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| RESEARCH ARTICLE

## The Influence of the Native Quota in the Organization of Local and Regional Indigenous Political Movements

Aleixandre Brian Duche-Pérez<sup>1</sup> ✉ Lolo Juan Mamani-Daza<sup>2</sup> and Elizabeth Mendoza-Quispe<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Universidad Nacional de San Agustín, Arequipa, Perú

**Corresponding Author:** Aleixandre Brian Duche-Pérez, **E-mail:** [aduche@unsa.edu.pe](mailto:aduche@unsa.edu.pe)

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| ABSTRACT

This research, set in a Latin American context, aimed to delve into the political participation of ethnic minorities, particularly indigenous peoples, and its relationship with democracy, political systems, and parties. Using a comprehensive review of literature from various databases, including Scopus, Web of Sciences, Wiley, and EBSCO, and employing the PRISMA method, it sought to understand the political perceptions and preferences of these minorities within society. The study underscored the critical role of ethnic minority participation, especially of indigenous peoples, in guaranteeing representation in the democratic framework. Notable differences emerged in how these minorities view democracy compared to the broader populace. Recognizing ethnic minorities in political roles not only acknowledges their unique challenges but also aids their integration into the political fabric. The overarching conclusion emphasized the indispensable nature of their participation for a just and genuinely democratic society, highlighting the significance of indigenous perspectives on democracy and the pressing need to respect their cultural norms. Political parties also play a pivotal role in influencing perceptions about ethnic diversity. What sets this study apart is its holistic examination of the political engagement of ethnic minorities, shedding light on their views and preferences in relation to democracy and the wider political system, and stressing the role of political parties in fostering a more inclusive political landscape.

| KEYWORDS

Political parties, political participation, indigenous population, ethnic groups.

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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### 1. Introduction

The interaction between indigenous groups and national and international political structures has been a constant throughout modern human history. Indigenous peoples have, since time immemorial, orchestrated resistances and battles to preserve their rights, cultures, and territories. While this relationship has undergone various phases, recent decades have seen a growing indigenous presence in political arenas through the implementation of native quotas in different nations. These quotas aim to ensure the representation and participation of indigenous communities in political decision-making that directly impacts their lives and environments. But, what has been the real impact of these quotas on the organization and strengthening of indigenous political movements at the local and regional levels?

Within the vast literature on the subject, various authors have examined the relationship between the native quota and the consolidation of indigenous political movements. Bullock & Nesbitt-Larking (2013) focused on the

politicization of young Muslims in Canada, highlighting how, although not directly related to quotas, the political participation of these minority groups has evolved towards a holistically indigenous approach. Conversely, Chang-Ling (2012) explored the situation of indigenous women in Taiwan, highlighting gaps and opportunities in their political participation. This gender perspective was also addressed by Worthen (2015), who looked into the political involvement of indigenous women in a broader context.

The influence of native quotas manifests in various ways. While some authors, like Tomaselli (2020), emphasize the significance of these quotas in strengthening indigenous peoples' right to political participation, others, like Muñoz (2015), delve into a historical analysis to understand how the political participation of indigenous groups has evolved and transformed over time.

In the state-building of nations like Colombia, indigenous political participation has been essential, not only in terms of representation but also in defining and articulating specific political agendas (Muñoz, 2015). In the case of Venezuela, Alès (2018) highlights the trajectory of proclamation and denial of rights and indigenous political participation amidst political and social changes.

The Mexican scenario presents a complex picture. While Cadet Odimba & Wetshokonda (2017) examine the right of indigenous women to political participation in Mexico, Rico Montoya et al. (2018) focus on the political involvement of Zapatista children in Chiapas, emphasizing teaching and learning strategies in indigenous organization and resistance.

However, it's not only indigenous peoples fighting for political inclusion and representation. The political involvement of other minority groups, such as the aborigines in Malaysia (Hassan & Nordin, 2021) and natives in Germany (Spaiser, 2012), also sheds light on the complexities and challenges of ensuring genuine inclusion in power structures.

In this landscape, it's crucial to understand how native quotas have influenced the organization of local and regional indigenous political movements. Quotas, far from being a magic solution, are tools that, depending on context and implementation, can either boost or limit indigenous political participation. This review delves into the analysis of this influence, drawing from the provided literature, to illuminate the opportunities and challenges indigenous peoples face in their fight for political representation in the 21st century.

## **2. Methodology**

To conduct this systematic review and answer the study's central question, the PRISMA method (Liberati et al., 2009) was employed, which sets forth guidelines to enhance the transparency and quality of systematic reviews. This method proposes specific steps such as defining a clear question, exhaustively searching the relevant literature, selecting and evaluating the methodological quality of the studies, and ultimately synthesizing and presenting their findings, thereby ensuring reliable reviews for healthcare professionals and researchers.

### **2.1 Identification of Descriptors**

The basic descriptors identified from the proposed research topic are: "political movement" and "indigenous communities". Subsequently, the UNESCO Thesaurus was consulted to first determine their translation into English and secondly to identify broader or related terms to these descriptors. The results obtained are as follows:

Table 1. Descriptors used and related concepts

Descriptor	Related concepts
political movements	political parties, political participation
indigenous communities	indigenous peoples, indigenous populations, aboriginals, natives, tribal peoples, peasant, ethnic group

However, to minimize redundancy in search strings that produce identical or repeated results, the Boolean truncation operator "\*" was used. This operator allows for the search of descriptors that may present various variants.

## 2.2 Inclusion-Exclusion Criteria

To determine if a document is valid, the following criteria were established sequentially:

- Inclusion Criteria (Ic):
  - Ic-1: Texts published from the year 2011 onwards were considered.
  - Ic-2: Scientific articles and proceedings papers (conference papers) were prioritized. Meta-analyses, essays, review studies, books, book chapters, dissertations, reports, theses, letters to the editor, abstracts, articles on the development and validation of instruments, and non-scientific texts were excluded.
  - Ic-3: Only empirical texts were included.
  - Ic-4: Texts written in Spanish and English were selected.
- Exclusion Criteria (Ec):
  - Ec-1: Duplicate articles were removed.
  - Ec-2: Articles that were not available for full-text review were excluded.
  - Ec-3: Articles not addressing indigenous political participation in political parties were discarded.

## 2.3 Descriptor Chain

Search strings in English were created, considering all possible combinations. The Boolean operators "AND" and "\*" were used simultaneously. When descriptors were composed of two words, quotation marks (") were used to achieve more precise searches.

## 2.4 Search and Identification of Documents

The following four databases were used for the search process: Web of Science, Scopus, Wiley, and EBSCO. Additionally, the respective search strings were introduced into each of these bases. Below is a table presenting the results obtained from each chain:

Table 2. Search results according to database and search string

Search String	WoS	Scopus	Wiley	EBSCO	Total
"political movement*" AND indigenous*	4	5	0	3	12
"political movement*" AND aboriginal*	0	1	0	0	1
"political movement*" AND native*	0	0	0	0	0
"political movement*" AND peasant*	0	2	0	1	3
"political movement*" AND ethnic*	3	2	0	4	9
"political part*" AND indigenous*	18	16	0	21	55

"political part*" AND aboriginal*	2	1	0	1	4
"political part*" AND native*	4	3	0	3	10
"political part*" AND peasant*	6	8	0	1	15
"political part*" AND ethnic*	23	27	0	28	78
"political participation" AND indigenous*	15	14	0	14	43
"political participation" AND aboriginal*	1	1	0	1	3
"political participation" AND native*	2	3	0	2	7
"political participation" AND peasant*	1	4	0	1	6
"political participation" AND ethnic*	19	38	7	13	77
Total	98	125	7	93	323

After applying the previously established inclusion and exclusion criteria, the following results were obtained:

Table 3. Number of articles selected based on inclusion-exclusion criteria

		Before	After
Inclusion criteria	Ci-1	323	253
	Ci-2	253	209
	Ci-3	209	194
	Ci-4	194	168
Exclusion criteria	Ce-1	168	40
	Ce-2	40	36
	Ce-3	36	14

After reviewing the articles and applying the inclusion and exclusion criteria, the final sample consisted of 14 articles. These documents were categorized based on criteria such as author, publication year, main objective, methodology, study population or sample, and research location. Table 4 provides a summary of the selected articles:

Table 4. Recapitulation of articles published in databases from 2011 to 2023

N°	Author	Aim	Approach	Sample
1	Yamina (2013)	Understand the role of ethnicity in defining political stances during municipal elections in France.	Qualitative - cross-sectional	45 residents from the Arés region (France)
2	Celis et al. (2013)	Measure to what extent political parties integrate ethnic minorities into their structures.	Qualitative-cross-sectional	4 political parties located in the cities of Antwerp and Ghent (Belgium)
3	Worthen (2015)	Analyze the rejection of indigenous women in Oaxaca, Mexico, to legislative reform initiatives aimed at enhancing their role in local politics, identify potential obstacles to their political leadership, and propose strategies to promote	Qualitative-longitudinal	65 members of the Yatzachitecos community (Mexico)

gender equality in non-liberal contexts.				
4	Helbling et al. (2015)	Discover how partisan rhetoric can influence a negative perception of diversity regarding overall trust.	Quantitative-correlational	Information from 21 European democracies according to the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) (Europe)
5	Huber & Suryanaray (2016)	Explore the incentives that motivate voters from the same group to act uniformly, beyond elitist strategies.	Quantitative-correlational	Data from the Indian population derived from the National Election Studies (NES) of 1999 and 2004 (India)
6	Huyser et al. (2017)	Compare the voter registration, participation, and civic engagement of American Indians and Alaska Natives (AI/AN) with other racial and ethnic groups, and evaluate factors leading to greater civic engagement among these groups.	Quantitative-correlational	U.S. citizens who participated in the civic engagement, voting, and registration supplements of the Current Population Survey's (CPS)
7	Westlake (2018)	Study the impact of ethnic minorities and far-right parties on parties' approaches to multiculturalism.	Quantitative-correlational	Data collected from 19 countries worldwide from the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) and the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
8	Gugerli (2019)	Determine if there are significant differences in attitudes and levels of political participation between indigenous and non-indigenous populations.	Mixed-cross-sectional	121 residents of the state of Yucatán (Mexico)
9	Sonnleitner (2020)	Track trends in participation and voting orientations in indigenous electoral sections in Mexico, taking into account other sociodemographic variables.	Mixed-cross-sectional	105 candidacies submitted in the 28 indigenous Mexican districts (Mexico)
10	Mendoza (2020)	Decipher the role of political parties in Nuevo León, Mexico, in strengthening indigenous electoral participation in Monterrey and its metropolitan area.	Qualitative-interpretative	33 residents of Monterrey, including indigenous people, members of civil organizations, political party representatives, and

				academics (Mexico)
11	Martin & Mellon (2020)	Investigate the causes of the notable partisan disparity between minorities and whites in the UK at the start of their electoral participation.	Quantitative-correlational	Information from 4,579 children and adolescents belonging to ethnic minorities (United Kingdom)
12	Yang (2020)	Evaluate how internal aspects of ethnic political parties, such as ideology, goals, organizational strengths, and founding time, influence their electoral performance.	Mixed-comparative	15 ethnic political parties from various countries in Central and Eastern Europe.
13	Breen (2020)	Detect, examine, and contrast the transformations and interrelationships of different electoral, party, and federal systems in Asia.	Qualitative-cross-sectional	8 liberal democracies in Asia.
14	Aha (2021)	Investigate the resilience of ethnic minority political parties in post-communist Europe in the face of electoral responsibility when forming government coalitions and determine if, in doing so, they outperform their allies in such coalitions.	Quantitative-correlational	Electoral data from 20 government administrations in Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia with national-level representation of ethnic minorities.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Identification of Similarities-Differences/Trends

Fourteen articles were selected based on the proposed inclusion-exclusion criteria. Most of the publications were found in Web of Science (9) and EBSCO (3). Scopus, on the other hand, only had two articles that met the criteria. English was the predominant language of the articles, with 12 entries, followed by Spanish with 2.

The research comes from various countries: Mexico (4), the United States (1), and several European countries, including Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia (2 each), as well as Belgium, the UK, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and France (1 each). Additionally, there were studies from Asian nations: India (2) and Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka, with the latter seven considered in a single study. These investigations span the period from 2013 to 2021, with a higher concentration in 2020 (5 articles), followed by 2013 and 2015 (2 articles each year). The remaining years, 2021, 2019, 2018, 2017, and 2016, had one publication each.

#### 3.2 Issues

Reviewing the studies has revealed four main research lines related to the proposed objectives:

- Indigenous Political Participation:
  - Representation and Leadership: Worthen (2015) analyzes indigenous political participation, focusing on representation and the consolidation of indigenous leadership in political decision-making spheres.

- Participation in Electoral Processes: Research addressing the subject from various perspectives, such as voting trends (Sonnleitner, 2020), incentives to vote (Huber & Suryanarayan, 2016), and civic engagement (Huyser et al., 2018) were identified.
- Political Parties and Indigenous Inclusion:
  - Parties' Relationship with Indigenous Population: Studies focused on how political parties incorporate indigenous minorities (Celis et al., 2013; Mendoza, 2020) and on partisan rhetoric around inclusion, multiculturalism, and indigenous diversity (Helbing et al., 2015; Westlake, 2018). Also, the issue of partisanship among indigenous people is tackled (Martin & Mellon, 2020).
  - Ethnic Minority Political Parties: Aha (2021) investigates electoral responsibility and government coalitions in these parties, while Yang (2020) examines internal factors determining the success of these parties in elections.
- Party, Electoral, and Federal Systems: Breen (2020) investigates the interrelationship of these three systems in Asian countries with a high presence of ethnic minorities.
- Group Perceptions of Ethnic Populations and Political Participation:
  - Attitudes and Participation: Gugerli (2019) delves into the relationship between indigenous populations' attitudes and their levels of political participation.
  - Group Consciousness, Ethnicity, and Participation: Some studies relate group consciousness and ethnic perceptions to their impact on political participation, such as the work by Yamina (2013).

### **3.3 Methodological Balance**

From a methodological perspective, it was identified that the studies adopted the following approaches: 06 had a qualitative nature, 06 were quantitative, and 02 were of a mixed approach. The qualitative studies were conducted under a cross-sectional design (03), longitudinal (01), and correlational (01). On the other hand, the quantitative studies were predominantly correlational in design (06). In the mixed approaches, they followed a cross-sectional design (01) and a comparative design (01).

Regarding the use of populations or samples, it was noted that the majority of the studies utilized databases. There were a total of eight studies that employed databases, with those of a quantitative nature being the most common (06), followed by qualitative ones (02). Concerning sample sizes, qualitative studies had samples ranging from 33, 45, to 65 individuals. Moreover, three studies examined 4 political parties in Belgium, 19 countries globally, and 8 Asian countries, respectively.

As for the quantitative studies, as previously mentioned, the vast majority utilized databases. However, some of these investigations pointed out the samples they worked with. For instance, voting data from 20 governments in 3 countries, 4579 children and adolescents, 105 indigenous candidacies, and 21 democracies worldwide. On the other hand, mixed-method studies employed the following samples: one study considered 121 individuals and another study sampled 15 political parties from Central and Eastern Europe.

Lastly, in terms of research instruments, it was determined that qualitative studies mainly utilized the interview technique (04). In the research by Mendoza, J. (2020), the focus group technique and the CAQDAS (Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) tool were employed. In Westlake, D. (2018), the "Koyck lag model" was used. Additionally, Breen (2020) used document data collection. In Sonnleitner (2020), multivariable regression and correlation models were applied, as well as an exploratory data analysis.

In the quantitative investigations, due to the use of databases, various tools were employed, mainly tests. The following instruments were used: logistic regression models, negative binomial regression models, multivariate regression at various levels as proposed by Gelman & Hill (2006) and Hox (2002), the PVP measure developed by Huber (2016), and cross-sectional models using logistic regression. In Aha's study (2021), it's mentioned that a descriptive statistics analysis and database construction were performed. However, the specific instrument used was

not indicated. In another context, mixed-method research used in-depth interviews and anonymous surveys (Gugerli, 2019) and the application of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) [Crisp-set QCA (csQCA) and fsQCA] in Yang's study (2020).

#### **4. Theoretical Balance**

##### **4.1 Political Participation**

Political participation is a recurring theme in most of the texts selected for review. This theme has been approached from various perspectives. For instance, research has been conducted on the conceptualizations of political participation and the causes and factors that enhance or restrict the participation of certain groups, such as ethnic minorities. Different ways of categorizing political participation and its influence on democratic construction have also been explored. However, it's worth noting that many texts emphasize the barriers faced by certain social sectors in achieving effective political participation.

The situation is analyzed through the causes that range from the design of the political system to the perspective of political parties on interculturality and inclusion. Additionally, several authors agree that political participation is not only manifested in parties and elections but also in various organizations and social spaces. This approach to the topic demonstrates its breadth and complexity. Next, we will present the main theoretical positions and models identified after reviewing the literature on political participation.

##### **4.2 Political Participation of Ethnic Groups**

As mentioned, developments around indigenous political participation are quite extensive and diverse. The following theoretical lines were identified:

- Indigenous political inclusion in political spheres as a form of participation: According to Martínez Espinoza (2015) and Uhlener et al. (1989), in recent years, various political sectors, whether governmental or from organizations and parties, have encouraged the political participation of ethnic minorities. This inclusion in political institutions is seen as a recognition of the relevance of the problems and needs of these minorities, as well as an indicator of political trust and a sense of belonging. However, a central paradox arises: these same institutions, for many years, excluded and limited the possibility of ethnic minorities getting involved or organizing politically. Historically, state structures were configured as uninational entities, coercively responding to multiethnic realities.
- Indigenous political participation in Latin America is shaped by the consequences of multicultural neoliberalism: Tyner & Rice (2012) argue that the interaction between neoliberalism and the emergence of multiculturalism has had negative and limited consequences in recognizing the cultural rights of indigenous peoples. In countries that adopted neoliberal policies, only members of ethnic minorities whose activities aligned with the government's agenda were recognized as citizens. Faced with this situation, various indigenous groups opted for different forms of political resistance, such as mobilizations, organization formation, and protests. Yashar (2005) refers to these actions as manifestations of a "post-multicultural citizenship", which presents a clear indigenous agenda. Consequently, in Latin America, grassroots ethnic movements arose mainly in the thirty years following the implementation of neoliberalism in the region. This contrasts with other regions of the world where such movements have a much longer trajectory.
- Forms of indigenous political participation and their factors of origin: Indigenous political participation takes various forms or modalities, largely influenced by external factors. Authors like Horowitz (2000), Huber & Suryanarayan (2016), and Peterson (1957) argue that divisions and inequalities between ethnic groups can undermine political participation and the democratic process. These divisions, caused by socioeconomic inequalities, conditions of poverty, and historical oppression and marginalization towards indigenous peoples, usually result in decreased political participation. Ethnic conflicts, therefore, obstruct the participation of certain sectors and harm democracy.

In contrast, Tyner & Rice (2012) and Crowley (2001) highlight how political changes influenced by democratization and the Global Indigenous Movement have generated positive impacts on indigenous political participation worldwide. An example is how neoliberalism promoted political decentralization and the attainment of democratic rights, giving local institutions a more prominent role. Participation is strengthened when backed by the regime. Additionally, it is postulated that ethnic diversity and fragmentation can actually enhance the democratic process.

Two contrasting modes of political participation can be identified: a positive one, linked to negotiation and action within the government structure, and a negative one, encompassing more direct and urgent methods, such as protests or riots. The latter is often driven by socioeconomic inequalities, dissatisfaction with government actions, and educational factors, as indicated by Almond & Verba (1963), Banducci et al. (2004), Rosenstone & Hansen (1993), and Muller & Seligson (1987).

Martí (2008), Muñoz (2018), Peterson (1957), and Easton (2012) point out that one of the main forms of indigenous political participation arises from traditional political practices and institutions developed by the communities themselves. These are the practices with which ethnic minorities most identify. However, challenges arise when this System of Uses and Customs seeks to integrate into electoral and partisan systems, which often have a marked Western or conventional influence.

- Challenges and difficulties for the participation of ethnic groups: Schilling-Vacaflor (2008) points out that one of the most significant challenges related to the political participation of ethnic groups arises from internal conflicts in indigenous organizations. These conflicts stem from the tension between indigenous identity and the influence of state hegemony.
- Indigenous electoral political participation: Bartolomé (2006), Peterson (1957), Cornthassel & Witmer (2008), Easton (2012), and Tarrow (2012) note that elections act as an important stimulus for the participation of indigenous communities. The trend of the indigenous vote and its level of electoral participation are directly related to the legacy of historical suppression of these ethnic minorities. Additionally, their own traditions and the defense of their sovereign rights have a strong influence on the political participation of these groups, even guiding the votes of their members towards certain candidates who represent and support their interests.

#### **4.3 Democracy, Representation, and Citizenship in Indigenous Populations**

Discussions related to democracy, representation, and citizenship are broad and diverse. The following theoretical currents were recognized:

- The indigenous critical perspective on democracy: Cardoso & Robles (2007), Osorio (2014), Pajuelo (2007), Martínez Espinoza (2015), Stavenhagen (2009), Wright (2018), McCool et al. (2007), and Leighley (2001) suggest that indigenous populations' criticisms of democracy are deeply rooted in their history of marginalization and relegation. These communities have faced exclusion, discrimination, and disdain within a system leaning towards ethnic, cultural, and social homogenization. For many, democracy is perceived more as an illusory ideal of equality than a reality, given the continued oppression of minorities.

Additionally, although progress has been made in recognizing indigenous political rights, their implementation still faces challenges. These communities continue to grapple with many of the historical barriers previously mentioned.

- The relationship between political representation, democracy, and ethnicity: Bird et al. (2010), Fennema & Tillie (1999), and Jacobs & Tillie (2010) conceptualize political participation as the legitimate avenue ensuring the representation of interests, preferences, and needs in the context of democratic development. Concerning certain social groups, underrepresentation in political institutions is recognized as a democratic

challenge linked to justice and legitimacy. In this light, including ethnic minorities in political positions is perceived as a recognition of their interests and concerns, reflecting political trust and a sense of belonging to the system. However, in practice, the representation of these minorities in political posts remains insufficient.

The reasons for this underrepresentation include these groups' social capital, their demographic size and geographical distribution, their communal political experiences, citizenship regimes, and the dynamics of electoral and partisan systems.

- Conceptions around ethnic citizenship: Angosto Ferrandez (2012) and Leyva et al. (2008) point out that citizenship can be conceived in two ways: one formal or passive and another active or sociocultural. The latter encompasses citizens' political participation.

Regarding ethnic citizenship, it is understood as a claim for civic plurality in the public sphere and represents a democratic challenge due to the demands emanating from this civic perspective. These demands include ensuring a dignified life, respect for cultural expressions, sustainable development aligned with the values and principles of indigenous peoples, and the right to representation that reflects and respects their differences.

#### **4.4 Political Parties and Indigenous Political Parties**

Explorations into political parties are vast and multifaceted. The following theoretical perspectives were identified:

- Political parties defined from an institutional and structural perspective: Sartori (2005) and Lijphart (1999) suggest that definitions attributed to political parties vary and are approached from different angles, such as the institutional and structural. From an institutional perspective, political parties are seen as distinctive institutions of contemporary politics, acting as agents responsible for representing and channeling citizen demands. On the other hand, the structural approach emphasizes the internal organization of parties, highlighting power relations and the dynamics these generate within such structures.
- Functions of political parties and the influence of partisanship on them: Sartori (2005), Fetzer (2000), and Skenderovic (2007) argue that political parties play an essential role in channeling and harmonizing the wills of citizens, grouping them around common interests, affections, and principles, leading to the phenomenon of partisan pluralism.

Sobolewska et al. (2015) and Martin & Mellon (2020) contend that partisanship is shaped by individuals' social identities. This partisan affinity is not only shaped by individual identities but is also influenced by the social class of minorities, resulting in stratification. Additionally, the socialization process plays a crucial role in shaping and directing an individual's partisanship.

- Significance of political parties: Mainwarin & Zoco (2007) and Raldall & Svasand (2002) argue that political parties act as fundamental pillars in the political change process. These entities uniquely ensure adequate political representation and strengthen contemporary democratic structures. In this context, they surpass other forms of organization in relevance and function, such as social movements, pressure groups, independent candidates, or NGOs. It's essential to note that these entities, although valuable in politics, do not seek to replace or emulate the central function that political parties play in the democratic system.
- The crisis of political parties and the loss of voters' trust: Alcántara (2019), Córdova (1991), Duverger (1979), Whiteley (2011), Scarrow & Gezgor (2010), and Katz & Mair (1995) highlight the growing disenchantment of citizens towards political parties and their antidemocratic practices. This discontent is manifested in the decline in memberships and trust levels. The future of this situation and the recovery of citizens' trust in these institutions depend on political parties' ability to reform their structures and internal relations. The

issue becomes even more complex for ethnic minorities, which generally lack a deep-rooted tradition of party affiliation and political involvement.

- Political party performance in power and electoral behavior: Rosenstone and Hansen (1993), as well as Bird et al. (2010), indicate that voters, during electoral processes, tend to evaluate the performance of political parties that were previously in power. This phenomenon is known as "retrospective voting." Through this, parties are rewarded or punished based on their governmental performance. A significant part of this evaluation focuses on economic performance and outcomes. However, discerning economic and political responsibility is often challenging, either due to frequent changes in political parties' composition or because certain economic outcomes aren't easily perceptible at first glance.
- Inclusion of ethnic minorities in political parties: Celis et al. (2013) and Bird et al. (2010) posit that the incorporation of ethnic minority members into political parties strengthens the basis for these groups' meaningful representation. This is particularly relevant since ethnic minorities, for various reasons, are often hesitant to participate individually in the political arena. If the indigenous or minority electoral contingent is significant, political parties will adopt strategies to attract them, adapting their discourse and proposals in these groups' favor. This trend is notably visible in left-wing parties, which often have the backing of communities belonging to ethnic minorities.

Additionally, it's essential to consider these populations' size and geographical distribution. When ethnic minorities are spread across various geographical regions, their influence tends to be greater.

- Performance of indigenous political parties and their relationship with voters: Horowitz (2000) and Bieber (2008) define an ethnic political party as one primarily backed by a specific ethnic group (or groups) and advocates for that group's interests. There are four main categories of these parties: mono-ethnic parties, indigenous parties with candidates from different communities, civic parties sensitive to diversity, and multi-ethnic parties.

These authors argue that the success or failure of indigenous political parties in Latin America is influenced by the party system's structure and the so-called "institutional factors." Concerning voters and their connection to ethnic political parties, the importance of ethnicity and an agenda addressing it when deciding to support and vote for such parties is highlighted. Voters feel genuinely represented by these parties. The loyalty of voters belonging to ethnic minorities is retained as long as they perceive the party enhances their collective's recognition and legitimacy. However, if the party makes significant changes in its direction, it might lose these minorities' backing.

#### **4.5 Approaches on Ethnicity and Indigenous Peoples**

Inquiries into ethnicity and indigenous peoples are extensive and diversified. The following theoretical views were identified:

- Ethnicity understood from sociopolitical, cultural, and subjective characteristics: According to various authors, including Barth (1969), Dawson (1994), Huyser et al. (2018), Jacobs & Tillie (2010), Sobolewska et al. (2015), Khadiagala (2010), and Brubaker (2001), ethnic identities are seen as sociopolitical constructions that are contingent, situational, and intensely intersubjective and relational, similar in this respect to social cohesion. Moreover, it is argued that ethnicity can offer stability during times of political crisis.

Social cohesion influences ethnicity, which manifests in the sociocultural characteristics and lifestyle of ethnic minorities. Some examples include living in the same neighborhood, having a strong religious inclination, or residing in disadvantaged areas.

- Characterization of indigenous peoples according to historical and linguistic approaches: Warman (2003) and Posner (2005) note that various criteria or approaches have been used to identify the indigenous population. Among these criteria, the historical, physical attribute-based, and linguistic stand out. In the historical approach, an indigenous minority is recognized as such if its development began in the pre-Hispanic era. Although some of these minorities also emerged during the Conquest or the colonial period, there is a prevalence of those from the pre-Hispanic period.
- Indigenous organizations and movements as main critics of the State and democracy: Osorio (2014), Pajuelo (2007), and Hansen (2011) indicate that indigenous organizations and movements are the main critics regarding how the State, democracy, nation, and citizenship have been historically constructed. These movements and minorities experienced conditions of inequality and inferiority over an extended period. They formulate these criticisms from within the State and the political system in which they operate.
- Ethnic diversity and its possible implications: Putnam (2007), Uslaner (2002), Alonso & da Fonseca (2012), and Banting & Kymlicka (2006) analyze the consequences of ethnic diversity. Some of these are unfavorable, such as the decrease in solidarity and social trust, both among citizens and within the ethnic group itself. The prejudices and negative stereotypes that members of a society hold play a crucial role in trust towards ethnic minorities.

On the other hand, political parties are essential entities in shaping perceptions of ethnic diversity, as they influence the population through their speeches and debates.

In contrast, there are positive consequences, such as the fact that recognizing a country as multicultural leads to policies in support of ethnic minorities and respect for their cultural practices.

## **5. Discussion and conclusions**

Regarding political participation, the literature review indicates that it is understood as the legitimate pathway that guarantees the representation of interests, preferences, and needs related to democratic development. The underrepresentation of certain social groups in political institutions is seen as a democratic issue of justice and legitimacy. Thus, the inclusion of ethnic minorities in political positions is interpreted as a recognition of their interests and challenges, a sign of political trust in them, and an effort to integrate them into the system.

It is essential to understand the perceptions of indigenous peoples about democracy and the Peruvian political system within which their participation unfolds (Cardoso & Robles, 2007; Osorio, 2014; Pajuelo, 2007; Martínez Espinoza, 2015; Stavenhagen, 2009; Wright, 2018; McCool et al., 2007; and Leighley, 2001). It is also crucial to identify whether these communities prefer to exercise their political participation through their institutions, traditions, and customs (Martí, 2008; Muñoz, 2018; Peterson, 1957; and Easton, 2012).

The aim is to determine whether political parties that self-identify as ethnic truly are and what kind of ethnic-based political party exists in a country (Horowitz, 2000 and Bieber, 2008). Regarding the conceptualization of ethnicity, there is a consensus that it involves sociopolitical constructions that are contingent, situational, and highly intersubjective, like social cohesion (Barth, 1969; Dawson, 1994; Huyser et al., 2017).

Indigenous peoples have been identified and categorized using various criteria similar to those used in other countries: the historical, related to the pre-Hispanic development of these communities, physical attributes, and the linguistic criterion (Warman 2003 and Posner 2005).

The literature suggests that to identify and analyze the effects of the native quota on the internal organization of indigenous political parties at regional and local levels, both qualitative and quantitative approaches are appropriate. Regarding research design, there is a trend towards a cross-sectional approach and a correlational

design, with the latter prevailing. In the first case, the aim is to understand how the political participation of ethnic minorities is structured, whether in parties and political organizations or in more direct forms of confrontation, such as mobilizations and protests. In the second, the relationship between political parties and the inclusion of ethnic minorities is investigated, or the formation and development of ethnic-based political parties in relation to internal and external factors.

As for research techniques, there is a preference for interviews. In studies with correlational designs, various regression models are predominantly used.

Political participation is the legitimate avenue to ensure the representation of interests, preferences, and needs related to democratic development. The underrepresentation of specific groups, such as ethnic minorities, poses a democratic challenge of justice and legitimacy. It's crucial to understand indigenous peoples' perceptions of democracy and the political system and to identify whether they choose to exercise their participation in line with their traditions. Indigenous peoples have been characterized by various criteria, such as historical, physical, and linguistic. It's vital to address the impact of the native quota in indigenous political parties, using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Interviews are a primary research tool.

This review study recommends investigating active citizen participation, focusing on indigenous communities and minorities. This action will strengthen democracy and promote social unity and trust. It's essential to revitalize trust in political parties, centering on inclusion, transparency, and accountability. It's crucial to champion a democracy that values its diversity, aiming for a more inclusive and just future.

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