UNIVERSITY OF BRASILIA

POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRASILIA

INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Hesaú Rômulo

"Representação em Expansão? Uma análise da inclusão de grupos étnicos em instituições representativas da América Latina."

Brasília

2024

UNIVERSITY OF BRASILIA

POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRASILIA

INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Hesaú Rômulo

Stretching Representation? An analysis of the inclusion of ethnic groups in LatinAmerican representative institutions.

Brasília

2024

Hesaú Rômulo

Stretching Representation? An analysis of the inclusion of ethnic groups

in LatinAmerican representative institutions.

Thesis presented to the Postgraduate Program in Political Science of the Institute of Political Science of the University of Brasília as a partial requirement for Doctoral Degree in Political Science.

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Adrián Nicolas Albala Young

Brasília

2024

Hesaú Rômulo

Stretching Representation? An analysis of the inclusion of ethnic groups in LatinAmerican representative institutions.

Thesis presented as a partial requirementfor Doctoral degree in Political Science by the University of Brasilia and evaluated by the following examining board:

PhD Professor Adrian Nicolas Albala Young (UnB)

PhD Professor Marisa Von Bülow (UnB)

PhD Germán Bidegain (Universidad De La Republica)

PhD Vitor Tokichen Tricot (Sit/Bilbao)

Alternate Professor - PhD Professor Frederico Bertholini (UnB)

Brasília

2024

to all those who believe that

scientificknowledge, however

confined and elitistit may be, can

transform social reality and take

us somewhere better than

where we are today

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

2023 marked ten years since my first academic foray into Political Science. At the time, I had a master's project and a somewhat usual agenda for the field: investigate what mechanisms political representation can take in ethnic contexts. Obviously, I wasn't as clear about the last sentence as I am now, at the end of my doctorate. But the desire to investigate the frontiers of the discipline in depth was already there. Ten years on, the research agenda is still relevant and the following pages are the proof of this.

As much as it may sound as a solitary journey, I didn't walk this trail alone. Professor Adrian Albala tops this list of acknowledgments because he was someone with whom I had the opportunity to mature intellectually, and to position my academic efforts in a very reasonable way: neither beyond my own strengths, nor below what a doctoral thesis should really mean. This work would not have been possible without Adrián's meticulous concern with themethodological assumptions, the robustness of the analysis, the objectivity of scientificcommunication, the unequivocal care with the replicability of the data and the parsimony of watching me make mistakes, mistakes and mistakes, in an attempt to find ways to do what I set out to do.

I would especially like to thank those who accompanied me throughout this incursion, who perhaps have no idea how important they were in preserving my mental health and who put up with me when I didn't even know how. A huge thank you to Ivo Höhn, Karla Trindade, João Cunha, Candilberto Filho, Rodrigo Lopes, Eduardo Riker, Rodrigo Della Santina, João Lima, Danilo Moreira, Janikele Galvão, Bruno Lacerda, Rita Gonçalves, Aristides Lobão, John Freitas, among many others.

To the IPOL/UnB professors who helped me along the way, especially Professor Michelle Fernandez, for her unconditional support.

The morning sun reverberated from the bronze sword. There was no longer even a vestige of blood. "Would you believe it, Ariadne?" said Theseus "The Minotaur scarcely defended himself." – The House of Asterion - Jorge Luis Borges

ABSTRACT

The issue of the inclusion of ethnic demands has been analyzed from different perspectives inrecent years. This work seeks to break the intellectual monopoly on the explanatory keys surrounding indigenous representation in Latin America, by offering political science's own mechanisms for analyzing how the phenomenon of the inclusion of ethnic demands has takenplace in some countries in the region and others that have not. In order to carry out this academic endeavor, comparative politics was used, especially the QCA as a methodological and analytical tool to understand what forms indigenous representation can take in different countries. By selecting 10 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru) we sought to investigate the causal mechanisms of indigenous representation. Despite the creation of four research variables, it is possible to affirm that the occurrence of the phenomenon in the region is associated with the consolidation and cohesiveness of social movements, but mainly with the presence of ethnic parties that activate symbols of resistance. The findings of this thesis contribute to broadening the research agenda of Latin American political science.

Keywords: Political Institutions, Indigenous Political Representation, Comparative Politics.

RESUMO

A questão da inclusão de demandas étnicas tem sido analisada sob diferentes perspectivas nosúltimos anos. Este trabalho busca romper o monopólio intelectual sobre as chaves explicativas da representação indígena na América Latina, oferecendo mecanismos próprios da ciência política para analisar como o fenômeno da inclusão de demandas étnicas ocorreu em alguns países da região e em outros não. Para realizar esse trabalho acadêmico, foi utilizada a política comparada, especialmente o QCA, como ferramenta metodológica e analítica para entender as formas que a representação indígena pode assumir em diferentes países. Ao selecionar 10 países (Argentina, Brasil, Bolívia, Chile, Colômbia, Equador, Guatemala, México, Paraguai e Peru), buscamos investigar os mecanismos causais da representação indígena. Apesar da criação de quatro variáveis de pesquisa, é possível afirmar que a ocorrência do fenômeno na região está associada à consolidação e coesão dos movimentos sociais, mas principalmente à presença de partidos étnicos que ativam símbolos de resistência. Os resultados desta tese contribuem para ampliar a agenda de pesquisa da ciência política latino-americana.

Palavras-chave: Instituições políticas, Representação política indígena, Política comparada.

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND CHARTS

SUMMARY

Introduction

The following thesis delves into a contemporary debate that holds significant importance within Latin American democracies: the involvement of ethnic groups in the decision-making processes of political institutions. Over centuries, these groups endured colonial genocides sponsored by European powers. Even after the colonies gained independence and evolved into nation-states during the 19th century, these groups remained marginalized, excluded from major decisions within the political regime, and sidelined in both public policy formulation and the electoral system.

Perceiving the politicization of ethnic divisions as a relatively novel phenomenon in Latin America raises a pivotal inquiry: why do certain identities and interests garner political significance at certain times and in certain places, while others do not? What factors underpin the presence of these phenomena in certain countries while they remain absent in others? Answering this question constitutes a central aspect of our inquiry. It is through this lens that indigenous movements either solidify themselves within the institutionalized political sphere, gaining the necessary influence to advocate for ethnic demands ranging from basic to structural.

In Latin American countries, the journey towards democratic consolidation demands a thorough understanding of which social factions are embraced or marginalized within the political framework. Our study is deeply entwined with this narrative as it seeks to analyze the political portrayal of ethnic communities within the democracies of the region. Indeed, comprehending the boundaries of political representation for these ethnic groups illuminates the inherent limitations of democracy itself. Consequently, our aim is to present relevant inquiries that elucidate the impact of indigenous political representation on reshaping political structures throughout the

region.

In this vein, the theory of political representation has significantly evolved over the past five decades, redefining its explanatory boundaries. Despite numerous works in Brazil that have explored various facets of representation within the national context, including those by Schwartzman (1970), Arato (2002), Pinto (2004), Araujo (2009), Miguel (2003), and Almeida (2010), the issue of indigenous representation remains largely untouched. Conversely, some countries such as Mexico engage in a more thorough discussion of ethnic representation in a vertical manner, as seen in works by Natal (2010) and Canedo Vasquez (2008).

The Mexican experience offers intriguing pathways deserving of attention, particularly when examining Mexico's political system and its transformations over the past 30 years, especially regarding the inclusion of ethnic groups. The challenges encountered by indigenous peoples within Mexican territory are unique and diverge from those of other nations. As highlighted by Natal and Vasquez, the implementation of constitutionally guaranteed rights transforms the formal reality of Mexico's indigenous peoples into a complex and often contradictory reality.

Meanwhile, in Guatemala, a distinct challenge emerges: despite the significant proportion of indigenous people in the country, public policies and institutional spaces for indigenous communities do not adequately reflect this demographic reality, as highlighted in works by Barragán (2023) and Casaus Arzú (2007).

One of the limits to the scope of this theory is multiculturalism, that is, the frameworkof conceiving representation in differentiated ethnic contexts (Young, 2006). Another crucial approach for the work is the plurinationalist critique of liberal multiculturalism, as it questions the propositions regarding the inclusion of ethnic groups in the public sphere without changing the political structure, without

constitutional remedies, or even without discussing the issue of the formation of each country's national society with the cultural diversity of sub-national groups (Quijano, 2005).

Multiculturalism and plurinationalism have emerged as theoretical frameworks in recent decades, aiming to elucidate the multifaceted processes of ethnic group inclusion in both civil society and political institutions. Our study seeks to contribute to these frameworks while employing the tools of comparative politics to delve deeper into aspects we find warrant further exploration. Specifically, we aim to provide conceptual and operational frameworks to elucidate a recurring phenomenon in Latin American political institutions, namely institutionalized indigenous political representation.

Drawing upon the insights of comparative politics scholars such as Collier (1993), Landman (2002), Schmidt (2009), Peters (1998), and Wiarda (2006), we can discern both the shared and distinct characteristics of Latin American political institutions. The trajectory of nation-states in institutional development has been varied, shaping multiple electoral avenues for civil society participation (Quijano, 2005). Our research focuses on the institutionalized political representation of indigenous peoples in Latin America, particularly exploring factors outlined in the literature. We are interested in investigating whether the politicization of ethnic identities has led to varied outcomes in institutionalized political representation across the region. If not solely driven by identity politicization, what other factors contribute to this phenomenon? Therefore, our primary objective is to examine why indigenous political representation occurs in certain countries and not others, aiming to explore how this phenomenon (institutionalized indigenous political representation) has reshaped political systems, from the advent of universal suffrage to the inclusion or exclusion of ethnic groups from the electoral landscape.

With this overarching objective, our study delves into the debate within Latin American literature on this subject, with a specific emphasis on comparative politics. Another goal of this thesis is to understand the process of ethnic group inclusion in representative institutions across Latin America through a comparative analysis encompassing countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, and Mexico. We seek to outline the mechanisms of representation within these countries and their interactions with ethnic parties within the region. Additionally, we strive to identify both disparities and parallels in the consolidation processes of social movements and their integration into the institutional realm of political representation in the selected countries.

We posit that there is an intrinsic relationship between the proliferation of social movements and the influence of ethnic parties in the region (Von Bülow and Bidegain, 2015), although the extent of this relationship remains inadequately quantified or explored by conventional studies in the field. The comparative perspective was chosen for its ability to provide a comprehensive overview of political representation within the legislative bodies of the ten countries under scrutiny in this thesis.

We are interested in investigating the countries under scrutiny in this research regarding the political representation of indigenous populations. To grapple with the intricate causality involved, we employ Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to discern the commonalities and disparities among these nations. This comparative endeavor not only deepens the analysis of our academic pursuit but also enables us to make "medium-range" generalizations relevant to the subject. Moreover, it facilitates an examination of political representation beyond the confines of legal-constitutional frameworks. By delving into the internal decision-making processes of legislative

institutional arrangements, this research investigates the boundaries of institutional political representation, analyzing configurations within political systems, focusing on two particular aspects: 1) citizenship regimes and 2) the politicization of identities, tracing their evolution from the origins of civil society to various manifestations. The contribution to this debate thus seeks to address the theme of political representation in ethnic contexts, a matter of fundamental importance in the 21st century.

Various scholars have approached the inclusion of ethnic groups through the lens of justice theory within modern democracies, grappling with the intricacies of minority participation in political systems (Fraser, 2001; Kymlicka, 1995; Taylor, 1994; Young, 2006). The liberal quandary between collective and individual rights underscores a recurrent tension in democratic theories regarding the management of pronounced heterogeneity (Kymlicka, 1995). However, Quijano (2005) offers a counter-narrative, suggesting that the drive of Latin American states largely entailed reproducing strategies aimed at homogenizing the population to mitigate dissent and ensure stability. In Brazil, attempts, even endorsed by the state, to enforce an official narrative of "racial democracy" in an endeavor to address inequalities solely through rhetoric of harmony were not uncommon (Reis, 1997).

An unavoidable aspect to address pertains to the institutional trajectories of Latin American countries and their endeavors to ensure the inclusion and/or active engagement of ethnic groups within their territories. We contend that the participation process cannot be divorced from the representation process when examining the political phenomenon of ethnicity in the region. Consequently, we perceive political representation as a challenge intertwined with political participation. This aspect, we argue, has been insufficiently explored in the literature, with studies on ethnic groups predominantly focusing on their social movements and associated challenges (Tricot,

2012; Puig, 2007; Bidegain, 2017), as well as the general or specific provisions of national constitutions. Our aim is to enrich the research agenda by delving deeper into the role of political representation, both in shaping civil society and molding political institutions.

Effective political representation necessitates a solid institutional and legal framework that fosters the uninhibited participation of new groups in the political arena. Hence, the scholarly debate surrounding how different national states have facilitated the integration of ethnic groups into representative institutions holds immense significance for Political Science. It affords insights into the diverse historical and institutional trajectories that have either included or excluded these groups from political systems, as well as the formative processes of civil and political society that have shaped distinct scenarios of collective rights in each country. Thus, we aim to inspect the countries where processes of public recognition have unfolded, where citizenship regimes exist to some degree, enabling the assertion of demands within the political system. This thesis addresses three pivotal questions pivotal to framing the debate at hand and comprehending the nexus between political representation and ethnic identity.

Firstly, there are several authors who address the formation, performance and scope of the state, which ends up (intentionally or not) shaping underlying political identities and encouraging or repressing ethnic cleavages. The literature suggests that when the government has little presence in the development of social programs or economic development, civil society tends to assume a more autonomous position (Albala, 2020). This implies the aforementioned: investigating more closely the role of the state, its scope and its limitations allows us to better understand how public identities developed in each country throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

A second extremely important question addresses how ethnic movements (through political parties or otherwise) push new democracies in post-liberal directions[1]. We already know that political identities are conditioned by institutions, but only a meso-level approach can deepen the questions and help us get more satisfactory answers about the process of expression and political mobilization of ethnic groups in Latin America and, above all, how this affects the process of political representation.

One feature stands out when we compare the different political regimes on the continent: the variation in the scope of the state and the degree of institutionality present in the electoral system. This gives rise to our third and final crucial question: what role do Yashar's (2005) "citizenship regimes" play in formally defining the links between national politics, political affiliation and public identities? We will use the thesis on this concept developed by Yashar because we assume that it is particularly well suited to our research.

In practice, citizenship regimes have changed over time, shaping the rules of the gameand the behavior of the relevant political actors. Understanding these changes, in the citizenship status of populations that were included and excluded from the social covenant, allows us to better visualize the political painting of each of the countries studied here. In the literature (Yashar, 2005; Holston, 2008; Cooper, 1993), the concept of "state reach" refers to the extent of the state's influence, its role in framing various projects, and the levels of consolidation of its governing capacity. Here, state reach encompasses the varying ability to govern and ensure citizens' rights, particularly for

---

[1] According to Yashar (2005), Latin America's indigenous movements are pushing forth a new postliberal challenge that calls on states to incorporate heterogeneous notions of who is a citizen, how citizenship is mediated, and where authority is vested. In answering each of these questions, they are calling on Latin American politics to recognize and institutionalize a more differentiated set of citizenship regimes that can accommodate the claims of the individual alongside claims for the collective of democracy in the region because it has focused on these aspects: the relationship between territorial autonomy and state presence.

those in multicultural contexts. We can observe distinct levels of entrenchment and, notably, how they have directly impacted the citizenship regimes to which ethnic groups have been subjected.

Where the state arrived with more presence, ethnic groups suffered more repression and obtained less autonomy to organize. Whether by limiting or encouraging their political representation within a given political system, the state plays a leading role in the formationof political movements on the continent. The literature on political representation in Latin America has developed in recent decades a productive contribution to the debate on the limits

When delving into various Latin American countries, notable occurrences stand out, such as the emergence of political candidates with ethnic backgrounds in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Guatemala in recent years. Moreover, countries like Colombia and Ecuador have engaged in systematic discussions on indigenous rights within constituent assemblies, while Mexico has witnessed the mobilization of social demands centered around a coherent ethnic agenda.

This thesis is structured across several chapters to comprehensively address these inquiries. Chapter 1 delves into the theory of political representation within the Latin American context, aiming to develop theoretical typologies grounded in the ethnic cleavages prevalent in the region. In Chapter 2, we explore the intricate interplay between social movements, ethnic parties, and citizenship regimes across the ten countries selected for this research. Additionally, we aim to elucidate the process of demand institutionalization within each case.

Chapter 3 serves to set the hypotheses and assumptions guiding our research. Drawing upon the latest literature, we present four key insights into indigenous representation objectively. Chapter 4 delineates the methodology employed in this

study, encompassing case selection, data acquisition for each country, and the conditions alongside their respective calibration in Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA).

Finally, Chapter 5 undertakes the analysis of results, constructing a typology outlining the limitations of indigenous representation in Latin America. Leveraging a meticulous Boolean analysis using Multi-Value QCA (mvQCA), we aim to identify both necessary and sufficient conditions based on the existing configurations. Each country under examination exhibits unique configurations, and the methodology adopted in this thesis equips us with tools to draw insightful inferences regarding political representation in each case.

The choices I made throughout this thesis reflect a concern for the entire theoretical aspect widely established within political science, while not neglecting the empirical aspect. The great virtue of comparative research lies in the ability to cover a reasonable universe of cases, and nothing better than QCA to fulfill such a task.

Beforehand, I am convinced that some analyses, no matter how pragmatic, demonstrate an academic concern with the causal explanation of each of the countries I examined throughout this research.

Certainly, the paths taken sometimes translate the challenges faced by the researcher, but sometimes they do not. Along this process, I followed the most relevant path according to the methodology outlined in the thesis, fulfilling its role regarding the virtues and limitations inherent to comparative politics.

CHAPTER 1. THEORY OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN THE CONTEXT OF LATIN AMERICA AND ITSRESPECTIVE ETHNIC CLEAVAGES: ELABORATING TYPOLOGIES.

To contextualize the debate on political representation in Latin America, it's essential to consider its association with the region's democratization process and the subsequent reconfiguration of political systems to accommodate both new and longstanding political demands.

Ethnic representation in political discourse is multifaceted, shaped by various factors. In this study, we delve into several critical dimensions. Firstly, the recent emergence of ethnic divisions and their alignment with politically astute representatives warrants thorough examination. Secondly, a rigorous analysis of updated electoral participation regulations—ranging from constitutional guarantees to electoral system reforms—designed specifically to address ethnic concerns is imperative. Thirdly, an assessment of the role played by political parties as intermediaries for ethnic interests is essential. Lastly, we explore informal social mechanisms that serve as de facto representatives for indigenous groups in the absence of formal party structures.

Before embarking on our comparative analysis of Latin American countries, it is crucial to underscore a pivotal factor in ethnic representation: the presence of a robust, organized, and widespread indigenous social movement within the territorial context. This phenomenon has been underscored by scholars such as Chandra (2004), Coppedge (1998), Dietz and Meyers (2001), and Gurr (1993).

The consolidation of ethnic identities within a given territory can either be bolstered by state support or emerge in opposition to it, as elucidated in the literature on

indigenous movements (McCarthy, 1999). State-sponsored projects aimed at constructing a national identity may inadvertently trigger regional movements of resistance, either reinforcing the dominant national identity or eliciting counter-responses from diverse ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the persistence of local enclaves, each with its distinct authority structures and political identities challenging central power, often reflects an uneven reach of the state. This dynamic autonomy relationship directly influences local organizational structures and shapes the effectiveness of political leadership. These identities are frequently influenced by factors beyond the state's direct control, thereby compelling political regimes to adapt to new actors and revisit electoral rules.

In sum, our investigation sheds light on the intricate interplay between ethnic representation, state reach, and the evolving dynamics of political agency within diverse contexts.

Political association spaces and community networks are pivotal in organizing and amplifying the voices of indigenous communities in their interactions with the state. It's crucial to recognize the historical adversity faced by indigenous peoples in Latin America, spanning economic, political, and cultural realms, which has often presented formidable barriers to their integration into national society.

Authors like Gurr (2000) and Morley (1995) have delineated the material inequalities and exploitative conditions influencing the issue of ethnic representation. While poverty rates may not directly correlate with the emergence of mobilized indigenous forces, poverty remains a relevant factor in any discussion on the subject.

Within the historical context, it becomes imperative to establish robust theoretical frameworks for our debate. Drawing upon Urbinati's (2006) concept of

"political representation," we conceive representation as a dynamic process—an ongoing interaction between representatives and the represented—transcending mere electoral authorization.

The semantic evolution of the concept of political representation over time underscores its multifaceted nature and diverse definitions. Pitkin (1972) underscores the role of language in shaping worldviews, emphasizing the critical importance of grasping the theoretical essence of political representation to effectively apply it within the context of ethnic group claims.

In summary, the concept of political representation lies at the heart of democratic regimes, aligning seamlessly with Dahl's (2008) foundational conditions for democratic governance. These conditions encompass universal suffrage, free and equitable elections, freedom of expression, autonomous association, inclusive citizenship, and a rich array of information sources.

The varying degree of institutional assurance in these democratic pillars either enables or constrains the establishment of democracy. For the purposes of this thesis, we hone in on two pivotal aspects: the election of official representatives and the notion of inclusive citizenship. The persistent denial of adult participation in the political system — ranging from the right to vote and be voted for to freedom of speech and association — demands our attention. Ignoring these conditions, both within Dahl's democratic theory and the scope of this thesis, would mean overlooking the participation and representation of Black communities in North American and Latin American politics, the hard-fought women's suffrage movements throughout the 20th century, and the intricate dynamics of ethnic group representation.

We highlight three main instances intrinsic to the concept of representation and

its uses over time: First, related to the evolutions of representative government. This means that representation was - and still is - linked to the various political regimes that somehow made use of the mechanism of popular sovereignty (to a greater or lesser degree, be it effective or just formal) as a basis for their consolidation over a given territory;

Secondly knowledge about the art of representation. That is, of the Roman tradition ofbringing into the presence something/someone who is absent. (Pitkin, 1972). Whether it be anembodied idea or the materialization of courage in a human expression or a sculpture;Finally, and closely linked to the second instance, the way the actors perform on stage. The reference to the stage is made in the sense that it functions as the public space, where the actors/actresses argue in the political arena about something absent. Etymologically, acting means to present anew (Pitkin, 1972). But beyond this definition, it means somehow making presentsomething that is not present - in reality or literally. Manin (1997) presents four indispensable principles that help in thinking about both representation itself and its use in different forms of government throughout history. These are principles that have been observed throughout the establishment of different political regimes and, along with the abstract understanding of the concept provided by Pitkin, fulfill a role in providing an operationalization in which we visualize the application of the concept. First, says Manin, those who govern must be elected for a regular interval of time, the decision-making process of those who govern must preserve some level of independence from the wishes of the electorate, those who are governed must express their opinions without suffering any kind of constraint or sanction from those who govern, and finally, public decisions must undergo a trial of debate.

Thus, we depart representation from its most theoretical conception, to

apprehend it asa political mechanism used practically, in everyday life, that fulfills a function of presenting demands, to make present what is absent (values, feelings, ideas, projects), in a tradition from the Greeks, Romans, to the institutions that have supported democratic regimes in the West. In the Latin America case, the representative system reached out and found other forms of political organization, improving with the passage of time. However, representation, as a collective gear of claims, has instrumentalized indigenous social movements and their respective requests.

Though, how does the process of representation unfold in the context of ethnic groups in Latin America? To grasp this phenomenon, certain elements deserve consideration: 1) the politicization of identities, and 2) prevalent ethnic cleavages within civil society undergoing continual contention. By politicization of identities, we refer to the visualization in civil society of an ethnic struggle against the backdrop of a prevailing national identity. In the case of Latin American ethnic groups, this manifests as either a complete or partial rejection of a national identity (e.g., Brazilian, Argentinean, Bolivian, Mexican) in pursuit of a common objective. Understanding this dynamic of politicization of identities and ethnic cleavages elucidates how the mechanism of political representation, akin to non-indigenous peoples, serves as a tool to assert claims.

Within the scholarly debate, several approaches illuminate our understanding of inclusive citizenship. Notably, works by Montambeault (2020), Maatsch (2011), Moosa-Mitha (2016), and Stoiber, Caselitz, and Heinelt (2013) provide valuable insights. In particular, we delve into the multiculturalist and plurinationalist frameworks, both of which offer comparative perspectives on citizenship dynamics.

The multiculturalist lens scrutinizes the role of political institutions in

integrating diverse actors into the system. By acknowledging cultural pluralism and advocating for minority rights, this framework challenges the homogenizing assumptions often embedded in representation politics. Scholars such as Van Cott (2002) and Linz (1996) contribute to this critique, emphasizing the need to move beyond mere electoral authorization.

Plurinationalism, on the other hand, centers on the recognition of distinct national identities within a single state. It grapples with questions of autonomy, self-determination, and collective rights. Stoiber et al. (2013) delve into the complexities of plurinational arrangements, shedding light on how political institutions navigate these tensions.

In summary, these frameworks enrich our understanding of inclusive citizenship, prompting critical reflections on the evolving role of political institutions in accommodating diverse identities and fostering democratic participation.

Multiculturalists seek to explore how recognizing diverse identities can enhance the diversity of voices within a political system. In contrast, the plurinationalist critique, as a counter to multiculturalism (O'gorman, 2010; Lander, 2005), rebuffs Eurocentrism and the "coloniality of power," offering insights into the historical foundations of exclusions endured by indigenous peoples.

We aim to delve into how the politicization of ethnic identities serves as a crucial substrate in the realm of political representation. It is from this phenomenon that representation finds its organization. Without politicized identities, collective organization— and subsequently, political representation — become unattainable. This process initially unfolds within civil society and then extends to legislative institutions; thus, without this central element, the feasibility of ethnic demands within existing

institutional frameworks would be compromised.

In delineating the study of indigenous representation, it's imperative to grasp two key elements emphasized in the literature: i) ethnic cleavages and ii) the politicization of identities. As reiterated, it is impossible to advance in analyzing the role of political representation without acknowledging these components. In European literature, similar boundaries are stressed regarding "who can be a citizen?" and "what rights does this citizen possess?" with discussions centering on immigrants, ethnic minorities, and separatist movements, among others. In Latin America, the millennium-long resistance of traditional peoples and communities has presented a profound challenge to the region's political systems. In some countries, the incorporation of these groups into a national identity has partially resolved this issue (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2010). However, in nations where these ethnic groups have remained cohesive within the same territory, sharing cultural codes, the 20th century witnessed a process of identity politicization, revealing a stark social cleavage in pursuit of specific collective demands.

We find studies on democratization, especially European studies (Brouard & Tiberj, 2010; Wüst, 2010; Soininen; 2010) that hold a debate on citizenship in a frontier context for the exercise of democracy (Brubacker, 1992). Some of these works configure public identities as pre-defined, as entities readily established in a non-peaceful dialogue betweenthe state and civil society. This assumption renders invisible a very important social group for the limits of democracy and corroborates what Yashar (2005) points out about indigenous peoples being excluded from the third wave of democracy.

On the other hand, studies that focus on institutions seek to understand the individualswho participate in democracy and why they do so (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst,

2010). In addition, we ponder the social and political movements that have been formed since the second half of the twentieth century to redefine the boundaries of citizenship and political participation.

In Latin America, the debate on ethnic identities has centered on their essence within the bounds of citizenship defined by specific regulations. For instance, in countries like Sri Lanka, Rwanda, Ireland, and even in the Israel-Palestine conflict, a significant territorial issue arises: how much autonomy can individuals attain and, conversely, how far can ethnic identities extend within the territory? Unlike these cases, the debate on the politicization of identities in Latin America does not echo a demand for a distinct territory apart from the existing nation-state (Rômulo and Albala, 2023).

In regions such as Scotland, the Basque country, and Catalonia, the pursuit of autonomy is coupled with a broader agenda that seeks to unite the ethnic group beyond its current territorial confines. Scots have long aspired for autonomy, a goal contingent on detachment from British territory. Conversely, when examining Latin American ethnic parties, this separatist agenda is notably absent. Instead, the focus is on affirming the core aspects of identity, advocating for the right to engage in the electoral system, and gaining access to formal channels of representation within the existing political framework, rather than seceding from it.

Another aspect that sets the tone in the European literature on migration studies and ethnic identities is the exclusion of original peoples from the debate. And this exclusion, besides being methodological and intentional, occurs as a result of an inverse historical process in Latin America. While in Europe the democratic challenge of dealing with ethnic identity arises from the great migrations that took place between 1945 and 1973 (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2010), in which African, Asian, Latino workers arrived in European countries in search of better opportunities, along with their family

members. The generations following this migration had to face, and still face, questions about the limits of this citizenship. In Latin America, it is the immigrants who have constituted the rules of the political game and excluded native peoples from the social pact.

But on what basis do groups establish their criteria for participating in a social pact or turning against it? The limits of this exercise of both identity and citizenship in a political regime are linked to the foundation of a community (Rubio-Marín, 2000). Shklar (1991) defines citizenship from historical mechanisms in terms of those who have been excluded, that is, available in democratic terms to the few within the *community*. Each modern state has defined a particular set of rules for including/excluding people from its citizenship arrangements. These boundaries, crucial to the support of any political community, aregrounded in and implicated in the public identities encouraged or repressed in general (Honig, 2001). Obviously, in establishing a border, whether geographical or political, regimesestablish who is in and who is out, and who can participate in public life and who cannot. In the case of the indigenous peoples of Latin America, despite being circumscribed in the territory, they have been deprived of this right.

An important aspect for analyzing citizenship restricted to the ethnic community is defined by the principle "jus sanguinis" or bloody principle, which is based on the 19th and 20th-century ideas about the nation-state, supporting the circumscription of the politicalgroup in descent or ethnic origin. The formation of this boundary is based on the claim of national origins that form individuals living in a specific territory. Germany is the prototypical model of jus sanguinis.

This principle is certainly fragile in countries with multi-ethnic populations, as it implies a primordial, chronologically privileged community concerning

characteristics, and therefore even those who do not possess such characteristics are on the outside. In addition tojus sanguinis, jus Solis (territorial principle) is an important marker because it grants citizenship on the lines of territory. The bonds that sustain the community are defined by geography and civic connections.

It is precisely the variation between this relationship of citizens and states that interests us, that is, the different ways in which interests are mediated, embedded in an institutional context of inclusion or exclusion.

Considering this perspective and examining the historical conditions faced by indigenous peoples in Latin America, it becomes evident that historical inequalities, while not the sole explanation for obstacles to political citizenship, create significant challenges forthese communities.

We are referring to the incentive to European migration under the pretext of "improving the racial composition" of the countries, in a thesis that had significant social reverberation until the first half of the 20th century. If in Europe the obstacle to incorporatingthe participation of these immigrants (Arabs, Turkish, Indians, Algerians) persists until today,the European immigrant (Italian, German, Japanese, French, Polish) who arrived in Portuguese and Spanish America at the beginning of the last century did not suffer any kindof constraint or even doubts about his right to participate in the established political community. The coercion that the original peoples suffered around a public policy of assimilation included literacy requirements to alienate the ethnic groups from their peculiar traits. Where this assimilation did not fully occur, trenches of resistance were organized.

When we speak of incorporation and/or exclusion of ethnic groups in Latin America, we refer to obstacles, such as literacy requirements for suffrage, which were widely used throughout the 20th century in countries such as Guatemala (1945), Chile

(1970), Ecuador (1979), Peru (1980), and Brazil (1985)[2].

As we mentioned earlier, the third democratic wave, although it overturned some restrictive clauses on access to the political community by granting formal citizenship to indigenous peoples, did so in a precarious or if not reduced way.

Characterized as a region of migration (voluntary and forced), Latin America, throughthe states, ended up investing in the promotion of "inclusion policies" and ethnic assimilation on the part of indigenous peoples. The pre-colonization culture gave way to a "mestizo culture" and the valorization of this culture was one of several mechanisms to accommodate resistance identities. In Brazil, to give a closer example, the "northeastern culture" is seen as afusion between cultural traits of blacks, indigenous, and whites, which manifests itself in mixed elements, in the sacrifice of indigenous culture for a regional identity, bound to the territory.

The wave of democratization provided Latin American countries with the opportunity to enhance political institutions, undergoing a transition and overcoming (partially, in some cases) the authoritarian obstacles experienced in previous decades. It is within this context that theoretical perspectives on ethnic inclusion within the political system are disseminated.

It is important to note that both multiculturalism and plurinationalism emerge as responses to the institutional model of liberal democracy prevalent throughout the 20th century. This liberal model proved incapable of accommodating specific demands, embracing only a national project of homogenous society. From this standpoint, theoretical criticisms will point out limitations and impossibilities, advocating for an alternative model of political system that is more receptive to ethnic demands.

---

[2] The dates refer to the respective years in which such barriers were removed

In the following sections, I will address the issue of multiculturalism as an indispensable tool within the literature, primarily because it provides other concepts from a different epistemological standpoint, stemming from a theory of recognition, to discuss the issue of identity within a political context. As a matter of fact, there is both a philosophical and anthropological debate surrounding the multiple meanings that identity can assume. Whether in an institutionalized political context or not, identity takes on aspects of resistance in opposition to a national project. However, this is not our focus in this thesis. We are more interested in analyzing how the politicization of ethnic identities relates to political representation within a context of dispute over the institutionalization of demands.

1.1 The Multiculturalist Approach

As mentioned earlier, the multiculturalist approach addresses the issue of the limits ofrepresentation from an interesting starting point. It is based on the premise that there are "social cultures" associated with a common national identity, but on the other hand, there are groups that have resisted this force and realize, within the national territory, their own social culture (Kymlicka, 1995). Kymlicka states that if the basic principle of liberalism is the safeguarding of individual rights, the condition of autonomy of ethnic groups, inserted in a context of cultural specificity is also an object of liberal concern.

It is important to point out that the liberal multiculturalist approach, supported mainly by Will Kymlicka's work, brings elements to think about the issue of identity and recognition that, if not otherwise, are linked to an earlier theoretical debate proposed by Charles Taylor (1994). First of all, it is of interest here to highlight these identity-

recognition binomials to understand how the two operate in the work of the respective actors.

This is a fundamental understanding, as it will allow us to grasp the extent of this phenomenon to deploy the role of political representation in the pursuit of groups' interests. Put another way, representation is only possible if it can first be recognized.

Hence, Taylor's (1994) approach to identity and recognition establishes itself beyond the Hegelian perspective (notably the dialectic of master and slave) when he points out that Hegel's theorization, while important, is insufficient to account for the dimension of recognition that the group demands. In Hegel, the logic of master and slave is largely based on a perspective of recognition based on domination, and on the need to understand the elements of this recognition based on this unequal clash of forces. The slave ceases to be an autonomous entity to become a "thing". Taylor, however, brings in the question of the dignityof the person as the main foundation for social-political reflection. This is where recognition connects with identity, in defining oneself and each person in particular. And why is this important for the representation debate?

From a multicultural standpoint, the feasibility of representation hinges on the clarity of identity recognition. The question of identity serves as a compass, guiding both collective and individual interests. To engage in effective representation, one must first recognize their own identity—both as an individual and as a member of a linked group. This self-recognition lays the groundwork for understanding which interests are to be represented. Simultaneously, ethnic groups possess dynamic identities, which, in turn, enable the mobilization of interests. The process of identification and recognition, therefore, precedes the formal process of representation.

This conceptual terrain is rich and intricate, drawing from fundamental notions. Kymlicka (1995) underscores that political participation is a fundamental requirement

of citizenship. However, this participation can only be activated when identities are duly recognized within the broader social fabric. Indeed, dignity itself hinges on the clarity and definition of identity. This boundary—explored extensively in anthropology—becomes the signaling mechanism for establishing the relationship between representatives and the represented. It operates within the dimension of interests, where the friction between private and public concerns comes to the fore. Agents navigate this delicate balance, responding to public cues emanating from their respective represented groups. The interplay between identity recognition, representation, and the negotiation of private and public interests constitutes a fertile ground for understanding how ethnic groups organize themselves politically, with varying degrees of institutionalization.

Liberal multiculturalism makes a case for this basic condition of dignity through active political participation among groups, articulating and mobilizing demands around a common interest. There are several caveats pointed out by Kymlicka regarding the common interests of the groups involved, but perhaps the main one, and the one we would like to explore here, is the safeguarding of individual rights. In other words, the collective interests, mobilized through representation, cannot, under any circumstances, hurt the rights of each individual who feels harmed or constrained by the collectivity.

To understand the terms of this constraint, it is necessary to delve into the conceptionsthat Kymlicka establishes for safeguarding collective rights. Once they are sufficiently defined, individual rights will be as well. In this way, he argues that there are aspects of institutional change necessary to ensure the realization of these rights, i.e., to accommodate differences one must alter the current status quo of the rules that define what is allowed or notallowed in these cases.

Kymlicka objectively presents three types of "differentiated group rights" that underpin aspirations for collective dignity: a) rights of self-government; b) polyethnic

rights; c) rights of special representation. It is clear from the outset that it is unlikely to contemplate and expand multicultural possibilities without changes in the legal-political institutional design of states, at whatever level (national, subnational), to bring about significant change in the social framework. This is because the so-called "universal" statuses of citizenship, rights, and freedoms are insufficient to address the issue of distortion concerning the inclusion of minority groups in institutionalized public debate.

The right to self-government, in the first place, is usually claimed in multinational states[3] where the territorial question is under debate, whether in the field of autonomy jurisdiction. Forced incorporation and consequent loss of control over territory have placed ethnic groups in an acute situation concerning their abilities to decide, collectively, on access to a range of goods and services. Federalism that accommodates these disparities would allow autonomy over territory as well as minimum decision-making guarantees for the group. For this, it would be necessary to recognize these cultural differences constitutionally. In the Brazilian case, the territorial issue involving land regularization processes of traditional communities (mainly indigenous peoples and quilombola communities) is a clear example of how the lack of self-government is explicitly related to the land issue. In Bolivia since 1978 with the resumption of formal democracy, a large "katarista" movement was organized around the "Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB)". The first congress of the CSUTCB was held in 1982 and the first parties, still very fragmented, achieved electoral success, precisely in the demand for more autonomy (Albó, 2007).

---

[3] Or also in plurinational states. This is one of the criticisms that plurinationalism has in relation to multiculturalism.

The second right theorized by Kymlicka is the polyethnic right, and it relates to minority groups and also to immigrants who are ethnically different from the national society in which they live, and whose particularities are under threat of incorporation, this time not territorial, but symbolic of the cultural traits of their origins[4]. The main claim of the polyethnic right is to be able to manifest their particularities without suffering constraints of any kind from the majority. Within the debate on multiculturalism, a fundamental premise emerges: the recognition and valorization of minority contributions[5]. These marginalized groups, historically deprived of expressing their unique cultural identities, now seek acknowledgment within the broader national fabric. Bilingualism serves as a poignant example. Consider the case of indigenous Brazilians, who, until the late 1970s, were denied the opportunity to be literate in their mother tongue alongside Portuguese.

However, the recognition of identities extends beyond language proficiency. It encompasses practices, customs, and religious symbols. Here, the wearing of the veil by Muslim girls and the yarmulka by Jews becomes a sensitive topic. In France, debates surrounding the veil's presence in public spaces and its implications for secularism intersect with questions of identity, citizenship, and religious freedom. Similarly, in the United States, military service regulations intersect with religious practices, prompting discussions about accommodation and the delicate balance between individual expression and collective norms (Nascimento, 2014).

The negotiation of identity recognition within multicultural societies remains a complex endeavor — one that requires navigating historical legacies, legal frameworks, and societal expectations. The veil, as a symbol of religious and cultural identity,

---

[4] Anthropology names these cultural traits that mark the cultural border between "us" and "them" diacritical signs.
[5] We can mention here the Brazilian Laws 10.634/2007 and 11.638/2011 that deal with the compulsory treatment, in the educational curriculum, of African and Afro-Brazilian history, as well as indigenous history in the country.

exemplifies the intricate interplay between individual rights and collective cohesion.

Following this theorization, it can be said that underrepresentation is the main problem when invoking the right to special representation, pointed out by Kymlicka as fundamental in the process of accommodating differences, since representation, according to the critic, is not substantive enough to contemplate such a complex set of demands. Kymlicka's proposals to guarantee the right to special representation all orbit around the liberal scope. Regarding political parties, the inclusion of women, minorities, and ethnic groups in the process of shaping the party's public agenda, in the dispute for internal positions, and the redistribution of resources would guarantee, to some extent, a betterdistribution of proportionality of elective positions. Another possibility pointed out by the author is the reservation of seats in parliament as an institutional change aimed at overcomingrepresentation barriers.

Kymlicka's work speaks of an ethnic revival, experienced in North America, especially in the United States, between the 1960s and 1970s, although he treats this concept in an essentialist way, that is, without exploring the nuances of its emergence. Moreover, we understand that this ethnic revival does not address the social issues experienced by minority groups in Latin America.

Not only Kymlicka, but also Walzer (1982) and Glazer (1983) deal with the issue of ethnic revival, but it is necessary to contextualize their explanation. The ethnic dilemma here,when dealing specifically with immigrants to North America, refers to the question of inclusion in the national society and a linguistic resistance, that is, the assurance of speaking their own language. The question asked at the time, back in the 1980s, was "do immigrants have the right to integrate into society as a whole?"

It is quite clear that one of the crucial frontiers of the issue is the question of citizenship. One of the central concerns of liberal multiculturalism is to guarantee this

citizenship, both at the collective and individual levels. For them, these are separate dimensions, and there is no way to guarantee the former if the latter is neglected. In other words, the circumstances under which citizenship, with multicultural traits, is allowed or forbidden to be exercised, from which political participation is derived.

Both Glazer and Walzer make a distinction between voluntary integration to compulsory assimilation (characteristic of the colonial period), but our understanding is divergent. In the latter case, it is wrong to deprive 'intact and rooted communities' that 'were established on lands they had occupied for many centuries' of mother-tongue education or local autonomy. Under these conditions, integration is an 'imposed choice' that national minorities typically (and justifiably) have resisted (Kymlicka, 1995).

Although the liberal multiculturalist view on ethnicity has established itself as an important paradigm, we will see in the following topic how the plurinationalist critique sets the debate in motion by highlighting structures of inequalities that, in many cases, have been left aside in previous studies.

1.2 The plurinationalist approach

The plurinationalist critique emerges as a response to both multiculturalism and the liberal model, arguing that these previous proposals overlook important aspects in explaining overall inequality in political representation. Its developments in the theory of political representation are largely the result of intellectual efforts born in decolonial studies, which have marked Latin American social sciences with a new perspective on national issues, political systems, and socioeconomic inequalities that characterize the

region as a whole. Special attention to the national question, carefully analyzed by a generation of Latin American scholars (Quijano, 2005; O'gorman, 2010; Lander, 2005), who have set out to question the limits to which any multicultural proposal could help reduce inequalities in the political system.

The starting point for Quijano's critique concerns fundamentally the national question of Latin American states from the process of colonization. The national question is expressed by what Quijano calls the "coloniality of power" (Quijano, 2005) and its intrinsic relationship with Eurocentrism. The problem of a Latin American national community, constructed under the sign of European colonization, lies in the notion of "race" established by the European standard of modernity. Quijano goes further by emphasizing that it is only from the "discovered Latino," colonized, hierarchically inferior to the "white colonizer" that the idea and impulse of European modernity were established worldwide. Thus, coloniality imposed a normativity that otherwise expressed itself in the social substrate, marginalizing native peoples, enslaving African populations, and conducting a colonial society with eminently racist assumptions. This prerogative, inevitably, also manifested itself in the composition of political institutions and the bureaucratic apparatus of the State.

Quijano (2005) understands that America constitutes the first space/time of a global pattern of power and, therefore, as the first identity of modernity. This Eurocentric parameter codified a relationship between the conquerors/conquered dichotomy based on an idea of race, naturally and biologically differentiated and superior. Upon this foundation, a population classification was established along with all its systems of rules, labor control, resource management, and access to products, always revolving, in his words, around capital and the global market.

Quijano (2005) explains that the will and urgency of the Latin American states

ended up reproducing, to a large extent, the strategy of homogenizing the population, reducing dissidence, and ensuring stability. In Brazil, for example, there were several attempts, sponsored even by the State itself, to impose an official narrative of "racial democracy" aimed at overcoming inequalities only with the power of harmony discourse (Reis, 1997).

Interethnic contact with a generalized "other," deemed inferior and uncivilized, produced effects in colonial society that unfolded into subsequent political conformations (monarchies or republics) (Quijano, 2005). In Spanish America where enslaved African labor was not the basis of colonial society, these ethnic tensions took different paths. In Portuguese America, with a significant number of enslaved blacks, not to mention the initial exploitation of indigenous peoples, this productive human machinery was put to service of a metropolitan development project. These fundamental differences, visualized at the base of civil society, are significant markers in the trajectory of these minority groups.

The impossibility imposed on these ethnic groups of even constructing institutional instruments to combat this structure undoubtedly stems from the fact that the colonizing national question was not seen as a problem to be faced, but rather as a stage to be overcome once the ethnic-cultural differences were socially overcome. The justification for the development delay of the Southern Cone countries was often attributed to the problem of ethnic diversity, leaving no alternative but the total incorporation of the idiosyncratic traits of the differentiated social groups into the national territory[6].

---

[6] According to Ives: "The problem in Latin America was that the success of the colonial economy depended on the survival of the peoples used as exploited labor, which in turn prevented a sense of identity similarity. Only in the Southern Cone countries - Argentina, Chile and Uruguay - the premise that a nation should not be homogeneous and that its members should share an identity was relatively successful. The black population was a minority during the colonial period, while the Native Americans were decimated in the process of land acquisition by european

On the other theoretical front, we have the critical perspective of *indigenismo* as an analytical tool to investigate formal, semantic, and political aspects of the role of identity in social systems.

Within this perspective, "political identities" are perceived as important markers of self-definition for ethnic groups (Maíz, 2004). But not only that, these identities are perceived as collective and situated within a context of dispute. Far beyond understanding this as a static fact, indigenism focuses on identification processes as indispensable because political identities are not individual. On the contrary, they only exist when processed in the collective environment. Once they are collective, they tend to persist longer, guaranteeing survival and cohesion to the social group (Maíz, 2004).

In general, the observations about indigenism are found in the literature based on four fundamental assumptions (Laclau, 1994; Hardin, 1995; Laitin, 1998; Fearon, 1999; Fearon and Laitin, 2000; Lustick, 2000; Gurr, 2000):

1. Political identities, far from being crystallized, are constitutive, contingent processes, originating from a social enclave. Thus, political identities are not discovered or recognized, they are produced (Laclau, 1994).

2. Since identities are collective and fixed based on a common claim among the group, their development process is gradual and influenced by responses to both internal and external stimuli (Gurr, 2000).

3. Political identities are multiple and often overlapped by specific identities. They are the product of a complex work of political leadership, internal organizations, and discourses about the group itself (Fearon and Laitin, 2000).

---

descendent. The result was a whitening of the population in these countries, to which the wave of European immigration in the 19th century that kept the economy functioning also contributed (IVES, 2016)"

4. Depending on the incentive structure to which each community will be subjected, political identities will behave in a way that tensions exogenous conflicts (us/them) and endogenous conflicts (radicals and moderates) (Laitin, 1998).

When mapping each of the assumptions of indigenism present in Latin American literature, it becomes evident that they play an indispensable role in interpreting the politicization of identities and especially how they articulate with the dimension of political representation. For example, the four points above indicate a path that ethnic groups in Latin America have faced over the past few decades, but not only that.

Maíz (2004) points to the transition from peasant status to indigenous group status as a result of this politicization of identities. It is from the construction of a political identity, that is, from the activation of a collective identity that the visibility of the indigenous issue gains prominence. Without this understanding, it is impossible to comprehend how the dynamics of collective rights claims by indigenous groups unfolded, in a movement that intensified from the 1980s onwards.

In practice what occurred throughout the 20th century was the tutelage or even exclusion of ethnic groups and the impossibility of public dialogue, since institutional silencing, as well as the difficulty of political organization, proved an insurmountable barrier[7].In other words, the emancipatory movement that Latin America underwent during the 19th century (independence of colonies, constitutional monarchies, popular republics, etc.) did not take into consideration aspects of inclusion or participation of minority groups. Institutionally, political coloniality remained present in the system,

---

[7] Casanova (2021) provides a reexamination of the concept of internal colonialism by proposing a conceptual expansion, focusing on its application beyond ethnic and racial dynamics and incorporating other forms of oppression and marginalization, such as those based on social class, gender, sexuality, and cultural identity. He argues that this more inclusive approach allows for a broader understanding of power relations and domination present in contemporary societies.

that is, the republican political institutions had a colonial functioning. In the Brazilian case, it was only with the Federal Constitution of 1988 that land tenure regularization started to be placed as an alternative for ethnic groups (remaining quilombola communities and indigenous ethnicities) in the country and thus new forms of political mobilization, bringing them into the political arena through an associativism stimulated by the state.

The pursuit of territorial recognition is a fundamental issue within the multiculturalist framework, and if we look at Latin American countries, this has been one of the most important (if not the main) banner in the struggle of indigenous peoples. One of the identifiedobstacles is precisely the absence of public debate and of actors sufficiently organized to transmute this agenda into an agenda with enough breadth to be defended, from the point of view of pressure groups organized around representative institutions.

The massive content of the plurinationalist critique can be observed in the territorial situation of ethnic groups, for example, located in Brazil, that is, in the absence of effective public policies to guarantee the autonomy of these groups. Thus, according to the theorists of plurinationalism, it is only possible to guarantee conditions of autonomy through institutional mechanisms (remedies) that make explicit the obligation of the state towards these groups. The accommodation of particular interests from a multiculturalist point of view is unfeasible in a context of silencing and complete associative disorganization of these collectives.

How then can we think of representation theory in the context of interethnic conflict? Moreover, how can one suppose that ethnic minorities are included in the bulge of participation if there is no political participation? One possibility is presented by Taylor (1994), as we explained earlier, it is about recognition theory as an alternative

to producing justice in contexts of cultural breadth. Political equality, for Taylor, is a premise of the democratic environment, and can only be realized with dignity as an indispensable condition. Although it lacks a vertical operationalization of this concept or its practical support within political institutions, Taylor's theory of recognition offers elements for a critical analysis of these inequalities.

Fraser (2001) on the other hand, will assert that policies of recognition, accompanied by a redistribution of material resources of power, are what effectively guarantee political equality for minorities in a democratic regime. Transformative remedies reduce social inequality, Fraser asserts, but without creating stigmatized classes of vulnerable people seen as beneficiaries of special generosity. According to the author, they tend to promote reciprocity and solidarity in relations of recognition (Fraser, 2001).

In this sense, the representative element, imputed in the presence of the ethnic group chosen by an entity outside the community in question, highlights a logic that would be incorporated decades later, namely, that of disregarding elements of the referenced minority'sown decision. This claim for autonomy will be recurrent in the literature dealing with both multicultural and plurinational issues. Demands for local autonomy, and recognition of local languages outside the European matrix, go directly through the discussion that political rightsare not dissociated from citizenship rights. In other words, the struggle for recognition of minority groups within the national civil (and political) society goes through theunderstanding of differentiated citizenship (as it recognizes the very genesis and modus operandi of both the state and the colonial society) creating deep impacts on the political institutions of Latin American countries.

When examining these two central theoretical frameworks, it becomes evident that the indigenous question in Latin America arises from a social dynamic shaped by

significant transformations over recent decades, economic disparities, and a long history of marginalization. As we approached the close of the 20th century, a shift occurred in this landscape. To comprehend the underlying mechanisms driving these shifts, we propose that ethnic political parties holding representation in legislative bodies emerge as a consequence of indigenous social movements that rely on established citizenship structures and permissive electoral systems.

This discussion between multiculturalist and plurinationalist approaches reflects only a part of the whole scenario. More broadly, while they provide a theoretical foundation for thinking about the indigenous issue in Latin America, it is necessary to delve deeper into the topic. This can be achieved through an empirical examination of each of the countries analyzed in this thesis, as well as by identifying which elements, in practice, facilitate indigenous issues and which elements hinder them.

With that being said, a thorough analysis of each of these factors is necessary, starting with the institutionalization of barriers to access for ethnic groups within a political system. Obviously, the electoral system has an impact on the institutional design that each country has adopted, and by taking this into account, we are establishing an analysis parameter that is configured based on each of the variables established throughout this work. By this, I mean that besides the traditional analyses that focus on the weight of social movements, there are other elements deserving attention. Let's begin to unpack this scenario, using this point as a basis.

1.3 Indigenous Political representation and institutional barriers in Latin American countries

It is impossible to dissociate the social and political barriers faced by ethnic

groups in Latin America from the respective processes of formation of these national states. As we have seen throughout this chapter, it is both the formation of the nation state and its scopethat will stimulate and/or restrain the emergence of civil society associations with collective demands.

The unequal distribution of land in the territories, the lack of recognition from officialstate institutions, as well as the systematic discrimination suffered by these groups, have all contributed over the last few years to a social framework of exclusion, both political and economic. This situation can be seen, for example, in countries like Mexico, where the consolidation of the national bureaucratic administration has had to coexist with very diverse cultural heterogeneity (Hemond and Recondo, 2002). This process of consolidation has not taken place peacefully or even ina linear fashion and, in recent decades, the country has experienced a revival of this discussion, as these local ethnic identities have organized themselves to demand collective rights that have historically been denied (Natal, 2023).

The process of establishing the Mexican state occurred alongside the indigenous issue, which has been marginalized for decades. This institutional design ended up excluding ethnic groups. But Natal (2023) goes beyond that. He states that Mexican indigenous representation cannot be read from a tokenistic perspective. When the author presents the myths related to indigenous representation in Mexico, he warns that the creation of electoral districts alone did not eliminate the problem of underrepresentation, much less access to power structures. When closely analyzing reality, Natal indicates three main challenges: a) marginalization within political parties themselves, b) lack of resources and training, and c) resistance from non-indigenous interests within the political system.

Certainly, there is a significant impact on the Mexican model when observing

policy formulation, local governance, and community empowerment, for example (Natal, 2023; Canedo Vasquez, 2008; Gomez Peralta, 2005). Furthermore, Natal (2010) reinforces a recurring challenge for indigenous peoples regarding their treatment as mixed-race, that is, "mestizos," with claims that the indigenous issue would be something outdated.

It is important to highlight how the author discusses the relevance of the Zapatista movement in the incorporation of Mexican indigenism, especially regarding the issue of the struggle for territorial autonomy, direct participation, and collective decision-making. Natal (2023) emphasizes how the EZLN denounced the lack of effective representation of indigenous peoples in traditional political institutions and the exploitation of their territories and natural resources by external interests.

The case of Guatemala presents an even more challenging scenario, as the country has a highly proportional indigenous population, without this being reflected in affirmative public policies for these groups (Barragán, 2023). The process of homogenization of identities, mestizaje as a state policy (which we will see in Chapter 3), and the institutional violence perpetrated by Latin American states set the tone for the social dimension observed across different countries in the region. Guatemala has experienced periods of severe political turbulence, and the peace agreements that followed have yet to prove effective in terms of state reorganization to guarantee collective rights.

In Guatemala's case, the creation of WINAQ, a party with ethnic roots, and its presence in the electoral arena did not necessarily imply a connection between the agendas of social movements and the platform implemented by the party organization (Barragán, 2023). This is an unusual case, as it highlights the gap between institutionalized political representation and the consolidation of social movements in

the country.

Casaus Arzú (2007), for example, analyzes the challenges that the formation of the Guatemalan state faced throughout the 20th century, including civil war and a late, authoritarian consolidation. Among the numerous challenges faced by indigenous political representation in the country, political violence against indigenous leaders and the lack of equal access to the political system stand out in a notably adverse scenario.

Within this ambivalent context, Guatemala experienced a process of persecution of indigenous leaders, later managing to formalize the presence of ethnic parties within the electoral system, and also had, in the figure of Rigoberta Menchú, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1992, a significant expression of the national indigenous issue within its territory. The Guatemalan Peace Agreement established the institutional design to regulate indigenous political participation. However, proportional political representation is still far from reality: indigenous representatives hardly make up more than 10% of the National Congress.

The challenges faced in Colombia demonstrate how indigenous organizations have developed mechanisms to exert pressure on the state beyond electoral strategies (Laurent, 2023). This also stems from the long-standing marginalization of these groups by the Colombian state. It was only through institutional changes starting in the 1990s that civil society, local groups, and indigenous movements positioned themselves against the state, demanding more space in the political arena—not solely restricted to the electoral decision-making process.

Since the first mayoral elections in 1988 and, notably, with the convening of the National Constituent Assembly in 1991, indigenous peoples have been present in Colombia's electoral arena. Despite their relatively low proportion in society, they have solidified their role as political actors with local, regional, and national representation.

Over the past two centuries, various actions aimed at "nationalizing" indigenous identities were sponsored by the Colombian state, resulting in conflicts. The strategies adopted by Colombian indigenous organizations demonstrate that effective participation, at the intersection of institutionalization and resistance, occurs when these struggles extend beyond electoral contests (Laurent, 2023).

The majority of indigenous peoples live in reserves (*resguardos*), spanning from the Andes Mountain range to the Amazon and Orinoco plains, as well as the coastal areas of the Atlantic and Pacific. Certain departments concentrate the largest indigenous populations, including La Guajira, Cauca, Nariño, Córdoba, Sucre, and Chocó.

When we talk about Chile, there is a long history of abuse and marginalization of its indigenous populations (Tricot, 2013; Tricot, 2017). Even during the emergence of indigenous rights movements in the 1990s, progress in political representation lagged behind neighboring countries. In addition to the constitutive process of institutional exclusion that Latin American indigenous peoples were subjected to (Tricot, 2018), authoritarian regimes throughout the 20th century were responsible, as in the case of Chile, for further aggravating this social situation (Albala and Tricot, 2020).

In Chile's case, the indigenous movement is still struggling to find mechanisms to achieve political representation (Bidegain, 2017; Tricot and Bidegain, 2020), with the legacy of the dictatorship present in both civil society and the state (Tricot, 2023). The indigenous population in Chile has grown proportionally in recent years, and the demands, which have intensified since the mid-1990s, have met with institutional resistance in the face of the movements' demands. Especially the Mapuche, who have a consolidated network of action within Chilean territory.

Despite the 1993 "Indigenous Law," progress has been timid, which Tricot (2023) points to as a disenchantment and distancing between indigenous movements

and the country's political institutions. On the other hand, the implementation of megaprojects has affected local ecology and biodiversity, often prioritizing market needs over indigenous rights. Undoubtedly, this is a factor to be considered, as well as the jurisprudence related to the ILO 169 Convention, which reveals the ongoing challenges faced by indigenous communities.

When considering Peru's independence process, we encounter a peculiar context, as it emerged as a "counter-revolutionary" process involving the fragmentation of power in the country. The former colonial aristocracy that organized society and politics gave way to local oligarchic groups, with autonomy to decide the fate of their respective jurisdictions (Céspedes Bravo, 2019).

Exclusion, racism, and violence can also be found in Peru, with the formation of the state sponsoring a dichotomy very characteristic of Spanish colonization in the Americas: the division of society between indigenous and non-indigenous people (Espinosa, Janos, & Mac Kay, 2023). In the Peruvian case, forms of association emerged in urban areas but mainly in rural areas, challenging the power of the state with a capacity for self-government that often resulted in violent conflicts.

Besides this feature of self-government as a mechanism for claiming and organizing, Espinosa, Janos, and Mac Kay (2023) present two other characteristics of the context of indigenous action in Peru: I) the action of social movements that permeate the relationship with the state, and ii) political participation in formally institutionalized spaces. In summary, the authors offer a critical analysis of the trajectory of indigenous political participation in Peru, addressing issues of racism, exclusion, and violence, as well as ongoing efforts to overcome these obstacles.

If we consider this context of the threefold exclusion, racism, and violence, the Paraguayan case is emblematic. This is because, in addition to the processes of

inequality already mentioned, there is no legal framework in Paraguay's electoral system that can absorb, even at the most basic level, ethnic demands from indigenous peoples. This represents a significant barrier for indigenous candidates to succeed in internal party selections.

Despite having a substantial indigenous population relative to the national society, no indigenous person has held an elected office in Paraguay, either at the local or national level (Villalba, 2023). In practice, the country's constitution prohibits the formation of regional parties, which prevents ethnic groups from organizing and competing for space in the political arena.

According to Villalba (2023), there is a problem that precedes the political participation of indigenous peoples in the country: their registration. There is a lack of documentation and records to guide any indication of public policies for these minority groups (Barreto, 2017). Without official figures or even reliable data, these populations remain completely invisible. Although the plurinational indigenous movement emerged since the 2018 elections, its effects are still modest and difficult to assess.

When it comes to political relevance on the national stage, Ecuador's Pachakutik is a symptomatic example of presence, influence and diffusion. For this reason, the issue of political representation in Ecuador is at a different stage from its Latin American neighbors. This is because the existing ethnic divides have put enough strain on the Ecuadorian political system that the Pachakutitk are currently facing other dilemmas in relation to the country's central power (Resina, 2023). Various demands, which began in 2019, have had an effect on the implementation of plurinational public policies, starting with the reformulation of the state. The Ecuadorian ethnic party is a strong example of how the politicization of ethnic identities, mobilized from civil society, pushes the bureaucratic apparatus to make more inclusive decisions when it comes to

demands on behalf of indigenous populations.

Similarly to Ecuador, Bolivia is also experiencing a different reality to its neighbors in the region. With a plurinationalist state, the ethnic cleavages that have emerged in the country since the 1970s and 1980s, the scenario of demands has undergone numerous transformations. Both the articulation between indigenous movements and the emergence of ethnic parties with a national character have completely reshaped Bolivian politics. Despite institutional advances, Bolivia has not overcome historical obstacles such as political instability (with recent coup attempts) and severe tensions in the candidate selection process within the majority party (Cunha Filho, 2023).

As we examine each of the countries involved in this work, it becomes clear that some elements are shared, despite the different historical processes in each country. The formation of an unequal and exclusionary state, in some cases aggravated by authoritarian regimes of exception, consolidated a national society with a very clear project in Latin America: the constitution of a homogeneous and shared identity throughout the territory. This draft project of liberal democracy, along European lines, collapsed over the course of the 20th century and in some countries was not even implemented consistently. The scraps of this project of democracy have met with resistance over the last few decades and in some countries with a high concentration of people in rural areas, the presence of the state in its power has not even been a utopia. It is in the face of this inability of the state to provide efficient public policies for marginalized groups that public identities have become politicized, through an internal and external network of political actors who, in search of recognition, have organized themselves beyond the local level, but always from there. It is in this movement to politicize identities that ethnic cleavages became stronger in Latin America and, with

the first signs of the crisis of the neoliberal model in the 1980s and 1990s, various institutional reforms began to include new forms of participation within the electoral system of Latin American countries, creating impacts that at the time were still unpredictable on the behavior of the political system as a whole.

We believe that it is this intrinsic relationship between ethnic cleavages and the formation of the national state that creates a semantic framework capable of supporting any subsequent analysis of how the consolidation of social movements will redefine the direction of political actors, favoring the emergence of ethnic parties, a very important vector for institutionalized political representation. Without these elements in mind, it is almost impossible to draw explanatory elements for this phenomenon, since it is the interaction between each of these variables (as we will see in chapter 3 and chapter 4) that gives meaningto the phenomenon of the limits of representation in the political institutions of the selected countries.

Table 1 - Summary table of the elements that make up the phenomenon of indigenous political representation in Latin America

		ETHNIC INCLUSION	
		HIGH	LOW
PERMISSIVE ELECTORAL SYSTEM	HIGH	BOLIVIA (BOL) COLOMBIA (COL) ECUADOR (ECU)	GUATEMALA (GUA) BRASIL (BRA) CHILE (CHI)

	LOW	MEXICO (MEX)	ARGENTINA (ARG)
			PARAGUAY (PAR)
			PERU (PER)

Source: Elaborated by the author.

In the context of political representation, particularly in ethnically diverse settings, an in-depth institutional analysis must recognize the historical tendency of bureaucratic and political state structures to favor specific identities while suppressing others. After the failure of assimilationist efforts, a pattern of assimilation emerged, resulting in a complex interplay of identities within the societal framework.

Amidst these dynamics, resilient identities of resistance surfaced, leading to a pronounced ethnic divide that resisted seamless integration into the overarching national narrative. Within the gaps untouched by state-driven narratives, grassroots social organizations have emerged, driven by the urgent need to address glaring disparities in the living conditions of indigenous populations.

This interplay between state-sanctioned identities, resilient ethnic resistance,

and the subsequent rise of social organizations underscores a critical dimension of political representation in ethnically diverse societies. In the subsequent chapters, we will delve into the intricate workings of this intrinsic relationship. However, even with a literature review on the subject, it is possible to present a typology of the countries in question, particularly regarding the elements discussed in the preceding debate.

In Table 2, we set up a specific relationship among the countries selected for this thesis based on two essential elements for understanding the phenomenon of indigenous political representation. Firstly, the institutionalization of ethnic demands, and secondly, the imposition of barriers to the exercise of political citizenship. The table summarizes arguments found in the literature regarding indigenous movements and also reflects the discussion throughout this chapter on the role of ethnic parties and their respective institutional barriers in the respective countries.

Table 2 - Typology of Latin American countries on the imposition of institutional barriers to the exercise of an inclusive citizenship regime and the inclusion of ethnic demands through the institutionalization of political representation.

		INCLUSION OF ETHNIC DEMANDS THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION	
		HIGH	LOW

IMPOSITION OF INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS TO THE EXERCISE OF AN INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP REGIME	HIGH		GUATEMALA (GUA) BRASIL (BRA) ARGENTINA (ARG) PARAGUAY (PAR)
	LOW	BOLIVIA (BOL) COLOMBIA (COL) ECUADOR (ECU) MEXICO (MEX)	CHILE (CHI) PERU (PER)

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Table 2 illustrates the relationship between institutional barriers and indigenous political representation in the Latin American countries examined in this thesis. Succinctly put, there exists a latent interaction between these two phenomena. The literature identifies a significant turning point in representative institutions when measures are taken to recognize and/or encourage identities beyond the national framework. These identities, initially developed outside the state's scope, gather strength within a social context of collective demands.

In our preliminary typology, the analyzed countries fall into two distinct groups (different from the previous configuration). As indicated in Table 2, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, and Guatemala pose substantial institutional barriers to the recognition of multicultural identities within the political system. On the other hand, countries such as Colombia, Chile, and Mexico have implemented institutional changes over the past decades to lower the cost of entry for new actors into the public arena. Within this second group, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru have not only reduced these

institutional barriers but also experience distinct moments concerning indigenous political representation. This tensionarises between ethnic parties and their respective platforms of action, whether in the executive or legislative branches. The challenge in this subgroup lies in the effective implementation of public policies following the establishment of ethnic agendas withinrepresentative institutions (Rômulo and Albala, 2023).

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, ETHNIC PARTIES, AND CITIZENSHIP REGIMES IN 10 LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DEMANDS

The institutionalization of ethnic demands by social movements requires a systematic analysis and the literature on ethnic parties in Latin America presents some interesting aspects. To a large extent, these are vertical analyses focused on countries (Jones, 2008; Rice and Van Cott, 2006, Madrid, 2005a) that explore particularities in the individual trajectories of social movements, the formation, the platform of ideas and the demands of certain political parties.

Throughout this chapter, we will present an unusual connection between the works that deal with the subject: how social movements, ethnic parties and citizenship regimes are articulated within a specific social context so that new demands can be met. By treating each of these aspects in an articulated manner, it is believed that a satisfactory answer can be found from the configurational perspective offered by this thesis.

In general, the scholar dealing with this topic are looking for answers as to how the link between ethnic parties and their support for gaining relevance on the electoral scene works (Madrid, 2005; Madrid, 2012). The party program of these organizations, their formation process and the loyalty of their supporters over successive elections (Maatsch, 2011). It is already known that ethnic parties have achieved significant results in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela, but the lack of robust data limits a more reliable analysis. In any case, it is possible to investigate the relationship between ethnic parties and citizenship regimes in Latin America from three fronts marked out in the literature.

2.2 Approaches to Ethnic Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis

In this study, we examine three distinct research approaches. Firstly, we delve into the concept of niche parties, as proposed by Kernecker and Wagner (2019). Secondly, we explore the dynamics of institutional change, drawing insights from Van Cott's work (2003). Lastly, we consider the decentralization approach, as outlined by Jones (2015), within specific political systems.

Notably, there is a significant interplay between ethnic parties and a country's political landscape. These interactions are meticulously dissected in individual scholarly works. However, our analysis underscores a critical dimension that remains underexplored: the formation of citizenship regimes. Rooted in the politicization of identities, these regimes provide a robust foundation for catalyzing demands and propelling momentum. In the context of Latin America, this interplay between identity, representation, and political dynamics warrants closer examination.

The first approach in the literature on ethnic parties can be found in Kernecker and Wagner's 2019 study, which discusses how niche parties (traditionally studied in Western Europe) can also be seen in the South American context. And this is so because they can be bothtraditional (related to religious and security issues) and post-materialist (related to the environment, decentralization and minority rights). When considering ethnic parties within this latter category, existing research highlights specific strategies employed by these parties to garner support from their constituents. These strategies encompass symbolic, material, and ideological elements (Kitschelt, 2000; Kitschelt and Kselman, 2013). Notably, this pursuit of a distinct electorate diverges from the prevailing literature on political parties, which typically focuses on parties targeting the average voter to enhance electoral competition and ensure their survival. In this unique context, the quest

for a niche electorate necessitates a strategic shift, reestablishing connections between parties and civil society through social movements. This realignment aims to amplify the instruments of belonging and reshape descriptive political representation.

Contrary to what the European literature on niche parties assumes, in Latin America these parties do not have a strong programmatic connection with their voters, but rather a strengthened base with civil society organizations that provide support for these parties (Kernecker and Wagner, 2019). The striking divides between Latin American political partiesare: state control of the economy versus market control of the economy, urban interests versus rural interests, government versus opposition, religious versus secular, authoritarianism versus democracy (Ruiz Rodriguez, 2015). In light of this context, an increasing number of ideologically oriented parties emerge within a public arena fueled by ethnic cleavages. Institutional representation is thus perceived as an expression of this politicization, constituting a movement that traverses from civil society to political institutions.

Although some interest in topics such as the environment also appears in works on political parties, for example in Brazil, Mexico and Colombia, they always appear as a lesser-known topic when compared to those mentioned above. There are also cases of parties emerging from local issues, as was the case in both Uruguay and Chile, which highlighted theend of authoritarian regimes in the 1990s (Ruiz Rodriguez, 2015). In addition, new parties have emerged (mainly in the Andes region) as a result of ethnic cleavages (Van Cott, 2005), with an appeal to rural identities and social collectives organized around agrarian demands and the fight against economic inequalities. In any case, these formative aspects are different from those found in Europe's niche parties.

Also found in this approach is the perception that the weakness of Latin American political systems is related to a crisis or realignment of traditional parties, thus opening up

space for the entry of new organizations, and their respective cleavages, onto the electoral scene.

Within the academic literature, a significant dimension revolves around institutional changes, specifically modifications to the electoral framework and the challenges posed by the political system to the emergence of new entities. Certain regulations embedded within the system serve as barriers to party formation; however, as these regulations become more flexible, opportunities arise for new contenders to compete for public support (Van Cott, 2003). While Van Cott's proposition may not fully elucidate the political landscape surrounding the genesis of ethnic parties, it serves as a foundational point in scholarly debate, elucidating to some extent the transformations observed across Latin American nations during the 1990s in terms of proportional political representation, ushering in a new array of players.

Van Cott's research (2003) draws from contemporary political science analyses examining the notable electoral triumphs of ethnic political factions in Bolivia and Ecuador. As this scholarly inquiry evolved towards the end of the 20th century and into the early 21st century, investigations began to probe deeper into the nexus between political representation and social mobilizations (Andolina, 1999; Lucero, 2002).

Among the main hypotheses put forward by the author, we highlight the following: I) proportional elections, ii) low representation thresholds, iii) electoral district size, iv) access to ballots, and v) reserved seats. According to Van Cott (2003), the proportional election system encourages the formation of smaller parties, because proportionality favors minority voiceson the electoral scene. In addition, the author points out that the low threshold for representation is a type of electoral rule that encourages new parties to take seats within the available vacancies.

The main institutional change pointed out by Van Cott is the size of the electoral

district, despite its mechanical and psychological effects. This is because: the larger the electoral district, the greater the proportional chance of translating votes into seats (psychological effect) and; the smaller the electoral district, the lower the voter's intention to "waste" their vote onparties with little chance of winning seats (mechanical effect).

Obviously, the impact of the electoral district is related to the configurations of the electoral system in force, as well as the proportionality rules that define the system and the configuration and geographical distribution of these minority populations. Variations in the electoral district often point to variations in the concentration of these populations in certain constituencies (Van Cott, 2003).

In general, Van Cott presents six hypotheses for the formation and electoral viability of ethnic parties in Latin America, according to the dynamics of institutional change:

1. Change to proportional representation

2. Switch to a more proportional electoral formula

3. Reduced requirements for access to the vote

4. Greater district size under proportional representation

5. Political and administrative decentralization

6. The allocation of reserved seats for indigenous representatives

For the purposes of this chapter, we will focus in particular on hypotheses 4, 5 and 6. This is so because they are the most interesting when we compare the main characteristics of the countries of our sample. Indeed, most countries of the region share similar PR style voting system, which turns irrelevant comparisons on this field.

As a matter of fact, administrative centralization/decentralization and seat

reservations are crucial for effective ethnic inclusion, as we will see below. In countries such as Peru and Colombia, the author comments on how the change in district size altered some electoral results and allowed some ethnic parties to be elected. In the case of Colombia and Ecuador, this change led to electoral success for ethnic parties. With regard to political and administrative decentralization, there was a significant increasein the 1990s. Direct municipal and regional elections were instituted in Colombia (1988 and 1991), Bolivia (municipal 1995) and Venezuela (1989) (Van Cott 2003). This process has been consolidated over the last twenty years without any major setbacks. In any case, itshould be noted that decentralization is not, in isolation, a variable that explains the electoral success of parties. On the contrary, it needs to be understood within a context, mainly associated with the reservation of seats.

And when it comes to reserved seats, special districts have been adopted in both Venezuela and Colombia, with specific characteristics that refer to the treatment of reserved seats.

Within the scope of this topic, a relevant aspect discussed here pertains to the role of indigenous movements in the local, regional, and national articulation of indigenous issues in Latin American countries. Various authors have considered the impact and reach of indigenous organizations beyond their mere operation (Da Silva, 2015; Bonfil Batalla, 1981; Maíz, 2004). In the context of analyzing the regional dynamics of integration and the depth of indigenous movements, I will now outline what I perceive as crucial interconnected points.

1.   Dispossession and Indigenous Resurgence: This is a characteristic shared by all the countries selected for this thesis. The expropriation of land as a condition of marginalization of indigenous peoples has led to a situation of indigenous resurgence (Bonfil Batalla, 1981), propelled by the politicization of political identities (discussed in

the previous chapter).

2.   Defense of Plurinationalism and Anti-Colonial Struggle: The agenda of plurinationalism has almost unanimously taken hold, marking a strong indigenous resistance around the rejection of homogenizing national politics and a severe critique of the colonial past (Da Silva, 2015).

3.   Relations with the State: Here, a varied nuance of the relationship that each movement establishes with bureaucratic instances is presented. In some countries like Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia, this relationship, always ambivalent and almost always contentious, assumed characteristics of dialogue and institutional results. Whereas in other countries like Peru, Chile, and Guatemala, for example, this dynamic was much more violent and intense.

4.   Territorial Configuration: There is a distinction between indigenous movements that consolidated and strengthened from activities in the rural areas of countries and those that gained strength through urban activities. This difference should neither be neglected nor underestimated.

These are critical approaches to the effects of the colonial system and its developments in the bureaucratic apparatus. With this societal reading, indigenous movements establish themselves as benchmarks for a new type of identity, crafted by the collective and from the collective. By straining an alternative model of inclusive civil society and pressuring state institutions, these movements have gained relevance on the national scene of various countries, reshaping domestic politics and reconfiguring some electoral systems.

Drawing from Maíz (2004), it is possible to establish a synthetic framework of the identity markers of the claims present in indigenous movements.

Firstly, the presence of a well-defined indigenous issue, its respective diagnoses and

prognoses, antagonists and protagonists. Far from a dichotomous reading, Maíz presents

the "indigenous problem" as:

- Ethnocide
- Acculturation
- Poverty
- Violence
- Monoethnic state
- Destruction of nature

On one side, we have the causes and antagonists of this indigenous issue.

- Centralizing nation-state/Mestizo elites
- Assimilationist policies/Local elites, warlords
- Neoliberalism, Overexploitation of natural resources/Multinationals

On the other end, a prognosis with alternatives and their respective protagonists:

- Cultural recovery/Indigenous intellectuals
- Collective action/Indigenous communities
- Self-determination, autonomy/Indigenist organizations
- Bilingual education, environmental policies/Allies (churches, NGOs)

This identity framework helps synthesize the hegemonic narrative of most of the

anti-colonial indigenous movements active in the last thirty years in the region[8]. This is

because it explicitly presents a critical reading of the situation of exclusion to which the

original groups were subjected. It is from this framework that Maíz discusses formative

aspects of the indigenous issue, unfolding from the collective dimension of organizations

towards the semantic content of political representation.

We assert that the potential connections between indigenous movements and

---

[8] For the complete picture see: Máiz, R. (2004). El indigenismo político en América Latina. Revista de estudios políticos, 123, 129-174.

indigenous political representation do not occur arbitrarily or in isolation. There is a guiding thread that has nourished, and continues to nourish, orchestrated ethnic demands within indigenous organizations present in civil society, and these demands structure, define, and redefine the agenda of actions not only of political leaders but also of political parties.

2.3 Ethnic cleavages, electoral volatility and indigenous movements.

The emergence of indigenous movements in Latin America can be understood on the basis of three sources located throughout the 20th century: 1) the political system or regime; 2) the favorable time/space within a context of foreign policy and domestic politics; 3) the institutional relationship of collective action between elites and influential allies within the political scene (Puig, 2010).

The hypothesis of Puig's work (2010) is that this emergence of indigenous movements is largely the result of a structure of political opportunities produced in terms of governance, which has crystallized alliances and opened up opportunities for local/regional political actors to establish themselves in a relevant way, applying systematic pressures on the political system as a whole.

In general, we agree with this argument, as it shows a link with the main theme of this work: that the indigenous movements, established at the end of the 20th century, largely engendered an expansion of the limits of institutionalized political representation, based on these leaders. The specific and structural support that indigenous movements have established over the last three decades has made it possible for ethnic demands to have a significant presence in the public arena, in public opinion and within political parties. The phenomenon of the emergence of ethnic parties is directly linked to both the

maturing of indigenous movements and the inability of traditional parties to assimilate the emergence of these demands (Madrid, 2012).

As we will see below, the structuring of these indigenous movements is based on a number ofexplanatory keys that Puig (2010) points out very well. Firstly, we have the role of the Church and anthropologists in this scenario, operating as primary actors. When it comes to priests and bishops, it may seem contradictory (and perhaps it is) that the Church, the same institution that for centuries acted to catechize and assimilate the indigenous people into the colonizing project of Spanish and Portuguese America, has members interested in undertaking energy in favor of ethnic causes.

But this is exactly what happened, from the 1970s onwards, with various Bishops' Conferences in the Amazon establishing common denominators for joint Church action on indigenous rights, fundamentally land rights and autonomy[9]. In both Colombia and Brazil, various religious journeys (Catholic and Protestant) were sponsored in the 1970s and 1980sto explore the most remote corners of the Amazon region, so that the result was, for the indigenous communities, a social and political interaction with actors who dealt with the landissue and the question of local autonomy for several years, making economic contradictions explicit and putting into debate the lack of reach of the state towards these groups.

However, no other group has highlighted these contradictions as much as the anthropological expeditions that took place over three decades of intense research and social activism. Both in Brazil and in Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia, researchers have been writing and acting, inside and outside academia, mapping, cataloging, investigating and classifying indigenous communities, their rites of passage and, as a consequence, their political relations withinternal and external actors.

---

[9] On this topic (see Ruiz, 1999; Meyer, 2000).

On the other side, Catholic clerics, mostly Europeans, encouraged indigenous bilingualism and reorganized theological doctrine to hold back the advance of Protestantism in areas understrong religious dispute. Afraid of losing its monopoly in the region, the Catholic Church created basic ecclesial communities and encouraged and promoted the formation of cooperatives, which resulted in the emergence of local leaders (Trejo, 2000). By the end ofthe 1980s, with the state reducing its attributions and the institutional implementation of the neoliberal doctrine in Latin American countries, this scenario had been sufficiently established

Additional actors contributing to this dynamic include international networks and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Issues pertaining to human rights, ecology, human development, and environmentalism have drawn a multitude of global activists to the Amazon and its environs, seeking to establish a network for advocacy, financial support, and legal aid for the diverse array of ethnic groups inhabiting the region. What materialized in practice was an international regime, established since 1985, wherein a transnational rights agenda became integrated into various influential bodies, notably the United Nations (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Kempf, 2007; Rodríguez-Piñero, 2007). This engendered worldwide concern regarding the grave infringements against indigenous peoples in the Amazon and Latin America as a whole.

In 1989, the International Labor Organization signed Convention 169 on the self-determination of traditional peoples and communities. This document was ratified in Latin America by Mexico (1990), Bolivia (1991), Colombia (1991), Paraguay (1993), Costa Rica (1993), Peru (1994), Honduras (1995), Guatemala (1996), Ecuador (1998), Argentina (2000), Dominica (2002), Venezuela (2002), Brazil (2002), Chile (2008) and Nicaragua(2010) (PUIG, 2010). The content of Convention 169 promotes respect for traditional cultures - ways of life, institutions, traditions - and endorses resistant social

practices within anational project.

In this sense, the creation of a Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) as a subcommittee of the United Nations was an important step, as was the visibility acquired with the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Rigoberta Menchú Tum (1993), which acted as a relevant voice in promoting indigenous rights. This remarkable mobilization throughout the 1990s ensured an indigenous presence in the constitutional reformulation of several countries,in which organizations of indigenous peoples participated (some less prominently than others) in the constituent assemblies of Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Panama and Guyana. We can summarize this new configuration based on 6 basic assumptions (Van Cott, 2005):

1. Formal recognition of indigenous communities as sub-groups within a national state.

2. Recognition of indigenous customary law as official and valid law.

3. Recognition of the right to property and restrictions on the alienation of indigenous lands in common use.

4. Indigenous languages as official languages in the respective territories where they arespoken.

5. Guaranteed bilingual education.

6. Recognition of the right to create autonomous territories

Although Puig's work (2010) offers a reasonable overview, it comes up against the limitationsthat all the advances in governance policy have achieved over two decades of mobilization by indigenous movements. It is precisely this aspect that divides the institutional action of these collectives from a formal institutional action, from a formal political representation, so to speak.

Puig acknowledges the limited impact of governance and, in his analysis, underscores the analytical challenge posed by various forms of indigenous movements—whether armed or peaceful—stemming from their origins, actions, or objectives (Brysk, 2000). Nevertheless, there is a typical analytical constraint in discerning the transformative potential of such approaches. Nonetheless, as we aim to demonstrate, it is indisputable that these endeavors illuminate the emergence of political representation within the 21st-century social milieu, largely shaped by the intricate interplay of social and political factors, unfolding through historical processes across diverse Latin American nations.

Puig's depiction (2010) indirectly favors Bolivia's plurinational advancements while scrutinizing the multicultural endeavors of other regimes that have, to varying extents, adopted institutional measures to address ethnic demands. Despite the relative success of indigenous movements in some Latin American countries' public spheres, their significance cannot be divorced from a pivotal aspect in understanding the inclusion of traditional communities' demands, that is the construction and reinforcement of ethnic cleavages. These cleavages delineate the parameters of political contestation, accentuating public debate on collective interests typically sidelined from mainstream agendas. Particularly concerning legislation, ethnic cleavages provide insights into specific and regional interests, underscoring the heterogeneity of demands that cannot be uniformly addressed (Rômulo and Albala, 2023).

Madrid (2005) analyzes the relationship between electoral volatility and ethnic cleavages from a different approach to that presented by Van Cott (2000b). Disagreeing with theauthor's hypothesis that the high proportion of indigenous population (especially in Bolivia) has shaped the behavior of elites and traditional political actors, Madrid credits electoral volatility to the institutionalization of the party system, but also to the electoral behavior of indigenous populations, and does so from a comparative analysis of the four

countries with the highest proportional indigenous population: Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Guatemala. Electoral volatility is anchored in population concentration in smaller geographical areas, but the main argument here is that these ethnic cleavages appear as a response to the fact that the political parties that have governed the region have failed to offer satisfactory life improvements for these marginalized groups (Madrid, 2005). While ethnic cleavages can lead to political fragmentation and conflict, they also provide opportunities for representation and policy advocacy (Kerneck and Wagner, 2019; Andolina, 1999; Lucero, 2002). Effective management of ethnic diversity requires addressing historical grievances, promoting inclusiveness, and ensuring equitable political participation.

If we look at the literature on the topic, authors such as Birnir (2006) and Rudolph (2006) address interesting aspects which, although they are not the main objective of this chapter, help to interpret a complex scenario such as Latin America.

Firstly, ethnicity can act as a stabilizing element in electoral behavior in the medium and long term (Birnir, 2006). The author suggests this on the basis of a quantitative study of morethan 60 countries and finds a positive and statistically significant relationship between voting and the ethnic component of the vote. Birnir's work is underpinned by the expectation that theethnic divide, like the social divide, is represented by the hypothesis that different parties represent different ethnic groups. Ethnic attractiveness is the concept Birnir uses to measure the ability of ethnic parties to mobilize a specific electorate, making them competitive with non-ethnic parties within an electoral system.

From 1996 onwards, the Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik - Nuevo País (MUPP) in Ecuador gained national prominence and received attention from researchers in the field. Both for its electoral success and for the longevity of the support

it received. This time frame is important because all the literature mentions the new wave of democracy that Latin American countries underwent, with a few well-known exceptions, in the latter part of the 20th century.

Secondly, we have ethnicity treated as a shaping element of ethnic demands, taken into account from the political process of formulating public policies in itself, that is, arranged on the basis of these demands (Rudolph, 2006). For Rudolph, this process in which ethnicity becomes politically salient is the result of an ethnic cleavage, which underpins any contemporary political movement. To support his argument, his research reflects on minority groups in Western Europe, particularly in France. He sheds light on the impact of immigration and minorities facing linguistic and territorial adversities in their quest for autonomy, Rudolph also brings up the issue of Czechoslovakia (as a peaceful resolution) of an ethnic claim in a post-dissolution context of the Soviet Union, and also brings up the ethnopolitical context of Nigeria, in a very adverse and problematic scenario. In both cases, territoriality, class and the emergence of public identities appear as key factors in understanding each case.

However, in Latin America, the political systems have not kept pace with the ethnic divisions of each country, nor have the ethnic groups been represented by parties with electoral relevance. The Latin American debate is much more about re-founding the scope of the state as an operator of public policies than, as in Europe, about specific adjustments to the guidelines adopted by the state itself. Both the multinational critique and the plurinational critique (which we discussed in previous chapters) point to the foundation of Latin American states as a driver of material inequalities with minority groups.

The major response of indigenous movements in Latin America has been to overcome the following dilemma: to actively participate in elections and submit to the system of rules of a political regime that is alien to their own traditional organization, or

to seek an organizationalstrategy that puts external pressure on this political system (Rice, 2017).

In her argument, Rice suggests that the domestic character of political institutions, together with historical patterns of popular political incorporation, condition the emergence of indigenous movements. Her hypothesis is based on the fact that the cohesiveness of indigenous movements is based on weak party systems that are unable to represent the diverse interests present in the social fabric. In this way, social actors are able to articulate collective identities beyond traditional ties such as partisanship, class or union membership (Rice, 2017).

Another argument in the literature posits that indigenous groups choose to mobilize along ethnic lines based on rational and strategic calculations (Glidden, 2011). Lisa Glidden's analysis elucidates the capacity of certain social agents (identity brokers) to persuade their respective members to adopt a public identity, galvanized by symbols of resistance. Within these shared symbols, critical issues for the ethnic group are also constructed, such as threats to group well-being, cultural loss, and/or material deprivation. These identity intermediaries also play a role in validating the public identity through an external or authorized source, as well as connecting these themes with other social groups that support the ethnic cause (Glidden, 2011).

This represents a novel configuration of social movements, diverging from traditional patterns. These emerging movements champion issues such as ethnicity, gender, the environment, and equitable treatment vis-à-vis political parties. Glidden argues that the mobilization of ethnic identity serves as a strategy employed by indigenous and ethnic groups to assert rights, secure resources, and gain recognition within complex political and social contexts. The identity brokers, therefore, act as political leaders operating both within and beyond ethnic communities, shaping and reinforcing narratives of resistance and cohesion amidst a politicized landscape of demands.

In this vein, Glidden examines how this mobilization occurs at various levels, from grassroots community efforts to national and international spheres, influenced by a myriad of factors including colonial history, state policies, and local power dynamics. The author also underscores the significance of ethnic organizations and social movements in mobilizing ethnic identity, playing a crucial role in this multifaceted process.

In Table 3, I succinctly demonstrate the key theoretical contributions found in specialized literature regarding the relationship between indigenous movements and ethnic parties. It is evident that since the beginning of the 21st century, this debate has gained momentum within academia, allowing for a deeper research agenda and enabling more studies to focus on this interaction.

Table 3 - Main theoretical contributions of the literature on the interaction between indigenous movements and ethnic parties.

HYPOTHESIS	OUTCOMES	AUTHOR
Institutional changes and lowering of barriers	Emergence of ethnic parties	**(Van Cott, 2003)**
Ethnic population concentration in smaller areas + traditional parties unable to improve living conditions	Emergence of ethnic parties + electoral volatility	**(Madrid, 2005)**
Ethnicity acts as a vote stabilizer	Ethnic attractions enable parties to mobilize specific constituencies	**(Birnir, 2006)**

Ethnicity is the result of acrystallized cleavage	Ethnic cleavage operates asa substitute for previous identity anchorages	**(Rudolph, 2006)**
Political opportunities for governance of local/regional political actors	Pressure on political system	**(Puig, 2010)**
Indigenous groups choose to mobilize along ethnic lines based on rational and strategic calculations.	Identity brokers mobilize symbols of resistance	**(Glidden, 2011)**
Ethnicity and ethnopopulism gohand in hand in Latin America	Ethnic parties have used inclusive strategies to attract mixed-race votes across the ethnic boundary.	**(Madrid, 2012)**
Cohesiveness of indigenous movements comes from weak party systems	Social actors can articulate collective identities beyond traditional ties	**(Rice, 2017)**
Niche Parties	**Appeal of rural identities and social collectives. Crisis/realignment** **oftraditional parties**	**(Kernecker and Wagner,2019)**

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The table above shows a chronological overview of the main hypotheses and outcomes pointed out in the literature on the relationship between indigenous movements

and ethnic cleavages over the last twenty years. It is an important systematization because it allows us tosee what kind of theory has been produced about a social phenomenon characteristic of the late 20th century, especially the developments that took place in the 1980s and 1990s.

At the beginning of the 2000s, scholars were concerned with explaining the emergence of ethnic parties and their genesis. In this context, both a thorough investigation of the social context, with the interactions between various political actors (internal and external) (Madrid,2005) and the mapping of the main institutional changes (Van Cott, 2003) that took place in some countries in the region, which allowed new players to enter the political fray. Is this explanation enough? Well, the following years saw a maturing of the search for answers, when some studies adapted successful methodologies from European research to the South American and Latin American reality in general.

While the topic of ethnicity has been present in European discourse for the past two decades, it was the examination of its relationship with voting stability (Birnir, 2006) and its role as a substitute anchor for preceding identities (Rudolph, 2006) that expanded the horizons of scholarly inquiry. As previously mentioned, ethnicity is regarded as a collective mechanism of social cohesion, filling the void left by inadequate frameworks to address the political complexities of rural Latin American nations.

On one hand, the traditional identities of social class, union affiliations, and ideological affiliations prevalent in the urban milieu throughout the first half of the 20th century. On the other hand, peasant identities proved insufficient in explaining the distinct cultural characteristics of the social groups inhabiting the region. In this context, identities of resistance assume unique forms and persist as influential factors in electoral preferences (Birnir, 2006; Rudolph, 2006; Alvarez, 2018).

A decade later, scholarly endeavors began examining how ethnicity, solidified as

a public identity within ethnic groups, was leveraged not only by non-indigenous parties but also by indigenous leaders and ethnic-based political entities (Glidden, 2011). Glidden's (2011) notion of identity brokers is indispensable for critically understanding the emergence of indigenous movements in the political sphere, with defined political agendas and inherent contradictions.

Puig's seminal work (2010) provides a comprehensive analysis of the landscape in the first decade of the 21st century. The author delineates how the political system has faced mounting pressure in recent years to incorporate ethnic demands within its institutional framework, driven by local, regional, and global actors operating through sophisticated advocacy networks.

The consistent medium- and long-term performance of these indigenous movements is explained by an internal cohesion within the movement itself, but also as a result of a permissive electoral system (Rice, 2017). According to the author, this has triggered the possibility of social actors articulating ethnic identities beyond traditional ties. This can be related to the hypothesis of niche parties, attributed to ethnic parties, which appeal to rural identities in order to consolidate their space in electoral competition (Kernecker and Wagner, 2019).

In the following sections, we will return to the discussion of how parties in Latin America usepopulist strategies (Madrid, 2019), based on the mechanism of ethnicity, to assert themselves on the political scene. But first, we need to thoroughly investigate each of these paths in the countries where indigenous movements have institutionalized their collective demands within party organizations.

2.4 Institutionalization of ethnic demands and political representation

As previously discussed, the influence of indigenous movements in Latin America intricately intertwines with the institutionalization of ethnic demands and the consolidation of political representation. Through comparative analysis across the region's countries, compelling evidence emerges to support this assertion. Rômulo and Albala (2023) delineate pivotal factors essential for understanding the relationship between indigenous movements and the prevailing institutional framework within Latin American political systems. Each of these factors, when examined individually, provides valuable insights, aligning with existing literature, regarding the limitations imposed by formal political representation in each respective country.

Five key conditions shed light on the landscape of indigenous political representation across a sample of ten countries: i) the politicization of identities, ii) political orientations of social movements, iii) the presence and effectiveness of ethnic parties, iv)institutionalization of ethnic representation, and v) the consolidation of social movements (Rômulo and Albala, 2023). Within this analytical framework, the authors present a concise depiction of how ethnic demands traverse the realm of social movements to become integrated into institutional processes, predominantly influenced by politically influential parties and leaders within the societal framework.

For instance, cases like Guatemala and Paraguay demonstrate a lower degree of identity politicization, alongside autonomous and/or spontaneous social movements. In contrast, Bolivia and Ecuador stand out with a high level of identity politicization, fostering social movements closely intertwined with political parties. Occupying an intermediary position are Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and Peru, where identity politicization exists but hasn't translated into social movements with a distinct institutional allegiance to parties (Rômulo and Albala, 2023).

When examining the connection between the degree of institutionalized political

representation and the strength of ethnic parties, the landscape becomes even more intriguing. Bolivia, and Ecuador exhibit heightened levels of institutionalized political representation, attributed to constitutional reforms and restructuring of electoral systems. Mexico, Chile, and Colombia present a noteworthy paradox, as the increased level of institutionalized representation hasn't led to a proportional strengthening of ethnic parties. Several scholars (Laurent, 2023; Natal, 2023; Tricot, 2023) have proposed insightful propositions to clarify this institutional anomaly.

And finally, when the level of institutionalized political representation and the consolidation of social movements are put head-to-head, the scenario once again establishes Paraguay and Guatemala on one side, with low levels; Ecuador and Bolivia with high levels of representation and also consolidation of social movements (Rômulo and Albala, 2023). Peru joins the intermediate group in this relationship, largely due to a contradictory historical process full of oscillations. The project to form the Peruvian state is marked by a sharp dichotomy between indigenous and non-indigenous people, in which the homogenous category "Indian" has obliterated various social problems (Espinosa, Janos and Mac Kay, 2023).

Espinosa et al (2023) discuss the consolidation of political participation in Peru on three fronts: a self-managed community, social movements that relate to each other and to the state,and finally political participation in spaces of institutional representation.

In Bolivia, for example, there are the contradictions of a plurinationalist regime which, despite being innovative and advanced in relation to neighboring political systems (Cunha Filho, 2018; Faguet, 2019), has been unstable and has had successive coup attempts over the last 30 years (Cunha Filho, 2023).The author explores the limits of this model and discusses the possible emergence of an indigenous Bolivian state, given that the repositioning of the ethnic divide, replacing traditional alliances and parties, has

crucially altered national politics in that country. The conflicts arising from this new institutional arrangement have consequences not only for the political parties, but also for the electoral system and the Bolivian legal establishment (Cunha Filho, 2023).

The plurinationalist challenge is also at the heart of the debate in Mexico, which has ethnic heterogeneity spread across a complex territory, full of centuries-old clashes between peasantorganizations and the state apparatus (Natal, 2023). This picture is well portrayed by Alejandro Natal when he points out that, despite the ethnic diversity and significant presence of this population, there is a considerable deficit in formal political representation. Accordingto the author, only a political-administrative reorganization of indigenous territories would beeffective, given that material inequalities work to deny this population basic rights. Despite the massive indigenous presence in Mexican territory, the local barrier and geographical dispersion of these groups is an important factor, along with criticism of the very liberal ideology that constituted the Mexican state (Natal, 2023). The sponsorship of a mestizo identity is one of Madrid's (2012) main hypotheses when he points to a populist ethnic appeal in some Latin American parties.

It is necessary to understand this phenomenon of *mestizaje* and its various applications throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Firstly, Natal's formulation of an identity sponsorship,forged from the state apparatus, is to a large extent what was used to superimpose ethnic identities, in a clear bet that homogeneity would be the main tool for a new and newly creatednational identity (Natal, 2023). As preresented in Chapter 1, it is inseparable from thinking about the inequalities that have affected indigenous peoples without relating this to the formation ofLatin American states and their medium and long-term reach. It is from this perspective that the phenomenon of the institutionalization of ethnic demands is understood based on the responses that a political system offers. In the case of Latin America's indigenous peoples, thedirect response to these demands is formal

political representation, engendered by ethnic parties and supported primarily by legislative institutions.

Therefore, Rômulo and Albala (2023) present an interesting framework that combines institutionalized political representation with some other variables (see chapter 4) that are important for understanding a more general picture: the strength of ethnic parties and the consolidation of social movements. Using a comparative perspective of eight Latin American countries, the authors show how this articulation between political representation is essential to achieve a more accurate understanding of the issue. Tables 4 and 5 serve to illustrate the hurdles associated with implementing the institutionalization of ethnic demands, while also confirming the typology employed thus far. The arrangement of countries in these tables reflects a distinct grouping, consistent with existing literature on social movements and ethnic parties in Latin America. It is noteworthy that Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia emerge as the nations with a high degree of institutionalized political representation, largely propelled by the influence of ethnic parties.

This is the main group of countries in which the phenomenon of the inclusion of ethnic demands by the political system is observed. In this way, this first group isat a different stage in their demands: they exert pressure on the legislature and the executive through sophisticated collection mechanisms. The presence of political leaders in the electoral arena has already been consolidated and there is a very strong relationship with both civil society and indigenous movements, and the debate for this group is about renewing political cadres and putting public policies into effect, which are the main planks of their respective platforms.

The second group of countries in Table 4 are Mexico, Chile and Colombia, where there is a high level of institutionalized representation, but this is not through the strength

of ethnic parties. In this group, ethnic parties are not consolidated, or do not exist at all. The political leaders are distributed in parties with ethnic agendas or sympathetic to the ethnic cause. Even so, they face difficulties in implementing a systematic agenda of demands. This is also the group of countries in which indigenous movements are fighting for institutional changes to correct distortions in the electoral system, such as changes in the size of districts or even reserving seats in some cases (Rômulo and Albala, 2023).

Table 4 - Institutionalized political representation vs strength of ethnic parties

		STRENGHT OF ETHNIC PARTIES	
		LOW LEVEL	HIGH LEVEL
INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL REPRESENTATION	LOW LEVEL	GUATEMALA PARAGUAY PERU BRASIL ARGENTINA	
	HIGH LEVEL	MEXICO CHILE COLOMBIA	BOLIVIA ECUADOR

Source: Rômulo and Albala (2023) with adjustments by the author.

Table 5 shows institutionalized political representation in relation to another important variable: the consolidation of social movements. In this case, the first group of countries has only Bolivia and Ecuador as those with a high level of social movement strength. On the other side we have Mexico, Chile, Colombia and this time Peru, which

presents itself as an emblematic case. In a way, Bolivia and Ecuador hold the same position in terms of the diffusion and capillarity of indigenous movements and, above all, their relationship with ethnic parties. Meanwhile, Mexico, Chile and Colombia show that the difficulty in consolidating movements with an indigenous cause is an obstacle to be faced. In the case of Peru, there is a contradiction that requires a closer look, as the consolidation of these movements within civil society has not been effective, although political representationappears to be a relevant factor (Espinosa, Janos & Mac Kay, 2023).

Table 5 - Institutionalized political representation vs consolidation of social movements

		CONSOLIDATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	
		LOW LEVEL	HIGH LEVEL
INSTITUTIONALIZED INDIGENOUS POLITICAL REPRESENTATION	LOW LEVEL	GUATEMALA PARAGUAY PERU BRASIL ARGENTINA CHILE COLOMBIA	
	HIGH LEVEL		MEXICO BOLIVIA ECUADOR

Source: Rômulo and Albala (2023) with adjustments by the author.

Finally, we have each of the conditions presented, with the respective distribution of the countries selected for this work, in order to visualize how each of the premises behaves inthe cases. Politicization of public identities, social movements with links to

political parties, Institutionalized ethnic representation and consolidation of social movements. Each of the conditions will be analyzed in a dedicated way in the next chapter, but for the purposes of thistopic, it is worth pointing out that some discrepancies can already be seen in countries such as Mexico, Chile and Colombia, and that they deserve more attention.

In Table 6, I provide a concise summary of the case distribution within this thesis, along with an examination of the relevant conditions. This tabulation offers a schematic visualization of the countries under study and the factors associated with institutionalized indigenous representation. As we delve deeper, we recognize the critical role this framework plays in preparing for the calibration of the investigated cases.

Table 6 - Cases, conditions and countries based on the phenomenon of indigenous representation in Latin America

Cases	Politization of public identities	Institutional barrier	Consolidation of social movements	Ethnic parties and indigenous representation
Guatemala				X
Paraguay				
Mexico	X			
Chile	X			
Colombia	X			X
Bolivia	X	X	X	X
Ecuador	X	X	X	X
Peru	X		X	
Brazil	X			
Argentina	X			

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Significantly interacting with the politicization of public identities and the strength and consolidation of social movements, the literature also points towards elements in this direction (Da Silva, 2015; Bonfil Batalla, 1981; Maíz, 2004). We understand that social movements, their dispersion, longevity, and connection with political parties, provide the groundwork for institutional claims both collectively and in terms of legislative arrangements in the researched countries (Rômulo and Albala, 2023).

Hence, it is challenging to dissociate this scenario from the issue of ethnic conflicts, which have intensified over the last thirty years in Latin American countries. These conflicts establish a reaction, a collective project that has challenged and continues to challenge the State's capacity to deal with a hegemonic demand within the national territory. This legitimate reaction of indigenous peoples has unfolded within organized civil society but has transcended these limits as it sought interactions with political institutions.

Moreover, these conflicts operate in the voids where the national State has failed to function effectively. Even in cases where it has operated, it has faced difficulties in sustaining itself. Table 6 clearly indicates the consolidation of indigenous movements in the analyzed countries. However, this is insufficient to explain how indigenous political representation unfolds within representative institutions, especially those at the subnational legislative level.

As stated in the first chapter, it is the relationship between social movements and political parties that provides the impetus, both in space and time, for these collective projects to position themselves and have a distinct platform for action in civil society. Through this interaction, the conditions for the emergence, relevance, and significant role

of ethnic parties are established within a competitive context among political factions, especially in countries like Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. In countries such as Guatemala and Chile, this process is opaquer and more contentious, as previously asserted. The case of Mexico is challenging because it indicates both significant advancements and occasional setbacks, but decisively in terms of extending the historical marginalization experienced by Mesoamerican indigenous peoples. The case of disconnect between social movements and political groups is evident in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil, for example.

CHAPTER 3: INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATION AND ETHNIC CLEAVAGES: ASSUMPTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Visualizing the phenomenon of incorporating ethnic demands through the institutionalization of indigenous political representation inherently involves elements previously explored in the preceding chapters, aimed at formulating a theoretical typology around each of the studied countries. However, to construct assumptions regarding this phenomenon, it is imperative to revisit specialized literature on the subject. Our primary objective is to formulate hypotheses aligned with the aforementioned authors, supporting the assumption of indigenous representation in Latin America.

To achieve this objective, we have developed hypotheses aiding in understanding the ways and moments in which this institutionalization of ethnic demands occurs in each of the ten countries under examination. The literature indicates that institutional barriers (Van Cott, 2003) are intricately linked to specific citizenship regimes (Van Cott, 2005), and the interaction thereof, namely the removal of certain constitutional impediments, is posited by Van Cott to precipitate the emergence of ethnic parties in Latin America. Building upon this premise, we consider electoral volatility as a crucial factor for comprehending ethnic parties as significant actors within electoral systems (Madrid, 2005). However, Madrid contends that this volatility, coupled with the terms of an unstable institutional environment, has fostered the conditions for new actors to emerge in the final decades of the 20th century.

In contrast, our argument suggests that ethnic appeals serve to activate parties (Birnir, 2006), as political groups utilize symbolic elements of resistance to construct a competitive platform and engage in electoral contests. This assertion, articulated by Birnir (2006), is compelling as it provides a potential explanation for scenarios in certain Latin American nations where indigenous representation is present but not fully

institutionalized. For example, Winaq in Guatemala mobilizes various ethnic appeals to attain electoral viability, yet this alone does not guarantee the consistent inclusion of ethnic demands.

Adhering to this perspective, we contend that ethnic cleavages function as substitutes for preceding identities (Rudolph, 2006), anchored in social structures incapable of accommodating new political dynamics and collective demands. It is the breakdown not only of traditional parties but also of traditional identities that has precipitated, according to this interpretation, the emergence of new political forces, organized or otherwise, seeking legitimacy from sectors of civil society. In the indigenous issue, social movements have been the primary catalyst for this transformation, as their respective consolidations have coincided with links to the most prominent political parties in each country.

For some authors, the coherence of indigenous movements arises from weak party systems (Rice, 2017), setting the tone for how these collective identities are fostered beyond traditional ties. This is pivotal as it underscores our ongoing discussion. Rice's (2017) argument finds support in much of the recent literature. However, there's also an assertion of rural and collective identities as catalysts for ethnic claims (Kernecker and Wagner, 2019). This constitutes Kernecker and Wagner's principal argument when studying the phenomenon of niche parties in Latin America, importing a concept from European research centers into the region.

It is imperative to acknowledge another pertinent argument in this debate, which revolves around the utilization of strategies by ethnic parties to expand the boundaries of ethnicity and *mestizaje* in order to garner favorable electoral outcomes (Madrid, 2012). Madrid's concept of ethnopopulism in Latin America seeks to examine how parties, employing discourses of resistance, strive to attract votes from individuals who may not

necessarily be mobilized by indigenous demands but are nonetheless sympathetic to them. While Madrid's argument holds considerable weight in certain countries, its applicability for comparative analysis is limited. Nevertheless, the discussion of politically activated ethnicity raises a significant inquiry within the literature on ethnic parties. This proposition can also be linked to what Glidden (2011) identifies as identity brokers; individuals who navigate along ethnic lines to evoke symbols of resistance based on calculated reasoning. This constitutes a noteworthy contribution to the literature, shedding light on a dimension that received scant attention in the works of the 1980s and 1990s.

Given this panorama, we present some theoretical assumptions that are indispensable for a critical reading of this phenomenon and which, from the point of view of a qualitative analysis, contribute to enrich the discussion on the phenomenon of indigenous representation.

Our first assumption focuses on ethnic cleavages and public identities in a civil society. It is inconceivable to understand a phenomenon of indigenous representation withouttaking into account the historical and political background present in the social fabric. In this way, it is understood that there are numerous identities at play in a civil society (Albala, 2017). Some are national identities and others are identities of resistance. In any case, it can be said that social identities are political and can be activated to achieve certain collective projects (Yashar, 2005; Tarrow, 1997). In this scenario, ethnic cleavages are linked to indigenous representation. From the moment that public identities, based on a multicultural and/or plurinational citizenship regime, become prominent within a society, there will be a stimulus for ethnic cleavages. It is understood that indigenous representation is a process that follows on from this, as it stems from the politicization of these identities and the consolidation of ethnic cleavages. This can be summarized as our first hypothesis, expressed as follows:

Hypothesis 1: *When public identities become politicized in civil society, ethnic cleavagestend to stimulate indigenous representation.*

Our second premise is that the institutional environment is fundamental to understanding the phenomenon of indigenous representation. This is because the politicization of public identities alone cannot explain the ethnic issue. For this to happen, there must be institutional conditions that encourage new actors to enter the public arena. Thehypothesis defended by Van Cott (2003) that institutional barriers discourage ethnic demandsresonates with our analysis. But going further, the very formation of nation states, as we saw in chapter 1, delimits the scope of the state as a segregator and sponsor of the various exclusions that indigenous peoples are subjected to (Quijano, 2005). It is understood that the more institutional requirements there are, the more exclusive this political system will be. Thus, there is a direct relationship between indigenous political representation and ethnic parties, which are born out of a permissive institutional environment. This relationship is expressed in the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: *Where there is not an institutional barrier, indigenous political representationwill be eased.*

The third premise deals precisely with social movements, their diffusion, capillarity and consolidation throughout each of the cases analyzed. There is a large body of literature studying social movements, especially indigenous movements, and their implications for the issue of indigenous peoples. These approaches focus on the formative aspects of movements, their origins, their demands and the relationship these groups establish with the state (Alvarez, 2018; McAdam, 1996). However, the focus of this work

is on understandingindigenous movements based on their links to political parties, insofar as the platform of demands presented by these organizations is well defined and their actions are articulated. Wedivided the movements into those that are consolidated and have a significant presence in the national territory (Rômulo and Albala, 2023) and those that act spontaneously/autonomously.This explanatory key is very useful for understanding how this presence does or does not strengthen indigenous representation. The following hypothesis has been drawn up:

Hypothesis 3: *When indigenous social movements are cohesive and consolidated, indigenousrepresentation will be stronger.*

The last assumption involves topics that are very dear to the analysis of this phenomenon, since it involves understanding indigenous representation from a perspective that is somewhat recent in political science literature. It means perceiving ethnic parties and their respective agendas in such a way as to operate as ethnic attractions for electoral competition, in which their internal members function as identity brokers (Glidden, 2011), and the respective party agendas that activate these attractions to mobilize voters (Birnir, 2006). These are two elements that surround this assumption. Firstly, because the prominent place of ethnic parties is summarized here from the point of view of identity brokers, i.e. as activators of symbols of resistance. This last assumption is linked to the others in that it conceives of indigenous representation as being articulated by social movements and ethnic parties, an innovative approach in the literature. In this way, there is a social process designedwhich, starting with the politicization of public identities, develops into the engendering of indigenous representation, through social movements, which reach political parties, whether they have an ethnic platform or are properly ethnic parties. This assumption can be seen inthe following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: *When ethnic parties mobilize symbols of resistance, indigenous representationis established*

Four major insights for thinking indigenous representation in Latin America

Any causal link between indigenous representation and the historical processes that have taken place in Latin American countries requires some fundamental assumptions. As wehave shown, four hypotheses stand out when we analyze the theoretical contributions of the literature in detail. It is in this sense that we propose a comparative approach, in order to deepen the findings of the last twenty years, which perceive the phenomenon of the indigenous question as increasingly relevant in Latin American societies, but also in their representative institutions.

Based on these four explanatory keys, it is understood that new formulations are possible, given that the main objective is to understand how ethnic issues become relevantand incorporated into the political system. It is already known that this process did not take place evenly and certainly not at the same time. It is therefore a question of investigating eachof these processes in detail, based on these interpretative frameworks.

If we assume that ethnic cleavages are the result of the politicization of public identities within civil society, then we have a scenario in which new paradigms are possible, as indigenous groups begin to organize around a collective agenda. In this way, we have an important sociological parameter from which to begin a more in-depth investigation. Now, since the literature shows that since the 1980s there has been a national and international network of political actors advocating the environmental cause as well as the indigenous cause, new themes are becoming increasingly recurrent and prominent.

This is the starting point for the empirical discussion. As we have insisted here, there is no way to dissociate this politicization from what happened in each of the countries in the South American region. In countries such as Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, for example, these ethnic cleavages were accompanied by our second assumption, namely a permissive institutional environment, understood here expressly as the electoral system and its rules for new actors to join the competition for formal political spaces.

The third assumption is innovative, as it invites the role of social movements and theirrespective links with political parties to the center of the debate, a new insight in the literatureon both indigenous movements and ethnic parties. As we have insisted, the behavior of social movements sets the tone for their actions and outreach capacity. We will see in the next chapter that the calibration of this hypothesis points in two directions: the existence of autonomous movements, or the existence of movements linked to parties. This basic difference has a significant impact on the conjuncture that indigenous demands have acquiredover the last thirty years. On the one hand, we have indigenous movements that operate autonomously, i.e. they may even have some prominence at local and regional level, but theiractions are restricted to portions of the territory, without their reach being extended beyond their own ethnic borders. On the other hand, we have movements that have managed to institutionalize their demands, while seeking direct associations with political parties, or evenin a process of converting platforms for the emergence of ethnic parties, mobilizing symbols of resistance beyond the borders of ethnicity, which brings us to the last assumption.

This mobilization of symbols of collective struggle paves the way for the assumption that ethnic parties are the product of rational collective action that takes into account indigenous representation based on the activation of shared identity elements. The emergenceof ethnic parties (Madrid, 2021) is largely due to the electoral volatility of party

systems, but the role of social movements and the strategies adopted by parties to group indigenous populations around a common banner of struggle cannot be ignored either.

The theoretical outline of these premises, anchored in the work accumulated over the last few years, offers the field of political science a conceptual alternative for reflecting on and analyzing in a vertical way how the phenomenon of representation has become prominent and consolidated in some Latin American countries, while in others this path has been much more contained. In the terms set out here, indigenous representation as a dependent variable is subject to very specific conditions, which can be understood from an interrelational perspective, i.e. multiple variables in dialogue with each other. Conceiving these premises means taking on the complexity that the debate demands.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: DATA, CASES AND CALIBRATION

4.1 Testing the Theorical Model: Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America and its conditions.

We used for the selection of the cases the criteria of the indigenous population proportionally in each national society, the presence of medium to long-term indigenous social movements in each country, and the existence or not of an institutionalized ethnic partyin the political system. As shown in Table 7, The selection of cases was also based on the constitutional referenceto the original ethnic group or indigenous population, or pluricultural group, according to the text in force in the respective constitutional text. The results were obtained, within theuniverse of Latin American countries, allowing the selection of 10 ten countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala Paraguay, Peru, and Mexico).

Table 7 - Selection of cases according to the proportionality of the indigenous population[10] and constitutional text:

Country	% of the indigenous population	State
Bolivia	62,4	**Plurinational**
Mexico	15,1	**Plurinational**
Chile	11,0	**National**
Colombia	3,4	**National**
Argentina	2,4	**National**

---

[10] CEPAL, N. U. Os Povos Indígenas na América Latina, 2014.

Guatemala	41,0	National
Paraguay	1,8	National
Ecuador	7,0	Plurinational
Brazil	0,5	National
Peru	24,0	Plurinational

Given the limited number of cases under scrutiny, our methodological approach relies on qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), a methodology well-suited for unraveling the complex nuances of ethnic political representation in Latin America. This research venture posits a set of variables aimed at deciphering the intricacies of political party presence and performance, particularly those with an ethnic orientation, within representative institutions. Our analytical endeavors are devoted to the meticulous identification of effective mechanisms facilitating political representation within the intricate tapestry of multicultural contexts.

Within the possible operations with QCA (crisp-set, multivalue and fuzzy-set), wewill choose the one that best suits the intended research. The mvQCA choice is due to the need to explain a phenomenon with few cases and to the choice of multicausal explanatory models (Ragin, 1987, 2000; Mello, 2021, Rihoux and De Meur, 2009), taking into account different configurations in each one of them. Figure 1 translates this explanation when it shows a relationship between the size of the number of cases and the need to preserve the wealth of information

Figure 1- Visualization of data according to QCA
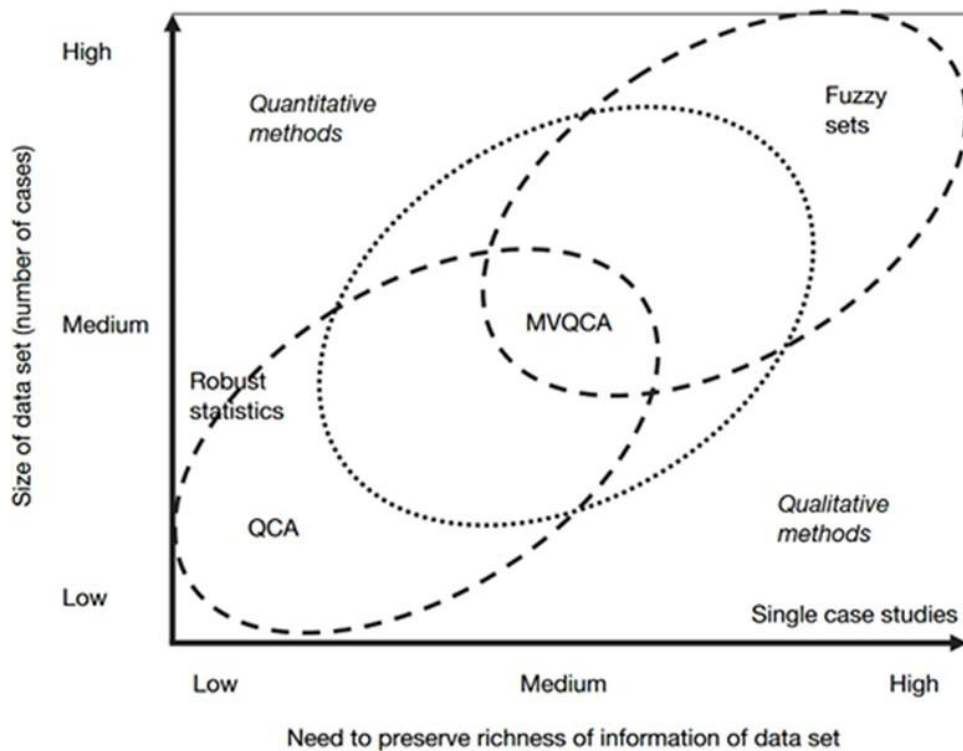
Fonte: Rihoux (2006).

QCA, as an analytical tool, delves into theoretical hypotheses, offering predictive insights into the synergistic interplay of various factors at specific levels, culminating in distinct outcomes. Rooted in qualitative characteristics, QCA explores a comparative approach among cases, navigating through diverse trajectories that illuminate the research phenomenon. This approach not only allows for a critical reevaluation of existing theories butalso contributes significantly to the academic debate, echoing the perspectives of renowned scholars such as Ragin (1987), Albala and Leal (2022), Sandes-Freitas and Bizarro-Neto (2015), Mello (2020), and Schneider and Wagemann (2012).

Within the realm of complex, non-linear relationships, multi-value Qualitative Comparative Analysis (mvQCA) emerges as a robust methodology, accommodating intricate complementarities and nuanced causal conditions. In mvQCA, cases are

delineated by non-dichotomous affiliations (0, 1 or 2) within specific sets, capturing the essence of institutionalized political representation within ethnically diverse contexts. This methodological decision, driven not only by the difficulty of establishing gradients within representation data but also by the desire to identify distinctive features across various affiliation scores, enhances our analysis, facilitating a nuanced and interconnected exploration of ethnic political representation (Ragin, 1987; Rihoux and De Meur, 2009; Mello, 2021).

In contrast to conventional regression models, which often confine analyses within predetermined functional forms, the methodologies embraced in this study transcend these limitations. Traditional multivariate approaches, while invaluable, inherently offer net, additive, and linear interpretations of the effects of independent variables on the phenomenon of interest. However, our nuanced exploration delves beyond these limitations, endeavoringto uncover the intricate, multifaceted dynamics shaping political representation, particularly concerning ethnic dimensions (Betarelli Junior and Ferreira, 2018). Through this multifaceted analytical lens, our study aims to shed light on the complex tapestry of ethnic political representation in Latin America, enriching scholarly understanding and contributing substantively to the academic debate."

A closer examination of the typology of the selected cases (Table 7) reveals, as highlighted in the literature we have drawn upon (Madrid, 2012), that countries with a more permissive institutional environment tend to exhibit greater ethnic inclusiveness in their legislatures. However, this relation between institutional barriers and ethnic inclusion has yet to be empirically tested. We posit that in countries characterized by high permissiveness and significant ethnic inclusiveness (such as Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador), the factors contributing to this configuration remain insufficiently explained in the existing literature, thus constituting an objective of this thesis.

Chile, Mexico, and Peru occupy a position that warrants further investigation, as ethnic inclusion appears to be inversely related to the permissibility of the institutional environment. Conversely, Paraguay and Argentina display low levels of both conditions outlined. Moreover, given the complexity of the subject under study, it seems improbable to us that one condition, or its absence, can solely account for why social movements evolve into ethnic parties in some cases but not in others.

Our hypotheses, as we mentioned earlier, perceive ethnic parties (capable of institutionally agglutinating indigenous demands) as the result of a medium-term process between active and territorially diffuse social movements and a permissive institutional environment. Moreover, politicized ethnic cleavages ground this phenomenon from its intimate relationship with the different citizenship regimes that each country investigated thatdeal with the issue of minority political representation.

4.2 Operationalizing the hypotheses

Therefore, in order to test the hypotheses raised, our proposal here is to carry out a configurable comparison approach, known as "QCA" (Qualitative Comparative Analysis). This method puts us in a position to trace "configurations of causality" from a given "outcome" (Albala 2017; Rihoux and Ragin 2009; Schneider and Wagemann 2012).

We devised four conditions (variables) to conduct this research, namely: Politicization of ethnic identities, Presence/Absence of institutional barrier, Institutionalized ethnic representation and Consolidation of social movements. With this, we intend to establish an investigation that takes into account the political qualities of each of the legislative institutions in the countries listed in order to better understand, based on similarities and differences, what the limits of representation are in each of them.

The dependent variable, RESULT

The phenomenon we aim to elucidate throughout this thesis is the manner in which indigenous political representation can manifest in diverse scenarios, specifically institutionalized indigenous political representation. This entails comprehending how ethnic demands are integrated into representative institutions, with political representation serving as the primary means of gauging this phenomenon.

For many years, indigenous peoples were excluded from any political participation or access to public policies. This situation began to change in the 1980s, as various social movements gained momentum with collective demands, creating a framework of political opportunity for local or regional actors (Puig, 2010). We are particularly interested in uncovering cases where identity brokers (Glidden, 2011) play a pivotal role in expanding indigenous representation within institutional settings.

Ethnic parties have harnessed their platform (Madrid, 2012) to rally voters along ethnic lines, yet their influence, extent, and engagement with the political system warrant further scrutiny. Consequently, we aim to explore the significance of parties, given their distinct setups, in either advancing or constraining indigenous political representation. It has been suggested that institutional barriers (Van Cott, 2003) serve as impediments to ethnic demands, posing challenges for new entrants to the arena.

In QCA, we designate the dependent variable as the outcome, while treating the independent variable as conditions. This nomenclature is crucial for the language of configurational analysis we employ to understand the phenomenon. What is referred to here as the dependent variable, or Y, can be explained using a conceptualization structured across three levels (Goertz, 2020). With the aim of providing empirical elements to answer the following question: "what kind of political representation are we talking about?", I

developed, based on Goertz, a guide to mapping the concept of indigenous political representation across three levels:

1. Basic Level

2. Secondary Level

3. Data Indicator Level

Thus, we have a pathway from empirical observation to conceptual abstraction (Goertz, 2020). Assuming this categorization, at the basic level, we have the concept of "indigenous representation," and at the secondary level, we have the concepts that underpin this basic concept, which are empirically observable. Therefore (see figure below), we have the secondary concepts of "agenda," "articulation," and "organization."

This second level implies observing indigenous political representation from its empirical dimension. Indeed, there is no political representation without a well-defined agenda, without circumscribed articulation, and certainly not without a robust organizational parameter. This will be further elucidated in Figure 2.

Essentially, this aims to position indigenous representation in time-space, rather than merely perceiving it through the theoretical interpretations offered by the literature. To comprehend this level, I utilized data from the United Nations report (2021) on indigenous peoples in Latin America. This report provides a data matrix based on 5 dimensions[11] and 17 references[12] regarding the constitutional contents of 17 countries in the region. As it serves as a reference document, I used it as a basis to construct the next conceptual level.

---

[11] The five dimensions of the report are: Reconocimiento, Tierras, Política, Social and Cultural.

[12] The seventeen references of the report are: Reconocimiento constitucional de Pueblos Indígenas, Reconocimiento constitucional Pueblos Afrodescendientes, Derecho a la tierra, territorio y recursos naturales Pueblos Indígenas, Derechos políticos y de la representación política Pueblos Indígenas Derecho a la participación y a la consulta Pueblos Indígenas, Derecho a la autonomía y libre determinación Pueblos Indígenas, Derecho a la justicia y derecho consuetudinario Pueblos Indígenas, Derecho a la vivienda Pueblos Indígenas, Derecho al trabajo Pueblos Indígenas, Mujeres Indígenas, Infancia Indígena, , Derecho a la propia identidad y derechos culturales en Pueblos Indígenas, Derecho a la salud y seguridad social en Pueblos Indígenas, Derecho a la educación intercultural y bilingüe Pueblos Indígenas, Patrimonio indígena, Derecho a la lengua

The third level, data indicators, presents the concept with the possibility of measuring this phenomenon, linking its presence in reality with the corresponding theory to which it belongs. At this level, it is possible to assign dichotomous values and objectively understand if the conceptualization of the basic level is relevant and consistent with the indicators observed in social reality. As illustrated in Table 2, the data indicator level empirically parametrizes while providing support to the concept we are grounding for this analysis.

Based on these three levels, it is possible to understand indigenous political representation within a context of demand institutionalization, i.e., within political institutions that directly or indirectly deal with the inclusion of indigenous peoples' rights.

The literature sets out that there are some important conditioning factors for the exercise of multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995) or multiculture citizenship (Quijano, 2005), and that citizenship regimes are decisive (Yashar, 2005) in incorporating new voices and demands into the political system. However, this relationship has never been tested when analyzing the character of representative institutions.

Figure 2 presents a crucial conceptual map for the central concept explored in this thesis: indigenous representation. Specifically, we focus on the concept of institutionalized indigenous representation. Drawing from theoretical assumptions in the literature, we will illustrate the three conceptual levels (Goertz, 2020) that this concept can encompass. These levels range from the most abstract to the empirical observables—namely, the indicators. The study of indigenous representation necessitates systematic observation, as it underpins the phenomenon we seek to explain.

Figure 2 – Indigenous Representation - Concept Mapping Guideline
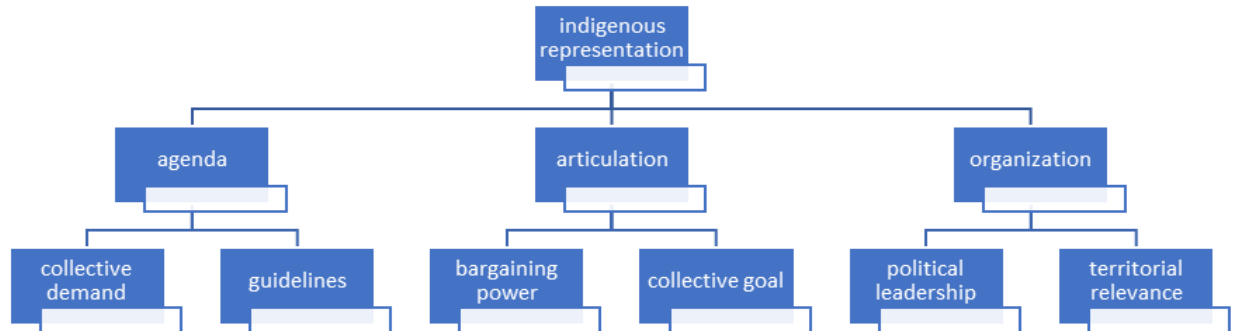
Source: Elaborated from the author based on Goertz (2020)

Figure 2 explicitly presents the conceptual map structure based on the three levels developed by Goertz (2020). It is important to highlight that this represents a significant theoretical advancement within Latin American political science literature, as it allows for a comprehensive visualization of the formative aspects of this political representation. Indigenous political representation does not occur without preceding fundamental elements.

Indeed, these elements are present in numerous works addressing the indigenous issue in Latin America, yet there hasn't been a conceptual systematization operationalized in this manner. The secondary level of the indigenous political representation concept provides conditions to understand the phenomenon based on observable parameters. We will see shortly that the third level makes this even more objective.

In the level of data indicators, we have: collective claim, guidelines, negotiation

capacity, collective objective, political leadership, and territorial relevance. As previously discussed, some authors (Rúbio-Marin, 2000; Sklar, 1991; Honig, 2001) define the issue of public identities within a cultural community based on the established agenda. However, the level of data indicators for this concept includes collective claim (established or not) and guidelines (defined or undefined). Continuing this conceptual measurement, it's possible to define that the "negotiation" capacity (high or low) and the "collective objective" (defined or undefined) are data indicator levels for the secondary concept of "articulation".

It's worth noting that the literature highlights this ability of ethnic groups to mobilize their forces in the face of institutions (Natal, 2010; Puig, 2010; Tricot, 2012). Finally, we have "political leadership" and "territorial relevance" to indicate the data indicator level regarding the concept of organization. Authors working on the issue (Rômulo and Albala, 2023; Resina, 2023; Madrid, 2012) reinforce the importance of indigenous organization as an indispensable element to understand the phenomenon of representation.

The parameterization of attributes for each case was achieved through a combination of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources, such as United Nations reports on indigenous peoples in Latin America from past decades, provided foundational information. Additionally, specialized literature on the topic contributed to shaping the specific configuration of the cases. By considering varying levels of conceptualization related to the phenomenon of indigenous representation, a synthetic structure emerges, facilitating the operationalization of relevant indicators. Table 8 shows our interest in the basic structure of these indicators, as they can assume binary values (0 / 1). The table below indicates the structure of the concept based on empirical guidelines. Following this line of thought, the following can be obtained:

Table 8 – Indigenous representation: Concept structure and aggregation at the data level

Secondary Level	Indicator	Data	Data aggregation
Agenda	Collective Demand	Any collective demand is identifiable in indigenous movements	If collective claims are established = 1; If collective claims are not established = 0
	Guidelines	Any guidelines is identifiable in indigenous movements	If guidelines are clearly defined = 1; If guidelines are not clearly defined = 0
Articulation	Bargaining Power	Any power bargaining mechanism is observable in indigenous movements	If bargaining power is high =1; if bargaining power is low = 0
	Collective Goal	Any collective goal existing in indigenous movements	If the collective objective is defined = 1; If the collective objective is uncertain = 0
Organization	Political Leadership	Ethnic leadership with access to political resources	If the political leadership is consolidated = 1; If the political leadership is not consolidated = 0
	Territorial Relevance	Meaningful presence in a geographical territory	Territorially relevant = 1; territorially irrelevant = 0

Source: Elaborated from the author based on Goertz (2020)

Our primary objective with Figure 2 and Table 8 is to provide both theoretical and empirical justification for what we are terming indigenous political representation here. We insist that it is not detached from its context, namely, the context of ethnic demands institutionalization. By defining observable attributes to understand the concept, both its visualization and application become more manageable.

Once values are assigned to the level of indicators and the secondary level, it becomes possible to justify "indigenous representation" as a measurable concept (Goertz, 2022) using the following expression:

X =< 1 attribute (1) -> result (0). Each time the values of at least 1 attribute are less than 1, the result will be 0.

X >= 2 attributes (1) > result (1). Each time at least 2 attributes have a value of 1, the result will be 1.

The dichotomous values discussed in this study represent either *widespread indigenous representation* or *restricted indigenous representation*. By examining two contrasting cases— one characterized by inclusion and the other by limitation—we can empirically observe how the proposed categorization manifests.

We begin with Bolivia: In this country, there exists a robust correlation between politicized public identities and ethnic divisions within civil society. Specifically:

- H1 is assigned a value of 2, signifying the strength of this relationship.
- Institutional barriers to inclusion are absent, leading to a value of 1 for H2.
- Bolivian indigenous movements exhibit cohesion and alignment with ethnic parties, resulting in a H3 value of 1.
- Furthermore, ethnic parties in Bolivia actively employ symbols of resistance, contributing to a H4 value of 1.
- Overall, the representation (RESULT) in Bolivia leans toward **widespread indigenous representation**.

Now, we turn our attention to Paraguay, where the dynamics differ:

- Paraguay demonstrates a weak association between politicized identities and ethnic cleavages in civil society, warranting a H1 value of 0.

- The Paraguayan electoral system imposes significant restrictions not only on ethnic party formations but also on the establishment of political parties in general. Consequently, H2 is assigned a value of 0.

- While indigenous movements exist in Paraguay, they remain localized, autonomous, and detached from the political system and parties. Thus, H3 receives a value of 0.

- Lastly, the absence of ethnic parties with active symbols of resistance leads to a H4 value of 0 in Paraguay.

In this sense, by considering these two examples of how the operationalization of values operates in empirical cases, we can denote the following:

> 1, countries where there is widespread indigenous political representation;
> 0, countries where indigenous political representation is restricted;

The attributes in the above expression indicate what we aim for regarding indigenous political representation: to identify attributes that signify the Y of this thesis, that is, what we seek to explain. We have two distinct dichotomous values for our dependent variable. In cases where the value of Y is 1, we have a widespread indigenous political representation, and in cases where the value of Y is 0, we have a restricted indigenous political representation.

The concept of widespread political representation refers to the active engagement of citizens in public policy-making processes, where political actors act in the best interest of the people they represent. This broader form of representation extends beyond mere electoral

authorization and encompasses a variety of views on what representing entails and the duties of representatives. The concept of widespread political representation also refers to a broader and more inclusive approach to representation within a political system. It encompasses the active participation and advocacy for diverse interests and perspectives, aiming to ensure that various societal groups are adequately represented in decision-making processes and governance structures.

It is worth emphasizing here that widespread political representation implies its institutionalization process, namely, linkage with ethnic parties and formal presence in decision-making. For the configuration of restricted indigenous representation, it implies its limited reach and scope, confined to acting solely within civil society or endogenously with social movements, as we will see next.

The "Politicization of Public Identities" condition, PUBLI_IDENT

This condition pertains to our first hypothesis (H1), which deals with the interaction between public identities mobilized by civil society and the emergence and strengthening of ethnic conflicts (Rudolph, 2006; Yashar, 2005; Madrid, 2005). This process is crucial for stimulating indigenous political representation, as representation cannot be strengthened without being anchored among the movements.

As we discussed in the section on ethnic cleavages and indigenous movements, the mentioned authors attribute a significant role to the politicization of public identities within the context of ethnic demands assertion. There is no disagreement on this point. The issue here seems to be more about testing the significance of this condition in explaining the phenomenon of indigenous representation. Much has already been said about ethnic identities and their formative process within social movements, especially in case studies. Countries like Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia are frequent subjects of study

on this topic. But how indispensable is this element in explaining the phenomenon? For exemple, Chile's political landscape witnessed significant changes during this period, including shifts in party systems and social mobilization. Analyzing the relationship between social movements and political parties in Chile sheds light on broader trends.

It was with this question in mind that we formulated the first hypothesis, which engages with a well-established literature in the field of political science.It is only through a politicized debate on ethnic identities that indigenous groups can assert their rights. We calibrated this condition as follows:

2, when there is a strong relationship between politicized public identities and ethnic cleavages in civil society;
1, when there is a moderate relation between public identities politicized and ethnic cleavages in civil society;
0, when there is a weak relationship between politicized public identities and ethnic cleavages in civil society;

This calibration for H1 implies a basic principle of mvQCA, which is to treat the condition based on gradations. Several other authors (Albala, 2017) have already used this measurement. In the case of H1, we divided the relationship between public identities and ethnic cleavages into three parameters: weak, moderate, and strong. We used United Nations reports as well as the extensive literature from authors who address each of the countries (as discussed in the previous chapter) as references.

The "Institutional Barrier" condition, INSTIT_BARR

This condition relates to our second hypothesis (H2), which addresses institutional barriers. Some authors (Van Cott, 2003; Puig, 2010) mention institutional barriers or impediments, but we believe it concerns a broader institutional environment that can either facilitate or hinder the inclusion of ethnic demands in the political system.

On the other hand, Colombia faced ongoing challenges related to armed conflict, peace negotiations, and social movements. Understanding how political representation unfolded in this context informs the broader Latin American experience.

This hypothesis is crucial because it is present in much of the literature on citizenship regimes, plurinational constitutionalism, electoral reforms, and other legal instruments aimed at promoting the participation and representation of ethnic groups. It is directly related to the first hypothesis because it is from it that numerous works, as cited in Chapter 2, structure their conceptual prerogatives and explanatory keys.

By institutional barriers, we mean various legal instruments found in constitutional charters that delegitimize and/or discourage the inclusion of ethnic groups in the political system. Institutional barriers can also refer to various legal mechanisms within a country's electoral system that restrict the participation of indigenous groups in electoral competition.

These instruments are validated by the political system and form an institutional framework that repels the presence of ethnic groups from decision-making bodies. For the calibration of this hypothesis, we used an inverted criterion: a value of 1 indicates the absence of institutional barriers, meaning that they encourage indigenous political representation, while a value of 0 indicates the presence of institutional barriers, meaning that they discourage indigenous political representation. Next, we present the calibration:

1, absence of institutional barrier, which encourages indigenous political
representation;
0, presence of institutional barrier; which discourages indigenous political
representation

The "Consolidation and Cohesiveness of Social Movements" condition,

SOCIAL_MOV

In order to investigate the extent of social movements in the phenomenon of indigenous political representation, we outline the third condition (H3). It is fundamentally related to what the literature on indigenous movements (Da Silva, 2015; Bonfil Batalla, 1981; Maíz, 2004) highlights as relevant in this subject.

But by what parameters are social movements analyzed within this condition? They are analyzed based on the consolidation/cohesion binary and how this binary shift towards the connections these movements establish with external agents.

These countries (Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia) represent diverse contexts within Latin America. Their experiences with social movements, party systems, and political representation contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

As seen in previous chapters, the reach of social movements, their diffusion, is crucial for both the survival and expansion of their demands. It is in this sense that we articulate the consolidation and cohesion of social movements with the links they establish with political parties, tensioning and stimulating indigenous political representation.

The more consolidated a social movement is, the more connections it will establish with political actors. Conversely, when a social movement lacks cohesion and is not

1, consolidated indigenous movement with links to parties;

0, independent and autonomous indigenous movement;

consolidated, its actions tend to be autonomous and spontaneous (Albala, 2017). We assign specific values to each of these scenarios. In cases where there is consolidation of social movements and also a connection with political parties, condition H3 will assume a value of 1. For cases where social movements act autonomously and in isolation, condition H3 will assume a value of 0. If we assume that this discussion is relevant, we have the following calibration:

The "Ethnic Parties and Indigenous Representation" condition, ETHN_PART

The last condition concerns the fourth hypothesis (H4), which deals with the mobilization of symbols of resistance by ethnic parties, which in this thesis we call institutionalized indigenous representation. We are interested in investigating the role of ethnic parties in shaping indigenous representation through the use of collective elements of resistance. It is precisely the appeal to these rural identities, associated with a crisis in traditional parties, that provides elements for activating indigenous representation (Glidden, 2011); Kernecker and Wagner, 2019).

Mexico's political history is marked by transitions, party realignments, and social movements. Examining the divorce between social movements and political parties in Mexico provides insights into the intricacies of representation.

1, presence of ethnic parties with active resistance symbols

0, absence of ethnic parties with active resistance symbols

It is possible to indicate some countries, even if in advance, from the classification of typical cases (Bolivia, Mexico, and Ecuador) of high ethnic proportionality and constitutional plurinationalism[13], and Brazil as a typical case of low ethnic proportionality, constitutional nationalism, and absence of ethnic parties supported by minority social movements. In both Colombia and Ecuador, we know that ethnic parties have been successful in national elections. Peru has a highly proportional indigenous population but has no parties with ethnic legends in their lineups (Céspedes Bravo, 2019). Argentina has very similar characteristics to Colombia in terms of demographic, institutional, and party systems, although in Argentina noethnic parties have been formed[14].

The research period (2000-2020) spans twenty years and multiple elections in all ten cases. In several countries, the interruption of democratic rule directly impacted the phenomenon we set out to explain. Argentina and Bolivia resumed elections in 1983 and 1980-2, respectively, after brutal and conservative military regimes (Van Cott, 2005). Ecuador and Peru resumed elections after progressive military regimes in 1979 and 1980. 1980. The resumption of elections is a particularly important point for these two countries, as it coincided with the elimination of literacy requirements that had disenfranchised most indigenous voters (Van Cott, 2002).

---

[13] According to the 2014 CEPAL Report, Brazil is the country in Latin America with the largest number of indigenous communities, 304 in total.
[14] Van Cott (2005) mentions the existence in Argentina of local ethnic parties, without electoral success or territorial diffusion.

4.3 Calibration of cases and conditions

In an effort to better visualize the cases and conditions we are working with here, table 8 shows how the coding relates to the empirical element of this research. In this way, weidentify the paths that indigenous representation takes, moving from social movements to ethnic parties. For each of the conditions, we have established a respective coding, which is supported by the literature discussed in the previous chapters. The last column shows, in dichotomous values, the result (RESULT) we are looking for, i.e. whether there is an inclusion of ethnic demands through a process of institutionalized indigenous representation (value =1) or whether there is an absence of this phenomenon (value =0).

In the same way, table 9 makes it possible to briefly visualize how each of the ten cases is distributed, based on the conditions established to understand indigenous representation.

Table 9 - Summary table of the hypotheses and their operationalization

Conditions	Hypotheses	Codification	Sources
PUBLI_IDENT	H1: When public identitiesbecome politicized in civil society, ethnic cleavagestend to stimulate indigenous representation.	2: strong relation between public identities politicized and ethnic cleavages in civil society; 1: moderate relation between public identities politicized and ethnic cleavages in civilsociety; 0: weak relation between public identities politicized and ethnic cleavages in civil society	**Rudolph (2006);** **Madrid(2005);**
INSTIT_BARR	H2: Where there is not an Institutional barrier, indigenous political representation will be encouraged.	1: absence of institutional barrier; 0: presence of institutional barrier;	**Van Cott (2003);** **Puig (2010);** **(Madrid, 2010)**
SOCIAL_MOV	H3: When social movements are cohesive and consolidated, indigenous representation will be stronger.	1: consolidated indigenous movement with links to parties; 0: independent and autonomous indigenous movement;	**Rice (2017);**
ETHN_PART	H4: When ethnic parties mobilize symbols of resistance, indigenous representation is established	1: presence of ethnic parties with active resistance symbols; 0: absence of ethnic parties with active resistance symbols	**Glidden(2011);** **Kernecker and Wagner (2019);**

RESULT	**In which cases ethnic demands are included in representative institutions**	**1:** **widespread indigenous political representation** **0:** **restricted indigenous political representation**	**From author**

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Which leads us back to the theoretical framework in the first chapter of this thesis, where we have a historical configuration of the cases shown in the following Table 9. In this configuration, the perfect expected theoretical configuration for producing the outcome 1 is: PUBLI_IDENT (1 ; 2) *INSTIT_BARR (1) *SOCIAL_MOV (1) *ETHN_PART (1) =>1[15].

This ideal combination occurs when we have strong or relevant relations between politicized public identities and ethnic cleavages in civil society (PUBLI_IDENT= 2 or 1), combined with an absence of institutional barrier (INSTIT_BARR = 1). Similarly, we have consolidated social movements with strong links to ethnic parties (SOCIAL_MOV = 1) and institutionalized indigenous representation through ethnic parties (ETHN_PART = 1).

On the other hand, we might expect the negate outcome (RESULT= 0) can be explained by the following configuration: PUBLI_IDENT (0)*INSTIT_BARR (0) *SOCIAL_MOV (0) *ETHN_PART (0) = 0. In these terms, we do not have a configuration that has politicized ethnic cleavages, the institutional environment is exclusive and/or has barriers to the inclusion of new actors, the social movements are autonomous and/or independent and there is no link between indigenous representation and ethnic parties.

Table 10 provides a breakdown of the cases researched in this thesis and their respective conditions, distributed in such a way as to make it easier to visualize the data. It is possible to look at the Latin American countries and make some preliminary considerations about each of the historical processes they have been subjected to. We can immediately see that Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador are the only countries to express

---

[15] The sign "*" indicates the relation "and" between X1 and X2 in QCA.

positive values in all four conditions. Followed by Chile and Mexico, with very similar paths. Peru is on a peculiarpath, while Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala and Paraguay have made timid progress in shaping indigenous representation.

We will see in Chapter 5 how each of these conditions interacts with each of the cases, but the distribution of the cases according to the mvQCA already indicates a configuration of the countries, in line with the theoretical typology developed so far. There are at least two groups of countries with similar trajectories, plus one very specific case (for cases of widespread indigenous representation). And another group of countries where indigenous representation is restricted (Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala and Paraguay)

Table 10 - Causal processes of the indigenous political representation of countries in Latin America

Country	PUBLI_IDENT	INSTIT_BARR	SOCIAL_MOV	ETHN_PART	RESULT
Argentina	1	0	0	0	0
Brazil	1	0	1	0	0
Bolivia	2	1	1	1	1
Chile	1	0	1	0	0
Colombia	2	1	1	1	1
Ecuador	2	1	1	1	1
Guatemala	0	1	0	0	0
Mexico	1	0	1	1	1
Paraguay	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	2	0	1	0	0

Source: Elaborated by the author

CHAPTER 5: COUNTRY TYPOLOGY AND THE LIMITS OF INSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

This chapter is dedicated to analyzing and interpreting the findings derived from the QCA approach for the cases discussed in this thesis. This is a significant and innovative contribution to the field of studying both political representation and political ethnicity, as it deepens and verticalizes certain assumptions. Let's examine them:

We conducted the QCA tests (truth table, Necessity Test and Sufficiency Test) using a "QCA Package for R" developed by Dusa (2019). Thus, as we will see in table 11, we can divide the widespread indigenous representation, i.e. RESULT =1, into two explanatory paths. On the other hand, RESULT = 0, i.e. restricted indigenous representation, covers 6 countries, and these paths are isolated and autonomous from each other. For widespread indigenous representation, we have Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador as the first group, and Mexico as a country that also presents result 1, the Mexican case being very peculiar.

The first group stands out for its more solid configuration in terms of the existing conditions for expanding indigenous representation. The three countries (Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia) show similar paths towards the inclusion of ethnic demands in an institutional way, either through the strong relationship between the politicization of public identities as a stimulus for the consolidation of social movements, or through the strengthening of institutionalized ethnic representation, expressed through the mobilization of collective symbols by ethnic parties.

With a significant indigenous population, Bolivia underwent constitutional transformations that greatly altered the country's political and electoral systems. Marked

by numerous racial divisions stemming from Spanish colonization, the country faced the ghosts of the colonial system to establish a plurinational constitution in 2009 that expanded rights implemented in 2004. Bolivia is the main reference when it comes to changes of a plurinational nature, but it should be noted how recent this phenomenon is compared to other neighboring countries in the region.

Collective rights, government autonomy, and the implementation of inclusive measures are still challenges at the forefront of Bolivia's agenda (Cunha Filho, 2023). The country leads the first group showing expanded indigenous political representation, but not without outlining its contradictions and difficulties, especially regarding economic pressures on indigenous reserves.

Three important historical milestones are crucial to understanding the framework of indigenous political representation in Ecuador. First, the preponderant role of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, through the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), which emerged as one of the most significant in Latin America, serving as a reference throughout the region.

The second milestone is the uprising of Inti Raymi in June 1990 (YANEZ and FIGUEROA, 1992), responsible for broadening and consolidating the profile of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement. Lastly, the creation of Pachakutik in 1995, definitively reaffirming the process of institutionalization of ethnic demands in Ecuador (RESINA, 2023). CONAIE consistently advanced the inclusion of indigenous rights with the 1998 constitution. Nevertheless, Ecuador faces serious dilemmas regarding the renewal of political leadership and its influence within the national legislative and executive branches.

The Colombian case is characterized by an openness to multiculturalism since 1991, with the new national constitution redefining the relations between civil society and the state. It was during this time that the country's indigenous movement became effective,

evolving through various phases (Laurent, 2023). First against the state, then within the state, and later with the state. This strategic shift was crucial for the level of ethnic inclusion that the country achieved in terms of indigenous political representation.

A critical look at the Mexican configuration allows us to see the numerous ambiguities that the country has faced and still faces regarding indigenous political representation. Although the 1990s were intense, with the Zapatista uprising and various institutional advances, there were also serious problems with the effectiveness of representation. Mexico deserves special attention because, from a formal point of view, there has been an expansion of participation, ethnic inclusion, and indigenous representation in institutions, but this has not been accompanied by an effective guarantee of collective rights, let alone advances in the socioeconomic indicators of these populations. There is a moderate level of politicization of identities, associated with a presence of social movements with links to parties, although this approach is more recent and less solid than in the previous group. The Mexican scenario also finds adherence in the relationship it establishes with the issue of ethnic parties activating symbols of resistance. In Mexico, there are already local and regional experiences that are putting pressure on the political system (Natal, 2023) to expand indigenous representation.

The following table (table 11) shows the arrangement of the cases analyzed according to the truth table in mvQCA, which offers causal paths for visualizing the possible cases where the phenomenon occurs (outcome 1) and where it does not occur (outcome 0). Based on Boolean logic, we have explanatory paths that lead to a configurational interpretation of the phenomenon studied (Ragin and Rubison, 2011; Albala and Leal, 2022). This interpretation is based, unlike the search for statistical reductions or probabilistic trends, on establishing complex causal relationships (Mello, 2021) by combining the conditions that produce a given result.

The truth table (below) shows which causal paths lead to the explanation of the phenomenon. Thus, the first line shows the positive path to an outcome of 1 for cases 3, 5 and6, namely Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia. This first line shows, under the conditions we have established, that the phenomenon of political representation is relevant in these countries. The second line of the truth table shows Mexico (case 8), where the country also produces a relevant result when it comes to indigenous representation. These are the 4 countries, in two configurations, where it was possible to observe widespread indigenous representation. The other rows show the causal paths where restricted indigenous representation is found.

Table 11 - Truth table according to mvQCA

	PUBLI_IDENT	INSTIT_BARR	SOCIAL_MOV	ETHN_PART	OUTCOME	n	incl	PRI	cases
24	2	1	1	1	1	3	1.000	1.000	Bolivia, Colombia, Equador
12	1	0	1	1	1	1	1.000	1.000	Mexico
11	1	0	1	0	0	2	0.000	0.000	Brazil, Chile
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.000	0.000	Paraguay
5	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.000	0.000	Guatemala
9	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.000	0.000	Argentina
19	2	0	1	0	0	1	0.000	0.000	Peru
2	0	0	0	1	?	0	-	-	
3	0	0	1	0	?	0	-	-	
4	0	0	1	1	?	0	-	-	
6	0	1	0	1	?	0	-	-	
7	0	1	1	0	?	0	-	-	
8	0	1	1	1	?	0	-	-	
10	1	0	0	1	?	0	-	-	
13	1	1	0	0	?	0	-	-	
14	1	1	0	1	?	0	-	-	
15	1	1	1	0	?	0	-	-	
16	1	1	1	1	?	0	-	-	
17	2	0	0	0	?	0	-	-	
18	2	0	0	1	?	0	-	-	
20	2	0	1	1	?	0	-	-	
21	2	1	0	0	?	0	-	-	
22	2	1	0	1	?	0	-	-	
23	2	1	1	0	?	0	-	-	

Source: from author.

5.2 Understanding the causal process between the conditions established for indigenousrepresentation in Latin America

When analyzing the data on both necessity and sufficiency, some findings are important for structuring the scenario that indigenous representation has acquired over the last few decades in Latin America.

Boolean algebra is characterized by the analysis of combinations, their properties and their interactions (Medina et al, 2017). To this end, a relationship of necessity and sufficiencyis established, which ends up being decisive when we want to explain an influence of X on Y.In QCA, this relationship is expressed through an equation that demonstrates relevant variations between the original variable.

When we talk about a necessity test, we're talking about a set of given conditions (X) without which it would be impossible for a result (Y) to happen. In the logic of the QCA, X isa set that encompasses Y, since without X there is no Y. However, there are parts of X in which the result is not found (~Y) (Albala and Leal, 2022; Medina et al, 2017).

The results obtained (table 12) show that the condition ETHN_PART (1) is necessary, i.e. without it there can be no phenomenon of institutionalized indigenous representation. But not only that,the result SOCIAL_MOV (1) * ETHN_PART (1) is also a necessary relationship for outcome 1. These are significant results because they demonstrate a causal configuration that indicates the following:

1) there is no phenomenon of indigenous representation without the presence of ethnic parties mobilizing symbols of resistance.

2) It is not possible to observe thephenomenon of indigenous representation without the relationship between the consolidation of social movements and their links with ethnic

parties and/or political parties with ethnic demands in their platforms.

These two findings place indigenous representation on an interesting footing, because while it confirms some theoretical assumptions in the literature, itconfronts some premises that have been in vogue over the last few decades.

For example, when we analyze the RoN (Relevance of Necessity) in Table 12, the necessity test indicates a triviality value for the relationships between the conditions PUBLI_IDENT (1) + INSTIT_BARR (1) and PUBLI_IDENT (2) + INSTIT_BARR (0). RoN performs the function of checking when a necessary condition is not trivial. Relevance of the necessity (RoN) will occur when the assumed values for the conditions are above 0.6 In the case of a low value, this level excludes the other conditions, by triviality, for the existence of the phenomenon. That said, it is irrelevant (Albala and Leal, 2022).

Another important piece of data for reading the table on the Necessity Test is the CovN, which deals with the coverage of cases. A CovN of 1,000 means that both the ethnic parties condition and the association between ethnic parties cover all the cases where the result is 1. In the specific case of the relationship between the politicization of public identities and institutional barriers, the findings serve to rethink the weight that some of these conditions have been given in analyses of the literature.

Table 12- Necessity Test Outcome 1

Necessity Test - 1			
PATH	**inclN**	**RoN**	**CovN**
1 SOCIAL_MOV (1)	**1.000**	0.500	**0.571**
2 ETHN_PART(1)	**1.000**	1.000	**1.000**
3 SOCIAL_MOV (1) * ETHN_PART (1)	**1.000**	1.000	**1.000**
4 PUBLI_IDENT (1) + INSTIT_BARR (1)	**.1.000**	0.3333	**0.500**
5 PUBLI_IDENT (2) + INSTIT_BARR (0)	**1.000**	**0.167**	**0.444**

Source: from author based on Dusa (2019).

The necessity test is not limited to the result in which the conditions for the existence of the phenomenon are identified, but also involves investigating cases in which the absence of the condition is significant in explaining the non-occurrence of the phenomenon, i.e. for anoutcome of 0. As shown in table 13, ETHN_PART (0) is presented as a relevant condition when there is restricted indigenous representation. The relationships PUBLI_IDENT (0) + INSTIT_BARR (0), INSTIT_BARR (0) + SOCIAL_MOV (0) all have unsatisfying level of RoN to have a significant impact on the phenomenon.

What is noteworthy here, apart from the strength of the ethnic parties condition, is the trivial relationship found between the politicization of identities and institutional barriers, as well as the relationship between institutional barriers and the existence of unconsolidated andautonomous social movements. When put to the test, the conditions

proved to be insufficient, whether analyzed in isolation or individually. One of the main characteristics of this mvQCA model is precisely this: to confront each of the conditions in order to obtain complex configurations of how much weight each of them has in explaining the phenomenon.

When we submit the 4 conditions to the test of necessity for configurational analysis, some important points emerge. Firstly, we highlight the condition that indicates the presence of ethnic parties with active symbols of resistance (H3). This is a leading condition for this analysis, as it has high values for both the relevance of necessity (0.6) and the empirical coverage (0.7) of the phenomenon.

The first path SOCIAL_MOV (1) showed an insufficient level of RoN (0.5) and CovN (0.5) to attest to the necessity of the phenomenon. The second path and the third path are the most promising results of the Necessity Test for an outcome 1. Both ETHN_PART (1) and SOCIAL_MOV (1) * ETHN_PART (1) showed significant RoN (1,000) and CovN (1,000) values, pointing to a complete relevance of necessity and a complete coverage of all the cases studied. As we have insisted, it is the presence of ethnic parties and their relationship with social movements that operates decisively in widespread indigenous representation.

The last two paths of the Necessity Test for outcome 1 are respectively: PUBLI_IDENT (1) + INSTIT_BARR (1) and PUBLI_IDENT (2) + INSTIT_BARR (0). In both cases, the values presented are insufficient to explain indigenous representation. The RoN values of 0.33 and 0.13 and the CovN values of 0.50 and 0.44 denote causal triviality, i.e. they do not have a direct impact on the phenomenon. Pointing out the ways in which the phenomenon does not occur is important in QCA, because we discard what is irrelevant, while we establish the main conditions that explain the object of research.

The relationship between the consolidation and cohesiveness of social movements

andethnic parties is also worth highlighting to explain outcome 1, as it is an important finding forthe literature on ethnic groups in Latin America. Our analysis shows, both because of the relevance of the need and because of the empirical coverage of the cases studied, that this association between the conditions (H2*H3) is necessary for indigenous representation.

Table 13- Necessity Test Outcome 0

Necessity Test – 0			
PATH	inclN	RoN	CovN
1 ETHN_PART (0)	1.000	1.000	1.000
2 PUBLI_IDENT (0) + INSTIT_BARR (0)	1.000	0.7500	0.857
3 INSTIT_BARR (0) + SOCIAL_MOV (0)	1.000	0.750	0.857

Source: from author based on Dusa (2019).

The other part of the QCA Package for R is the sufficiency test, which consists of identifying whether each time a condition (X) occurs, a result (Y) will also occur. In this relationship of sufficiency, the aim is to understand the different paths that lead to a given result, but not only that. The sufficiency test also seeks to identify which paths (X1, X2, X3) lead to the absence of an outcome (~Y) (Medina et al, 2017; Albala and Leal, 2022; Schneider and Wagemann, 2012). We chose the parsimonious solution to apply in the sufficiency tests, taking into account that it offers the greatest theoretical scope to

account forthe phenomenon to be explained.

Assuming the validity of these causal assumptions, an interesting picture emerges for the phenomenon analyzed here: the verification of both the necessity and sufficiency of the ETHN_PART (1) condition for the existence of indigenous representation. As can be seen in table 14, the sufficiency test for an outcome 1 indicates a single possible path for the existence of outcome Y, which can be expressed as follows:

$$\boxed{\text{ETHN\_PART (1)} \iff \text{RESULT (1)}}$$

In methodological terms, this consistent relationship between a condition proving to be both sufficient and necessary, decisively implying the phenomenon being studied, is the best way to define causality. In the case of this thesis, it is precisely the consistent relationship between ethnic parties with active resistance mechanisms that defines the phenomenon of widespread indigenous representation.

As we explained in the previous test, necessity implies the presence of social movements alongside ethnic parties, but for the sufficiency of indigenous representation, the ETHN_PART (1) condition achieves robust results for what we intend to explain here.

This causal link brings to the center of the debate the linking of elements present in the literature, but which until now had not been articulated directly. The group of countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia, where indigenous representation is seen as widespread, is a group where the presence of ethnic parties has pushed indigenous representation towards an institutionalization of collective demands.

Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia were countries in which constitutional changes were made so that civil society could participate more in the formulation process, but not only that.We are talking here about the emergence of ethnic parties as relevant actors in the electoral process, once this connection between social movements has been sufficiently

established. The Pachakutik in Ecuador is an example of an indigenous movement that has territorial relevance and multilateral links with political parties (Resina, 2023), including participationin the formulation of public policies of the Ecuadorian state itself.

Bolivia is the most illustrative case of the dependent variable, as it shows how ethnic parties have redefined national politics. Based on a proposal that is also plurinationalist, the Bolivian political system orbits around the inclusion of ethnic demands, whether through local elections or even regional elections (Cunha Filho, 2023). Despite the internal turbulence(which is not exclusive to Bolivians), ethnic demands in the Bolivian case are already seen ashaving majority tendencies.

Still on the results of the main explanatory variable of this work, we have Colombia as a case in which the organization of indigenous groups to put pressure on the political system (Laurent, 2023), even with electoral obstacles. The Colombian case is significant for understanding the process of institutionalizing collective demands, because it leads the question to where it is most sensitive: the interaction between civil society organizations and political parties tends to be a more efficient shortcut than any other path. In this way, indigenous representation is the result of the maturing of indigenous organizations, seen here as a later stage in the process of political articulation and the solidity of an agenda of collective demands.

The other way of explaining the positive outcome is the Mexican case. In Mexico, intense (and not always peaceful) social struggles over the last thirty years have produced institutional changes and a context in which the bureaucratic apparatus has had to deal with cultural heterogeneity, with ethnic identities operating at the most local level. Indigenous representation in Mexico has a very specific complex causal relationship and shows on the horizon some alternative for the process of including ethnic demands.

As we saw in the truth table (table 11), this relationship is indispensable for

understanding the phenomenon, as it highlights a complex social and political dynamic that isa crucial condition for the issue. Far from reviewing an obvious finding, the presence ofethnic parties with active symbols of resistance puts a strain on the whole issue of indigenous representation, from the interaction with the other conditions, for a very important configuration, because with this result we have managed to establish, from the point of view of comparative politics, a sufficient configuration to explain a complex phenomenon.

This condition is also important for thinking about the issue of Mexico, which has an outstanding track record among the other countries, since the recent consolidation of social movements in the country has generated occasional but important results, both in terms of mobilizing civil society, but especially in terms of expanding indigenous representation.

Table 14 - Sufficiency test outcome 1

	Sufficiency Test - 1			
PATH	incl	PRI	CovS	**Cov.u**
1 ETHN_PART (1)	1.000	1.000	1.000	
M1	**1.000**	**1.000**	**1.000**	

Source: from author

Finally, there is the sufficiency test for an outcome of 0 (table 15), which contains the condition ETHN_PART (0) expressed as follows: in the absence of this condition (X), the phenomenon (Y) does not occur. In other words, the absence of ethnic parties with elements of collective resistance symbols makes widespread indigenous representation impossible in the cases studied.

It is also important to highlight a fundamental aspect of the sufficiency tests presented here: the PRI (Proportional Reduction of Inconsistency) value, which aims to prevent the same configuration from being sufficient to explain both the occurrence and non-occurrence of the phenomenon (Medina et al, 2017; Mello, 2021; Schneider and Wagemann, 2012).

In all the analyses we carried out, the PRI value was significant to provide methodological support and data replicability, which validated the findings of this thesis. As we have a configuration that can explain both the occurrence and non-occurrence of the phenomenon, the presence of ethnic parties is the element that stands out in the qualitative equation we present here.

We then proceeded to the last test in this QCA package: the sufficiency test for an outcome of 0 (table 15). Table 15 shows that the absence of ethnic parties ETHN_PART (0) implies that indigenous representation does not occur in one coverage (CovS) of all the cases analyzed in this research. The strength of this finding can be seen in the literature on ethnic parties and niche parties (Kernecker and Wagner, 2019), in which the alignment of rural identities through ethnicity is achieved through the lines of action of these parties. These, in turn, go against the general theory of parties and do not seek out the average voter, but instead seek to act on particular identities.

Table 15 - Sufficiency test outcome 0

Sufficiency Test - 0				
PATH	incl	PRI	CovS	Cov.u
1 ETHN_PART (0)	1.000	1.000	1.000	
M1	1.000	1.000	1.000	

Source: author's elaboration

Once the scenario is laid out, we can then infer about each of the conditions in more detail, and their respective interactions. Once again returning to the group of countries with the most robust results, this thesis shows that the presence of a strong politicization of identities, associated with ethnic cleavages (Rudolph, 2006; Madrid 2010) is not a necessary condition for stimulating indigenous representation. This contradicts some of the assumptionsof the consolidated literature, which in various works places significant emphasis on the issue of the politicization of identities. Although we know that the

consolidation of social movements presupposes ethnic cleavages, the findings of this research confront this emphasis. This is not to dismiss or belittle the importance of this condition, but to position it in the face of other elements that have proved more effective in explaining widespread indigenous representation.

The findings of this thesis confirm some hypotheses in the literature, while refuting others. The primacy of ethnic parties, and the symbols of ethnic resistance that these parties activate among voters. This condition proved to be both necessary and sufficient for widespread indigenous representation. To a large extent, it can be said that what explains the phenomenon of representation in some countries and others is not the presence of ethnic parties, but the issue of social movements, which are necessary but not sufficient.

On the other hand, the results of outcome 0, both for necessity and sufficiency, refute some of the hypotheses in the literature. The relevance of ethnic cleavages and the institutional environment in explaining the phenomenon is thus reaffirmed. Widespread indigenous representation in Latin America does not necessarily depend on these conditions. Once again, I would stress that these conditions are not disposable; on the contrary, they are important. For example, when investigating the weight of social movements in the issue, it exists and is important, but only when associated with the issue of ethnic parties. In the same way, we can talk about public identities and ethnic cleavages. These are conditions that demonstrate a vigorous debate in civil society, but their impact on the causality of indigenousrepresentation has proved trivial.

The most important work by Yashar (2005) emphasizes the question of the citizenship regime and other mechanisms used to explain ethnic cleavages. These mechanisms aretrivially relevant to understanding indigenous representation, as is Birnir's (2006) defense of ethnicity as a stabilizing element in voting, which consequently influences the politicalrepresentation of the ethnic population.

The same can be said about institutional barriers (Van Cott, 2003): It was not possibleto demonstrate a causal relationship, from the necessity and sufficiency test, of the weight of institutional barriers to the phenomenon of indigenous representation. This is another assumption that deserves attention within the theoretical framework on the subject. The institutional environment is important within a widespread context, but it was not decisive in directly influencing outcome 1.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: HOW FAR INSTITUTIONS CAN STRETCH TO INCLUDE ETHNIC DEMANDS

The core inquiry of this thesis revolves around a pivotal question within Latin American political systems: What are the underlying factors driving the incorporation of ethnic demands within a democratic framework? To address this query, I embarked on a scholarly investigation entailing a comprehensive review spanning over 30 years of academic debate on the topic, expanding the customary theoretical boundaries of Political Science. Furthermore, a notable contribution of this research is its impetus to foster a new research agenda, given the limited scholarly output on the subject, prompting reflection on why political scientists have overlooked the study of ethnic phenomena.

Understanding the boundaries of political representation, as influenced by the stretching of institutions to accommodate new actors in the public sphere, entails grasping the institutional confines of each regime, ultimately encapsulating democracy itself, with its potential, virtues, and contradictions. Delving deeper into the phenomenon of representation intertwined with the ethnicity of indigenous groups beckons a convergence between Political Science and Anthropology. For a significant portion of the 20th century, analyses of indigenous peoples, ethnic groups, and original peoples were relegated to an intellectual sphere that, in a sense, solidified certain assumptions regarding the resistance, articulation, organization, and political activism of these populations vis-à-vis the national project established since the colonization of the Portuguese and Spanish Americas.

Throughout this study, I acknowledge the significance of these analyses and the contributions they have made, not only in categorizing certain historical processes but also in organizing these groups.

Nevertheless, what we have demonstrated throughout this research is that Political

Science possesses the theoretical and methodological prowess to scrutinize this issue, thereby transcending the boundaries of inquiry within the Social Sciences as an interdisciplinary realm of knowledge.

Thus, a pivotal aspect of this work lies in this assertion: the foray of Political Science research, expanding its research agenda to address a contemporary and profoundly significant topic, given the challenges confronting democracies in the global south in the early years of the 21st century.

With this objective in mind, we endeavored to explore the various forms that political representation can assume in Latin America. Supported by literature elucidating how the politicization of identities has engendered diverse scenarios for indigenous representation to manifest differently across countries, the regional landscape over the past thirty years has witnessed notable transformations. Constitutional reforms, alterations in citizenship regimes, the rise of rural movements with collective demands, the emergence of ethnic parties, a crisis in the representation of traditional parties, electoral volatility, and substantial fluctuations in domestic economies have all played a role. How then can we elucidate this complex social framework? To address this question, we turned to comparative politics, employing Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) as both a methodological and analytical tool to navigate intricate causal relationships effectively. Opting against probabilistic trends and statistical regressions, I emphasized the causal configurations that QCA offers. Thus, I favored a qualitative approach to the phenomenon, where the presented conditions explicate an outcome (Y), establishing causal connections with indigenous representation.

To do this, I started from a consolidated literature on the subject of ethnic minorities and their constant dialog/conflict with the state (Fraser, 2001; Kymlicka, 1995; Taylor, 1994; Young, 2006). Dividing this literature between the multiculturalist and

plurinationalist approaches, I carried out a conceptual mapping of the main arguments which, in one way or another, have guided the entire debate on the issue over the last thirty years. Despite North American studies on the subject, European studies dealing with ethnic cleavages have provided a theoretical framework for thinking about the Latin American case, based on differences and similarities.

It is also important to point out that two research agendas stand out in the meantime. The role of the state as a sponsor of inequalities and social movements as collective instruments of resistance. The formation of the national state in each of the Latin American countries has a special emphasis in plurinationalist approaches, focusing on political and economic inequalities which, far from being sporadic, are structural. On the other hand, indigenous movements, initially rural in character, but expanding their territorial relevance, insearch of spaces of power, pressuring the administrative apparatus for better living conditionsfor the original peoples.

These two agendas appear sometimes autonomously and sometimes in an articulated way and highlight an intellectual tradition within the social sciences of investigating state-civil society relations, only in this case with a differentiated ethnic component. Relevantauthors who deal with the issue of indigenous movements and their relationship with territory (Chandra, 2004; Coppedge 1998, Dietz and Meyers 2001; Gurr, 1993), point out some elements that are indispensable to the debate. But again, either these comparative studieswere European or Latin American studies favored individual analyses of each country.Understanding the turbulent dynamics resulting from state-civil society interactions based on the available theoretical frameworks proved to be insufficient to provide a more robust explanation for the occurrence of the phenomenon; for this reason, I chose to follow other paths.

Once the main assumptions were visible and listed, how could we explain why the

phenomenon occurs in some countries and not others? To do this, I selected cases that took into account the proportionality of the indigenous population in the national territory, totalizing 10 countries. With the N of the research selected and justified, I drew up hypotheses,supported by the main conceptual framework on the object in question.   In Chapter 1, I carried out a theoretical typology, precisely positioning each of the countries according to ethnic inclusion and the imposition of institutional barriers, following the specialized literature. In addition, each case was dealt with in a specific way, according to current methodological practice.

Once this framework had been sufficiently outlined, this thesis was able to develop four hypotheses that guided the findings of the research in question. I divided each hypothesis with its respective condition, which was intended to provide causal relationships with the phenomenon of indigenous representation. This resulted in: the politicization of public identities and cleavages, institutional barriers, the consolidation of social movements and the presence of ethnic parties.

Each of these conditions, based on well-defined hypotheses, worked to operationalize the calibration of the cases, providing robust methodological support (Medina et al, 2017) for the QCA analysis. Wherever you look at the issue of indigenous representation, it is impossible to dissociate it from each of these explanatory keys, because they reflect the expression of a causal mechanism, put to the test by configurational analysis.

First of all, it is necessary to point out the conceptual map that was made around the concept of "indigenous representation" in chapter 4. This measurement of the concept provided three levels of conceptualization, ranging from the most abstract dimension to the level of indicators. While this ensured consistency for the dependent variable, it also guaranteed the replicability of this thesis

So, what results have been obtained and what can be gleaned from the cases studied? The findings of this thesis can be structured along the same lines as the research hypotheses. However, I believe that there is an intrinsic relationship between them that prevents them from being explained individually.

Thus, first and foremost, let's examine the results, which did not show values for either the Necessity Test or the Sufficiency Test, given the occurrence of the phenomenon. As I have emphasized at various points throughout this research, QCA analysis provides robust methodological tools to establish a causal explanation of a complex phenomenon, allowing for reasonable generalizations, which in the specific case of this thesis, fulfill its purpose. That being said, contrary to the primacy observed in the literature, neither ethnic cleavages, public identities, nor institutional barriers were relevant in establishing causal links with indigenous representation.

A series of studies over the last few years have pointed in this direction, but the configurational analysis in this thesis confronts these assumptions. Obviously, this does not imply that the variables are irrelevant. It has been sufficiently proven that there is an issue present in civil society regarding the movement, which is always very dynamic, between ethnic cleavages and the political process of claiming collective demands. However, this relationship does not apply - either as a necessity or as a sufficiency - to explain indigenous representation.

Esteemed works such as those of Yashar and Van Cott have established an explanatory horizon for the indigenous issue in Latin America based on these two main hypotheses: that the politicization of public identities (and consequently the intensification of ethnic cleavages) in conjunction with the imposition or removal of institutional barriers would be decisive in explaining the presence of ethnic groups in the political system. While these are relevant conditions for certain case studies, when subjected to the test of

comparative analysis, this prominence does not reach satisfactory levels.

One must exercise caution when identifying the relationships between the recurrent explanations in the literature, the hypotheses raised throughout the thesis, and the results that this research has established. When we analyze this from an expanded perspective, there is a need to update the discussion to another level. Thus, the contribution of this thesis finds its place in this space, that of understanding the phenomenon of indigenous representation from an institutional matrix.

Regarding the first two hypotheses (H1 and H2), it is known that each of them has its value and importance within the accumulated scope so far on the subject, but it has not been possible to observe direct action, either from public identities, institutional barriers, much less from the association of the two for decisive causality in indigenous representation.

On the other hand, the other two conditions (H3 and H4) have shown significant strength and robustness to structure a causal explanation of the phenomenon we are analyzing. Social movements, more specifically their consolidation and cohesion, are decisive, as in the countries analyzed they only gain prominence when they establish fruitful and lasting links with political parties.

The autonomous action of social movements is incapable of transforming ethnic demands into a process of widespread indigenous representation, or even institutionalized representation. There is by no means any underestimation regarding the role of indigenous movements; quite the opposite. The Ecuadorian case and the Mexican case illustrate how the strength of these organizations can alter the institutional design of the political system, but what we want to alert here is that this action, if not accompanied by ties with political parties, is insufficient to produce the phenomenon. The isolated performance of ethnic social movements may be relevant for case studies or even for a subnational unit within a

given territory, but it does not yield results within the global analysis of the phenomenon. This is the case in Brazil, Paraguay, and also Argentina. The presence of social movements alone does not guarantee the issue of indigenous political representation.

The presence of ethnic parties was the most relevant variable for the results of this study. This is because it is both a necessary and sufficient condition for indigenous representation to occur. And also because its association with social movements produces very important results to explain what I consider to be one of the causal pillars of this work: indigenous representation occurs where there is organization, articulation, and a defined agenda on the part of ethnic groups. For this to happen, there must be consolidated and cohesive ethnic social movements within a given territory. Not only that, but these social movements must be directly linked to the platforms of ethnic parties and/or political parties with ethnic elements in their ranks.At the beginning of this work, based on the current readings on ethnic issues and electoral systems, it was thought that the permissiveness of the systems would be decisive forthe inclusion of ethnic demands. But this proved to be incapable, as did any configuration of institutional barriers or even an institutional environment that was more or less hostile to the demands of indigenous peoples.

To a large extent, this answers our questions about how far representative institutions can stretch to accommodate new demands in the political system. It is sufficiently clear that this process is not free, cannot be achieved over a short period of time and is not spontaneous.At this point, we recognize that public identities and ethnic cleavages are important, but for the establishment of social movements, not indigenous representation.

Indigenous representation is a later process of organization and maturation of civil society forces that move into representative institutions in search of more space and

widespread results for collective demands. In countries where this process does not take place, indigenous representation will be erratic, restricted, far-reaching and insufficient.

In this sense, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia show the most robust results, and they are also similar to each other. Mexico, as mentioned earlier, has promising results and at the same time a peculiar configuration, which deserves to be highlighted among the other countries selected for this thesis.

It is when civil society is organized around collective goals that bargaining power with political parties becomes possible. The search for inclusion of ethnic demands by native groups in Latin America cannot even be imagined outside the conditions of a strong institutional framework, via ethnic parties.

Finally, I believe that the findings of this thesis are capable of reorganizing the research agenda in Political Science, both in relation to the issue of political representation and the role of social movements, especially those of an ethnic nature, and their respective actions in democratic regimes. The challenges for the 21st century are immense, but the role of indigenous representation in the face of the challenges facing Latin American democracieswill easily be the focus of the coming years in the region.

ATTACHMENTS

Indigenous presence in Latin American legislatures

This report measures the presence of indigenous people in Latin American legislatures. We have developed a computational tool that searches websites to see if members of parliament have indigenous ancestry through the presence of terms that refer to indigenous ancestry. Due to 1. Lack of systematized information on the ethnicity of members of legislatures in Latin America and 2. The low quality of data available on legislatures or electoral results in Latin America. The process of collecting data on legislatures was asymmetrical and required different computational approaches, using data transformations, webscraping and OCR (optical character recognition) tools to extract information from texts in PDF format.

The Tool

In order to fulfill our objective of measuring the presence of indigenous people in Latin American parliaments, we created a webcrawling tool, which is nothing more than a tool that goes through a website or a set of websites, looking for images, texts, links and othertypes of elements.

Flowchart

Our web crawler receives the data that has been collected and processed from the

websites and institutional repositories of parliaments in Latin America in a list format, then searches Wikipedia where it checks if the terms below appear interacting, if they appear the parliamentarian is identified as being of indigenous descent, is identified in a final dataset with the Country, the number of Indigenous Parliamentarians and the Year of the Legislature.

Terms used

We used three web crawling engines to identify which parliamentarians were indigenous. The first engine made use of indigenous ethnic groups in America, however it captured an excessive number of false positives, since many of the words that identify indigenous populations have other meanings. The second engine interacted the terms above with the terms below.

> parlamentario indígena|resistência indígena|multicultural|autodefinición|minoria étnica|pueblos indígenas|población indígena|movimiento social|movimiento social indígena|indigenismo|política indigenista|autodefinición

However, the engine was too restrictive, resulting in false negatives, so we decided to use only the above terms with the search engine. Even so, the results were too restrictive, so we used the data from the manifesto project to identify which parties had an affinity with indigenous issues, and from there to identify those elected.

From the Project Manifesto codebook, we identified the variables per607_3

(Multiculturalism: Indigenous rights: Positive[16]) and per608_1 (Multiculturalism General:

Negative[17]) to parameterize the scan. The selection proved to be more robust than previous

attempts.

---

[16] Calls for the protection of indigenous people, strengthening their rights, may include: •Protection of their lands; •Introduction of special provisions in the democratic or bureaucratic process; •Compensation for past grief.

[17] The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.

Necessity and sufficiency test scripts and truth table

```
                                       inclN   RoN    covN
----------------------------------------------------------------
1   SOCIAL_MOV[1]                      1.000   0.500  0.571
2   ETHN_PART[1]                       1.000   1.000  1.000
3   SOCIAL_MOV[1]*ETHN_PART[1]         1.000   1.000  1.000
4   PUBLI_IDENT[1] + INSTIT_BARR[1]    1.000   0.333  0.500
5   PUBLI_IDENT[2] + INSTIT_BARR[0]    1.000   0.167  0.444
----------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
                                        inclN   RoN    covN
----------------------------------------------------------------
1   ETHN_PART[0]                        1.000   1.000  1.000
2   PUBLI_IDENT[0] + INSTIT_BARR[0]     1.000   0.750  0.857
3   INSTIT_BARR[0] + SOCIAL_MOV[0]      1.000   0.750  0.857
----------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
> minimize(Hesau, outcome = "RESULT", conditions = "PUBLI_IDENT,
  INSTIT_BARR, SOCIAL_MOV, ETHN_PART", incl.cut = 0.8, include = "?, C",
  details = TRUE)


M1: ETHN_PART[1] <-> RESULT[1]

                  inclS   PRI   covS   covU
> minimize(Hesau, outcome = "~RESULT", conditions = "PUBLI_IDENT,
  INSTIT_BARR, SOCIAL_MOV, ETHN_PART", incl.cut = 0.8, include = "?, C",
  details = TRUE)


M1: ETHN_PART[0] <-> ~RESULT[1]

                  inclS   PRI   covS   covU
------------------------------------------------
1   ETHN_PART[0]  1.000   1.000  1.000   -
------------------------------------------------
              M1  1.000   1.000  1.000
```

REFERENCES

ALBALA, Adrián (Ed.). Civil Society and Political Representation in Latin America (2010-2015): Towards a Divorce Between Social Movements and Political Parties? Springer, 2017.

_____. Partidos políticos y movimientos sociales en América Latina (2011-2016): un análisis configuracional. Perf. latinoam., México, v. 28, n. 55, p. 27-54, jun. 2020.

ALBALA, A., & TRICOT, V. (2020). Social Movements and Political Representation in Chile (1990–2013). Latin American Perspectives, 47(4), 131–149.

ALBALA, Adrián; LEAL, Leonardo. Introdução à Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). In: Perissinotto, Renato; Botelho, João Carlos Amoroso; Bolognesi, Bruno; Batista, Mariana; Santo, Manoel Leonardo. (Org.). Política Comparada: Teoria e Método. 1ed.Rio de Janeiro: ABCP/EduERJ, 2022, v. 1, p. 113-140.

ALBÓ, Xavier. 14. Bolivia: avances y tropezones hacia un nuevo país plurinacional e intercultural. Pueblos indígenas y política en América Latina, p. 335, 2007.

ALCANTARA, M. (2004). "Partidos políticos en América latina: precisiones conceptuales, estado actual y retos futuros", in Documentos Cidob América Latina, No. 3.

ALMEIDA, Debora Rezende. "Metamorfose da representação política: lições práticas dos conselhos de saúde no Brasil", in L. Avritzer (org.), A dinâmica da participação local no Brasil, São Paulo, Cortez: 129-174, 2010.

_____. Repensando representação política e legitimidade democrática: entre a unidade e a pluralidade. Tese (Doutorado) – Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2011.

ALVAREZ, Sonia E. Cultures of politics/politics of cultures: Revisioning Latin American social movements. Routledge, 2018.

AMORIM, Maria Salete Souza de. Cultura Política e estudos de poder local. REVISTA DEBATES, Porto Alegre, v.1, n.1, p. 99-120, jul.-dez. 2007.

ANDOLINA, Robert. 1999. "Colonial Legacies and Plurinational Imaginaries: Indigenous Movement Politics in Ecuador and Bolivia." Ph.D. Diss. Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

ARATO, A. Representação, soberania popular e accountability. Lua Nova, São Paulo, n. 55-56, p. 85-103, 2002.

ARAUJO, C. Representação, soberania e a questão democrática. Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política, Brasília, n. 1, p. 47-61, jan./jun. 2009.

BARRAGÁN, M. Indigenous Political Representation in Guatemala. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, Cham, 2023.

BARRETO, V. (2017). Sintomatología de la agudización neoliberal en agravio a los pueblos indígenas en el Paraguay. Derechos de los pueblos indígenas. En: CODEHUPY. Derechos Humanos en Paraguay 2019. CODEHUPY.

BETARELLI JUNIOR, Admir Antonio; FERREIRA, Sandro de Freitas. Introdução à análise qualitativa comparativa e aos conjuntos Fuzzy (fsQCA). 2018.

BIDEGAIN, G. (2017). Cada vez más lejos: la autonomización partidaria de los movimientos sociales en Chile, 1990-2014. La columna vertebral fracturada: revisitando intermediarios políticos en Chile, 201-230.

BIRD, Karen; SAALFELD, Thomas; WÜST, Andreas M. Ethnic diversity, political participation and representation: A theoretical framework. In: The political representation of immigrants and minorities. Routledge, 2010. p. 21-42.

BIRNIR, Jóhanna Kristín. Ethnicity and electoral politics. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

BONFIL BATALLA, Guillermo. "El pensamiento político de los índios en América Latina". Anuário Antropológico/79. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1981.

BROUARD, Sylvain; TIBERJ, Vincent. Yes they can: An experimental approach to the eligibility of ethnic minority candidates in France. In: The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities. Routledge, 2010. p. 184-200.

BRUBAKER, Rogers. 1992. Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

BRYSK, Alison. From tribal village to global village: Indian rights and international relations in Latin America. Stanford University Press, 2000.

CANEDO VASQUEZ, G. Una conquista indígena. Reconocimiento de municipios por usos y costumbres en Oaxaca (México), La economía política de la pobreza. CLACSO, 2008.

CASANOVA, Pablo González. Colonialismo interno [una redefinición]. Revista Cubana de Ciencias Sociales, n. 54, p. 249-273, 2021.

CASAUS ARZÚ, M. E. Reformulating the Guatemalan state: The role of Maya intellectuals and civil society discourse. Social Analysis, 51(2), 148–166, 2007.

CEPAL, N. U. Os Povos Indígenas na América Latina. 2014.

CEPAL/CELADE. 2007-2019. Disponível em: https://www.cepal.org/es/temas/pueblos-

indigenas-y-afrodescendientes/banco-datos-pueblos-indigenas-afrodescendientes-america-latina-caribe-piaalc. Acesso em 08/07/2019.

CÉSPEDES BRAVO, R. N. Representación política efectiva en grupos de líderes indígenas del Perú (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis). Universidad Antonio Ruíz de Montoya, 2019.

CHANDRA, Kanchan. Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

COLLIER, David. The comparative method. Political Science: The State of Discipline II, Ada W. Finifter, ed., American Political Science Association, 1993.

COLLIER, David; LAPORTE, Jody; SEAWRIGHT, Jason. Typologies: Forming concepts and creating categorical variables. 2008.In: The Oxford handbook of political methodology. 2008

COPPEDGE, Michael. "The evolution of Latin American party systems". In: S. Mainwating and A. Valenzuela, Politics, Society and Democracy: Latin America. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.

COOPER, F. (1993). Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept. In Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept (pp. 1-20). University of Chicago Press.

COTLER, Julio. "Traditional Haciendas and Communities in a Context of Political Mobilization in Peru." In Rodolfo Stavenhagen, ed., Agrarian Problems, and Peasant Movements in Latin America, 1970.

COTLER, Julio. "The New Mode of Political Domination in Peru." In Abraham F. Lowenthal, ed., The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change under Military Rule. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 44–78, 1975.

CUNHA FILHO, C. M. Dilemmas of contemporary political representation in Bolivia: Social movements, party, and state in Plurinational times. In A. Albala (Ed.), Civil society and political representation in Latin America (2010–2015): Towards a divorce between social movements and political parties? (pp. 131–147). Springer. (2018)

CUNHA FILHO, C.M. Bolivia and the Second Stage of Indigenous Emergence in Latin America: Advances and Challenges. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, 2023.

DAHL, Robert A. Polyarchy: Participation and opposition. Yale University Press, 2008.

DAHL, Robert A. On democracy. Yale university press, 1998.

DA SILVA, Cristhian Teófilo. Movimentos indígenas na América Latina em perspectiva

regional e comparada. Revista de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre as Américas, v. 9, n. 1, 2015.

DA SILVEIRA, Adinan Rodrigues; NEPOMUCENO, Augusto Moutella. O Multiculturalismo como Filosofia Política: Caminhos para uma Justiça Social. Revista de Teorias e Filosofias do Estado, v. 2, n. 1, p. 70-91, 2016.

DIETZ, Henry; DAVID Myers. "The Process of Party System Collapse: Peru and Venezuela Compared." Paper prepared for presentation at the 2001 Congress of the Latin American Studies Association.Washington, DC, September 6–8, 2001.

DUŞA, Adrian; DUŞA, Adrian. The QCA Package. QCA with R: A comprehensive resource, p. 19-46, 2019.

ESPINOSA, Agustín; JANOS, Erika; MAC KAY, Martín. Indigenous Political Participation in Peru: A History of Racism, Exclusion, and Violence. In: Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023. p. 201-232.

FRASER, Nancy Da redistribuição ao reconhecimento? Dilemas da justiça na era pós-socialista. In:

SOUZA, Jessé (org). Democracia hoje: novos desafios para a teoria democrática contemporânea. Brasília: Ed UnB, 2001. p 245-282.

FAGUET, J.-P. Revolution from below: Cleavage displacement and the collapse of elite politics in Bolivia. Politics & Society, 47(2), 205–250. (2019)

FEARON, J.: What is identity (as we now use the word)?, Paper, Stanford University, 1999.

FEARON, J. and D. LAUTO: Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity, International Organization, 54,4, 845-877, 2000. — Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War, American Political Science Review, vol. 97, 1,75-90,2003.

FOWERAKER, Joe. 1995. Theorizing Social Movements. London: Pluto Press.

GAMSON, William A., and David S. Meyer. "Marcos interpretativos de la oportunidad política". En D. McAdam, J. McCarthy and M. Zald, Movimientos sociales: perspectivas comparadas. Madrid: Istmo, 1999.

GLAZER, Nathan. Affirmative discrimination: Ethnic inequality and public policy. Harvard University Press, 1987.

GLAZER, Nathan. Ethnic Dilemmas, 1964-1982. Harvard University Press, 1983.

GOERTZ, Gary. Social science concepts and measurement: New and completely revised edition. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Gómez Peralta, H. (2005). Los Usos y Costumbres en las Comunidades Indígenas de los Altos de Chiapas como una Estructura Conservadora. Estudios Políticos, 8(5), 121–144.

Gurr, Ted Robert with Barbara Harff, Monty G. Marshall, and James R. Scarritt. 1993. Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts.Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 2000. Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

HALL, Peter A. 2003. "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics." In James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 373–406.

_____. Tracing the progress of process tracing. European political science, v. 12, n. 1, p. 20-30, 2013.

HARDIN, R.: Onefor All. The Logic of Group Conflict, Princeton U. Press, Princeton, 1995.

HARMEL, Robert; ROBERTSON, John D. "Formation and Success of New Parties: A Cross-National Analysis." International Political Science Review 6, 4 (October): 501–23, 1985.

Hémond, A., & Recondo, D. (2002). Dilemas de la democracia en México. Los actores sociales ante la representación política. IFE.

HOLSTON, J. (2008). Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil. Princeton University Press.

HONIG, Bonnie. Democracy and the Foreigner. Princeton: Princeton University Press 2001.

HOROWITZ, Donald L. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

HUG, Simon. Altering Party Systems. Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Democracies. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

IVES, Diogo. Multiculturalismo e plurinacionalismo: teorias de representação para a América Latina Multiculturalismo y plurinacionalismo: teorías de representación para América Latina. Anais do II Simpósio Internacional Pensar a América Latina. São Paulo: USP, 2016.

JONES, Karleen Alice. Ethnic party success in Latin America: A study of campaigns and elections in Ecuador. The University of Iowa, 2008.

KECK, Margaret E. TheWorkers' Party and Democratization in Brazil. New Haven: Yale

University Press, 1992.

KECK, Margaret E.; SIKKINK, Kathryn. Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics. Cornell University Press, 1998.

KEMPF, Isabell. 7.«Resistiendo al viento»: avances y retrocesos en el desarrollo reciente de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas en las Naciones Unidas. Pueblos indígenas y política en América Latina. El reconocimiento de sus derechos y el impacto de sus demandas a inicios del siglo XXI, p. 161-180, 2007.

KERNECKER, Theresa; WAGNER, Markus. Niche parties in Latin America. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, v. 29, n. 1, p. 102-124, 2019.

KITSCHELT, Herbert P. Left-libertarian parties: Explaining innovation in competitive party systems. World Politics, v. 40, n. 2, p. 194-234, 1988.

_____. Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities. Comparative political studies, v. 33, n. 6-7, p. 845-879, 2000.

KITSCHELT, Herbert; KSELMAN, Daniel M. Economic development, democratic experience, and political parties' linkage strategies. Comparative political studies, v. 46, n. 11, p. 1453-1484, 2013.

KYMLICKA, Will. Multicultural citizenship: a liberal theory of political rights. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

LACLAU, E.: The making of political identities, Verso, London, 1994.

LANDER, Edgardo et al. (Ed.). A colonialidade do saber: eurocentrismo e ciências sociais: perspectivas latino-americanas. CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales= Conselho Latino-americano de Ciências Sociais, 2005.

LANDMAN, Todd. Issues and methods in comparative politics: an introduction. Routledge, 2002.

LAURENT, V. Indigenous Political-Electoral Representation in Colombia (1990s–2020s): Stakes and Outcomes in Three Decades of Practice. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, 2023.

LINZ, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

LIPSET, S. M.; ROKKAN, S. Party Systems and Voter Alignments. New York: Free Press, 1967

LUCERO, Jose Antonio. 2002. Arts of Unification: Political Representation and Indigenous Movements in Bolivia and Ecuador. Ph.D. diss., Princeton

LUSTICK, I.: Agent-based modelling of collective identity: testing constructivist theory, Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation, vol. 3, núm. 1, 2000.

MANIN, BERNARD. The principles of representative government. Cambridge University Press, 2007: Melbourne.

MAATSCH, Aleksandra. Ethnic citizenship regimes: Europeanization, post-war migration and redressing past wrongs. Springer, 2011.

MCADAM, Doug. "Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions." In Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds. 1996. Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23–40, 1996.

MADRID, Raúl L. The rise of ethnic politics in Latin America. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

_____. Ethnic cleavages and electoral volatility in Latin America. Comparative Politics, p. 1-20, 2005.

_____. Obstacles to ethnic parties in Latin America. In: Challenges of party-building in Latin America. Cambridge University Press, 2016. p. 305-330.

MANIN, Bernard. The principles of representative government. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

MÁIZ, R. (2004). El indigenismo político en América Latina. Revista de estudios políticos, 123, 129–174.

MCCARTHY, John, and Mayer N. Zald. Movimientos sociales: perspectivas comparadas. Madrid: Istmo, 1999.

MEDINA, Iván et al. Análisis cualitativo comparado (QCA). CIS-Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 2017.

MELLO, Patrick A. Qualitative comparative analysis: An introduction to research design and application. Georgetown University Press, 2021.

MEYER, Jean A.; ANAYA GALLARDO, Federico; RÍOS, Julio. Samuel Ruiz en San Cristóbal, 1960-2000. (No Title), 2000.

MIGUEL, L. F. Representação política em 3D: elementos para uma teoria ampliada da representação política. Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, v. 18, n. 51, p. 123-140, fev. 2003.

MONTAMBEAULT, Françoise. The Politics of Local Participatory Democracy in Latin America. Stanford University Press, 2020.

MOOSA-MITHA, Mehmoona. Reconfiguring citizenship: Social exclusion and diversity within inclusive citizenship practices. Routledge, 2016.

MORLEY, Samuel A. 1995. Poverty and Inequality in Latin America: The Impact of Adjustment and Recovery in the 1980s. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

NACIONES UNIDAS. (2021). Relator Especial sobre los derechos de los pueblos indígenas. https://www. ohchr.org/sp/issues/ipeoples/srindigenouspeoples/pages/sripeoplesindex.aspx

NATAL, A. La Sociedad Civil Mexicana como Actor de Cambio Social. Un recuento de su constribución a la Transición Democrática. In H. Millan, M. Morales, & L. A. Fernandez (Eds.), Cambio Político y Régimen Democrático en México. Miguel Angel Porrua, 2010.

_____. Indigenous Political Representation in Mexico: Myths and Realities. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, 2023.

OFICINA DEL ALTO COMISIONADO DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS. (2013). Los pueblos indígenas y el sistema de derechos humanos de las Naciones Unidas. Folleto informativo N.° 9/Rev.

O'GORMAN, Edmundo. La invención de América. Fondo de cultura económica, 2010.

Organización Internacional del Trabajo [OIT]. (27 de junio de 1989). Convenio N.°169 sobre pueblos indígenas y tribales en países independientes. https://www.refworld.org.es/docid/50ab8efa2.html

OIT. (2009a). Informe de la Comisión de Expertos en Aplicación de Convenios y Recomendaciones. Conferencia Internacional del Trabajo 98° reunión. Pueblos indígenas y tribales.

OIT. (2009b). Los derechos de los pueblos indígenas y tribales en la práctica. Una guía sobre el Convenio N.° 169 de la OIT [Archivo PDF]. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/ groups/public/----dgreports/--dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_126163.pdf

OIT. (2013). Comprender el Convenio sobre pueblos indígenas y tribales, 1989 (núm. 169) - Manual para los mandantes tripartitos de la OIT.

OIT. (2017). Panorama Laboral 2017 de América Latina y el Caribe.

OIT. (2018). Consultas con pueblos indígenas sobre reconocimiento constitucional. Experiencias de Chile (2016-2017).

OIT. (2020). Leyes y Políticas Públicas al respecto de pueblos indígenas y tribales. Perfiles de países de América Latina y El Caribe que han ratificado el Convenio sobre pueblos indígenas y tribales, 1989 (núm. 169).

OIT. (2021). Aplicación y promoción de las normas. https:// www.ilo.org/global/standards/ applying-and-promoting-international-labour-standards/lang--es/ index.htm

ORDESHOOK, Peter C.; SHVETSOVA, Olga V. Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties. American Journal of Political Science 38, 1 (February): 100, 1994.

PETERS, B. Guy. Comparative politics: Theory and methods. NYU Press, 1998.

PINTO, C.R.J. Espaços deliberativos e a questão da representação. Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, v. 19, n. 54, p. 97-113, 2004.

PINTO, Rogério Tavares. Escola para quê? Perspectivas e possibilidades: um olhar sobre a Escola da Aldeia Januária, dos índios Tentehar (Guajajara) do Pindaré. Dissertação de Mestrado - Curso de Desenvolvimento Socioespacial e Regional, Universidade Estadual do Maranhão, 2012.

PITASSE FRAGOSO, Katarina. Cosmopolitismo e multiculturalismo: avaliações a partir de uma comunidade quilombola. Pensar–Revista de Ciências Jurídicas, v. 20, p. 128, 2015.

PITKIN, Hanna Fenichel. The Concept of representation. California: University of California Press, 1972

POWER, Timothy J. GONZALEZ, Julio. Cultura política, capital social e percepções sobre corrupção: Uma investigação quantitativa em nível mundial. Rev. Sociol. Polít., Curitiba, 21, p. 51-69, nov. 2003

PUIG, Salvador Marti. et al. Pueblos Indigenas y Politica en America Latina. CIDOB, 2007.

PUIG, Salvador Marti. Las razones de presencia y éxito de los partidos étnicos en América Latina: Los casos de Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, México, Nicaragua y Perú (1990-2005). Rev. Mex. Sociol, México , v. 70, n. 4, p. 675-724, dic. 2008.

_____. The emergence of indigenous movements in Latin America and their impact on the Latin American political scene: Interpretive tools at the local and global levels. Latin American Perspectives, v. 37, n. 6, p. 74-92, 2010.

QUIJANO, Anibal. Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y America Latina. In: CLÍMACO, Danilo Assis (org). Antología esencial: de la independencia histórico-estrutural a la colonialidad/descolonialidad del poder. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2005.

RADCLIFFE, Sarah A. "Development, the State, and Transnational Political Connections:

State and Subject Formations in Latin America." Global Networks 1, no. 1: 19–36, 2001.

RAGIN, Charles. The Comparative Method. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

_____. Fuzzy-Set Social Science. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

REIS, Fábio Wanderley. Mito e valor da democracia racial. Multiculturalismo e racismo: uma comparação Brasil-Estados Unidos, p. 221-232, 1997.

RENNÓ, Lucio Teoria da Cultura Política: Vícios e Virtudes. BIB, Rio de Janeiro, n. 45, pp. 71-92,1998.

RESINA, J. Between Street and Institutions: The Dynamics and Political Strategies of the Indigenous Movement in Ecuador. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, 2023.

RIHOUX, B.; RAGIN, C. Configurational comparative methods. London: Sage, 2009.

RIHOUX, Benoît; DE MEUR, Gisèle. Crisp-set qualitative comparative analysis (csQCA). Configurational comparative methods: Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related techniques, p. 33-68, 2009.

RICE, Roberta; GLIDDEN, Lisa M., Mobilizing Ethnic Identity in the Andes (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), pp. xv+ 129, $56.50;£ 34.95, hb. Journal of Latin American Studies, v. 45, n. 1, p. 190-191, 2013.

RICE, Roberta. Indigenous political representation in Latin America. In: Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. 2017.

RODRÍGUEZ-PIÑERO, Luís; I PUIG, Salvador Martí. La internacionalización de los pueblos indígenas en América Latina:¿ El fin de un ciclo?. Pueblos indígenas y política en América Latina. Barcelona: Editorial Bellaterra/CIDOB, 2007.

RÔMULO, Hesaú; ALBALA, Adrián. Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America: An Overview. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) *Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America*. Springer, p. 1-21, 2023.

RUBIO-MARÍN, Ruth. Immigration as Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

RUDOLPH, Joseph. Ethnicity and Politics in the Contemporary World. In: Politics and Ethnicity: A Comparative Study. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006. p. 1-16.

RUIZ RODRIGUEZ, Leticia. Oferta partidista y comportamiento electoral en América Latina. Moreno, A. y Telles, A.(Coords.). El votante latinoamericano. Comportamiento electoral y comunicación política, p. 19-37, 2015.

RUIZ, Samuel. Mi trabajo pastoral en la Diócesis de San Cristóbal de las Casas. Mexico City: Ediciones Paulinas, 1999.

SANDES-FREITAS, Vitor; BIZZARRO-NETO, Fernando. Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA): usos e aplicações do método. Revista Política Hoje, v. 24, n. 2, p. 103-118, 2015.

SCHMIDT, Vivien A. Comparative institutional analysis. Handbook of Comparative Politics, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p. 125-143, 2009.

SCHNEIDER, C.; WAGEMANN, C. Set-theoretic methods for the social sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

SCHWARTZMAN, S. Representação e cooptação política no Brasil. Dados, Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, n. 7, p. 9-41, 1970.

SHKLAR, Judith N. American citizenship: The quest for inclusion. Harvard University Press, 1991.

SOININEN, Maritta. Ethnic inclusion or exclusion in representation? Local candidate selection in Sweden. In: The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities. Routledge, 2010. p. 165-183.

STOIBER, Michael; CASELITZ, Frederik; HEINELT, Marie-Sophie. How to deal with socio-ethnic conflicts in Latin America? Analysing conditions on multiple levels with fsQCA. In: Paper for the conference "QCA. Applications and Methodological Challenges. 2013.

TARROW, Sidney. Poder en movimiento. Movimientos sociales, acción colectiva y política de masas en el Estado moderno. Madrid: Alianza, 1997.

TAYLOR, Charles. The politics of recognition. Princeton: Princeton University, 1994.

THOMAS, Clive S. "Studying the Political Party–Interest Group Relationship." In Clive S. Thomas, ed. Political Parties and Interest Groups: Shaping Democratic, 2001b.

_____.Political Parties and Interest Groups: Shaping Democratic Governance. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001a.

TILLY, Charles. From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading: Addison Wesley, 1978.

TREJO, Guillermo. Etnicidad y movilización social. Una revision teórica con aplicaciones a la cuarta ola de movilizaciones indígenas en América Latina. Política y gobierno, p. 203-252, 2000.

TRICOT, Tokichen. Movimiento de estudiantes en Chile: Repertorios de acción colectiva¿

algo nuevo?. Revista F@ ro, v. 1, n. 15, 2012.

TRICOT, Tokichen. Pueblos indígenas y política en América Latina. El reconocimiento de sus derechos y el impacto de sus demandas a inicios del siglo XXI. 2008.

TRICOT, Tokichen. Indigenous Representation in Chile. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, 2023.

T TRICOT, T. Autonomía. El movimiento mapuche de resistencia. CEIBO ediciones. (2013)

TRICOT, T. Aukan: Violencia histórica chilena y resistencia mapuche. Ceibo. (2017)

TRICOT, V. Movimiento mapuche: Recuperando Territorio Político Convencional para el siglo XXI., 39, 252–272. (2018)

TRICOT, V. & BIDEGAIN, G.. En busca de la representación política. El partido mapuche Wallmapuwen en Chile. Estudios Sociológicos, 38(113), 375–408. (2020)

URBINATI, Nadia. O que torna a representação democrática? Lua Nova, . 191-228, 2006.

VAN COTT, Donna L. The Friendly Liquidation of the Past. The Politics of Diversity in Latin America. Pittsburgh: U. Press, 2000a

_____. Party system development and indigenous populations in Latin America: the Bolivian case. Party Politics, v. 6, n. 2, p. 155-174, 2000b..

_____. Constitutional reform in the Andes: redefining indigenous-state relations. In: Multiculturalism in Latin America. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2002. p. 45-73.

_____. Institutional change and ethnic parties in South America. Latin American Politics and Society, v. 45, n. 2, p. 1-39, 2003.

_____. From movements to parties in Latin America: The evolution of ethnic politics. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

VILLALBA, S.M. Participation and Political Representation of Indigenous Peoples in Paraguay: Numerous Pending Challenges. In: Albala, A., Natal, A. (eds) Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America. Springer, 2023.

VON BÜLOW, Marisa; BIDEGAIN PONTE, Germán. It takes two to tango: Students, political parties, and protest in Chile (2005–2013). Handbook of social movements across Latin America, p. 179-194, 2015.

WALZER, Michael. Pluralism in Political Perspective', in M. Walzer (ed.), The Politics of Ethnicity (Harvard University Press, Cambridge. Mass.), 1982.

WEIL AFONSO, Henrique; MAGALHAES, José Luiz Quadros de. O Estado plurinacional da Bolívia e do Equador: matrizes para uma releitura do direito internacional moderno. Anu. Mex. Der. Inter, México, v. 12, p. 455-473,   2012 .

WEST, Karleen Jones. Decentralization, the inclusion of ethnic citizens, and support for democracy in Latin America. Latin American Research Review, v. 50, n. 3, p. 46-70, 2015.

WIARDA, Howard J. Comparative politics: Approaches and issues. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.

WICKHAM-CROWLEY, Timothy P.; ECKSTEIN, Susan Eva. "There and back again": Latin American social movements and reasserting the powers of structural theories. Handbook of social movements across Latin America, p. 25-42, 2015.

WÜST, Andreas M. Migrants as parliamentary actors in Germany. In: The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities. Routledge, 2010. p. 270-285.

YASHAR, Deborah J. Contesting citizenship in Latin America: The rise of indigenous movements and the postliberal challenge. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

YÁNEZ, Segundo Moreno; FIGUEROA, José. El levantamiento indígena del inti raymi de 1990. Editorial Abya Yala, 1992.

YOUNG, Iris Marion. Representação política, identidade e minorias. Lua Nova, n. 67, 2006.