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APPENDIX: ADDITIONAL INTUITIVE CASES

Carabaya

The province of Carabaya is the first of the theoretically intuitive cases that shows the combination of both high descriptive and substantive representation. The indigenous quota was only recently put in place in 2014, but since then, four of nine council members have been elected due to the indigenous quota. Two of these candidates were top vote getters on their respective ballots and two were members of the winning political party, Project for Integration and Cooperation. Again, it can be seen that successful candidates experienced important professional trajectories within community organizations and, in turn, these organizations supported them. Organizations such as the *rondas campesinas*, enjoyed a lot of legitimacy in the province and also a large degree of unity, due to its role in confronting various regional socio-environmental conflicts.¹

To be sure, the *rondas campesinas* gained a high level of organizational legitimacy and wielded much power throughout the province. In fact, their influence has been so important that they have strategically placed their candidates in various parties and political organizations, in hopes that their candidates would win election, and ultimately forward their members' interests at the council (Vilca 2018). *Rondas campesinas* have historically been seen as a legitimate group among the communities they serve, given that the responsibilities they carry out have an inherently strong

organizational structure.² The *rondas campesinas* in Carabaya play an active role in the development of the local community and the resolution of social conflicts in accordance with their traditional practices and customs; they also oppose extractive activities in the province, given that, as peasants, they view extractive industries as incompatible with their agropastoral livelihoods.³

The global commodity boom of the last decade caused a stark increase in Peru's extractive industries. This boom also saw intensified social conflicts in the Carabaya province, in response to environmental pollution and the violation of social responsibility agreements by private mining companies (and informal miners). The area's extractive practices served as a central theme around which the *rondas campesinas* could rally, ultimately compelling the unification and cohesion of their organizational structure, their political demands, and related actions.

The *rondas campesinas*' internal cohesion and close ties with communities are also reinforced by the development of their leadership. New leaders are formed within the *rondas* themselves, where these individuals assume various responsibilities. What is more, since 2013, the Regional Government of Puno has been implementing a strategy aimed at strengthening the capacities of *rondas campesinas* throughout the region (*Diario Correo* 2015). The patrollers receive training on topics such as: *rondas campesinas* leadership, Andean culture, worldview (*cosmovisión*), geography, *rondas campesinas* rules and regulations, community justice, laws regarding mining concessions, and coordination between ordinary justice and community justice, among others (*Diario Correo* 2015). These programs work to bolster members' leadership capabilities, in addition to the traditional skills acquired through organizational participation; amid a

context of social conflicts over mining conflicts, this has led to high levels of descriptive and substantive representation.

Manu

The province of Manu is the second of the theoretically intuitive cases that demonstrates a combination of both low descriptive and substantive representation. In this Amazonian province, the indigenous quota has been in effect since 2006. Although in both the election of 2006 and 2010 an indigenous council member gained election thanks to the indigenous quota,⁴ in the 2014 elections, neither of the indigenous candidates won election to the council. Therefore, the case of Manu serves as a clear illustration of how the lack of strong candidates results in candidacies that merely “fill” the quota (complying with the legal requirement), and how the indigenous organizations’ paltry support of indigenous candidates has resulted in these organizations’ deficiency in forwarding a viable political agenda.

One issue is that most candidates are devoid of a recognizable leadership trajectory. The two indigenous candidacies of 2006 and 2010 help reveal one of the weaknesses of the quota: each of these two candidates represented all three quotas at the same time. In other words, both candidates were young, indigenous, and female, which represents the typical form of “filling” candidates on the ballot (Espinosa de Rivero 2012). On their respective ballots, these candidates were placed in positions three and four, out of a total number of five candidates and were members of Peru’s APRA Party. The Aprista mayor (2010-2014), who was responsible for overseeing the selection of candidates on the ballot, acknowledged that these two indigenous candidates were

invited on to the ballot because they also fulfilled the other two quotas (gender and youth) (Interview 8). Their candidacies were reported to have developed somewhat by chance, as the candidates had no express political or managerial experience (Interview 9).⁵ Moreover, the indigenous candidate who was elected was not a widely recognized figure among their own community (Interview 10), nor had the support of local indigenous organizations.

Another issue is that the local indigenous organization, the Haakbut, Yine, and Matsiguenka Council (COHARYIMA), has little presence in the province, a weak organizational structure, and scarce resources to promote their indigenous agenda.⁶ In the Manu province, there are no major conflicts. In fact, the native communities collaborated with the local mayor to support the extractive activities by the company HuntOil. This development further weakened COHARYIMA and temporarily severed their ties with FENAMAD (Interview 10). Consequently, it is not surprising that the council is not perceived as a “relevant intermediary for the implementation of indigenous policies” (Interview 11), while indigenous demands (mainly, the titling of ancestral territories) have yet to be met. Although such proposals are accepted (especially during electoral campaigns), the interviewee concluded, saying: “here we don’t give importance to indigenous issues” (Interview 11).

INTERVIEWS CITED IN THE APPENDIX

Interview 8. Mayor of Manu. Salvación, Madre de Dios. October 2013.

Interview 9. Councilor, Manu. Salvación, Madre de Dios. October 2013.

Interview 10. President of Shintuya Native Community. Salvación, Madre de Dios.

October 2013.

Interview 11. Head of Deputy Regional Office of Development, Municipality of Manu.

Salvación, Madre de Dios. October 2013.

Vilca, Paulo. 2018. Personal interview. Lima, August 10.

REFERENCES

Diario Correo. 2015. *Puno registró 21 conflictos sociales hasta la fecha*. URL:

<https://diariocorreo.pe/politica/puno-afrenta-21-conflictos-sociales-603244>

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proyecto Inambari. URL: <https://larepublica.pe/politica/634478-carabaya-y-puno-tambien-paran-el-31-de-mayo-pero-contraproyecto-inambari>

Notes

¹ They first had to face the conflict regarding the Inambari dam and then mining conflicts in the area (*La República* 2012).

² The *rondas* have a long history in Carabaya. They have carried out tasks such as surveillance and overseeing of lands, protection of community property, monitoring the conduct of the community members, control of cattle rustling, and combating political subversion (during the Fujimori regime). After the return to democratic rule, the *rondas*

were seen as the community organization with the greatest representation vis-à-vis the indigenous community.

³ In Carabaya there are deposits of gold as well as vast deposits of uranium, which has brought about significant opposition from local residents. In addition, Carabaya is located within the area affected by the Inambari dam, which has the capacity to become the fifth largest dam in South America.

⁴ On these two occasions, the quota was fulfilled, since each ballot should include at least one candidate per quota. This includes two cases that illustrate the weaknesses of the quota and the strategies of the political parties in these contexts.

⁵ This candidate acknowledged herself that she did not feel prepared.

⁶ At the time of this fieldwork, the organization was going through a process of internal restructuring.