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“Indigenous people and their electoral participation during the period from 2000 to 2020: Case studies Ecuador, Colombia and Peru”.

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Cuenca – Ecuador

2022

I dedicate this work to my beloved parents, who had taught me to fight for my dream
and have always been there when I needed it.

My dear brother and sister have been my companions in my constant efforts and have
motivated me to continue and pursue my goals.

My grandmother and cousins have supported me when I felt that I could no longer
continue and I felt discouraged.

With love

Kelly

I love you, mom...

This dedication is for you; this achievement is not only mine; it is more yours than
mine. Since I was little, you have instilled values, responsibility, love, empathy, and you
know? You have done a great job with me.

You are my great example to follow; I love how bold you are, you never give up, and
you always look for a way to see the most beautiful of the day on such a taciturn one.

You have supported me unconditionally; you have believed in my follies, one of which
was to pursue International Studies at the University of Azuay. I am proud to say it, and
I can say this thanks to you.

It is an honor for me to dedicate this achievement to you and, above all, to be your
daughter.

¡What a great blessing!

Jazmín

I thank my parents, Ruth and Juan, for being an example of effort and perseverance. To Grandma Herlinda for her unconditional love and her support during this arduous journey.

To my thesis partner, Jazmín Merino, for having accepted this challenge and putting all her effort into obtaining the results we expected.

All my friends that I met during my university life have been a constant dose of joy and motivation to achieve our goals. We made it, girls!

To our thesis tutor, Damiano Scotton, since he was a great mentor throughout our research and for his patience during the preparation of this dissertation.

To the University of Azuay for allowing me to complete all my studies with trained professionals who have made my university life a path of continuous learning.

Kelly

“Young people get tired no matter how strong they are, but those who trust in God will always have new strength. They will be able to fly like eagles; they will walk without getting tired and run without getting tired.” Colossians 3:23

It is important to express this gratitude by manifesting God, who, throughout my life and especially during my university since it began, passed, and ended, was a greedy source of wisdom, intelligence, love, patience, and strength.

On the other hand, I am infinitely grateful for the sacrifice, love, and support provided by Alvarita, my mother. She is my example to follow, the caffeine in my daily coffee. She, despite every faltering, motivated me to continue and never doubted me.

Likewise, she was, is, and will be the person who shares each of my successes as if they were hers.

I thank my grandmother, Teresa, who gave her a grain of sand to reach my goal. Every morning she would wake up early to prepare me something so that I could have lunch at university and not die of hunger.

Alexandra and Walter, my lovely parents. Thank you for the affection, love, support, and their advices. They became an important pillar in my life. They were, are and will be my safe place.

They say that a good teacher inspires confidence, ignites the imagination, challenges you beyond what you think you are capable of, and helps you instill a love of learning and achieving your dreams.

Melita Vega, thank you for each of your teachings and for seeing that potential that I did not see.

Damiano Scotton, thank you for placing your trust in our thesis and becoming the final guide to complete this great goal.

Also, I want to give a special thanks to my group of classmates from university. They became my friends over time. They made every exam and mental breakdown more bearable. Thanks! Thank you very much for always being that support. But, above all, for being that healthy competition in the race. In a unique way to Kelly, who agreed to be my thesis partner, thank you for your patience and dedication in this last stretch.

Finally, I would like to thank whoever reads this section and the thesis for allowing our experience, research, and knowledge to enter their repertoire of mental information.

Jazmin

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the indigenous participation in the presidential elections from 2000 to 2020 in Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. It is necessary to define the bodies and protocols applicable to these cases, evaluate the particular measures that correspond to these people in the electoral processes, and analyze their inclusion in the parliamentary administration. It is methodologically developed within the qualitative approach, with a retrospective level through the bibliographic review; the design corresponded to the non-experimental longitudinal section. The sample has documents and a bibliography that record these events in the time established for their exploration, a systematic review, and the instrument of the bibliographic file. Throughout history, the legal bodies and protocols applied to indigenous people are the result of the struggles of these groups to demand their rights and recognition in their respective countries. The countries achieve a result that constitutionally declares themselves plurinational, pluricultural, or multiethnic. Similarly, each country has been incorporating the political rights of these communities into its legislation, promoting inclusion and the entry of parliamentary positions (mayors and prefectures).

Keywords: indigenous people, native people, bodies and protocols on indigenous rights, political rights of the indigenous population, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru

Introduction

Popular participation is an essential factor in modern democracies, as greater participation improves and optimizes the flow of helpful information, leading to more legitimate decision-making. Likewise, participation is an element that helps to distribute political power in a balanced manner and helps those affected to assert their interests before the competent authorities. This research paper exposes indigenous participation in the presidential elections from 2000 to 2020, taking Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru as an example.

In Latin America, the indigenous population was considered part of the exploited peasantry until the 1980s. Those who became involved in organizations such as rural associations and left-wing parties led to a dissolution of ethnic identity (Dávalos, 2001; Uriostes, 2001; Stavenhagen, 1997; Yashar, 1997, cited in Espinoza and Gerardi, 2017). Aspects such as the ability to organize and the desire to assert their rights have led to the emergence of dynamic and well-developed social movements in Latin American countries. Thus, the indigenous identity has gained importance. These original populations are not recognized in public policies in many of these nations. Even in some periods, they have been forced to integrate (Martí, 2007, cited in Espinoza and Gerardi, 2017).

Because of the above, it is necessary to carry out this research to answer the following question: How has the participation of indigenous people evolved, and what are the causes of the changes during the period 2000 to 2020: A case study of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru?

It is intended to explain the intervention of the indigenous people in the political sphere since they have been discriminated against throughout history in many aspects and areas.

The general objective of this research is to analyze the participation of indigenous people in the presidential elections during the period 2000 to 2020: Case study Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.

Likewise, the following objectives are generated:

- Define the bodies and protocols in parliamentary matters for the treatment of indigenous people during the period 2000-2020: Case study Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.
- Evaluate the special measures applied to indigenous people in electoral processes from 2000-to 2020: Case study: Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.
- Analyze the inclusion of indigenous people in parliamentary management from 2000-2020: Case study: Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.

This research will have a qualitative approach; according to Hernández et al. (2014), the research is qualitative because non-standardized data is collected and analyzed. A small and unrepresentative sample is often used to understand the criteria and considerations for decision-making better.

Similarly, it is considered a retrospective level; according to Carrasco (2017), it is a research modality that focuses on past events to make a chronological analysis and understand the present. In other words, the retrospective study explores the past of an element, be it a discipline or an art form, to establish its evolution over time and to understand its current state. Likewise, these facts will be explored through a field study and a bibliographic review.

The design corresponds to the non-experimental one, in which, according to Hernández et al. (2014), only the behavior of the phenomenon in its natural environment or under the given conditions is recorded; that is, the researcher will not use or alter any object, but will only rely on interpretation or observation to conclude.

In addition, it will be a longitudinal investigation; according to Hernández et al. (2014), this consists of an observational study and is concerned with using continuous or repeated measures to follow up on specific individuals or events over an extended period, usually years or decades.

The population universe and the sample will be for convenience. Likewise, the sampling will be non-random; this is used when probabilistic sampling is impossible due to time or cost limitations. This sampling method is less rigorous and will be based on the review of documents and bibliography (Hernández et al., 2014).

The technique being used for collecting information will be the exploration of documents. The procedure will be based on the systematic review of sources or documents that

support the subject and contribute to the subsequent analysis immersed in the study. The instrument to be used will be a bibliographic record to collect the information required to develop the study.

CHAPTER I:

PROTOCOLS FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Around 1990, indigenous movements began to emerge in Latin America. These movements demanded the recognition and participation of the State. The appearance of the Indigenous People in several countries has been accompanied by processes of transformation where constitutional changes and reforms have been the pillar of the reorganization of institutions. Motivated by legal difficulties or regime changes, this plan has allowed native movements and institutions to obtain constitutional rights in their defence and express their demands that, over time, these actions would motivate the indigenous group to enter the institutional political context (Acevedo, 2021).

The new constitutions and their transformations often recognized a series of environmental, cultural, and social rights, which reinforced the obligations of a social nature between their towns and the State. The establishment of dialogue on customary law has opened up political opportunities for native groups to be constitutionally recognized, the protection that exceeds international treaties and applicability (Acevedo, 2021).

In addition, it has been proven that the constitutions allow correcting the social imbalance in a unitary State where the indigenous people have no place. It is an opportunity to ensure the duties and rights of the forgotten or insufficiently included actors; it is also a stage in which social progress must be made. This interinstitutional negotiation and mobilization have made it possible to imagine a different way of concord between its indigenous populations and the State. The political alignment of the State recognizes cultural diversity through norms and public policies and redefines the concepts of social relationship, State-nation, and political community (Morales, 2020). From this perspective, the development of an intercultural and multinational state emanates the dilemma of reconciling cultures. Distinction and uniformity of law denote the understanding of a better association between indigenism and the political (indigenous political institutionalization) (Masala & Monni, 2019).

1.1. Protocols of Ecuador

On September 28th, 2008, the Ecuadorian nation approved through a referendum a new Constitution, which came into force on October 20th of the same year. Ecuador is now an intercultural and multiethnic country, which means that it recognizes the existence of different cultures and their traditions, habits, religions, and languages. In Ecuadorian territory, the following nationalities are currently present: Awá – Chachi, Tsáchila, Manta Hancavilca, Epera, Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Waorani, Zápara, Shuar, Achuar, Shiwiar, Kichua from the Amazon; the Kichwa nationality of the “Sierra” (mountain) with its people: Karanki, Otavalo, Natabuela, Kayambi, Kitu – Kara, Panzaleo, Salasaka, Chibuleo, Kisapincha, Huaranka, Puruhá, Kañari and Saraguro.

Ecuador ratified Agreement 169 regarding native and tribal populations in independent nations of the International Labor Organization (ILO) on May 15th, 1998, and it came into force on September 5th, 1991. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (PPII) was endorsed by the General Assembly on September 13th, 2007, with the approval of forty-three States, including the Ecuadorian nation.

In addition, the nation mentioned above has revalidated the jurisdiction of the InterAmerican Commission and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, where jurisprudence and Human Rights (HR) materials related to the participation of Indigenous People in decision-making have been published.

According to articles 11.3, 417, 424, 425, and 426 of the Constitution, the Ecuadorian nation's international human rights instruments revalidated make up the legal system and the constitutional provisions mentioned in their relationship. Hence, both the Declaration and the Convention are also part of the legal system. In this sense, any public official, judge, or prosecutor must apply the most recent norms and interpretations to ensure the effective practice of Human Rights.

Article 1 of the Constitution recognizes that sovereignty resides in the population, whose will be the foundation of public power. It is for it to be executed through the public powers and the direct forms of participation established in the Constitution.

The direct participation procedures endorsed in the Constitution for individuals residing in Ecuador, without segregation, and consequently for the Indigenous People of Ecuador are the following:

- **Rights of Participation (Political):** Article 61 recognizes the rights of direct participation, which refers to the power of the people to choose and be chosen, to intervene in the content of public benefit, to show projects of popular normative initiative, to receive advice, to control the actions of public authorities, to withdraw the mandate that they have granted to popularly elected authorities, to hold public office and to form political movements and parties.

Article 62, by article 11 pair. Article 3 of the Constitution recognizes the right to vote of all individuals over 16 years of age without segregation. So, voting in Ecuador is universal, except for those under 16.
- **Policies and public services:** Article 85 of the Constitution establishes that the participation of nationalities, people, individuals, and communities in the control, evaluation, execution, and formulation of policies and public services that guarantee the human rights established in the Constitution is ensured; Article 95 adds that this participation will be based on the principles of autonomy, respect for differences, equality, public debate, solidarity, popular control, and interculturality.

Article 100 establishes that at all levels of government, participatory bodies will be constituted, made up of elected authorities, representatives of society, and representatives of the dependent regime in the territorial environment of each level of government.
- **Direct democracy:** article 103 guarantees the right to the popular normative initiative given the legislative power or any other body with normative competence. This right contains the participation, through representatives, in the discussion of bills. In addition, the right to expose constitutional transformations is contemplated. Article 104 regulates the popular consultation process, which individuals can request, while articles 105 and 106 regulate the withdrawal of the mandate.
- **Political Representation:** Articles 112 to 117 regulate the right of individuals to be elected, which is linked to the right to form political movements and parties.
- **National Equality Councils:** The current Constitution, while regulating the executive function, also creates the National Equality Councils. These are the bodies in charge of ensuring the entire operation, the realization of the rights established in the Constitution, and international human rights instruments.

They practice their faculties of follow-up, formulation, consideration, compliance, and evaluation of public policies. They work on "ethnic" and intercultural issues and stipulate that these councils will be integrated on a parity basis with representatives of the State and civil society and will be governed by a representative of the executive.

- **The function of Transparency and Social Control:** Article 204 regulates the social control and transparency function that, among other purposes, establishes that it will promote and facilitate citizen participation. One of the institutions that perform this function is the Council for Citizen Participation and Social Control, which, according to article 207, has the following powers:
 - To facilitate and promote the practice of rights related to citizen participation.
 - To facilitate and institute social control mechanisms in matters of public benefit.
 - To allocate the corresponding bodies following the Constitution and the law.

1.2. Protocols of Colombia

For five decades, Indigenous People have appeared on the international scene mainly through their organizations' efforts. However, creating a global tool of international law that manages to ensure its cultural integrity, autonomy, and the protection of its particular requirements has not been easy. Indeed, much of the existing human rights treaties apply to indigenous people in the same way as other people. However, except for the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People and ILO Agreement 169, they were not drafted deliberating on Indigenous People. Most human rights agreements reflect a selfish vision of rights and prerogatives. For many indigenous people, the individual's identity is inextricably linked to the community to which it belongs.

In an attempt to address these and other issues related to the rights of Indigenous People, the United Nations began drafting a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People in 1983. After twenty years of negotiations, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on September 13, 2007. One hundred and forty-three States voted in favor, only four voted against (the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), and 14

abstained. Colombia rejected the Declaration and was the only Latin American nation that disqualified itself (Olsen, 2008).

The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People means excellent progress in the world dispute for the rights of these people. It marks the plan not to continue tolerating iniquities against them. The Declaration is not legally binding like the human rights conventions; hence, the States are not forced to communicate about their compliance. Similarly, this happens with the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, whose importance as a pilot for all subsequent legally binding human rights conventions is beyond doubt (Olsen, 2008).

Likewise, the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People will be a guide for the interpretation of their rights in national and world law. The Declaration contains political and civil rights and cultural, social, and economic rights. Among them is article 3, which guarantees the right of Indigenous People to self-determination. This event is perhaps the most outstanding achievement of the Declaration.

The Indigenous People can determine their political status and their primacy of progress; they also have the right to self-government and independence in their internal affairs. Article 19 obliges the States to investigate the Indigenous People through the institutions that represent them and to cooperate in good faith to obtain their prior, accessible, and informed approval in all administrative and legislative matters that may affect them. Article 26 guarantees the right of Indigenous People to use, obtain, develop and control the lands, spaces, and resources that they habitually own, occupy, use or otherwise acquire (UNICEF, 2008).

Article 29 establishes that the States should protect the productive capacity and the environment of the areas and resources of the Indigenous People. Article 30 inhibits the progress of military actions in those areas except when freely agreed with the Indigenous People involved or if there is evidence of significant danger for the corresponding public benefit. The last aspect is alarming because it equates the notion of public interest with the agreement of the Indigenous People. Being a model of the obligations acquired during the negotiation of the Declaration, it underlines the relevance of preventing military actions in native spaces while the States preserve military sovereignty throughout the nation. The difficulty arises since it is straightforward for a State to affirm the existence

of a danger of public interest, mainly in the scenario of an internal armed conflict such as the one in Colombia (UNICEF, 2008).

Lastly, Article 32 guarantees the right of the Indigenous People to establish primacies, plans for development, and the use of their spaces and resources. The States must obtain the free and informed approval of the Indigenous People involved before allowing any project that affects their resources, spaces, and lands, especially those linked to the use or exploitation of natural resources. However, the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of indigenous people may have relevant implications for Colombia; it will be left aside in the rest of this chapter to focus on the legal framework that exists to protect the rights of indigenous people (UNICEF, 2008)

The Constituent Assembly that transcribed the new Constitution in 1991 included three indigenous representatives: Lorenzo Muelas Hurtado, Francisco Rojas Birry, and Alfonso Peña Chepe¹. His intervention helped include some provisions to protect the rights of the PPII and other racial minorities, beginning with the constitutional principle that Colombia is a multicultural and pluralist State (art. 1). All cultures have the same value and dignity (art. 70), and the State is obliged to protect the cultural and ethnic variety of the country (art. 7). This means that specific measures must be taken to protect the economic, social, and cultural integrity of the Indigenous People and the natural environment from which they depend (arts. 8 and 80). The dialects of the Indigenous People are identified as official languages in their areas, and they have the right to an education in two languages (article 10) that respects and develops their cultural identification (article 68). All individuals are equal before the law; however, the State protects specific measures to promote genuine equality and protect segregated and rejected groups (article 13) (Lozano et al., 2021). Article 286 endorses indigenous areas and municipalities, departments, and districts as territorial entities, political-administrative units with a certain degree of independence. In these Indigenous Territorial Entities (ETP), the indigenous commanders

¹ Lorenzo Muelas Hurtado, Colombian politician, activist, and indigenous leader, member of the Guambiana ethnic group from Cauca.
Alfonso Peña Chepe, Colombian indigenous leader and politician. He participated in the National Constituent Assembly of 1991, representing the demobilized Quintín Lame Armed Movement.
Francisco Rojas Birry, a Colombian politician and the indigenous representative, was later convicted by the courts for illicit enrichment and defended by the indigenous people.

practice self-government, such as collecting taxes and managing economic resources (article 287).

The Constitution does not contain specific indications on the creation of TCEs; however, the distribution of powers between them and the central government indicates that these issues can be resolved by developing an organic law of territorial administration (OAS, 2021).

Nonetheless, article 330 contains a detailed list of independent functions that indigenous commanders must exercise in the areas they possess without limiting this independence to those legally recognized as ECT. This list is highly relevant because 17 years after the Constitution was drafted, there is still no organic law for land use planning and, therefore, there is no ETI. More specifically, the indigenous commanders carry out their independent functions within the security of the indigenous communities (OAS, 2021).

1.3. Protocols of Peru

In Peru, the rights of Indigenous People are protected by the law, but the State has the historical obligation to make them a reality. In this context, the formalization of the right to land, the territory of the Indigenous People, and their communities is an essential point in the national agenda. The last ten years have seen several regulatory and institutional changes in the acceptance and titling of rural and indigenous communities. However, due to the lack of resources, its application has failed. (Camero and González, 2018).

A large part of the Indigenous People's lives in communities in their ancestral areas are also found in distinguished sites such as annexations, settlements, and cities (medium and large) or in other areas to which they have moved. This is so because they had to flee from life threats (rubber, diseases, illegal logging, terrorist violence, drug trafficking) (Camero and González, 2018).

The Ombudsman's Office, in charge of recognizing the rights of Indigenous People in their ancestral areas and protecting their territories, indicates that, according to official figures from the 2007 census, the indigenous population in Peru exceeds 4 million people. 83.11% are Quechua, 10.92% Aymara, 1.67% Ashaninka, and 4.31% correspond to other indigenous people of the Amazon, although some scholars appreciate that the original population is much larger. In addition, 66% of the original population lived in rural areas and 34% in urban areas (INEI, 2009).

In Peru, according to Sánchez (2018), indigenous people have collective human rights endorsed in national and global law and incorporated in regulations:

- **The right to cultural identity:** to treasure, enjoy their customs and differentiate themselves according to their culture (dress, language, food, dance, music, among others).
- **The right to recognize their collective legal personality:** to be recognized by the State as a legal entity with collective rights.
- **The right to autonomy:** to make their decisions, elect their leaders, and establish their norms and forms of organization as indigenous people for the coexistence of their members.
- **The right to self-development:** to choose their development primacies, spontaneously resolve how they organize themselves, how they live, and what they want for tomorrow.
- **The right to land and territory:** official acceptance of territories, traditional and ancestral lands. Therefore, they can register or establish the area where they live with their lineages and carry out their cultural activities before the Peruvian State.
- **The right to use natural resources:** to use, enjoy and benefit from the resources in their area and used traditionally.
- **The right to participation:** to intervene in the social, cultural, political, and economic life of the nation and for the State to consider decisions, and opinions, among others, of the Indigenous People.
- **Right to be heard:** right to be heard and to intervene in decision-making regarding measures that may affect them. It is based on the principle of dignity and equality of all cultures. They must be previously consulted, on a voluntary and informed basis, about the administrative and legal measures that affect or may affect them and the projects carried out in their territory that may affect their rights.
- **Right to intercultural health:** Access to intercultural health care and respect for traditional medicines.
- **Right to intercultural education:** Access to training with an intercultural orientation; therefore, it must be in their mother tongue, respect their faith and beliefs, and include usual ways of training and learning.

- **The right to the protection of collective and traditional knowledge:** to safeguard and respect collective and customary ancestral knowledge so that others do not manage to seize it, such as in the case of medicinal plants.

On the other hand, different world institutions control whether the nations that have adopted agreements, treaties or conventions comply with them or strive to abide by them. Therefore, if the Peruvian State does not demonstrate its' compliance, it may be subject to sanctions. An example is the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), which cares for human rights endorsed in international standards such as the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR) and ILO Convention 169 (López, 2021). As well at the national level, there are the following organizations:

- **The Commission of Andean, Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian People, Environment and Ecology – CPAAAAE:** function of political control, that is, verification of compliance with regulations and laws by the State. It acts upon cases that are communicated to the Commission (based on the reports and complaints admitted) or official cases (communicated by decisions of the Commissioners). After examining the cases, it prepares reports with conclusions and recommendations (Camero and González, 2018).
- **The National Office of Justice and Peace of the Indigenous Justice – ONAJUP:** justice of the peace organization that executes, plans, formulates, manages, and evaluates actions to consolidate and strengthen peaceful justice; community justice. It carries out strategies to coordinate and execute training sessions and information regarding the rights and obligations of Indigenous People (Camero and González, 2018).
- **General Directorate for the Rights of Indigenous People:** is the commissioner to coordinate, evaluate, propose and monitor national policies and regulations for the application of the right to protection, promotion of indigenous languages, prior consultation, development, and first contact of the country (Camero and González, 2018).
- **General Directorate of Intercultural Citizenship:** responsible for formulating and implementing a coherent intercultural policy; protecting, defending, and promoting the rights of Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian People; promoting racial and cultural diversity; building an intercultural nationality, and fighting against segregation for ethnic reasons (Camero and González, 2018).

In short, the legal-based bodies and protocols involved the indigenous people since their inception around 1990 in Latin America. They have existed due to their appearance in various countries, with the demand for their rights and recognition. Cases such as Ecuador, which since 2008, with its new Constitution, became a multiethnic and multicultural country, where the human, labor, social, political, cultural, moral, and ethical duties and rights of the indigenous communities prevail, taking advantage of the provisions of international nature. This has not yet happened in Colombia. Despite years of discussion between the parties, such a declaration has not been possible; however, they abide by international human rights and treaties that benefit them. It was not until 1991 that the Constituent Assembly transcribed the new Constitution that included indigenous representatives; this helped include some provisions to protect the rights of the PPII and other racial minorities, starting with the constitutional principle that Colombia is a State multicultural and a pluralistic country. Finally, in Peru, the rights of Indigenous People are protected by the law by the Ombudsman's Office, which is responsible for recognizing the rights of Indigenous People in their ancestral areas and protecting their territories. Indigenous people have collective human rights endorsed in national and world law and incorporated into the regulations, such as the right to cultural identity, right to autonomy, recognition of legal personality, self-development, land, and territory, to use natural resources, and participate, to interculturality, among others. In addition, there are organizations in charge of ensuring compliance with the regulations regarding the rights of the PPII. Both national and international

CHAPTER II:

SPECIAL MEASURES APPLIED TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES FROM 2000 TO 2020

Indigenous participation in electoral processes has been the subject of discussion and consensus in several South American countries. This participation indicates this population's will to be involved in politics and insertion into modern society, which has also evolved over the years. For this reason, the extraordinary measures that have been applied in the different electoral processes of countries such as Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru from 2000 to 2020 are described below.

2.1. Special measures in electoral processes in Ecuador

In recent years, the electoral participation of indigenous people has been deployed from legal reform and decentralization to becoming managers of their course collectively based on their rights. However, this participation remains an underdeveloped and considered new perspective. It arises from the intention of taking power that has implied the democratization of power relations from local instances; however, a double political strategy is evident in electoral participation and social mobilization, but the game's rules come from the institutional regime.

From this perspective, various provisions, measures, or treaties in the international arena have served as a starting point for different countries, in the case of Ecuador, which adopted the participation of indigenous people in politics based on the universal principle of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. This means that every person without distinction of race, political opinion, sex, language, ethnicity, color, religion, political, or other conditions must exercise national or international rights.

They begin with the Covenant on Political Civil Rights in its article 25, which states that all people, without distinction, have the right to participate in the government's public affairs, either directly or indirectly, through the representation of people chosen for it. Also, to vote and be elected as a mechanism of freedom of expression of their will in authentic, universal, and secret options and access similar conditions in the public functions of their country (ONU, 2021). In the American Declaration of the rights and

duties of operating in its articles 2: rights without any distinction, and 20: the right to vote and participate as part of the government of their country directly or through their representatives (OAS, 2021). Also, within the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, in section II, articles 18 to 25 expressed the political rights, among them that of participating in public affairs, to vote freely and without distinction. Likewise, it expresses that the States must generate the optimal conditions so that the person has political rights and the opportunity to exercise them effectively without any distinction (IACHR, 2021). ILO Convention 169 on indigenous and tribal people establishes that member states must guarantee all the rights established in the legislation of their governments under similar conditions for these people. In this sense, in a consensual manner, each of these international organizations has contemplated equal rights for the indigenous population within the legislation of their country, including political rights (Ilachique, 2012).

Expressly, the National Constitution of Ecuador in 1998, which arises from the reform and due to the indigenous strike, rights of the indigenous communities are incorporated, in this case, political rights, where the indigenous force is placed at the head of social movements. In the year 2003, an indigenous group achieved the first representation in the government cabinet through votes through the Pachakutik indigenous movement, which was the political expression of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE). As a result of the inclusion of the collective rights of these people in the Constitution, the Council for the Development of Nationalities and People of Ecuador (CODENPE) was born, a collegiate body to define public policies and develop strategic projects for indigenous people that are executed in the public entities of the country.

Later in the National Constitution of 2008, in article 57², human and collective rights are affirmed and guaranteed. In literal 1, it expresses the development of the different forms of social organization. While in article 61³ establishes the rights of participation, such as

² Art. 57.- The communes, communities, people, and indigenous nationalities are recognized and guaranteed, in accordance with the Constitution and with the pacts, conventions, declarations, and other international human rights instruments, the following collective rights: 1. Maintain, freely develop and strengthen their identity, sense of belonging, ancestral traditions, and forms of social organization. 2. Not be the object of racism and any form of discrimination based on their origin, ethnic or cultural identity. 3. Recognition, reparation, and compensation to communities affected by racism, xenophobia, and other related forms of intolerance and discrimination.

³ Art. 61.- Ecuadorian men and women enjoy the following rights: 1. Elect and be elected. 2. Participate in matters of public interest. 3. Submit projects of normative popular initiative. 4. Be consulted. 5. Supervise the acts of public power. 6. Revoke the mandate that they have conferred on the popularly elected authorities. 7. Perform public positions and functions based on merits and capabilities, and in a

employment or public functions, with means of transparent designation. Joining or disaffiliating with political organizations; however, there is no intercultural policy in electoral matters that defines a percentage representation in the senate or local government through elections in other countries (Ilachique, 2012).

2.2. Special measures in electoral processes in Colombia

In the case of Colombia, electoral participation has not been a problem for the Government, given that the indigenous population does not exceed 2% of the total population. To this end, the Constituent Assembly of 1991 granted broad and sufficient rights and, in turn, created legal instruments to ensure their compliance and defend them, as is the case of the tutelage action contemplated in article 86 of the Political Constitution of Colombia (CPC).

Likewise, it created legal instruments for the defense and realization of the rights of indigenous people, such as the tutela action reflected in article 86 of the Political Constitution⁴, and institutions that guarantee these rights, for example, the Constitutional Court, which is in charge of dictating norms or rulings on the rights of the indigenous population, the Directorate of Indigenous, Gypsy, and Minority Affairs, with competence in the promotion and recognition of ethnic and sexual diversity (IOM, 2016), also the Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca (ACIN), Regional Indigenous

transparent, inclusive, equitable, plural, and democratic selection and appointment system that guarantees their participation, with criteria of equity and gender parity, equal opportunities for people with disabilities, and intergenerational participation. 8. Form political parties and movements, join or disaffiliate freely from them and participate in all the decisions they adopt. Foreign persons shall enjoy these rights in what is applicable to them.

⁴Art. 86: Every person will have a guardianship action to claim before the judges, at any time and place, through a preferential and summary procedure, by himself or by someone acting on his behalf, the immediate protection of his fundamental constitutional rights, when thing that these are violated or threatened by the action or omission of any public authority.

The protection will consist of order so that the one with respect to whom the guardianship is requested acts or refrains from doing so. The ruling, which will be immediately enforced, may be challenged before the competent judge and, in any case, the judge will refer it to the Constitutional Court for eventual review.

This action will only proceed when the affected party does not have another means of legal defence unless it is used as a transitory mechanism to avoid irreparable damage.

In no case may more than ten days elapse between the request for guardianship and its resolution. The law will establish the cases in which the tutela action proceeds against individuals in charge of providing a public service or whose conduct seriously and directly affects the collective interest, or with respect to whom the applicant is in a state of subordination or defencelessness.

Council of Cauca (CRIC), National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC), Organization of Indigenous People of the Colombian Amazon (OPIAC).

From then on, together with the new Colombian Constitution of 07-07-91, the course of the indigenous population of Colombia changed. Thanks to the participation of 3 indigenous representatives on their behalf in the Constituent as mentioned above Assembly, which incorporated provisions into the Constitution on the rights of this population, and due to a large number of constitutional provisions for them. There is talk of the existence of an indigenous Constitution, although it is not a separate legal instrument but incorporates many articles to guarantee indigenous rights. The same is inequality of provisions with the other legal systems such as the economic, cultural, social, and environmental Constitution. In this sense, this indigenous Constitution can be outlined in 4 aspects to which the norm refers: 1. The rights of indigenous people; 2. The political rights of this population; 3. Self-government, the autonomy of its authorities; 4. The indigenous territory.

For its part, article 7⁵ of the Political Constitution of Colombia specifies the constitutional principle of ethnic and cultural diversity as a direct relationship to the principle of democracy and pluralism contemplated in articles 1 and 2⁶, which express the rights of legislation and jurisprudence. In addition, it establishes the indigenous community as a subject of collaborative law and not various subjects with individual rights.

Additionally, article 330⁷ contemplates the creation of special electoral districts for indigenous senators and deputies, that is, the right to elect their authorities. Then, article

⁵ Article 7. The State recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Colombian nation.

⁶ Article 1. Colombia is a social State of law, organized in the form of a unitary, decentralized Republic, with the autonomy of its territorial entities, democratic, participatory, and pluralistic, founded on respect for human dignity, on the work and solidarity of the people who integrate and in the prevalence of the general interest.

Article 2. The essential purposes of the State are: to serve the community, promote general prosperity and guarantee the effectiveness of the principles, rights, and duties enshrined in the Constitution;

⁷ Article 330. In accordance with the Constitution and the laws, the indigenous territories will be governed by councils formed and regulated according to the uses and customs of their communities and will exercise the following functions: 1. Ensure the application of the legal norms on land use and element of their territories. 2. Design policies and plans and programs for economic and social development within its territory, in harmony with the National Development Plan. 3. Promote public investments in their territories and ensure their due execution. 4. Receive and distribute their resources. 5. Ensure the preservation of natural resources. 6. Coordinate the programs and projects promoted by the different communities in their territory. 7. Collaborate with the maintenance of public order within its territory in accordance with the instructions and provisions of the National Government. 8. Represent the territories before the National Government and the other entities to which they are integrated; and 9.

329⁸ establishes the formation of indigenous territorial entities delimited by the national Government and governed by councils formed and regulated in their communities.

Next, Article 6⁹ of law 21 establishes prior consultation, in which the National Government must consult the indigenous people (their representatives) when legislative or administrative measures that affect them are adopted (Semper, 2006).

Therefore, the indigenous people of Colombia are a political reference for the vindication of their rights, autonomy, and organizational capacity. All these organizations transcended the political and electoral sphere since the will to participate in elections for public positions was highlighted, using as a platform political organization of internal origin of the indigenous movement. For this reason, indigenous leaders are starring in electoral scenarios in Colombia already and have access to seats in the Congress of the

Those indicated by the Constitution and the law. PARAGRAPH. The exploitation of natural resources in the indigenous territories will be done without detriment to the cultural, social, and economic integrity of the indigenous communities. In the decisions that are adopted regarding said exploitation, the Government will encourage the participation of the representatives of the respective communities

⁸ ARTICLE 329. The formation of the indigenous territorial entities will be done subject to the provisions of the Organic Law of Territorial Planning, and their delimitation will be done by the National Government, with the participation of the representatives of the indigenous communities, the prior concept of the Commission of Territorial Planning. The reservations are collective ownership and not alienable. The law shall define the relations and coordination of these entities with those of which they are a part. PARAGRAPH. In the case of an indigenous territory that includes the territory of two or more departments, its administration will be carried out by the indigenous councils in coordination with the governors of the respective departments. In the event that this territory decides to constitute itself as a territorial entity, it will be done by complying with the requirements established in the first paragraph of this article facilitate the participation of all in the decisions that affect them and in the economic, political, administrative and cultural life of the Nation; defend national independence, maintain territorial integrity and ensure peaceful coexistence and the validity of a just order. The authorities of the Republic are instituted to protect all persons residing in Colombia, in their life, honor, property, beliefs, and other rights and freedoms, and to ensure compliance with the social duties of the State and individuals.

⁹ Article 6: 1. In applying the provisions of this Agreement, governments shall: a). Consult the people concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, each time legislative or administrative measures likely to affect them directly are envisaged; b). Establish the means by which the people concerned can freely participate, at least to the same extent as other sectors of the population, and at all levels in decision-making in elective institutions and administrative and other bodies responsible for policies and programs that concern them; c). Establish the means for the full development of the institutions and initiatives of these people and, in appropriate cases, provide the necessary resources for this purpose. 2. The consultations carried out in application of this Agreement must be carried out in good faith and in a manner appropriate to the circumstances, with the purpose of reaching an agreement or obtaining consent regarding the proposed measures.

Republic as mayors, municipal councils, departmental assemblies, and governorships (Chilito EA, 2018).

In 2003, electoral political reform was proposed to minimize the fragmentation of political parties by including unitary lists of representatives in the already existing parties. This caused a withdrawal in the indigenous constituency by the strategies chosen by the candidates who aspired in 2010 and the political alliances with other non-indigenous organizations. Thus, later, other reforms emerged in 2009 and 2011. Last year, the Law of Political Parties and Movements was enacted, which defines provisions related to selecting candidates and presenting lists in the particular constituencies of ethnic minorities (Batlle & Puyana, 2013), (Chilito EA, 2018).

These changes lead indigenous organizations through their leaders to define new strategies to recover the spaces lost since 2003 in electoral matters. These strategies included tactics to secure politics in areas where the indigenous population was the majority and presented better electoral performance, reelecting successful candidates, or even strategically moving from one municipality to another (Chilito E. A., 2018).

From the preceding, the evident active participation of the indigenous communities in Colombia and the extensive strategic experience of their leaders to specify representations in the different seats or seats of public representation to defend their social, political, and economic rights are evident.

2.3. Special measures in electoral processes in Peru

As already mentioned, there are international measures related to political rights without distinction, such as ILO, OAS, UN; IACHR, among others, in which the indigenous communities are protected and accepted by different countries of the world, among them the countries of this study: Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia.

In the case of Peru, throughout history, there has been an ethnic gap for political exercise when compared to the rights exercised by ordinary citizens since it is not the same for all Peruvians due to factors such as gender and ethnic group.

However, the ILO Convention 169 of 1989 has represented the struggle of these people for their legal and political recognition, respect, and implementation by the states,

particularly in the case of Peru. Since 1993, its new Constitution has recognized this way of law, ethnic plurality, and its fundamental rights (IIDH, 2007).

It went through critical stages for indigenous people, such as the transition of the presidency of Valentín Paniagua, who created the Special Multisectoral Commission for Native Communities. It was generating an open dialogue at this stage, with the participation of indigenous organizations, international specialists, and civil organizations. The "Action Plan on Priority Topics of the Native Communities" was obtained, which contained eight topics of interest. The possibility of inserting indigenous people into the National Political Agenda began (IIDH, 2007).

Subsequently, the Declaration of Machu Picchu of 07-20-2021 emerged, made by the presidents of the Andean Community, to promote the fight for the rights of the indigenous population and the poverty of these communities, as well as the Andean Charter of Human Rights, from where work began on constitutional reforms to favor these people (IIDH, 2007).

In Peru, laws have been enacted regarding rights for all kinds of indigenous populations. Since the constitution of 1993, article 2¹⁰ recognizes, for the first time in the history of the country, the rural and native communities establishing their right to identity and language; article 89¹¹ contemplates the right to organizational autonomy giving the connotation of legal and juridical existence (ILO, 2020).

Later in 2002, the regional elections law was enacted, which guaranteed the political participation of indigenous people in this electoral process, and forced the different political parties in Peru to estimate 15% of the spaces for this population in the lists. For regional, municipal and provincial councils, this is called "native quota." It has gradually

¹⁰ Article 6: 1. In applying the provisions of this Agreement, governments shall: a). Consult the people concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, each time legislative or administrative measures likely to affect them directly are envisaged; b). Establish how the people concerned can freely participate, at least to the same extent as other sectors of the population, and at all levels in decision-making in elective institutions and administrative and other bodies responsible for policies and programs that concern them; c). Establish the means for the full development of the institutions and initiatives of these people and, in appropriate cases, provide the necessary resources for this purpose. 2. The consultations carried out in application of this Agreement must be carried out in good faith and a manner appropriate to the circumstances, to reach an agreement or obtain consent regarding the proposed measures.

¹¹ Article 89° The Peasant and Native Communities have legal existence and are juridical persons. They are autonomous in their organization, in communal work, and in the use and free disposal of their lands, as well as in economic and administrative manners, within the framework established by law. Ownership of their land is imprescriptible, except in the case of abandonment provided for in the previous article. The State respects the cultural identity of the Peasant and Native Communities.

incorporated populations that were being excluded; for example, in 1997, women were incorporated, and in 2002, native populations and young people, on the other hand, were incorporated 2006. This participation has particular relevance in the country's history since it reaffirms their right as Peruvian citizens. In turn, they can be the voice to bring before the highest authorities the problems they live in each of their spaces.

As of 2006, the quota for native communities and original people began to be applied. From there, the growing active participation of these communities in the electoral processes in Peru was evidenced. Adding the law of prior consultation with indigenous people, which dates from 2011, and the regulation of this law of 2012, similar to that of Colombia, in its different articles, the consultation and its scope are regulated (ILO, 2020).

This law regulates the consultation and prior, free and informed consent of the indigenous people each time a legislative or administrative measure is intended to be passed that collectively affects these communities. They result in an agreement between the State and the indigenous people and guarantee their inclusion in decision-making through multicultural dialogue. In this sense, the State must inform the indigenous people or their representatives about the implications, causes, impacts, reasons, and consequences of decisions made. Then, the representatives of the indigenous people have a prudent period to analyze them and decide on their approval (ONU-CEPAL, 2011).

Although the validity of these norms has given way to a greater degree of participation of the native people in the aforementioned electoral processes, the number of indigenous quotes that allow effective representation has not been defined. On occasions, these positions have been filled by non-native members. It is also evident that there are no mechanisms for participation in national representation. In recent years, certain indigenous citizens have accessed Parliament; however, this participation has not been representative (Aedo, 2020).

In this sense, it is pertinent to note that, in 2016, the National Electoral Board formed a group with the participation of indigenous representatives, who will carry out work on proposals that allow greater political participation of indigenous people, rural communities, and natives. As part of the electoral reform process, to modify and improve the electoral quota system by increasing indigenous participation and improve the quality of the representation of indigenous people in the Congress of the Republic so that these

communities participate in the decisions in political, legislative, and administrative bodies (Aedo, 2020).

Between October and November 2020, the JNE held the first Indigenous Political Training School. This training program was dedicated to the original or indigenous population leaders who intend to participate in the 2021 general elections. Some of the topics covered were: Democracy and structure of the State; Collective rights of indigenous people and indigenous public institutions; Parties, electoral legislation, and candidacies in the 2021 General Elections; Electoral strategy planning; Political communication and public spokesperson; and Political harassment and violation of human rights in electoral processes (JNE, 2020).

For this, priority was given to six national organizations belonging to the Working Group for the Strengthening of Political Participation (GTPPI), created by Resolution No. 085-A-2016-P/JNE. The priority organizations are the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CPP), the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA), the Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (CONAP), the National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Women of Peru (FEMUCARINAP), the National Organization of Andean and Amazonian Indigenous Women of Peru (ONAMIAP) and the National Union of Aymara Communities (UNCA) (JNE, 2020).

Of 36 registered participants, only 34 concluded favorably the virtual sessions, of which 13 were qualified as outstanding, obtaining the best grades, 07 men and 06 women, distributed in regions as follows: 3 belong to Puno, three from Ucayali, two from Junín, one from Cajamarca, one from Loreto and three from Cusco (JNE, 2020).

In these terms, each of these countries has come together to adhere to international norms that promote the participation of indigenous people in political processes and positions of participation and popular election. In addition, they have regulated and carried out reforms so that the political rights of these communities adhere to the principles of equality and equity as part of the human rights of the citizens of a nation. It is resulting in the inclusion of native people over the years.

Tabla 1 Comparison of Special Measures between Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru

Ecuador	Colombia	Peru
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1998	National Constitution: Reform incorporating the rights of indigenous communities	1991	Political Constitution of Colombia: Broad and sufficient rights are granted, Art. 86, 7, 330 and 329	1993	Obligation to estimate 15% of political positions for the indigenous community
2008	National Constitution: human and collective rights art.1 and art.63 are recognized	2003	Electoral political reform: minimizing the fragmentation of political parties	2002	Regional Elections Law: guarantees political participation of indigenous peoples in the electoral process.
		2009-2011	Political Parties and Movements Law	2006	Quota application for native communities and original peoples
				2011-2012	Law of Prior Consultation and Regulation of this Law
				2016	National Electoral Board: Formation of a group of indigenous representatives
				2020	Indigenous Political Training School: training of indigenous leaders
				2021	Declaration of Machu Picchu: Promotes fight for the rights of the indigenous population and the poverty of these communities

As seen in Table 1, the country that has taken the most measures to include indigenous peoples in political and electoral participation is Peru, unlike the other countries studied

(Ecuador and Colombia). Peru has employed more reforms and laws to include indigenous communities, as well as a school for training leaders to participate in elections.

CHAPTER 3

INCLUSION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENTARY ADMINISTRATION FROM 2000 TO 2020.

After analyzing the bodies, protocols, and special measures aimed at indigenous peoples for their political participation in the countries: Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru, this chapter evaluates how the process of including them in the parliamentary administration since 2000 has been. to 2020, from the institutional point of view, taking into consideration that the penetration of indigenous peoples and multiculturalism in the globalized world has been the product of a global agenda, with several struggles for the recognition of their rights and the human dignity that is currently evident in its political and territorial incursion and the relations of these peoples with the State (CEPAL, 2014).

For its part, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People is undoubtedly the fruit of these struggles. The document summarizes the obligation of the world's governments to adapt their regulations and public policies in favour of this vulnerable sector in the international arena. What has given rise to progressive transformations that reduce the existing gap but that undoubtedly still denotes the persistence of inequality. Which must be channeled by including rights for the benefit of the more than 800 indigenous people of Latin America (ECLAC, 2014).

3.1. Inclusion of indigenous people in the Parliamentary Administration in Ecuador

From a comprehensive perspective, it is essential to consider that there are undoubtedly vital aspects or incentives, in one way or another, associated with parliamentary management and represent the prelude to such linkage of the indigenous group. To be more precise, the insertion of the indigenous in politics is subject to multiculturalism and interculturality, which are associated with the integration of cultural distinction (Poblete, 2018).

From there, the participatory democratic panorama and its struggle against the indigenous move. Thus, interactive political participation becomes a situation that guides the democratic behaviour of the population so that the political revitalization of indigenous

people is already part of their electoral participation and is associated with the institutionally of representative democracy (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, 2007). In this way, the development and empowerment of society are configured from all integrating angles of individuals in a participatory society, and this is contrasted even more from the axiological axis since the latter is the one who manages to associate communities and activate them in the search for a purpose advocated for political purposes, from which the indigenous community is not exempt from this situation (Franco & Flores, 2009; Garzón & Mejía, 2019).

In this regard, it is pertinent to contemplate the electoral participation of the indigenous community to understand its insertion in parliamentary management. Furthermore, with the independence revolutions, elections have been a persevering practice in Latin America, which have been indispensable as a form of expression of the popular will and the exercise of the right to autonomy of the indigenous community (Cuevas & Benítez, 2014). Until the end of the 20th century, the conjunction of rights and indigenous people was complex. However, given the firmness of these inhabitants in the fight for this cause for years, part of their demands has been met (CEPAL, 2014).

In the case of Ecuador, its process of political participation has been long but with firm and significant steps throughout history and is mainly due to the indigenous movements that have fought for their social and political rights. These struggles have materialized since 1937 with the right to protection by the State of their territories. The community authority administered villages, which led to the formation of indigenous associations that were strengthened in the 1980s, causing a shift in the speech. From the union of class to their aspirations, it is possible to compact in the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) to compile the proposals of these people and their political projects (IIDH, 2007).

Hence, at the end of the 1980s, CONAIE became the central indigenous organization in Ecuador that had leadership with autonomy and indigenous intellect, establishing the struggle for the recognition of their peoples and the lands (Larrea, 2004), when the indigenous movement became a political actor, the political system is reformed. Specific appropriate electoral mechanisms are designed for the indigenous movement (García, 2013). Through it, they began to channel approaches from these people to the State, which materialized the political work of the indigenous people with the creation of the National

Directorate for Bilingual Intercultural Education (DINEIB), which allowed their incursion into public administration. This population's social, economic, and health aspects were attended to by institutions dependent on the State. Then a series of criticisms of their representatives are promoted for the weakness in the democratization of their participation, requesting their own and direct space to expose the existing multicultural reality and their interests. They resulted in participation through representatives in political power with voice and constitutional rights (IIDH, 2007).

All this led to the fact that, in May 1990, a series of resistance actions were initiated for several days, starting with peaceful strategies such as the seizure of the church of Santo Domingo located in Quito. Later more forces called for a series of actions in the different provinces after adding more, raising the voice of command over the defense of life and overall the rights of indigenous communities with the slogan culture, land, and freedom. Among the participating communities are: Cotopaxi, Bolívar, Imbabura, Chimborazo, Tungurahua, Pichincha, Loja, Azuay, Cañar, Amazonia (CONAIE, 2020).

Consequently, the leading causes of these movements were: the free legalization of land for indigenous people; reform of article 1 of the Constitution where the recognition of the country as a plurinational State is incorporated; water for both irrigation and consumption; requirement of budgetary funds for indigenous people according to the bill presented by them; infrastructure works for these communities, protection of archaeological sites, among others (CONAIE, 2020).

This uprising provoked society's attention since it showed marginalized, excluded people and a series of questions about the democratic model. A reality in which the indigenous population had no space, with development projects but without results. It was starting other social organizations that sought a process of permanent linkage with these inhabitants (Larrea, 2004). In this sense, since 1990, the organization of the indigenous movement of Ecuador has been a benchmark for other social movements. Moreover, it was possible to position it as an indicator of the social struggle for people's rights and legitimize this organization as the sole representative of indigenous people in Ecuador (CONAIE, 2020). Already in 1994, Congress authorized the recognition of political movements to articulate toward popular vote elections, and thus, the traditional parties lost the monopoly of political hegemony (García, 2013).

Thus, these events became the primary antecedent of the political participation of these people in Ecuador, projecting leaders for the formal political scenario. In 1995 was formed the Plurinational Movement Pachakutik-Nuevo País, a product of the victory of the social movements in a plebiscite held this year against the privatization of social security, the criminalization of strikes by public workers, among other aspects where these communities also had their space with fundamental ideas in the political field, such as: proposing Amazonian organizations for the creation of indigenous political movements, raising mountain organizations, and left political integration. In order to create alliances with greater breadth and progressive tendencies, this movement is politically active in the indigenous community (Larrea, 2004).

This movement, from its beginnings, proposed the foundation of the country through a constituent assembly. This approach was included in 1997 so that in the Constitution of 1998, the rights were recognized of these people collectively. This year, the Council of the People and Nationalities of Ecuador was created as a representative entity of indigenous and black people responsible for the administration of the Project for the Development of Indigenous and Black People (PRODEPINE), which had financing from the World Bank. Moreover, by 2000, CONAIE requested the restructuring of this council. It represented not only ethnic classes but also nationalities and people of Ecuador, which led to conflicts that ended in the internal restructuring of the organization (Larrea, 2004).

It was then for the year 2000 that this movement, in alliance with the young military, returned to be the scene of struggles after causing the overthrow of President Jamil Mahuad. However, at the same time, they favored Pachakutik because, unlike 1996, which achieved 11 mayoralties and no prefectures, this year they achieved 21 mayoralties and five prefectures. For the following year, there were again movements. This time, three indigenous organizations joined CONAIE, the National Federation of Peasant and Indigenous and Black Organizations of Ecuador (FENOCIN) and the Ecuadorian Federation of Evangelical Indians (FEINE), with the participation of indigenous authorities such as Mayors and Prefects – in 2000, where there was repression by the government. Therefore, in 2002, Pachakutik decided not to participate in presidential elections with its candidate but rather to support an electoral alliance with the Patriotic Society Party (Larrea, 2004).

In this way, facts and protests have arisen from these communities that have increasingly forced the different governments of the country to adjust their legal framework to favor or satisfy their demands. However, it has not been easy, especially during this period since 2002, where politically, they starred in an electoral triumph, but socially it did not turn out as they expected.

During their protests was experienced repression, imprisonment of indigenous leaders such as the president of Ecuarunari, attacks on the president of CONAIE and his family, and media trials covering the murder of an indigenous woman in Azuay, among others. They showed a critical period for social and indigenous movements in Ecuador (Larrea, 2004).

All of the above have been necessary to achieve the incursion of indigenous communities into Ecuador's political and parliamentary sphere. A tough road between struggles and experiences currently places this country at the forefront of recognizing their rights. The significant advances are reflected in the 2008 Constitution; however, there is still a long way to go and many rights to be realized (CEPAL, 2014).

Of all this order of ideas, the process or paradigm associated with the political-electoral participation of the indigenous group has gone through several historical processes that, in one way or another, from their claim and struggle, were an incentive to join the body politic. All this political management makes parliamentary management a critical process subject to the inclusion of the indigenous group in parliament. From this paradigm and exposed all these situations related to the insertion of indigenous people in politics, it is essential to contextualize the participation of the indigenous group in parliamentary management.

As a starting point, it is pertinent to mention that a parliament is configured as a triggering body for important decisions, and it is its responsibility to provide for the diversity of the society it represents; which denotes the protection of all groups and that each group is partially represented about the social dimension (Núñez & Navarro, 2017).

Although it is true, the parliamentary representation of the indigenous group has historically been overwhelmed because, in asserting and protecting their rights, it is imperative that these be addressed and that they become necessary policies, such as protection - prevention of conflicts. In this sense, indigenous parliamentary representation

configures a fundamental factor for the benefit of society, given that, from their perspective, the indigenous group, in general, has made possible solutions to the lags of the environment, development, and governance in which it finds itself. Today, indigenous representation in parliamentary management frames a reflection and attribute of the recognition by the State of the interests, demands, and individual rights of indigenous peoples. This representation implies the distinction of indigenism in its identity status and legal nature in Ecuadorian society (Interparliamentary Union, 2014).

Moreover, indeed within the Ecuadorian context, such implications began to have more notoriety in the 1990s since it was from there that indigenous deputies and an indigenous affairs commission underlie the parliamentary administration in 1996 with the foundation of the political movement mentioned above. Representatives of the indigenous community begin to take a leading role within the parliamentary administration; and it is that from 2000 to 2004 in parliament, the national director of Intercultural Bilingual Education and the director of Codempe - Prodepine, held the rank of ministers who were Kichwas; and the ministers of Foreign Relations and of Agriculture and Livestock were also Kichwas (Almeida, Arrobo and Ojeda, 2005), it is from there, where indigenism is involved in the parliamentary administration; In the same way, they have gone 3 times to presidential, sectional and deputy elections in 2000 and 2004, knowing that in the Constitution of Ecuador in its article 27¹², it establishes the vote is mandatory personal and secret in accordance with article 10¹³ of The Organic Electoral Law, code of democracy, highlights that in article 1¹⁴ of the same law it establishes that this sovereign participation occurs under the principles of diversity, interculturality, ideological pluralism and equality, among others. Therefore, in one way or another, these processes have been taking prominence and have been adjusting and adhering to the parliamentary administrative processes of indigenism.

¹²Article 27. The popular vote will be universal, equal, direct and secret; compulsory for those who can read and write, optional for the illiterate and for those over sixty-five years of age. Ecuadorians who have reached eighteen years of age and are in the enjoyment of political rights will have the right to vote. Members of the public force on active duty will not make use of this right. Ecuadorians domiciled abroad may elect the President and Vice President of the Republic, at the place of registration or registration. The law shall regulate the exercise of this right.

On the other hand, the indigenous community in Ecuador, according to the last population census carried out in 2010, is 1,018,176 indigenous people representing 7% of the total population (see figure 1), concentrated in 34 indigenous people among the different provinces and regions of the country (see figure 2).

However, the population has been steadily increasing, for that growth has been considered higher than the non-indigenous population. Also, there has been debate and disagreement in these communities regarding the census results since other organizations figure about 30% of the indigenous population. It is valid to consider that Ecuador is one of the countries with the most diversity globally, concentrated with a more significant proportion in the Amazon. (ECLAC, 2014).

Figure 1 Population relationship of indigenous people of Latin America

País y año censal	Población total	Población indígena total	Porcentaje indígena
	Resultados		
Argentina, 2010	40 117 096	955 032	2,4
Brasil, 2010	190 755 799	896 917	0,5
Chile, 2012 ^a	16 341 929	1 805 243	11,0
Costa Rica, 2011	4 301 712	104 143	2,4
Ecuador, 2010	14 483 499	1 018 176	7,0
México, 2010 ^b	112 336 538	16 933 283	15,1
Panamá, 2010	3 405 813	417 559	12,3
Paraguay, 2012 ^c	6 232 511	112 848	1,8
Uruguay, 2011 ^d	3 251 654	76 452	2,4
Venezuela (República Bolivariana de), 2011	27 227 930	724 592	2,7

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE). (ECLAC, 2014)

¹³Art. 10.- The citizenry expresses its sovereign will, among others, through the popular vote that will be universal, equal, periodic, direct, secret and publicly scrutinized, which is manifested in the times, conditions and under the norms that this law points out to guarantee the permanence and improvement of democracy.

¹⁴Art. 1.- Ecuador is a constitutional State of rights and justice, social, democratic, sovereign, independent, unitary, intercultural, plurinational and secular. It is organized in the form of a republic and is governed in a decentralized manner. Sovereignty resides in the people, whose will be the foundation of authority, and is exercised through the organs of public power and the forms of direct participation provided for in the Constitution and the law. Under the principles of diversity, ideological pluralism and equal opportunities, this law regulates popular participation in the exercise of direct democracy for electoral processes and for the appointment, removal and revocation of the mandate of the authorities of the organs of public power.

Figure 2 Distribution of Indigenous population of Ecuador in the regions and provinces

Ecuador: población según condición étnica y distribución territorial por divisiones administrativas mayores (DAM), 2010

Regiones y provincias	Población indígena	Población no indígena	Porcentaje DAM y total del país		Porcentaje de población indígena DAM y población total DAM
			Población indígena	Población no indígena	
Total de la región de la Sierra	688 124	5 393 218	67,58	40,05	
Chimborazo	174 211	284 370	17,11	2,11	37,99
Pichincha	137 554	2 438 733	13,51	18,11	5,34
Imbabura	102 640	295 604	10,08	2,20	25,77
Cotopaxi	90 437	318 768	8,88	2,37	22,10
Tungurahua	62 584	441 999	6,15	3,28	12,40
Bolívar	46 719	136 922	4,58	1,02	25,44
Cañar	34 213	190 971	3,36	1,42	15,19
Azuay	17 638	694 489	1,73	5,16	2,48
Loja	16 479	432 487	1,62	3,21	3,67
Carchi	5 649	158 875	0,55	1,18	3,43
Total de la región amazónica	246 826	950 496	24,24	4,09	
Morona Santiago	71 538	76 402	7,03	0,57	48,36
Napo	58 845	44 852	5,78	0,33	56,75
Orellana	43 329	93 067	4,26	0,69	31,77
Pastaza	33 399	50 534	3,28	0,38	39,79
Sucumbios	23 684	152 788	2,33	1,13	13,42
Zamora Chinchipe	14 219	77 157	1,40	0,57	15,56
Galápagos	1 754	23 370	0,17	0,17	6,98
Zonas no delimitadas	58	32 326	0,01	0,24	0,18
Total de la región de la costa	83 226	7 521 609	8,17	55,86	
Guayas	46 241	3 599 242	4,54	26,73	1,27
Esmeraldas	15 022	519 070	1,48	3,85	2,81
Santo Domingo de los Tsáchilas	6 318	361 695	0,62	2,69	1,72
Los Ríos	4 965	773 150	0,49	5,74	0,64
Península de Santa Elena	4 164	304 529	0,41	2,26	1,35
El Oro	4 060	596 599	0,40	4,43	0,68
Manabí	2 456	1 367 324	0,24	10,15	0,18
Total del país	1 018 176	13 465 323	100,00	100,00	

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE). (ECLAC, 2014)

In this regard, there is more recent information that indicates that Ecuador the population, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC) year 2020, the total population is 17.4 million inhabitants, and there are 14 indigenous nationalities, made up of approximately 1.1 million inhabitants (6%) and are grouped as follows: 24.1% in Amazonia; 7.3% are the Andean Kichwa who inhabited the Sierra Sur; 8.3% of the Coast region and the Galapagos Islands (IWGIA, 2021). So, in general, it is an actual

controversy, as expressed by ECLAC (2014), to accurately assert the indigenous population in Ecuador.

In this order of ideas, according to article 126¹² of the National Constitution, the legislative function is exercised by Congress. It comprises two deputies for each province and an additional one for each with more than 150 thousand inhabitants. In addition, as for parliamentary groups, political movements can form legislative blocs or join other organizations to form it, as established in article 128¹³ of the Political Constitution of Ecuador.

Therefore, the Pachakutik New Country Plurinational Unity movement (MUPP-NP) has had political participation since its foundation, holding directly elected public positions such as prefects, provincial councilors, municipal mayors, and provincial deputies.

About the provincial prefects, for the year 2002, the election of Mr. César Umaginga Guamán, representative of Cotopaxi by the Pachakutik political movement, was recorded, and by 2004 he had ascended to two positions since Umaginga was re-elected. Mariano Curicama del Chimborazo was also represented. Following the provincial councilors, the representations have shown growth since 2000. This year, four indigenous representations were achieved (3 of the Pachakutik movement and 1 in alliance with the Patriotic Society party). In 2002, greater participation has been achieved due to the alliance Pachakutik with the Patriotic Society, covering more provinces. For 2004-2006, a provincial section is achieved, which falls for the first time on an indigenous woman. In total, six provincial representations were achieved.

On the other hand, about mayors, for 2004-2006 8 indigenous representations were achieved and for 2004-2008, 16 representatives. In this way, the number of indigenous representatives has been growing; for the 2013-2017 elections, five seats were occupied, and finally, in 2017, 4 national representations were occupied. On the other hand, the

¹⁵Article 126: The National Congress shall exercise the Legislative Function, based in Quito. Exceptionally, it may meet in any case part of the national territory. It will be composed of deputies whom each province will elect in many of two and one more for every two hundred thousand inhabitants or a fraction that exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. The number of inhabitants that will serve as the basis for the election will be that established by the last national population census, which must be carried out every ten years.

¹⁶ Article 128: Political parties or movements with many deputies representing at least 10 percent of the National Congress may form a legislative bloc. Parties that do not reach such a percentage may join with others to form it.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) refers to the following figures of political participation of the countries of Latin America, including Ecuador, from 2010 to 2015, which are presented in the following figure:

Figure 3

Political Participation of Latin American countries 2010-2015 according to ECLAC

Latin America (6 countries): indigenous political participation in legislative bodies, around 2010-2015							
Country	Percentage of indigenous peoples in the population	Years	Number of seats achieved by indigenous		Total numbers of parliamentarians	Percentage of indigenous representation	Percentage of indigenous female representation
			Women	Men			
Bolivia	59,0	2009-2015	9	32	130	31,5	6,9
Ecuador	35,3	2009-2013	2	5	124	5,6	1,6
Guatemala	42,8	2012-2016	3	16	158	12,0	1,9
Mexico	7,4	2012-2015	4	10	500	2,8	0,8
Nicaragua	1,8	2006-2009	2	1	92	3,3	2,2
Peru	40,2	2011-2016	2	7	130	6,9	1,5

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE). (ECLAC, 2014)

Accordingly, between 2009 and 2013, the indigenous people of Ecuador occupied seven seats, with 124 indigenous parliamentarians determined by the 5.6% of indigenous representation in the parliament, of which 1.6% is female participation.

In the year 2019, a series of protests were generated by the indigenous sector due to their disagreement with the government policies of Lenin Moreno, as economic policies agreed with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the face of the COVID-19 emergency. This caused a reaction on the part of the Government to control these protests that caused injuries and deaths, so the International Court of Human Rights pointed out serious violations of rights. Based on the demand made by CONAEI before this body, accusations rejected by government officials, and to date, these communities continue to pronounce on aspects requested since 1990, such as water, poverty, adding to this the state of vulnerability due to the pandemic where they have been neglected and an oil spill that affects more than 150 indigenous communities (IWGIA, 2021).

Finally, for the recent 2021 electoral process, controversies and divisions were presented in the indigenous organizations because they had agreed to the null vote due to the

disagreement before the possible fraud of the leftist presidential candidate Andrés Arauz in the first round.

The Pachakutik presented to the CNE challenges related to the results, so the Pachakutik movement expelled one of its top representatives of CONAIE by declaring support for the said candidate. All mentioned previously caused the division of this movement and Leonidas Iza, president of the Indigenous and Peasant Movement of Cotopaxi, both great leaders of the protests of 2019, the disagreement over the designation of Yaku Pérez Guartambel as a candidate for the presidency since, according to a group, it should have been by democratic exercise (IWGIA, 2021).

The results registered 17.8% of null and white votes promoted mainly by the indigenous population, highlighting provinces such as Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, Bolívar, Chimborazo, and Azuay. However, this year the indigenous representation in the political sphere reached only the Pachakutik movement, with 27 seats (3 national, 23 provincials, and one abroad). At the same time, the Patriotic Society party achieved one provincial (European Union, 2021).

In general, the political participation of indigenous communities in Ecuador has had great significance and strengths and weaknesses. Among the strengths, we can mention the achievements of for years they have concretized in the fight for their rights, living conditions, and solution of their communities' problems by having representation, voice, and vote in front of the Government, achieving advances at the constitutional level. However, they have not been wholly heard, much less solved. Their Progress has been plodding and caused by changes in Government, some of them deafened in this situation. In the same way, they have demonstrated their organizational capacity by forming the different political movements through which they have materialized their political participation in the country.

On the other hand, in terms of weaknesses, this participation has generated more conflicts between these groups over the years, which initially shared the exact needs. Today many have adopted their positions before politics, interests, and opinions that have broken the essence of these people, causing divisions, controversies, and disputes among them. There has also been a significant disadvantage to doing politics regarding advertising and electoral spending.

Within the relevance of this process, these groups ceased to be only a cultural reference to become a powerful political force which more and more social or political groups. And that, in less than ten years, has sponsored the fall of three presidents. They have led various protests to benefit their community and the population. They are the recent ones of 2019 that made the package of economic measures sought by President Moreno and the withdrawal of the fuel subsidy derogate. They have also managed to propose candidates for the presidency of the Republic, currently standing out due to their constant struggle. They have the support of a large part of Ecuadorian society that continues to demand better living conditions in a socially excluded and abandoned by different governments of the day.

3.2. Inclusion of Indigenous people in the Parliamentary Administration in Colombia

The indigenous population has resisted in all historical scenarios from colonial times to the present to constitute their identity, the right over their ties, political rights, and their participation as leaders who seek solutions to their problems. It is due to their collective organization within a movement that has developed in Latin America, which has achieved that it is possible to visualize the occupation by these different spaces of governance and participation in the decision-making about their destinies (Ilachique, 2012). Colombia has not been the exception, and that is why it is appropriate to highlight in a summarized way the antecedents that have led these communities to these spaces.

Within the previous social and political context in Colombia, there was a country without political plurality and the full recognition of the rights of guerrilla groups, paramilitaries, and the phenomenon of large-scale drug trafficking. However, the intensity of social struggles was not characteristic of the Colombian population as in the case of Ecuador, to cite an example. However, indigenous communities have had convening and mobilizing power that led to the formation of ethnic and multi-ethnic movements (IIDH, 2007).

As in other countries, the struggle for both land rights and the identity of these people dates back years, a brief reference since the 1970s in specific communities, from there arises in the Department of Cauca the first formal indigenous organization in 1971 called the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC), whose essential objectives were: the recovery of their lands, the protection of them, the strengthening of the power of their

traditional authorities, the defense of their history, customs and language, the need for bilingual education, to manifest about the laws that affected them; by then they were persecuted and attacked by paramilitary groups, for which they had to act clandestinely (Duque, 2008).

These struggles extended in time and space, until the 80s and at the national level. Also, the CRIC served as a reference for the formation of other organizations. Moreover, in a national meeting of indigenous unions, a National Indigenous Coordinator was appointed, creating the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC), the union of organizations that served as a liaison before the State. At the same time, the Organization of Indigenous Authorities of Colombia (AICO) and the indigenous authorities' movement of the South West of Colombia (AISO) emerged, which in 1991 adopted the name of AICO. With critical positions toward the CRIC, the latter alleging lack of character and authority indigenous, since then it has been a strong promoter of the struggle of indigenous minorities (Duque, 2008).

For the decade of the 90s, there was a break between the ONIC and AICO. From there, the object of these organizations for electoral purposes is oriented since, as previously indicated, Colombia is a different panorama because the political participation of these people has not been a problem for the Government, given the small indigenous population existing in the country. It did not exceed 2% of the total population at that time. Therefore, by 1991, the Constituent Assembly granted them broad and sufficient rights, creating legal instruments already analyzed to ensure their compliance and defense. From there, these inhabitants began to star in political scenarios.

In this order of ideas, according to the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) of Colombia, for the year 2018, the indigenous population is made up of:

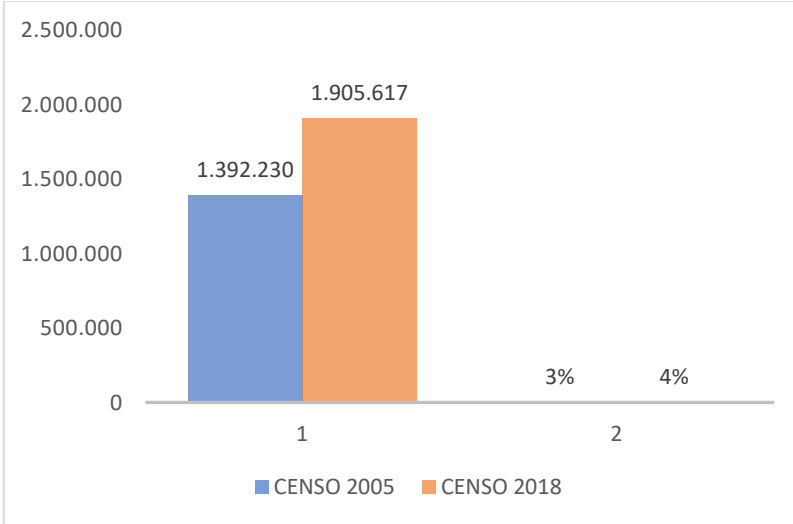
Tabla 2 Indigenous population of Colombia

INDIGENOUS POPULATION DE COLOMBIA YEAR 2018		
DATE	POPULATION	%
2005 CENSUS	1.392.230	3%
2018 CENSUS	1.905.617	4%
AVERAGE	1.648.924	3%

GENERAL POPULATION	48.258.000	100%
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Figure 4

Indigenous population of Colombia



Source: Own elaboration based on DANE data available in (Presidency of the Republic of Colombia, 2019).

For 2018, 1,905,617 inhabitants recognize themselves as such, representing 4% of the nation's total population. It also indicates an increase in this population compared to the 2005 census by one percentage point (1%). There are currently 115 indigenous people, while in 2005, there were 93 (Presidency of the Republic of Colombia, 2019). For 2014 there were 102, according to ECLAC reports as shown in figures 5 and 6, whose population is located mainly in Orinoquía and in the Andean zone, 5% live in reservations of the Amazon, 31.5% of the country's surface is titled as indigenous territory, highlighting according to DANES reports, 710 certified indigenous reservations in 27 departments and 228 municipalities in the national territory, approximately 29.8% of the national territory (ECLAC, 2014).

Figure 5

Number of Indigenous people in Colombia

Latin America: number of indigenous peoples, 2014	
Country	Indigenous people
Argentina	32
Bolivia	39
Brasil	305
Chile	9
Colombia	102
Costa Rica	8
Ecuador	34
El Salvador	3
Guatemala	24
Honduras	7
Mexico	78
Nicaragua	9
Panama	8
Paraguay	24
Peru	85

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE). (ECLAC, 2014)

Figure 6 Indigenous people of Colombia

Colombia					
Achagua	Coreguaje	Hupdu	Masiware	Quillacinga	Waunana
Amonúa	Coyaima	Inga	Matapí	Sáliva	Wayúú
Andakies	Cubeo	Juhup	Mirafía	Sikuani	Wipiwí
Andoke	Cuiva	Jujupda	Mokana	Siona	Witotos
Arhuaco	Cuna	Kakua	Muinane	Siriano	Wiwa
Awá	Curripaco	Kankuamo	Muisca	Taiwano	Yagua
Bara	Desano	Karapana	Nonuya	Tamas	Yamalero
Barasana	Dujos	Karijona	Nukak Maku	Tanigua	Yanacona
Bari	Emberá	Kawiyarí	Ocaina	Tanimuka	Yarí
Betoye	Emberá Chamí	Kichwa	Pacabuy	Tariano	Yaruro
Bora	Emberá Katio	Kofán	Páez	Tatuyo	Yauna
Caméntsa	Eperara Siapidara	Kogui	Pasto	Tikuna	Yeral
Cañamomo	Guambiano	Letuama	Piapoco	Totoró	Yuko - Yukpa - Yuco
Chimila	Guanaca	Macaguaje	Piaroa	Tsiripu	Yucuna
Chiricoa	Guanano	Macahuan	Piratapuyo	Tukano	Yuri
Cocama	Guane	Macusa	Pisamira	Tuyuca	Yurutí
Coconuco	Guayabero	Makuna	Puinabe	U'wa	Zenú

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL)/Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE). (ECLAC, 2014)

Referring to voting is established in the Political Constitution of Colombia in its article 258¹⁴ as a citizen's right and duty that must be exercised secretly and without coercion. The incursion of these organizations into electoral politics began with a candidate for the chamber representing the Department of Cauca by the AICO organization Mr. Lorenzo Muelas in 1990; it should be noted that in these organizations, there are indigenous and non-indigenous activists; but this time they do not obtain any seats. In the same year, for elections for the National Constituent Assembly, they again presented this candidacy, and for its part, the ONIC presented that of Francisco Rojas Birry, and both were elected for which they captured the national interest; but also, from it, divisions, fragmentations, and rivalries were generated between the national organizations (Duque, 2008).

Then, due to the elections for Congress of the Republic in 1991 and some disagreements within ONIC, another national indigenous organization called Alianza Social Indígena (ASI) was constituted in the department of Tolima as a political alternative that houses not only indigenous people but peasant groups, dissidents from other organizations, former guerrilla leaders under the premise of fighting exclusion and ethnic diversity. Then in 1998, the Colombian Indigenous Movement (MIC) emerged (Duque, 2008).

The Indigenous Colombians did not start from scratch in the political scene because the organizations supported them, showed solidarity, and created alliances with other parties. From their participation in the National Constituent Assembly and the Congress of the Republic, they have projected themselves to the country, also achieving the support of other sectors. The participation of indigenous people from 1991 to 2006 marked an increase in mobilization capacity by 54%. During this period, they won seats in all public

¹⁷ Article 258. Voting is a citizen's right and duty. The State shall ensure that it is exercised without any kind of coercion and secretly by citizens in individual cubicles installed at each polling station without prejudice to electronic or computer means. In the elections of candidates, numbered and printed electoral cards may be used on paper that offers security, which will be officially distributed. The Electoral Organization shall provide voters with instruments in which they must be identified and the movements and political parties with legal personalities and candidates under equal conditions. The law may implement voting mechanisms that provide more and better guarantees for citizens' free exercise of this right. **PARAGRAPH 1.** It must be repeated for a single time to elect members of a public corporation, governor, mayor, or the first round in presidential elections when blank votes constitute an absolute majority of valid votes. In the case of unit elections, the same candidates may not stand, while in those of public corporations, lists that have not reached the threshold may not be presented to the new elections.

corporations belonging to the departments with the highest indigenous population density; they also won municipal mayoralties and three times departmental governorships (Duque, 2008).

After in 2011, the Indigenous Social Alliance was renamed the Independent Social Alliance (ASI), with the same policy of housing indigenous and non-indigenous people. Later, it was the cause of divergences because it was demanded that the indigenous condition be preserved; this generated two of the most representative sectors, such as Cauca and Antioquia, had clashes causing the creation of the Indigenous Social Movement (MSI). These controversies seem to have been resolved with Statutory Law 1475 of 2011, which defines aspects related to selecting candidates and presenting lists in the particular constituencies of ethnic minorities analyzed below. After that, for four consecutive periods from 2003 to 2015, consecutively get, the three critical mayors with the highest concentration of the indigenous population (Chilito, 2018).

On the other hand, between the years 2012-and 2016, motivated by dialogue and the signing of the Peace Agreement with the Colombian guerrillas (FARC), relative calm was experienced in the face of the conflicts. Reducing the number of victims of these armed groups, the return of specific indigenous communities to their territories, but after acts of violence and conflict were reactivated at the end of 2018 between indigenous communities and authorities for the breach of constitutionally guaranteed aspects related to lands, infrastructure projects on their territories, presence of armed groups among others (IWGIA, 2021).

For 2020, 112 indigenous victims of the resurgence of violence mentioned above in the different regions were counted without considering the number of Afro-descendants. It is important to note that in Colombia, indigenous people together with black, Raizel, and Palenquera communities converge as an ethnic, cultural, and historical group with constitutionally established rights collectively. Nor was this year favorable in the guarantee of rights of these people, motivated by the non-compliance with the Consultation and Free, Prior, and Informed Consent and about the measures implemented by COVID-19 at the national level, which affect these groups. A dispute over territories of Afro-descendants led to a mobilization of people and communities with the name "Minka." Where thousands of them called for a national strike for the labor rights violated by the measures above and moved to the country's capital with the intention of direct

dialogue with the president, but the latter ignored. Hence, the situation between the parties remains dilated (IWGIA, 2021).

In another vein, Law 649 of 2001 regulates article 176 of the national constitution. The latter is related to the consolidation of the House of Representatives in the different territorial and special circumscriptions concerning indigenous communities. This law in article 1 indicates that the constitution establishes the participation of ethnic groups, political minorities, and Colombians residing outside the country in the chamber as follows: five (5) seats, of which two (2) are for black communities, one (1) for indigenous communities; one (1) for political minorities and one (1) for Colombians abroad. These communities are free to be part of any political party; the law reserves seats for them through particular constituencies; they must have exercised a position of traditional authority in their communities, dealing with an organization duly accredited to the Ministry of the Interior.

As for parliamentary representations in Colombia, from 2000 to the present date, they were developed as follows: for the year 2002, 3 senators of the indigenous population were concretized in the parliament; for 2006, 2 senators, for the 2010 elections, three senators were achieved; for 2014 and 2018, only two representatives. Within these spaces, they have managed to express their needs; they have also promoted movements to continue the struggle that dates back years in defense of their territories.

Consequently, the Colombian indigenous people were favored to specify political participation and positions of public representation in the Government due to the different factors mentioned. However, it is a group that continues to present violations of rights. It is also a problematic situation in the country about the presence of paramilitary groups that threaten, violate, and violate the rights of indigenous people by law. Concerning the number of seats representing these people in parliament, a small number is evidenced by considering the number of people existing in the country and the condition of integration that is legally established by calling ethnic groups the group made up not only of indigenous people. But, Afro-descendants, Colombians abroad, and political minorities are also considered in the distribution of seats.

In addition, the inclusion of sectors of the non-indigenous population in the organizations or political movements for these groups has been a dynamic for them, favoring realizing triumphs in positions of regional representation. Beyond this, it is worth reviewing the

real intentionality of these characters in achieving the projects, plans, or requirements of indigenous communities.

However, not everything is negative because these inhabitants, through their struggles, have conquered important political spaces in their different departments. They have won many mayors, municipal councils, and departmental assemblies that year after year increase. From there, they have exercised and demonstrated the capacity for political organization and leadership valued by society in general.

Therefore, it is vital that this community can be strengthened in the struggle for its rights, which theoretically sounds good. However, the reality is different, even though they have a constitutional advantage from which they cannot fully benefit. Also, delve into other aspects related to indigenous participation that have been strategically used to take advantage of current legal regulations and achieve essential changes in their families, positively impacting the political work of these people who in some way contribute to the democratic exercise of the country

3.3. Inclusion of Indigenous People in the Parliamentary Administration in Peru

Knowing the antecedents of the legal framework of Peru concerning the political rights of indigenous people refers to the Constitution of 1993. All members' fundamental right to their ethnic and cultural identity was recognized and protected by way of law their plurality, which was incorporated as a legal measure in 1994. It adheres to ILO Convention 169 (ECLAC, 2014). It is important to note that one of the reforms of the State contemplates decentralization, which begins with the recognition of Peru as an unequal country. Such a position is due to the difference in economic development in its regions and development opportunities. Therefore, the regulation is based on inclusion, equity, and interculturality because it favors the original people (IIHR, 2007).

The Indigenous Movement of the Peruvian Amazon (MIAP) led the indigenous policy of Peru, created in 1996 to lead municipal elections; by this means, they specified in 1998 11 district mayors throughout the Amazon. Thus, others of an individual nature obeyed calls made by political parties to participate personally in elections. Mainly they have participated locally because their incursion at the regional or national level has been difficult or limited. However, few cases have ventured into public management due to the

modality of lists without any benefit given the lack of training in interpreting electoral regulations (IIHR, 2007).

In the absence of indigenous movements at the national and regional levels affecting the representation of these communities before the Government, alliances of indigenous representatives to political parties with mestizo representation began to emerge.

However, the interests of the original people did not have priority led to divisions that weakened indigenous organizations by not having an authentic representation of their inhabitants and a distinct possibility of being elected as candidates, dividing the indigenous vote in the presence of many alternatives. Similarly, there were cases of indigenous leaders involved in acts of corruption that discouraged their people from their leaders, voting, and political participation (IIDH, 2007).

The native people of Peru have also waged their struggles for the vindication of rights, inclusion, respect, and recognition of their identity throughout history. One of the most recent events in Peru happened in 2009 in the Province of Bagua, when the Government tried to legislate on natural resources of the jungle in the Amazon, obeying the Free Trade Agreement with the United States of 2008. In the eagerness to monopolize natural wealth such as water and minerals, however, it was also committed to ILO Convention 169, which triggered clashes between police and indigenous people leaving 34 people dead; As a result, the Law of Consultation of Indigenous People emerged (Lizarzaburu J., 2010).

A year after these events, indigenous people announced the creation of their political party and their intention to present a presidential bid for the 2011 elections, in the case of their leader Alberto Pizango who led the protests of 2009. The party they call alliance for an Alternative for Humanity (APHU), which implies a political organization and an indigenous movement of national character (Lizarzaburu J., 2010). Also, in 2010, the General Directorate of Interculturality and People' Rights (INDEPA) was created, including the old one (ECLAC, 2014).

About voting, article 31 of the 1993 Constitution stipulates that it is compulsory, personal, free, equal, and secret and is exercised until the age of 70 in a mandatory manner, after which it is optional. The participation of indigenous people in electoral processes and their incursion into parliament has been slow progression with some drawbacks related

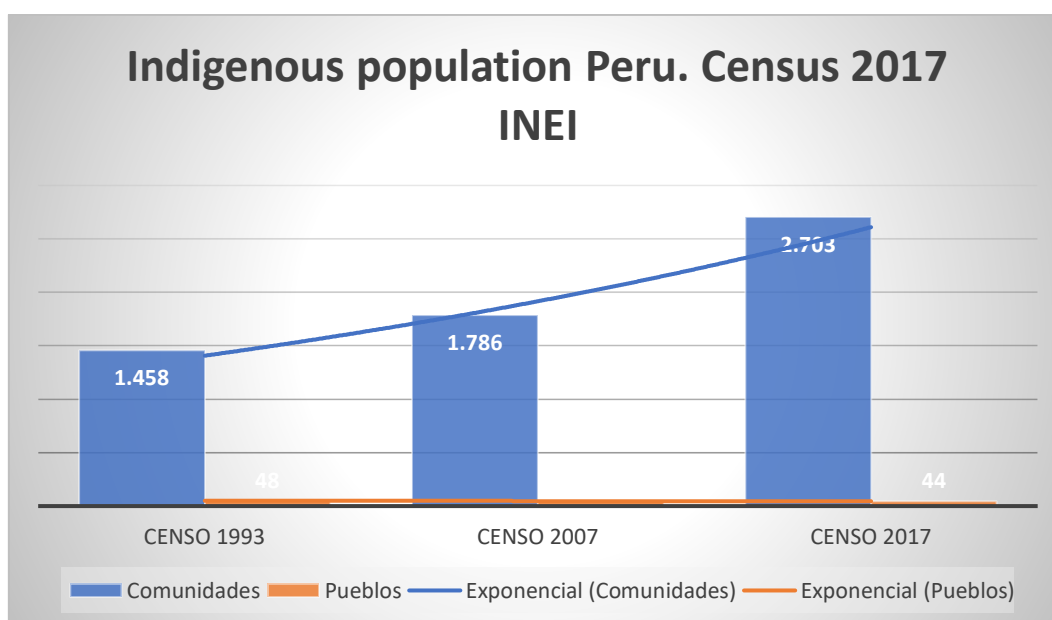
to 1. The interpretation of the norm, 2. The determination of the indigenous electoral population, 3. The intentionality of participation for the reasons indicated.

As for the indigenous population in Peru, for the year 2017. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI), it was made up of 4,300,000 inhabitants this year, and 2,703 communities were registered. These figures have been increasing over the years and, by this date, represent 15% of the total population (INEI, 2018). The following table shows the increase:

Tabla 3 Indigenous Population Peru 2017

INDIGENOUS POPULATION OF PERU YEAR 2017			
DATE	REGISTERED NATIVE COMMUNITIES	NATIVE PEOPLE	Indigenous population 4,300,000
1993 CENSUS	1.458	48	
2007 CENSUS	1.786	51	
2017 CENSUS	2.703	44	
AVERAGE	1.982	48	
GENERAL POPULATION	29.381.884	100%	

Figure 7 Indigenous Population Peru



Source: Own elaboration with reference to tables presented by INEI 2017

Also known in this census is that the department with the highest percentage of communities is Loreto (43.2%), then there is Ucayali (14.2%), followed by Amazonas (13.4%). On the contrary, those with the lowest percentage were: Ayacucho (0.4%), followed by Cajamarca (0.6%) and Huánuco (0.8%). It is convenient to explain that the indigenous or original people are made up of those who have their origin since before the formation of the State, regardless of their legal situation, maintain their social, economic, and political institutions.

Of the 44 indigenous people, they represent the highest percentage of native communities: Ashaninka 19.22% (520 communities), Awajún 15.50% (419 communities), and Kichwa 11.65% (315 communities). There are 40 indigenous languages for this year, the most frequently used being Ashaninka (19.23%), Awajún (15.50%), Kukama Kukamiria (7.99%), and Quechua (7.77%) (INEI, 2018). This data shows the existing conflict regarding the language as a limitation for the incursion of these communities into the different parliamentary decision-making positions. Also, neither official language has been implemented in these communities since there is diversity.

In another order of ideas regarding parliamentary legislation in Peru, article 90¹⁵ of the Political Constitution of Peru establishes that the legislative power resides in Congress with a single chamber with 130 members of Congress for five years. Additionally, the law of regional elections guarantees the political participation of indigenous people in this type of process. Also, it obliges the political parties of Peru to estimate 15% of spaces for this population in the lists for positions in the regional, municipal and provincial councils, known as the native quota.

The principal regulations aimed at improving indigenous political representativeness are also contemplated in the Peruvian electoral norm. It emphasizes that this system has a method of counting votes through a distributing far, based on the D'Hondt method. The vote on each electoral list is divided from the unit between successive integers to cover the number of seats to be distributed. It assigns the first five to the highest number in the table, the second to the second until the number of seats is completed (Aurazo, 2005). It also contemplates the existence of the electoral fence, elections by closed and unblocked list, and preferential voting. The latter, together with the characteristic of the regime based on the "majority rule," excludes the participation of ethnic minorities (Magallanes, 2014). Consequently, the indigenous parliamentary participation recorded to date in Peru is as follows:

In the 2001 election, Paulina Arpasi, candidate for the "Peru Possible" party, was elected; she turned out to be the first Aymara woman to win a seat in Congress. Then, in 2006, the indigenous leaders Hilaria Supa Huamán, representative of Cuzco, and María Sumire were elected as part of the political group "Union for Peru" Hilaria, for her part, appeared as the first congresswoman of Andean origin. She swooned in her language of origin in Perú. Later in the elections of 2011, Eduardo Nayap, the first Awajún indigenous man, was elected as a representative of the "Gana Perú" party in the department of Amazonas (Magallanes, 2014). In 2016, the department of Ayacucho by the Broad Front for Justice, Life, and Freedom chose Tania Pariona. A year later, she became a member of the Nuevo Peru caucus, and in 2018, she became President of the Commission on Women and

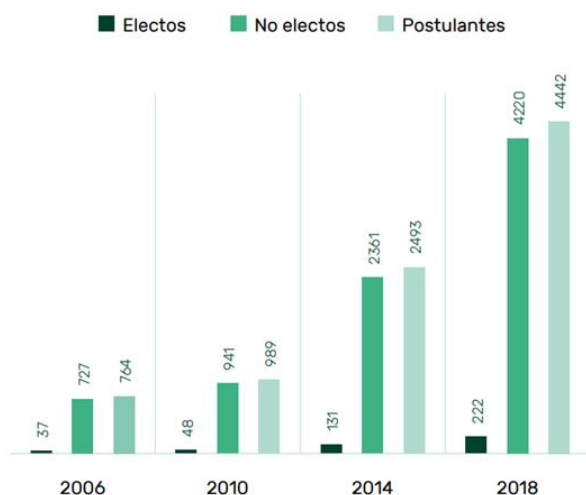
¹⁸Article 90.21 The Legislative Power resides in the Congress of the Republic, which consists of a single chamber. The number of members of Congress is one hundred and thirty. According to the law, an organized electoral process elected the republic's Congress for five years. Candidates for the Presidency of the Republic may not be on the candidates for Congress. Candidates for vice president may simultaneously be candidates for representation in Congress. To be elected a member of Congress, it is required to be Peruvian by birth, reach twenty-five years of age, and enjoy the right to vote.

Family of Congress. From there, she has ensured the rights of indigenous people regarding the situation in front of mining companies, the rescue and activation of the right to prior consultation, human rights and the rights of indigenous women, the human right to water, and the protection of communities due to damage and pollution from oil spills.

About this, the Peruvian Congress exercise functions: The Commission of Andean, Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian People, Environment and Ecology, with the function of discussing issues that affect their communities; but it has not been very effective given the reduced representation of the Amazonian and Andean people in Congress, so it has become more difficult for those who make up these commissions to adequately address the issues of lifts for these people (Magallanes, 2014).

All these historical processes of the Peruvian indigenous community denoted their insertion and participation in electoral politics; however, the parliamentary administration in Peru for the period from 2001 to 2002, presented 3.3% of indigenous representatives in the legislative power, presented a 6.9% participation of indigenous people in the period from 2011 to 2016; which also demonstrates the participatory exercise of indigenous people in parliamentary administration (Organization of American States, 2016).

Illustration 8 Evolution of the political participation of indigenous peoples (2006-2018)



Source: (Indacochea, 2020)

The figure shows the evolution of indigenous participation and representation for the period from 2006 to 2018, denoting the growth for each period and the interest in electoral participation on the part of the indigenous community of Peru. However, only a small proportion is elected, referring to the fact that, out of every 100 applicants, only five are elected (Indacochea, 2020). Although in recent years, the indigenous group has been inserted into parliament, this participation still does not reflect their ideas and is still close to being able to consider it representative (Espinosa et al., 2021).

In short, Peru has also ventured into the political participation of original and native peoples, this fact marked by the constant struggle to achieve social, political and territorial conditions that these communities have given over time and that has materialized in a quite slowly, coupled with their lack of motivation to get involved in political issues and even to elect their representatives as a result of bad experiences in the brief political history covered. Political training is needed for these peoples, having as difficulties the diversity of languages, the geographical distance, even though in this country there is already a political training school for indigenous people promoted by the National Electoral Board, these communities do not know much about the issue of parliamentary participation. , participation quotas, the distribution of positions, among others, for this reason, non-indigenous people have occupied seats that belong by law to indigenous people. In this sense, there is a lack of motivation, information and training to promote their participation and have better participation and the right to express their requirements in order to solve their needs more quickly.

Globally, the conditions have been progressively given for the indigenous population to have participation and popularly elected political representatives throughout history. In the case of Colombia, it has been a country whose indigenous inhabitants have exercised an active political life, with its own regulations and regulatory entities and watchdogs of their compliance; but countries like Ecuador have started with local, then provincial and municipal representations until, through alliances with non-indigenous peoples, they have been able to occupy these positions through lists of the different political parties. However, the Pachakutic party is emerging as a leader in representing peoples. originating. Peru, for its part, is in the process of fighting to achieve a better and greater participation of indigenous peoples in political processes: but it requires greater training

and motivation in achieving the occupation of spaces that allow them to more effectively resolve their social problems.

Summarizing, the parliamentary participation compared between these countries is summarized in the following table:

Tabla 4 Summary of parliamentary participation Ecuador, Colombia and Peru

Cargos electos	Ecuador										Colombia								Perú							
	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007	2009	2013	2017	2021		2000	2002	2003	2006	2009	2012	2014	2015	2018		2001	2006	2009	2011	2014	2018
Población indígena	1.100.00										1.905.617								4.300.300							
Pueblos indígenas	34										102								44							
Alcaldías	21	-	8	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	3	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prefectura	5	2	4	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gobernador	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consejo provincial	11	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	44
Ministerio	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parlamento	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,30	-	-	6,90	-	-
Curul/Asamblea	-	-	-	6	4	7	5	4	27	-	20	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	15	3	-	-	-
Senado	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

According to Table 4, it is observed that Peru concentrates the largest number of indigenous people, however, Colombia has a greater number of indigenous peoples. Regarding parliamentary participation, Ecuador is the country that presents the greatest participation and occupation of spaces not only in parliament but also in mayoralties, prefectures and other regional government positions, due to its organization in a political party with a long history in history that without a doubt it has also had ups and downs, fragmentations and controversies but it has remained over time as an indigenous political reference; but despite their constant struggles, problems remain to be resolved in terms of collective rights with special relevance, such as, for example, consultation and free, prior and informed consent that Colombia and Peru did achieve. Although the table records a greater number of seats than Ecuador, it is because the data found for Peru is up to date, while that for Ecuador was taken as a reference to the data provided by ECLAC, which is recorded up to 2015.

In legislative matters, in terms of the assignment of positions, seats or seats, Ecuador has an advantage by having express participation as a political party or with alliances with other parties, in Colombia, constitutionally they can be formed as parties but this action has been weak, in addition to the fact that the allocation of spaces is quite low since they only have 3 seats distributed between Afro-descendants and the indigenous population (2

to 1) respectively, Peru, for its part, also has ample space if these communities join political organizations since there is an obligation to Reserve 15% for them, however this advantage has not been fully exploited by these residents, and it has been difficult for them to understand the counting system for allocating seats.

Conclusions

With the present study, it was possible to analyze the participation of indigenous peoples in the presidential elections during the period from 2000 to 2020, specifically in the countries: Ecuador, Colombia and Peru.

In the first instance, the expression of the native peoples in claiming their political, social, and cultural rights is based on the different international declarations that each country decides to adhere to the regulations and create its own laws promoting the inclusion of this population in the different processes and human and social activities, as is the case of political participation.

And indeed, the bodies and protocols in parliamentary matters were defined for the indigenous peoples of each of these nations based on the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, since it is the one that promotes or enforces the rights towards the indigenous population; so that the States as bodies take these rights into consideration for the development of relevant protocols and bodies for the benefit of this minority.

Therefore, in Colombia if the legal framework has been implemented, they have also had to found the different bodies in charge of ensuring compliance. Gradually, political rights of citizen participation have been enshrined in electoral processes which, in their beginnings, in each of these nations focused on establishing local governments and having dominance within their own territories, until after their repeated struggles, they managed to occupy positions of popular election at the municipal, provincial and national levels until reaching the present, where there is evidence of parliamentary representation of the PPII at the national level.

Regarding the special measures that are applied to the indigenous peoples in the electoral processes, it can be deduced that the indigenous peoples consider the continuous struggle for their rights, for having voting power in the legislative, administrative decisions that directly affect their rights. common interests. However, the greater effort in Ecuador is not evidenced as such, while in Colombia and Peru a greater direct participation is denoted and with equal conditions to participate as independent peoples and according to their number of inhabitants, the number of parliamentarians or representatives is defined.

in the congress, senate or assembly as the case may be; but they participate under the political strategy of ready vote.

Finally, for the fulfillment of the third objective, the inclusion of political-electoral participation and parliamentary administration from an institutional perspective, the advances in political matters that the PPII of these countries have achieved are highlighted, connoting the case of Ecuador that has several political parties. , managing to position their representatives in the different public positions such as mayors, prefectures, parliament, among others; but it is necessary to specify a fundamental aspect, it is that the perspective or rather the indigenous feminine ideology has been concatenated within the processes and political and parliamentary participation within Ecuadorian institutionality. While Colombia has been the country with the greatest absence of political positions held by indigenous representatives, and inevitably even when it has legislation that favors them, the PPII continue to be victims of exclusion, attacks, violation of rights. On the side of Peru, this nation has had extensive parliamentary political participation of the PPII, occupying public spaces in its provincial and regional beginnings and later national and even representations in organizations that fight for human rights and women's rights, something that years ago it was not seen and that from these spaces they debate about the long way to go in terms of the rights of their communities, it is also important to emphasize that, despite the fact that there is a greater number of indigenous people and people, there are no charges politicians led by indigenous people compared to Ecuador.

It can be specified that despite the fact that, in the present investigation, Peru is evidenced as the nation that has the greatest number of special measures in the study period, unlike Colombia and Ecuador, however, the evidence denoted on the Ecuadorian country It stands out that it is the main protagonist regarding the participation of indigenous peoples in Colombia and Peru.

On the other hand, and from a very general perspective, the awakening of these communities worldwide has given strength to these political groups to make governments change laws, strategies or agreements that favour them; therefore, these communities continue to fight for the fulfilment of their rights with the advantage of having bodies that watch over it. Finally, with this research it has been possible to perceive those indigenous

peoples have a long way to go before their rights are respected and they manage to be considered an important part of the population of each of the countries studied.

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