic catastrophe characterized by exceptionally high rates of hyperinflation.

Additionally, Lupu (2014) argues that the breakdown of political parties in Latin America stems from a combination of their poor performance while in government and broader institutional and social changes, including economic crises, social upheavals, or acts of terrorism. Nevertheless, he notes that, despite these challenging realities, clientelist parties have the capacity to endure. This resilience might be a contributing factor to the ability of the Fujimorista party to persist as a significant political force.

In light of the aforementioned context, it is crucial to underscore the significance of the Fujimorista party, which emerged as the predominant political force during Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's tenure. This party constituted the parliamentary majority in the legislative branch, thus becoming the primary opposition to the government. Founded by Alberto Fujimori, a president known for successfully reducing terrorism in Peru and implementing effective economic management to end inherited hyperinflation, the party is marked by a complex legacy. Despite these achievements, Fujimori faced accusations of committing crimes against humanity during his term.

Alberto Fujimori's governance is characterized by what Castillo (2001) describes as a "sui generis dictatorship": while his legitimacy stemmed from popular election, he employed authoritarian methods of political and social control, endorsed centralism, and promoted paternalism and political clientelism.

In this context, Lupu's theory finds resonance in the case of the Fujimorista party. Despite facing social crises, it remains a polarizing force in Peru to this day. This is evident in its consolidation as the primary political force fiercely opposing President Kuczynski's government in 2016, a dynamic that will be explored in detail below.

Confronting this scenario, Kuczynski's party shaped a new political entity, devoid of historical traditions. Like many others, it emerged with the promise of change and hope for the youth. Registered in the Registry of the National Jury of Elections of Peru in 2014 (ROP, 2018), this

likely rendered it a fledgling party. Its creation, precisely aimed at introducing something new, left it vulnerable to the intricate dynamics of the political landscape and the societal movements vying for power.

In connection to the above, authoritative doctrine on this matter has emphasized that:

"While there is much for democrats to disdain about overly robust and polarized political parties and excessively stable partisanship, democrats should also be cautious about the detrimental effects of feeble parties, converging partisanship, and widespread partisan independence" (Lupu, 2014).

In his document titled "Brand diffusion and the breakdown of political parties in Latin America," Lupu asserts that from 1978 to 2007, Latin America has witnessed a process wherein political parties are disintegrating, and Peru is no exception to this trend.

6. Analysis of Kuczynski's messages to the nation during his term in office and their impact on public opinion

As expounded in this article, Kuczynski assumed his presidency amidst high expectations and positive anticipation. According to a survey conducted by IPSOS in August 2016, 61% of citizens approved of the president's performance, and 52% believed that Peru would be better off by the end of his administration (IPSOS, 2016, no. 210). The prelude to these figures reflected a collective perception that Kuczynski was a well-prepared president. It is noteworthy that his inaugural address as the President of the Republic of Peru centered on the themes of peace, unity, and the rejection of confrontation and division, as highlighted in his statement: "yes to peace, yes to union, no to confrontation, no to division" (SERVINDI, 2016). This emphasis on unity was deemed essential to mend the nation in the aftermath of significant social issues and polarization.

Throughout his speech, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski underscored the importance of peace, opportunities, and the vision of a modern and egalitarian country. From the outset of his presidency, he consistently called for unity, evident in phrases such as:

"I want to assure everyone of my gratitude and commitment so that the entire country reaches the goal of peace and the union of Peruvians."

"In the Bicentennial of our independence, which will be in exactly five years, my duty is that we can fulfill the dreams of the founders of our Republic. Yes to peace, yes to union, no to confrontation, no to division."

"The country has no time for ideological discussions because five years is a short term for a titanic task that must engage every good Peruvian."

"I know I can do it, but I also know that I cannot do it alone. I need your help, and I need the help of this emblematic Congress of democracy."

Regarding the above, it is necessary to note the following. In each paragraph of the speech, there are some words that call for united work in favor of Peru, and there are also direct phrases that make the same call, such as those mentioned above.

Presidential message evaluation		
About the presidential message of July 28th. %	I watched the presidential message on TV.	48
	I learned about the message through other media sources	12
	I listened to the message on the radio.	8
	I neither saw, heard, nor learned about the message.	33
How did you find PPK's speech, good or bad?	Good	78
	Bad	11
	Does not specify	11
What feelings did PPK's presidential message generate in you?	Positive	55
	Negative	10
Attitude of PPK's parliamentary group		
The congress members of the Fuerza Popular party did not applaud the speech given by the president on Independence Day. Do you think the behavior of these congress members is acceptable or not?	Acceptable	14
	Non-acceptable	83
	Other	3
What do you think is the main attitude of the Fuerza Popular party caucus towards the government?	Positive	71
	Negative	25

Source: Based on IPSOS. (2016).

Thus, according to IPSOS, 78% of those who viewed the presidential message deemed it commendable, conveying feelings of hope, confidence, and tranquility. However, each message delivered by Kuczynski reinforced the notion that, for success, he required the support of everyone, particularly the Congress, where he found himself at a disadvantage.

Despite the positive reception of Kuczynski's inaugural speech, public opinion was sought regarding the conduct of the opposition party, Fuerza Popular (Popular Force). Notably, this party chose not to applaud Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's speech, a gesture deemed unacceptable by 83% of those surveyed. Additionally, 38% of respondents suggested that such behavior was fueled by resentment over their electoral defeat. In an interview, political scientist and former Vice-Minister of Interculturality, Iván Lanegra, expressed that Kuczynski's inauguration message laid out ambitious measures, requiring the president to garner support from political forces to implement them effectively (La Mula, 2016).

Furthermore, in this interview, Lanegra points out that in his inauguration speech, the president delineates two principles for agreement: dialogue over imposition and a commitment not to act against the will of the people. Sociologist and researcher Paolo Sosa, in his analysis, underscores Kuczynski's conciliatory tone and emphasizes the elected president's emphasis on the need for dialogue among political factions (La Mula, 2016). Both experts concur on the challenges facing Pedro Pablo Kuczynski on the new political landscape, contending with an opposition majority in Congress that harbors resentment over their electoral defeat, a sentiment mirrored in the public's perception (as revealed in the previously analyzed survey) of the opposition's response to a positive and hopeful speech.

Subsequently, the first year of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's administration was characterized by political fragility, evident in the replacement of one of his key ministers and eventually an entire cabinet overhaul. Additionally, in his inaugural year, the president grappled with a highly

publicized corruption case—the Lava Jato scandal—and a crisis triggered by extensive rainfall in the northern part of the country, resulting in significant damage. Given this backdrop of institutional, social, and political crises, it becomes imperative to scrutinize the speech delivered by the President in 2017, marking one year into his term.

Thus, in the speech of July 28, 2017, President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski spoke of 5 major themes: economy, transportation, justice, access to drinking water and labor.

What do you remember from the presidential message delivered by Pedro Pablo Kuczynski on July 28th?

He committed to growing the economy	33%
Water and sewage projects	29%
Reducing poverty	28%
The economy did not grow due to the Lava Jato case and the El Niño phenomenon	24%

What was left unmentioned or was only briefly addressed by President Kuczynski in the presidential message?

How to solve the problem of insecurity	46%
Solving the teachers' strike	31%
How to solve the problem of corruption	30%
Solving the doctors' strike	25%

Source: Based on DATUM (2017)

Hence, while people distinctly recalled those five specific topics, there remained an unmet need to address issues of paramount importance to society at that time. These included concerns such as rising citizen insecurity due to an uptick in crime, the pervasive corruption laid bare by the Lava Jato scandal, and the prolonged and impactful teachers' strike. Consequently, the population gave the presidential message an average rating of 10.7 on a scale of 0 to 20, indicative of a disapproving evaluation.

Moreover, 42% of those surveyed deemed it a negative message. This marked a significant shift from the previous year (2016 – inauguration) when only 3% expressed such a negative view. While it is true that the distinguishing factor lies in the decreased number of undecided respondents by 47 percentage points in 2017, with a concurrent 6 percentage point increase in those who viewed the message positively for the country, the surge of 39 percentage points in the perception of it being a negative message for the country from one year to the next underscores societal dissatisfaction with the president's communication in guiding the nation through the myriad challenges it faced.

CPI (2017), another national pollster, asked how satisfied people were with the message given by President Kuczynski, and only 0.6% were very satisfied and 12% were satisfied. Consequently, the overwhelming majority, made up of 42.8% not very satisfied and 44.3% not at all satisfied, expressed their dissatisfaction with the presidential message.

According to Alfredo Torres, the president of IPSOS, the message was "good in substance but weak in form" (El Comercio, 2017). This evaluation stemmed from the observation that it did not convey the same sense of feeling or enthusiasm as the preceding year's message. Considering the ongoing social, political, and institutional crisis, Torres emphasized that such strength was essential. Political analyst Pedro Tenorio, on the other hand, acknowledged the speech's appropriate political gestures, including a self-critical opening where the President apologized for

underestimating the economic impact of the crises. The unforeseen convergence of two crises—the Coastal Niño Phenomenon and Lava Jato—within a short span was particularly challenging. However, Tenorio emphasized the need for the ministers to translate the speech's five key topics into tangible progress for citizens (El Comercio, 2017).

Based on the analysis above, it is evident that Kuczynski failed to establish a connection with the Peruvian population, leaving a significant sense of dissatisfaction. This is particularly concerning as the president's inability to connect with citizens during one of the most formidable political, social, and institutional crises in the history of Peruvian democracy poses a heightened risk.

Another significant address etched in the minds of Peruvians is the one delivered by President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski on December 24, 2017, on Christmas Eve. It is noteworthy to recall that Alberto Fujimori is a figure capable of eliciting considerable polarization in Peruvian society. On one hand, he eradicated hyperinflation inherited from García's government and successfully ended terrorism. On the other hand, he stands accused of committing crimes against humanity, including massacres, disappearances, forced sterilizations, and torture. Extradited and imprisoned in 2007, he received a sentence in 2009 (Gestión, 2019). However, due to his substantial following and a still-active political party that held the majority in Congress during Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's tenure, a significant portion of the population clamored for his release. Consequently, the matter did not escape the attention of the heads of state who governed during Fujimori's imprisonment. "Neither Alan García, nor Ollanta Humala, nor Alejandro Toledo granted Fujimori a pardon" (RPP, 2017). Instead, they delegated the responsibility of deciding whether to grant a pardon to others.

As elucidated in this research, the pardon of Alberto Fujimori was granted by then-President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, accompanied by a speech of significant social and political importance that warrants analysis. Furthermore, Kuczynski's speech had a profound impact on public support and opinion of him. Here are some of the noteworthy phrases from that address:

"Allow me to interrupt your evening of this important celebration of family unity to announce that, according to the prerogative granted to me by the constitution, I decided yesterday, December 24, 2017, to grant a humanitarian pardon to Mr. Alberto Fujimori."

"Before continuing, I want to share with you my feelings. I want to tell you that this has been perhaps the most difficult decision of my life. It is about the health and life chances of a former president of Peru, who, having committed very serious excesses and errors, was sentenced and has already served twelve years in prison."

"Every pardon is, by essence, controversial. There is an important group of Peruvians who oppose it. My decision is especially complex and difficult. But it is my decision."

"I must not only be the president of those who voted for me; I must be the president of all Peruvians. The open wounds can only be healed through a reconciliatory effort and a will of which we must all be a part."

"We have to persist, persist, and persist to lead our Peru to a fraternal bicentennial of peace and prosperity."

"I reiterate that this decision in favor of Alberto Fujimori—protected by the functions that the Constitution grants me—is based on humanitarian reasons and on what I consider best for the future of our country, for the future of our children." (Red de Gestores Públicos, 2017).

The carefully chosen words to communicate Fujimori's pardon to the nation emphasize the difficulty of the decision and the pursuit of unity through it. It is crucial to note, however, that it was later demonstrated that the humanitarian reasons given for the pardon were part of a political negotiation, as revealed through the Kenjivideos, as previously explored in this research.

As evident from the CPI (2108) survey, 60% of the populace expressed disagreement with the handling of the pardon, believing it was a politically negotiated move to avert impeachment.

Contrary to President Kuczynski's belief, a substantial 67.8% of the population opined that Fujimori's pardon would not contribute to the unity and reconciliation of the country, as opposed to 24.9% who believed it would, and 7.3% who remained unsure.

Executive President of IPSOS Peru, Alfredo Torres, highlighted that Fujimori's pardon was a part of Kuczynski's strategy to prevent his removal from office:

"The PPK Plan seems to be outlined: to achieve a certain degree of governability with the support of Fujimorism led by Kenji (...) He had prepared everything to be able to sign the pardon. On the night of the 20th, Kuczynski said: 'Democracy is under attack. We are facing a coup.' With this warning about a supposed coup, he was able to gather all the anti-Fujimori impetus. He brought them together with those of Kenji Fujimori and his supporters. He gathered albertistas and anti-Fujimoristas to avoid being vacated. Chess? No, lies and swindles. Kuczynski swindled the country and was as much of a 'coup plotter' as he claimed his adversaries were. The farce mounted to save Kuczynski, to pardon Fujimori" (Alfredo Torres, 2018).

As a consequence of the so-called humanitarian pardon, understood more as a political strategy or negotiation, significant marches ensued:

"Despite it being Christmas, this Monday witnessed new protests in the streets of Lima, where at least 5,000 people marched in rejection of the pardon and demanding the departure of Kuczynski. 'Out, out PPK, out, out PPK!' chanted the demonstrators, among whom were relatives of the victims of the brutal repression of the Fujimori regime" (El País, 2017).

The unity speech proved insufficient for the Peruvian people, as the pursuit of unity was perceived as a political negotiation to avoid impeachment. It failed to bring together the Peruvian populace and the relatives of victims who had suffered under Fujimori's rule. President Kuczynski's Christmas Eve speech did not serve as a unifying force for Peru; rather, it was seen as a mere political transaction that overlooked the victims of crimes against humanity. Consequently, it holds true that "the pardon to Fujimori marked the debacle for PPK" (Tamashiro, 2018). In addition to the experienced political and institutional crises, there was a social crisis that tapped into the collective memory of the country's history.

At this point, it should be recalled that. In the year 2000, Alberto Fujimori sent his resignation from the Presidency of Peru by fax from Japan. Curiously, after 18 years, Peru once again has another president who resigns from office, due to a strong political crisis.

Thus, after 601 days in the Presidency of Peru, Kuczynski pronounced his resignation speech, where the following phrases stand out:

- "I assumed, by mandate of the people, the Presidency of the Republic; which I have been carrying out, giving the best of me, despite the constant obstruction and attacks, of which I have been the object of by the legislative majority, since the first day of my government."
- "The political situation has created a climate of ungovernability that is doing enormous damage to the country."
- "There have been many interpellations, censures of ministers and of an entire cabinet, and a vacancy process against my person, under the pretext that I had allegedly lied about my professional life. And even, once this trance was overcome, on December 21 a new motion containing the same arguments that were previously rejected has been put forward again."

- "Faced with this difficult situation that has been generated and that makes me appear unjustly guilty of acts in which I have not participated, I think that the best thing for the country is that I resign from the Presidency of the Republic, because I do not want to be a stumbling block for our nation to find the path of unity and harmony that it needs so much and that I was denied.

To be a stumbling block for our nation to find the path of unity and harmony that it needs so much and that I was denied."

- "I do not want my homeland or my family to continue suffering with the uncertainty that is being experienced in these times" (LP, 2018).

The entire speech is replete with allusions to the challenges that Pedro Pablo faced during his presidency, which were evident in public perception as reflected in the polls. Furthermore, the speech repeatedly emphasizes that the president sought to achieve national unity but was unable to attain it. However, it underscores that his resignation is not synonymous with cowardice but rather a decision made for the viability and governability of the country.

"The resignation of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (PPK) from the presidency of the Republic, which occurred on March 21, is supported by 73% of the population, according to the national urban-rural survey by El Comercio-IPSOS. Twenty-four percent expressed disagreement with Kuczynski's decision, while 3% did not specify their answer" (El Comercio, 2018).

According to IPSOS, 73% of the population concurred with Kuczynski's resignation, and the reasons can be inferred from the comprehensive analysis. However, a notable aspect from the speech of the former president is that he asserts having objectively demonstrated that he was unfairly accused, despite this not aligning with the public's perception.

It is crucial to emphasize that all the speeches scrutinized in this academic research failed to achieve the intended impact, as indicated by the words employed in them. This discrepancy is evident in public opinion polls, where the population, despite initially having high expectations for the president and perceiving him as competent, did not trust that he possessed the necessary qualities for effective governance. Moreover, the speeches did not elicit the anticipated reactions from the populace as envisioned in their design.

6. Conclusions

The poor communication with society in crisis management was a decisive factor in Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's resignation. This was primarily due to the absence of appropriate messages and timely communication. This conclusion arises from the understanding that:

Governmental communication is vital for a country's leadership, helping construct a social culture that values government actions and legitimizes political endeavors. Additionally, it facilitates consensus between government actions and public opinion. In this respect, the political communication strategy of the government faltered, as per the analyzed polls, showing a continuous decline in the president's approval ratings, reflecting a weakened leader in governance strategies.

Crisis communication is crucial as it determines the reputation of a government and its leader. In Kuczynski's administration, the mishandling of crises, from the beginning to the end of his term, was so poorly executed that it not only lacked societal approval but also underscored deficiencies and limitations. Consequently, a majority of Peruvians called for his resignation.

Political coalitions present a new political scenario where parties are more fragile, developing in an uncertain environment. This uncertainty and institutional weakness are the realities faced by countries in Latin America. In the 2016 elections, the president was elected without a solid majority, and the largest political force in Congress was the rival party from the runoff, which, at times (such as the impeachment request), allied with other blocs against the Executive Power.

In Peru, as in Latin America, traditional parties have lost popularity due to poor social or economic management while in power, as seen in the case of APRA under Alan García. Only clientelist parties, like the Fujimorista party, maintain popularity. New parties, like PPK with Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, emerge to compete for popular acceptance in a fragmented environment marked by inequalities and crises.

The 2016 elections were dominated by fujimorismo and anti-fujimorismo. Kuczynski's victory was achieved by reopening old wounds left by Alberto Fujimori's regime and accusing Keiko Fujimori of being a threat to democracy and Peru, likening her to her father.

Part of Kuczynski's campaign strategy was to attack fujimorismo, the primary opposition force in Congress, which held 54.62% of seats. During his term, he sought consensus. Evidence of this unity-seeking approach is found in the analyzed speeches, marked by explicit language calling for political conciliation, reinforcing the perception of government weakness against a strong and power-hungry Congress.

The pardon of Alberto Fujimori was part of Kuczynski's negotiations in the quest for governing power. However, the pardon led to the president's downfall. It was a result of vote negotiations to avoid impeachment, turning his back on his voters and allowing the Legislature to brand him as corrupt.

Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's resignation was inevitable, as he faced a corruption crisis related to the Lava Jato case and a political and social crisis following the Fujimori pardon, which weakened him even within his own party. Additionally, the second impeachment attempt was imminent.

From the analyzed national addresses, compared with surveys and political analysts' opinions, it can be asserted that the messages of unity and conflict resolution did not have the expected impact. This was due to issues of form, as seen in the pardon speech or the unity-seeking discourse during the inaugural address or resignation speech. The messages were insufficient and lacked strength.

In conclusion, the mishandling of crises and ineffective communication, both in terms of the conveyed message and timely delivery, undermined the validation and legitimacy of Kuczynski's government, despite its legitimate election. A limited number of speeches were inadequate to counter the relentless attacks from the opposition party. If elections were won by exploiting wounds, generalizing, and labeling the opposition, the approach and discourse toward them should have been different from the moment of victory to ensure good national governance.

In this regard, no government is exempt from political, social, institutional, or economic crises. However, when these crises occur and the Executive appears weak due to inefficient and untimely communication, it becomes a ticking time bomb that forces resignation from power.

Peru is a country with diverse, multicultural realities and constant social crises. Despite experiencing economic crises and brutal terrorism, previous leaders did not resign. Alan García, responsible for hyperinflation in Peru, had a second term, and Alberto Fujimori, who committed crimes against humanity, formed one of the strongest political parties in the country. Therefore, it

can be confirmed that Kuczynski was a leader who appeared weak against other political forces and society, preventing him from achieving consensus and social support.

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